

2077

THE Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)



FOUNDER

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXXV. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE

1954

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

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



on 2

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
Abdullah Asked for It (<i>illustr.</i>)		General Budget, The	
St. Nihal Singh	105	S. N. Agarwal	296
Air Transport in India		Harold Laski and the Ideal of Nationalism	
C. B. Mamoria	25	Rani Mukhopadhyaya	311
Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayer, The Late Dr. Sir		House of the People—Its Personnel	
P. Rajeswara Rao	319	G. D. Srivastava	21
Ancient Pottery from Tamluk (<i>illustr.</i>)		100 Years of Cotton Textile Industry in India	
Pareesh Chandra Das Gupta	213	Har Charan Lal Garg	461
Art as a Means of Livelihood (<i>illustr.</i>)		Icons of Ohrid, The (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	138	R. P. Singh	304
Ashtadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam Temple		Impressions of Sevagram and Some Reflections	
(<i>illustr.</i>)		Chandos Reid Rice and Theodore D. Rice	485
R. P. Nair	220	Incidence of Taxation in India	
Basic Ideals of Hindu Religion and Philosophy		A. C. Minocha	119
Swami Nikhilananda	357	Indian Citizenship	
Beginning of the National Movement in Pre-Congress Days		C. J. S. Bindra	377
Nanimadhab Chaudhuri	67	Indian Periodicals	73, 157, 243, 327, 409, 494
Bhoodan and Economic Revolution		Indian Tax System	
S. N. Agarwal	444	B. K. Goswami	203
Bluffing, The Gentle Art of		India's Population Problem	
C. L. R. Sastri	285	Ashish Bose	365
Book Reviews	69, 153, 237, 321, 404, 489	India's Spiritual Heritage	
(A) Calcutta Museum Brings Orissa Closer (<i>illustr.</i>)		T. S. R. Rao	52
Ajit Kumar Dutta	297	India's Struggle for Existence	
Centre and the States in the Indian Constitution,		Kali Charan Ghosh	195
The Relation Between the		Industrial Relations in West Bengal (1948-52)	
P. L. Sahgal	373	(<i>illustr.</i>)	
Children of Hari, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		Kanika Som	33
T. B. Naik	45	International Regional Arrangements	
China in Retrospect		N. Subrahmanian	453
D. P. Shrivastava	451	International Status of India	
Christian Missionary Work in India		Anadi Bhusan Maity	288
Abinash Chandra Bose	58	Kibbuzim	
Christian Missionary Work in India		Karl Loewy	36
C. S. Kirby	393	K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur (<i>illustr.</i>)	
City Children Learn the Joys of Gardening (<i>illustr.</i>)		Chintamani Bose	130
USIS	415	Leo Tolstoy—The Last Phase	
City of Calcutta and the New Alignment, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		J. Minattur	65
P. C. Chakravarty	141	Life in Kulu Valley (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Comment and Criticism	44, 393, 488.	G. Srinivas Rao	473
Distribution of Industrial Control by Community		Lion-Hearted Lead., The	
M. M. Mehta	294	St. Nihal Singh	61
Economics of the Hydrogen Bomb		Comes	
S. N. Agarwal	380	Siya Kumar Datta	126
Economics of National Defence		(D. Mahendra Lal Sircar (<i>illustr.</i>))	
S. N. Agarwal	117	Narendra Nath Basu	308
Economics of Students' Turmoil		(Mrs.) Margaret E. Cousins (<i>illustr.</i>)	
S. N. Agarwal	23	O. C. Gangoly	306
Education and Life		Mass Society and City Culture	
Roma Chaudhuri	396	Ram Swaroop Vyas	39
Educational Dilemma, The		Mechanisation of Indian Agriculture	
Sark Devi	121	K. C. Peter	31
Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of		Mediaeval Monuments of Yugoslavia (<i>illus.</i>)	
Fine Arts (<i>illustr.</i>)		R. P. Singh	50
Manik al Banerjee	216	Menace of the "H"-Bomb, The	
First Census of Free India, The		C. L. R. Sastri	441
Ashish Bose	114	"Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India"	
Foreign Periodicals	79, 164, 248, 332, 415, 500	Swami Sankarananda	398
French Riviera, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		Message of Kalyani, The	
A. N. Sen	386	S. N. Agarwal	234
French Riviera and the Alps, The (<i>illustr.</i>)			
A. N. Sen	301		

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Seminar on Arts and Crafts	89	Traffic in Women	439
Shipping Target	13	Travancore-Cochin Ministry	271
Situation in British Honduras	265	Turkey after the U.S. Pact	348
Situation in Pepsu	102	U.-N. Faces Two-sided Problem in Korea	6
Slavery in Modern World	438	Union Budget, The	257
Slump in Free Gold, The	99	Unrest in Nepal	263
South-East Asia Treaty Organisation	351	USA and Colonialism	430
Soviet Pakistan Relations	255	U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan	169
Spain in Western Defence	95	U.S. Arms Deal with Pakistan	93
Spanish Claim on Gibraltar, The	264	U.S. Brand of Militarism, The	175
Sterling Becoming Indivisible?	344	U.S. Intrigues in Nepal	352
Strength of Russia and Satellites	429	U.S. Plans for Russia	431
Strength for Soviet Succession, The	10	Visva-Bharati at Cross-roads	338
Sydney Conference, The	95	West Bengal Budget	260
Tax Evasion	356	Workers Buried Alive near Oil Refinery	16
Teachers and Politics	180		272
This is America!	91	World Languages	15
3000 Apply for Jobs in Burma	16	World Rice Position	

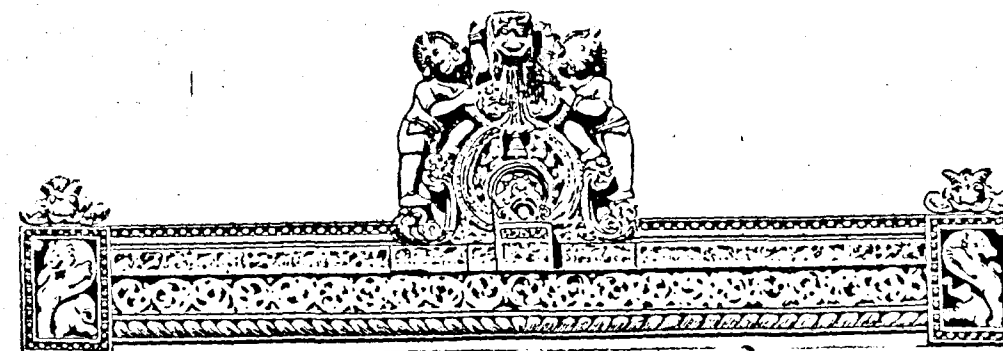
—O—

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Agarwal, S. N.		Chaudhuri, Nanimadhab	
Bhodan and Economic Revolution	444	Beginning of the National Movement in Pre-	67
Economics of the Hydrogen Bomb	380	Congress Days	
Economics of National Defence	117	Chaudhuri, Roma	396
Economics of Students' Turmoil	23	Education and Life	
The General Budget	296	Das Gupta, Paresh Chandra	213
The Message of Kalyani	234	Ancient Pottery from Tamluk (illustr.)	
Banerjee D. N.		Datta, Amiya Kumar	126
The Visa System between East and West Bengal	376	Man Comes	
Banerjee, Maniklal		Datta Gupta, Ramani Kumar	
Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of		Swami Vivekananda and His Impact on Western	146
Fine Arts (illustr.)	216	Savants	
Basu, Narendra Nath		Devi, Sarla	121
Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (illustr.)	308	The Educational Dilemma	
Bhattacharya, Katyayanidas		Dutt, S. N.	315
The Theory of Emergence in the Philosophy of		Syama Prasad Mookerjee	
Alexander	208	Dutta, Ajit Kumar	297
Bindra, C. J. S.		A Calcutta Museum Brings Orissa Closer (illustr.)	
Indian Citizenship	377	Gangoly, O. C.	306
BIS		Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins (illustr.)	461
Widespread Locust Breeding (illustr.)	136	Garg, Har Charan Lal	461
Bose, Abinash Chandra		100 Years of Cotton Textile Industry in India	
Christian Missionary Work in India	58	Ghosh, Arun Coomar	461
Bose, Ashish		The Vedantic Approach to Communism	195
The First Census of Free India	114	Ghosh, Kali Charan	111
Bose, Chintamani		India's Struggle for Existence	
K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur	130	The Problem of Earning and Non-Earning	
(illustr.)		Dependents	
Brahma, Sudhir		Goswami, B. K.	203
A Study of Surnames	149	Indian Tax System	
Chakravarti, Chintaharan		Gupta, G. P.	482
"Shiva-Shakti Workshop in Kashmir"	44	'White-Collar' Unemployment in India	
Chakravarty, P. C.		Gupta, Monoranjan	230
The City of Calcutta and the New Alignment	141	What I Saw in Eastern Pakistan	
(illustr.)		Kashikar, S. G.	492
Chatterjee, Indubhusan		Place of Eastern Asia in Indian Foreign Policy	
"Rajeswar Das Gupta"	488	Kirby, C. S.	393
Chaudhuri, Jatindra Bimal		Christian Missionary Work in India	
Our Holy Mother	148	Loewy, Karl	36
The Tulasiduta Kavya of Trilochana	235	Kibbutzim	

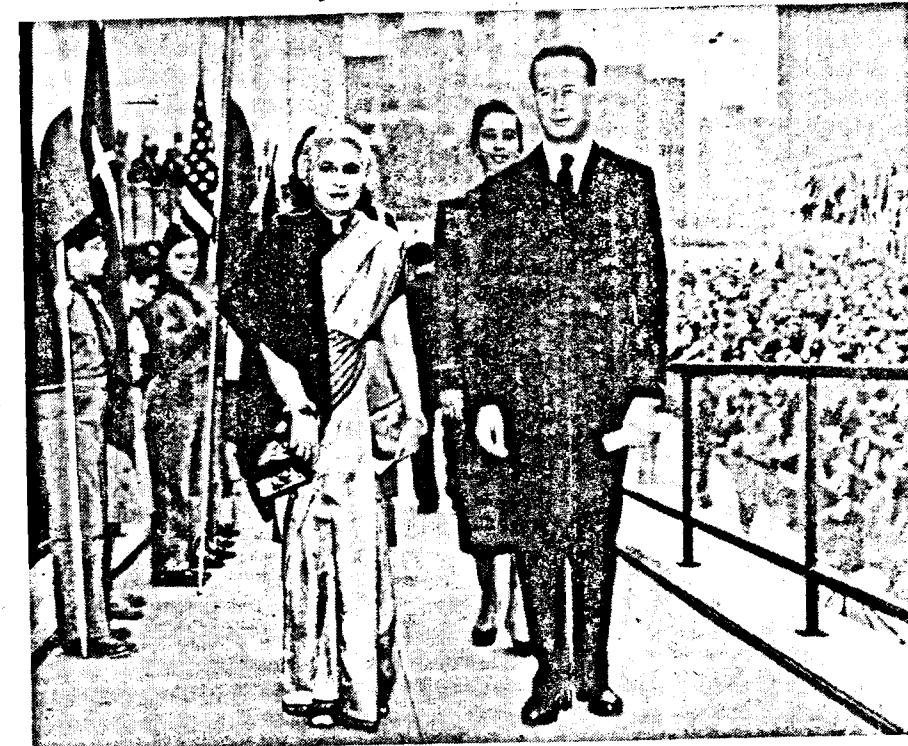
CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Maini, Darshan Singh		Rao, P. Rajeswara	319
The Political Novel in England	143	The Late Dr. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Jyer	
Maity, Anadi Bhusan	288	Rao, T. S. R.	52
International Status of India		India's Spiritual Heritage	
Mamoria, C. B.	25	Ray, Rathindra	455
Air Transport in India	276	Onward March—India	
Unemployment in India		Ray Chowdhury, Deviprosad	138
Mehta, M. M.	294	Art As a Means of Livelihood (illustr.)	
Distribution of Industrial Control by Community		Rice, Chandos Reid and Rice, Theodore D.	485
Minattur, J	65	Impressions of Sevagram and Some Reflections	
Leo Tolstoy—The Last Phase		Roy Choudhury, P. C.	151
Minattur, Joseph		William Taylor—A Colourful Personality	
Shillong—The Beauty Spot of North-East India	389	Sahgal, P. L.	
(illustr.)		The Relation between the Centre and the States	373
Minocha, A. C.		in the Indian Constitution	
Incidence of Taxation in India	119	Sankarananda, Swami	
Mitra, Sisir Kumar		"Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India"	398
Salihundam—A Buddhist Stupa in the Andhra	465	Sastri, C. L. R.	285
Country (illustr.)		The Gentle Art of Bluffing	
Mookherji, Sudhansu Bimal	381	The Menace of the "H." Bomb	441
In the Punjab Villages (illustr.)		Saxena, H. L.	477
Mukherjee, Saila Kumar	273	Portuguese Possessions in India (illustr.)	
Parliamentary Democracy in India		Sen, A. N.	301
Mukherji, Maniklal	469	The French Riviera and the Alps (illustr.)	
A Trip to the Nilgiris (illustr.)		The French Riviera (illustr.)	386
Mukhopadhyaya, Rani	311	Shrivastava, D. P.	450
Harold Laski and the Ideal of Nationalism		China in Retrospect	
Naik, T. B.	45	Siddiqi M. Yasin	222
The Children of Hari (illustr.)		Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur (illustr.)	
Nair, R. P.	220	Singh, R. P.	304
Ashtadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam		The Icons of Ohrid (illustr.)	50
Temple (illustr.)		Mediaeval Monuments of Yugoslavia (illustr.)	
Nimbkar, Krishna Bai	42	Singh, St. Nihal	105
Towards Better International Understanding		Abdullah Asked for It (illustr.)	61
(illustr.)		The Lion-Hearted Leader	
Niyogi, Pampa	198	Som, Kanika	33
Taxation for Endowments in Northern India		Industrial Relations in West Bengal (illustr.)	
Pendse, D. R.	369	Srivastava, G. D.	21
Where Stands Sarvodaya?		House of the People—Its Personnel	
Peter, K. C.	31	Srivastava, G. P.	189
Mechanisation of India Agriculture		Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy	
PIB	55	Subrahmanian, N.	453
New Impetus to Rural Housing (illustr.)		International Regional Arrangements	
Preserving a Great Heritage (illustr.)	391	USIS	
Progress of Community Projects (illustr.)	227	City Children Enjoy the Joys of Gardening	475
Rao, G. Srinivas	473	(illustr.)	
Life in Kulu Valley (illustr.)	53	Vyas, Ram Swaroop	39
Warangal: The Home of Temples (illustr.)		Mass Society and City Culture	
Rao, K. V.	446		
State Legislatures in India—Their Powers and			
Privileges			

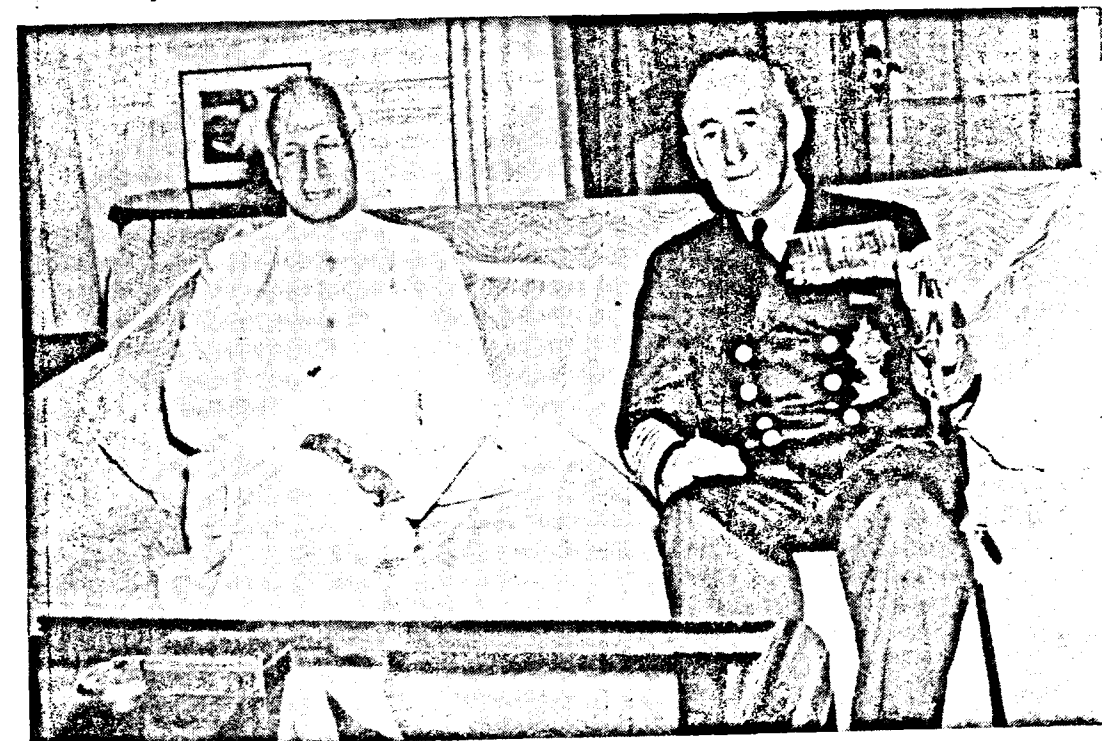


LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

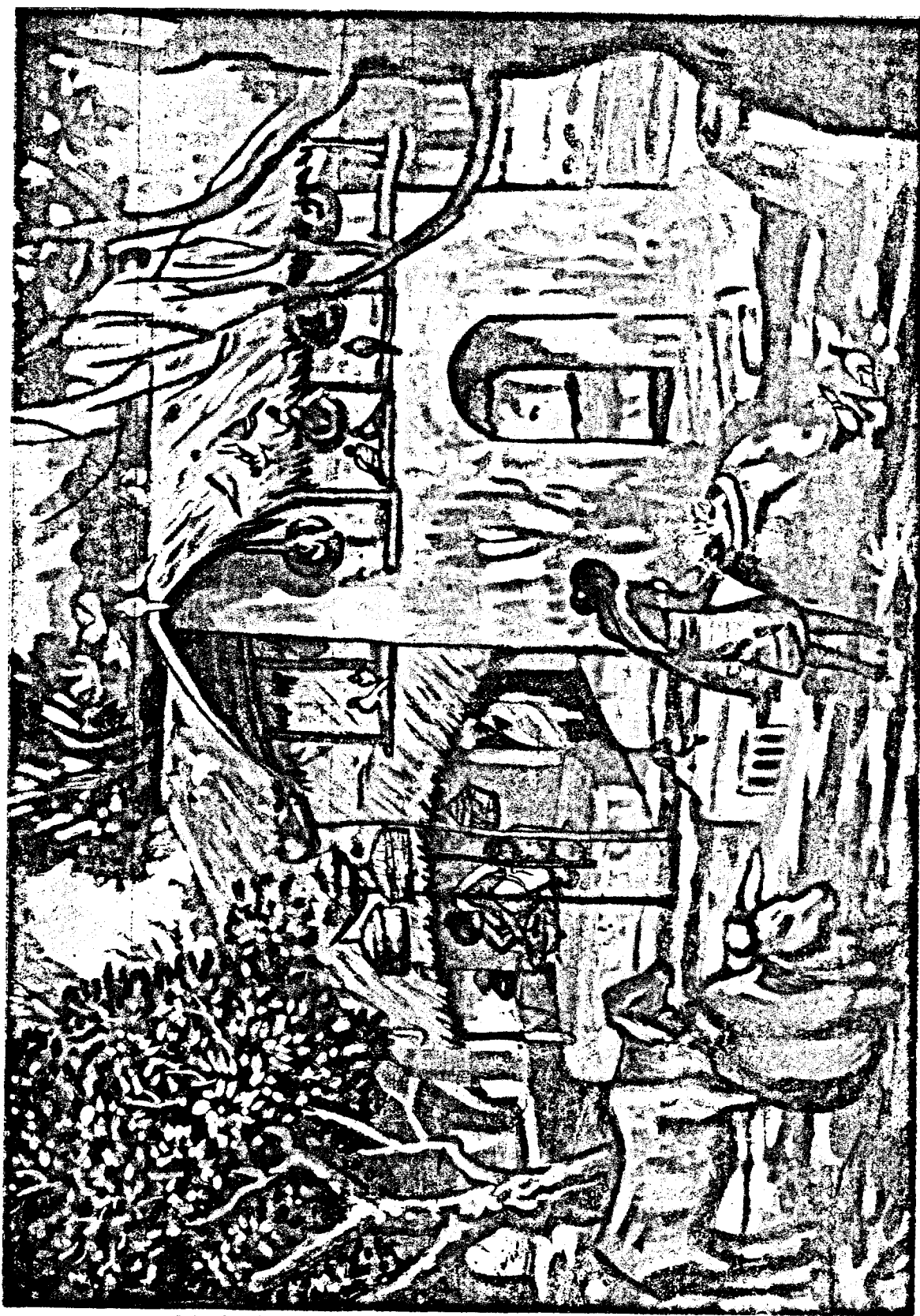
	Page		Page
<i>Abdullah Asked for It</i>		Kashmir	
Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammed	107	Aggressors turned this exquisite river-scape into	
A Beauty Spot of Kashmir	109	a base of operations for their "push" to	
A Co-workers of Abdulah's	108	Srinagar	112
A Hindu Priest	110	A Maharaja had built this structure of pure	
A Shrine of Kashmir	109	white to serve as a palace	112
Sankara's Shrine overlooks Srinagar	106	K. S. Roy Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur	
A Stronghold reminiscent of Mughal might in Kashmir	104	(12 illustrations)	130-35
Air-Marshall Subrata Mukherjee and Srimati Mukherjee	337	Kumbha Mela at Allahabad	
Tribeni-Sangam, Allahabad	204	A Mohunt in procession	288
The Fort, Allahabad	204	A procession of Sadhus	288
Astadikpalakas from the Katinamkulam Temple (3 illustrations)	221-22	Life in Kulu Valley (5 illustrations)	473-75
Josi Math, Badrinath	85	Mahatma Gandhi	
Mt. Nilkantha, Badrinath	85	Sudhir Khastgir	205
Bronze bust of G. Venkatachalam		(Dr) Mahendra Lal Sircar	309
Bronze bust of Khasa Subba Rao		(Mrs) Margaret E. Cousins	307
D. P. Roy Chowdhury	421	(Dr) Nimbkar, Krishna Bai	43
(A) Calcutta Museum Brings Orissa Closer (7 illustrations)	297-300	Pandit Nehru Addressing the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Kalyani	169
Ceylon Parliamentary Delegation at a Community Centre Near Delhi	372	Portuguese Possessions in India	
(Sri) Chaitanya and Basudeb Sarbabhauma (in colours)		1 Map	479
Bires Chandra Ganguly	421	Preserving a Great Heritage	
Children of Hari, The (8 illustrations)	45-49	Renovating the Frescoes at Ajanta	392
City Children Learn the Joys of Gardening (2 half-plates)	457	President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Ustad Alauddin Khan	337
(4 illustrations)	475-76	Progress of Community Projects	
The City of Calcutta and the New Alignment		A Training Centre in one of the Community Project areas	228
A Map of Calcutta showing commercial areas and canal zones	142	Progress of Community Projects in Hyderabad (2 illustrations)	56
Dance (in colours)		Punjab Villages, In the (8 illustrations)	382-85
Manicklal Banerji	85	Sakuntala (in colours)	
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	139	Kalyani Chakravarty	253
Egyptian Aircraft at Palam in Delhi	372	Salihundam—A Buddhist Stupa in the Andhra Country	
Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts (7 illustrations)	216-21	(5 illustrations)	465-68
(2 half-plates)	289	Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur (6 illustrations)	223-26
Electric Power from Atomic Energy	456	Shillong—The Beauty Spot of North-East India (5 illustrations)	388-91
(The) French Riviera and the Alps (10 illustrations)	301-304	Sweet Thought (Stone bas-relief)	
French Riviera, The (9 illustrations)	386-89	D. P. Roy Chowdhury	112
Happy Home (in colours)		Tamluk, Ancient Pottery from (8 illustrations)	213-15
Ramendra Nath Chakravorty	13	Toilette	
Hellen Keller and Dwight D. Eisenhower	373	Makhan Datta Gupta	205
Holi Festival, The (in colours)		(A) Trip to the Nilgiris (9 illustrations)	469-72
Niharranjan Sen Gupta	169	Unesco Director and Chairman at Rajghat in Delhi	253
Holy Shrines of the Himalayas, The		Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan with Sir R. R. McGrigor, First Sea Lord of the United Kingdom in New Delhi	1
Kedarnath Temple	36	Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the current session of the General Assembly and Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold at the celebrations of the United Nations Day	1
Kedarnath in view	36	Visit to the White House, Washington	373
Okhimath	37	Warangal: The Home of Temples (8 illustrations)	53-54
Samadhi of Sri Sankaracharya	37	Widespread Locust Breeding (5 illustrations)	136-37
Hunting (in colours)		Yugoslavia, Mediaeval Monuments of (5 illustrations)	50-51
Niharranjan Sen Gupta	337		
Icons of Ohrid, The			
Christ the Psychosoter	305		
(An) Indian Commission on Secondary Education at a Technical and Trade School in USA	456		
Jawaharlal Nehru at the Unesco Conference in New Delhi	253		
Kalyani, The Open Session of the Congress, 1954	169		



United Nations Day was celebrated at the U.N. Headquarters recently. Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the current session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold arrive for the celebrations



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan with Sir Rhoderick R. McGrigor, First Sea Lord of the United Kingdom when the latter called on him in New Delhi, on November 22, 1953



HAPPY HOME
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



1954

VOL. LXXXV, No. 1

WHOLE No. 565

NOTES

New Year's Portents

Before we consider the year that is ahead of us, let us glance over the vista of the year that is drawing to a close as we write.

At home and abroad, the year that is passing out, opened with bleak prospects. The world turmoil showed no signs of abating, natural calamities, like the devastations caused by storm and flood-tides on the East Coast of Britain and the Coastal areas of Holland, the earthquake havoc in the Greek islands, serious shortages of the essentials of life, all added to the intense strains through which humanity was passing through in the old world. In the political sphere, Africa was showing signs of awakening, which was fiercely resented by the devotees of colonialism and exploitation.

At home the political turbulence increased in most parts of North and Eastern India, Calcutta and Lucknow being major centres of disruptive activity. Of natural calamities we had very little fortunately.

But as the year came to its last quarter, more hopeful signs were in evidence everywhere. Pakistan and India exchanged civilities in the persons of their chief executives, the harvests were well over the average in India and the political rumpers quietened down. Prices of essentials started coming down and the common citizen got a chance to take a short breath of relief.

Abroad the Korean struggle slowed down and finally the Armistice came into being. During the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners, it was suggested that India should supply the Custodian force to guard, and to take charge during interim period, those of the prisoners of both sides that were not willing to be repatriated. India, or rather Pandit Nehru, readily agreed without further thought as to

what complications might arise out of this ready acceptance. This lack of forethought caused many troubles before long, the most embarrassing situations arising out of the attitude of President Syngman Rhee's South Korea. South Korea is a devastated and lost land, lost to all attributes of humanity, excepting that of revenge, so deeply scored it is by the flames of War.

In the meanwhile, the greatest democracy of the New World, the United States, held an election. The Democrats, that is the party going under that label, lost and the Republicans won under the leadership of General Eisenhower. The party names do not have any specific meaning, so we are told. But somehow, under the new regime, many things started happening which has made the democratic world wonder whether the traditions that the world associates with the United States of America—the United States, that is, of Abraham Lincoln—are in the process of being scrapped.

We were told that if there were any nation actuated by purely altruistic motives in its dealings with foreign nationals, particularly with the nationals of backward States, then that was the United States. We ourselves had seen clear evidence of that with our own eyes, in the Iran, Iraq and the Near East of the early thirties, and also in the working of certain missions in our own India. And it is on that basis we disbelieved the propaganda against American aid to India, which tried to represent that to be a veiled attempt at domination.

It is in that belief and on that good faith, deep friendships were established, not only between Indians and Americans but with many other nations with mutual mediation and goodwill. It was taken for granted that this demonstration of goodwill was

based on the highest ideals of humanism and that there was no "power-politics" mixed with it in any way. In short, it was taken for granted that the American was a forthright frank specimen, as unlike the black-hearted and treacherous *Pucca Sahib* as possible.

The basis of this faith have been the actions and sayings of a host of Americans who have visited this country, who have given proof of their good faith in more than one way. In the United States itself, men of standing, whose integrity could not be challenged, made clear statements on the side of human liberty and rights and for the cause of peace and goodwill amongst all nations.

Since the taking over by the Eisenhower Government, things are happening in Asia that have caused serious disturbance to the very basis of this good faith. There is a distinct tendency to compromise with colonialism in its most blatant form, as in the case of France and Portugal. And in many areas, men representing the United States in many official capacities, who had declared in unambiguous terms that the U.S.A. had no axe to grind in any sphere in Asia, were recalled and replaced by new men, who hesitated at making any positive statement at all. In America, a campaign of calumny was started against India in many quarters, just because the G.O.C. of the Indian custodian force would not kowtow to the Generals of the R.O.K. and U.N. troops. There was no regard to truth in these statements, as we have shown elsewhere by a quotation from an American source. And yet the high executive of the U.S.A. did nothing to check or contradict it.

To cap all, where India is concerned, came this Pact, between Pakistan and the United States. This Pact is a secret one, and as such there is a great deal of subterfuge and juggling with words. But all the same it is patent that the Pact is there, undeniably.

Mr. Richard Nixon declared in Karachi on December 7 that the United States would protect Pakistan against what he described as "forces working for its destruction."

Addressing a gathering of mill-workers on his visit to the Sind industrial estates here he said he was confident that America would continue to stand by Pakistan. The American people had great love and respect for the people of Pakistan, he said, because both countries were actuated by the same ideas and objectives.

The Vice-President cited the prompt assistance given by his country in the form of wheat aid as an instance of America's deep regard for Pakistan.

Mr. Nixon was greeted with shouts of "America Zindabad" and "Nixon Zindabad" as he entered the mill area.

Mr. Yusuf Haroon, former President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, welcomed Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon's official status makes it impossible

for him to make such a statement on the basis of empty words and vague sentiments. This declaration could have been made only after a definite agreement had been arrived at, on State level.

Mr. Nixon might have been ignorant about the tension between India and Pakistan. But we refuse to believe that the officials who advised him were unaware of the fact that Pakistan had made declarations times without number, that India was her sole enemy and the only way to deal with India was to wage a *jihad* against her. As such this utterance of his, as quoted above, can be construed only in one way. And, indeed, since no other construction has been put on it in the weeks following that declaration, it can be taken that the people of Pakistan and India are at liberty to assume what they like.

The *New York Times* in an editorial, quoted elsewhere in this issue, confirmed the fact of this agreement in an indirect fashion.

In that editorial it is specifically stated that India's attitude towards "such a programme" is immaterial. It declares that the programme is "realistic, rational and feasible." India's concerns are dismissed in short order thus:

"That there should be anxiety in India over any proposals that would add to the military strength of her closest neighbour is only natural. The United States, however, cannot be expected to make its policies on the basis of India's apprehension."

We do not think we need write further about the Secret Pact. It is a *fait accompli* with all its attendant evils.

The *New York Times'* editorial was logically quite accurate. And we have no doubt the premises on which the editorial is based is quite on all fours with what obtained in the Far East when the Soviets supplied sinews of war to the North Koreans and trained them in the use of modern weapons. Indeed, it seems that the U.S.A. has taken a leaf out of the Soviet *Weltpolitik* manual in its hurry to "save the Free World."

Heaven help the Free World against such saviours.

Nedless to say the consequences are likely to be the same as in the case of Korea, excepting that the magnitude would be increased a thousandfold. The pompous wiseacre who penned the *Times'* editorial, probably is as ignorant about matters Asiatic as all the American Pundits we have seen hitherto. But, perhaps, his essay into infantile *Realpolitik* would not have been so quaintly naive if he had thought of what the consequences of a major flare-up would mean to the nationals of his own country.

But the U.S.A. is well prepared to face all consequences, at least that is what we are given to understand. What concerns us most, is how far we are prepared, if at all.

Let us take the reactions of Pandit Nehru, as

after all he represents all India to the world abroad.

On December 11th at Dehra Dun, Prime Minister Nehru called upon the people of India to remain resolutely united to face any development that might arise from the proposed military pact between Pakistan and the United States.

Shri Nehru said, "If the strength of Pakistan's army increases with the United States aid, it will have repercussions not only in India but in the whole of South-East Asia. This will disturb without fail the entire balance of power in this region."

Shri Nehru added: "India and Pakistan were both free countries and as such they could enter into talks with any country they wished. But the present negotiations between Pakistan and Washington, aimed at building up Pakistan's armed might, would affect not only India but other countries also. Therefore, he said, India had to make herself strong in order to defend herself. India, he further said, was, however, ready to face any danger.

We only wish we could be as sure of our strength as Pandit Nehru seems to be. There can be no doubt that the majority of the nationals of India would stand with Pandit Nehru in facing any outside aggression. But there can be no doubt that disruption and treachery has been given a long rope in our country since the demise of our beloved Sardar.

Prime Minister Nehru faced a group of demonstrators at the Gurdwara Fatehgarh Sahib, about 35 miles from Patiala on December 27 when he rose to address a meeting.

The demonstrators shouted slogans demanding Punjabi-speaking province, the ending of Advisers' regime and swore they would not allow the Prime Minister to speak.

The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, appeared near the platform a few minutes after the demonstration had started. The Rajpramukh of PEPSU asked him to persuade the demonstrators to maintain calm. The Akali leader was heard to say that he would not allow the Prime Minister to speak from the Gurdwara platform.

Some of the demonstrators elbowed their way close to the Prime Minister while the Rajpramukh, officials and police tried to keep them away.

It may be said Master Tara Singh was a mere ignorant and befuddled antediluvian. But people of his ilk have been always of great help to the enemies of India in the past, because in their short-sighted ignorance they could not see beyond their own nose. There are bigger forces of disruption, however, who may attempt to seize power when the opportune moment comes.

Pandit Nehru is not totally oblivious to the perils that might come if we had to face emergencies in the present state of our affairs.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared at New Delhi on December 28 that India had no aggressive designs on any

country but she would not brook any outside interference in her affairs.

"We have no desire to expand our territory, but nevertheless we have to guard against any encroachment on our vast frontiers. We have to maintain our frontiers at all costs, and along with that, we have to maintain our internal strength," he said.

Addressing the 30th anniversary of the Congress Seva Dal in Queen's Garden, Mr. Nehru said that in this age of turmoil and turbulence, "We have to prepare ourselves for every contingency. We have to protect our country against any external aggression. That will more or less rest on our internal strength. If we are internally weak and waste our energies in petty squabbles, we are bound to put our hard-earned freedom into jeopardy. In that case, our freedom will not last long."

Freedom, the Prime Minister said, had brought in its train heavy responsibilities and complicated problems. Many people felt on the attainment of independence that now that the task of liberating the country from foreign domination was over, they would rest on their oars and take things easy, but that was absolutely a wrong approach and a wrong way of thinking. Such a feeling would weaken the very social, political and economic fibre of the country and expose her to dangers.

Let it be clear to each one in this country, Mr. Nehru said, that after the attainment of political emancipation, "our responsibilities have rather far increased. We have today to face new problems, new situations which may not be having any bearing on the past and have to work under quite a new environment. The main task before us today is to preserve and consolidate this independence which is rather a difficult task. If we lose the inspiration that characterised our national struggle for liberation and dwindle into a state of slackness and torpor, we will certainly imperil our freedom and may ultimately expose it to external dangers."

Very true indeed. But mere words or mere chanting of old saws and adages will not do. What is wanted is a realistic attitude towards world conditions. Is Pandit Nehru's Congress ready?

An unambiguous declaration of the Congress stand vis-a-vis the changed situation arising out of the U.S.-Pakistan military alliance, formulation of proposals for a "people's plan" for the further period of the revised Five-Year Plan, and constructive suggestions for the recently announced Commission for reorganisation of State—are the three main items before the forthcoming plenary session of the Indian National Congress at Kalyani, said the A.-I.-C.C. General Secretary, Sri Balwantrai Mehta, in an interview to *UPI* in Calcutta.

The foreign policy resolution of the Congress, he thought, would be the most important item on the agenda, particularly in view of the changes that would take place, vitally affecting all the Asian countries in view of the military aid pact between U.S.A. and Pakistan.

The Karachi Canard

At the time of going to press the following news-item came on the daily press columns:

The report from Karachi published in a number of papers that India had entered into a secret defence pact with Soviet Russia and China is entirely without foundation and totally false, it was stated by an official spokesman in New Delhi on December 30.

India does not have any military or defence pact secret or otherwise, either with Soviet Russia or China or with any country in the world nor is it her intention to enter into any such pact in the future. India's policy of opposition to such pacts is well-known and has been declared from time to time.

The fantastic report that India had entered into a military pact with Soviet Russia and China was circulated by the *London Observer* correspondent, Mr. Rawle Knox from Karachi. Knox wrote:

"Pakistan's decision to accept American military aid has been influenced by reports that reached Pakistan Intelligence Department some months ago, on what authority I cannot discover, that India had made a secret pact, in the event of war with China and Russia."

The fact that Pakistan official sources had to manufacture an obvious falsehood, to justify proposed Pak.-U.S. Pact, since India's policy in this matter is well-known, is interpreted by informed circles in Delhi as an indication of nervousness on Pakistan's part. The almost unanimous condemnation that Pakistan's efforts to obtain military aid from U.S.A. has received in the Middle East and South Asia, has apparently upset Pakistan's calculations of being the decoy for Asian countries which follow an independent foreign policy. Unable to counter this by any reasonable arguments, Pakistan officials seem to have reverted to earlier tactics of spreading falsehoods about India to justify their own wrong actions.

We would add that foreign news-hounds of the Conservative group papers, to which the *Observer* of London belongs, may well have helped knowingly in the fabrication.

Dawn on Pak-U.S. Military Alliance

The *Dawn* in an editorial article on December 9 welcomed the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military alliance. The paper refers to the fact that common religion had failed to prove as effective a cementing link for practical purposes as had been once hoped even between Pakistan and other Muslim countries. The daily widespread frustration in the minds of the people had partly been due to a realisation that Pakistan had no friends. All Pakistanis would naturally welcome the prospect of Pakistan becoming stronger militarily provided that did not affect the country's sovereignty or independence of action. The paper writes that if the stage had been set "for a mutually advantageous partnership between Pakistan and the biggest democratic power of the present-day world

—United States of America—then it is heart-lifting news, and the nation will give full credit to those who have been able to bring about this, whatever their other failings may be."

The *Dawn* is a bitter enemy of India, and all things Indian, and therefore it welcomed the news good and early. This is a clear indication as to where the storm is brewing and how. Incidentally its remarks contain no reference to Soviet Russia, China or India. The *Dawn* would have been the first to howl about a secret defence pact, if there had been any rumours at that time, as between India and the Soviet Bloc.

The Pact and the "New York Times"

The *New York Times* had calmly let the cat out of the bag, long before the Karachi Canard was skied, in the following manner:

The *New York Times* said in a leading article on December 11 that some sort of programme designed to make Pakistan stronger militarily seemed to be one of the expected results of the Vice-President Nixon's visit to Pakistan.

"Such a programme," wrote the paper, "seems to us realistic, rational and feasible. There has been some loose and occasionally acrimonious talks about a deal on the basis of 'aid for bases.' The plain fact is that in any mortal struggle the whole of Pakistan would be a gigantic base for the free world."

The *Times* said: "That there should be anxiety in India over any proposals that would add to the military strength of her closest neighbour is only natural. The United States, however, cannot be expected to make its policies on the basis of India's apprehension, assurances can be given to India that our military assistance to Pakistan would be and should be for Pakistan's defence needs only. At the same time a strong Pakistan is vital to a strong South-Asia and a strong Middle East. Pakistan has the will to resist Communist, imperialist encroachment. More than that. Pakistani leaders are acutely aware of the danger. Therefore, they turn to us to help us."

Mr. Yoshiaki Hoshino, Japanese Leftwing Socialist leader and a former Member of the Japanese Diet, who is in India at present, said that the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military alliance amounted to an "attack on the nations of Asia."

As far as India was concerned he thought that the alliance would work as a kind of "wedge" between India and Pakistan. "We expect that India would therefore strongly resist this move by the United States ultimately calculated to drag India and Asia into its bloc."

American Policy in India

The Indian reaction to the propaganda campaign of mischief that is going on in the U.S.A. has been summed up by the *People* of New Delhi.

The diplomatic correspondent of the *People* in New Delhi writes: "Not only is America trying

physically and militarily to encircle India, but she is trying to do it politically. She is spreading lies about India's intentions and policies."

The U. S. was spreading the "dirty lie" that India was going Communist. The trend of the U.S. propaganda was that the trade pact recently signed in New Delhi between India and the U.S.S.R. had "something behind it." The American press had written that the pact was not merely commercial, but included an undertaking by the Soviet Union to provide military equipment to India.

The correspondent writes: "So clever are the lie-manufacturers that they knew that the whole thing was atrociously wrong. But anticipating the inevitable denial by India—and it has already been made—they had coupled the lie with the statement that a denial would be made by India, but it must not be believed!"

India could not conceive of giving up her policy of neutrality—a policy which was a moral, political, geographical and historical necessity.

But while India's relation with the Soviet Union had been quite cordial India was not going to buy defence equipment in the Soviet market.

If Pakistan's military powers were increased by American military help, India would have to think about it. Mr. Nixon's recent statement in Karachi that U.S.A. would protect Pakistan from forces operating against her had rightly been understood as an attack on India and as an incitement to Pakistan to go all-out in Kashmir.

Analysing U.S. policy towards India the correspondent says that America's policy was actuated by four motives, which were:

- (1) To get tough with Nehru;
- (2) To prevent India from 'dominating' Asia and Africa;
- (3) To reduce the aid that is now being given to India;
- (4) To aid Pakistan in every possible way. Pakistan is to raise as big an army as America wants for her mercenary and aggrandising purposes, and in pursuance of her policy of making Asians fight Asians."

America, he says, could hardly realise the implications of such a policy. All Indians—Congress, Communist, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali—were united in their support to Nehru against this threat to her national independence presented by the proposed U.S.-Pak Pact. The U.S.A. was afraid of India's moral ascendancy in Africa and Asia and all their malicious charges of Indian domination could not "conceal the universal attempt of the Americans to promote a new imperialism, directly or indirectly, the latter by fostering white colonialism in Asia and Africa." The Indian planners have fully taken notice of the possibility of U.S.A. withholding her aid from India and were proceeding cautiously along several alternative lines.

The correspondent adds: "The reflex actions of the American policy have been quick and decisive. The

question, therefore, is being asked in New Delhi why the idea of holding a plebiscite should not be dropped altogether and accession should not be ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir before America has her 'Formosa' in the Indian sub-continent and before Pakistan is enabled to 'treat the Kashmir question' from a position of greater strength. Surely, Pakistan cannot complain reasonably. She cannot allow America to arm her on one side and expect India to discuss the peaceful process of a plebiscite on the other."

Indian Custodian Forces

Under the caption "India's Truce Work Fogged by Propaganda" the *Worldover Press* in its November 13 issue gave a summary of the anti-Indian tactics by both of the belligerents, which is particularly interesting in view of what has happened later on. The *Worldover Press* is an American institution and therefore cannot be accused of any bias in its report against the American press or radio.

Confronted by a delicate and difficult task, India's custodian truce forces in Korea have been remarkably effective. Their work has been handicapped, however, by hostile criticisms from the Communists and the Americans, and by pumped-up propaganda in some American newspapers and radio-TV broadcasts.

1. Photographs have tended to show Indian guards taking prisoners back to the Communist side, thus creating (probably without intent) a false impression. One picture, however, widely published, was distorted by captions printed with it, though the United Press, which sent out the photo, has said that such captions were not justified by the accompanying information. The Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes*, along with certain other papers, handled the photograph so as to pin on the Indians a pro-Communist use of force. A loudly wailing Chinese POW was shown being carried by two Indian guards to a reception center, apparently against his will. The truth was that the POW was going willingly, but was so overcome by emotion and fatigue that his knees buckled under him and he had to ask the help of the Indians.

2. India was accused of distributing among the prisoners leaflets containing Communist propaganda, the inference being that this was done at the request of the Communist representatives on the U. N. Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. The truth: previous explanations of the truce repatriation terms, made to the prisoners, were so inadequate and poorly done that a majority could not understand what was to happen. The Commission, too, was faced by a serious shortage of translators. In this situation, leaflets were printed in several languages. They dealt with procedures only, however, and had been prepared and carefully scrutinized by the entire Commission, and approved by the Swedes and the Swiss.

3. At a critical stage, propaganda emanating chiefly from South Korean officials reported that India

was to withdraw its troops. Aim of this propaganda was to weaken the Indians' authority. To this Prime Minister Nehru asserted in a scantily-publicized statement: "We shall do our duty, complete our task, and not run away from our responsibilities."

4. Indians have charged, truthfully, that their efforts have suffered by interference, in violation of the truce terms, both by Communists and officers representing the U.N. Command. The latter, for example, tried systematically for a time to block altogether the Communist explanatory lectures.

5. American leaders took the attitude that genuine neutrality—required of the Indians under the truce terms they themselves had signed—was the same thing as being pro-Communist. Many a writer and commentator seized the occasion to blacken the Indian government. *Time Magazine*, for instance, after reciting Communist attacks on the Indian truce chairman, General K. S. Thimayya, continued: "His on-the-scene appreciation of Communist tactics meant nothing to New Delhi, where Nehru's government refuses to believe evil of the Communists."

General Mark Clark castigated the Repatriation Commission because, according to him, it assumed that all prisoners would automatically wish to be sent home to Communist China and North Korea. Secretary of State Dulles, in a statement to the press that caused tremendous damage to U.S. prestige throughout Asia, referred to the Commission's neutrality as "so-called." Dulles uttered no word of rebuke to the South Korean regime, which had threatened to break up the work of the Commission by force, nor did he, at least openly, protest the activity of South Korean agents planted among the prisoners to foment riots.

The truth is this: Polish and Czechoslovak members of the Commission insisted that prisoners be compelled by force to hear pleas for their return home; Swedish and Swiss members refused to allow this. The Indians cleverly frustrated the Communist members by saying they would use force only if instructed to do so by a unanimous vote of the Commission—which obviously could not be had.

The balanced *Manchester Guardian* said of this episode: "Criticism most hurting to India has come, not from South Koreans or Communists, but from the U.N. Command, and to make matters worse, Mr. Dulles appears to endorse it." Said the *Washington Post*: "The blind rush to blame India. . . . shows little understanding. Indeed, the argument that India is either for us or against us—that unless she agrees with the U.S. on interpretation of every regulation she is oriented towards the Communists—is basically a totalitarian line."

6. Were not Indians brutal when they fired into escaping prisoners and killed two? Why not use tear gas? Tear gas equipment, wisely, is not distributed to all guards; a tear gas squad is ready for certain emergencies, but could not, at the moment of the flash-escape, be summoned in time. The Indians were forced to choose between risking a few lives or large-scale slaughter.

The situation is so ugly that, as in the case of a killing when murders in a compound were being investigated, the slightest toleration of disorder precipitates the killing of prisoners by each other. Critics should ask whether, if other troops than the Indians were in charge, there would be more or fewer deaths. *Friends of the first two men slain asked Indian officers to join in a mourning procession, and after they did so, displayed a sign reading: "Welcome, neutral nations who serve humanity and advocate justice."*

7. It has sometimes been said that the people of India are not behind their truce forces, and opposed to the role the troops are playing. A drive to send gifts to the truce soldiers, however, has been highly successful thus far, collections in a brief time having reached nearly \$25,000, much of it contributions by school children. Thousands of greeting cards have been designed, and written, by boys and girls. The Coffee Board donated enough coffee for a million cups.

8. There have been some innuendoes about the poor care given the prisoners by the Indians. The truth is that for a short period there was a lack of blankets. These, however, were supposed to be provided by the U.N. Command, and when the Indians asked for more, they were soon forthcoming. India is actually doing more for the POW's, by far, than technically required. Already the Indian Red Cross has sent them 10 tons of candy, 3,000,000 cigarettes, and many packages of tea, woollen stockings—and paper flowers! Sports equipment, motion picture films, pencils, blackboards for instruction (with teachers), play costumes and directors, experts on handcrafts and carpentry, doctors, 60 field ambulances, 26 mobile hospitals—these are only part of the contributions made by India to the prisoners' well-being.

While expressing regret at the attacks on India, Nehru advised a meeting of 200,000 at Bombay to keep cool, declaring: "We should not think that anyone who does not support us is our enemy."

U.N. Faces Two-sided Problem in Korea

The *Worldover Press* made the following comment at the beginning of the armistice on the military preparations that were going on behind the cease-fire line.

The comment shows up Rhee also in a clear light, as an anomaly in a democratic set up.

Some American observers in Washington and Tokyo are watching the build-up of Chinese Communist air installations in North Korea with mixed feelings. The flying in of military planes and the creation of air fields violates the armistice, and Washington has protested to the U.N. However, it is believed by some that while Red China is still taking a military interest in Korea, there is that much less chance of its further intervention in Indo-China. They reason that if China was eager enough for an armistice to sign up even after Syngman Rhee released thousands of war prisoners, a new attack from the north is not likely.

Mixed feelings, too, are manifested by Western diplomats over late events in South Korea. Despite Rhee's bellicosity, anti-war sentiment is definitely gaining ground among the people, and even in the ROK army. This appears on the face of it all to the good. It raises speculation whether Rhee, if dissatisfied with the Korean conference, can renew the war even if he wants to.

The trouble is, Rhee is up to his old tricks of suppression. Not only has he brought about purges in his cabinet; he has been purging the police and the youth corps. He has suspended three newspapers and arrested a prominent editor, on unconvincing pretexts. If he should find his stern control slipping, might he not "start something" rather than risk losing power?

Enhancement of Japan's War Potential

One of the reasons behind the haste with which the U.S.A. has granted the aid prayed for by Pakistan, seems to be the failure of the attempt to persuade Japan into falling into line with U.S. programme. The *Worldover Press* reported over a month back, on that attempt as follows:

After a month of conferring, Japanese spokesman Hayato Ikeda and Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson came up with an informal agreement—nothing like the outlines of a specific pact—that Japan's armed forces must be enlarged. The talks amounted to a set-back for the American program, for how many troops Japan is to have, and in what way the constitutional issue is to be settled, were major issues left for the future. While Japan agreed for a while yet to avoid shipments of contraband goods to Red China, non-strategic exports can be considerably stepped up—which Tokyo chiefly wanted.

Japan is to get \$50,000,000 in farm products under M.S.A., to be sold internally for yen, the proceeds to be used for eventual arming or other projects. Two key Japanese economic problems, however, remain unsolved. One is how to pay the two billion dollars Japan already owes the U.S. The other is how to secure greater foreign private investment. Foreign investments since the end of the war total only about \$70,000,000, a small fraction of the need. Of this amount, 71 per cent comes from the United States, 13 per cent from the United Kingdom, and 10 per cent from Canada. Investors outside the U.S., according to British financial circles, are slow to sink money in Japan, not because they doubt Japanese industry's rising output, but because of their hesitancy to go up against American competition under conditions they consider relatively unfavorable.

"People's Daily" on Pak-U.S. Base Talks

The Communist Press has not been slow in making capital out of the Pak-U.S. alliance. The following summary is a typical example. It is very cleverly written as most of the assumptions are on a

factual basis. It also goes clearly to show that the Communist world is not taking sides, as between India and Pakistan, as yet. If it had it would not have put any emphasis on the danger to Pakistan consequent on this military alliance.

The *People's Daily* of Peking writes on December 9, in an editorial article that talks initiated by the United States for a military alliance with Pakistan jeopardised peace in Asia. Those efforts of the U.S.A. indicated that the U.S.A. was trying to set up an aggressive Middle Eastern bloc by dragging in Pakistan. Asian people could not but be very much concerned about these developments.

Sensing Asian opposition the U.S.A. tried to take cover and attempted to divert the attention of the people from those talks by various denials. But it was clear that the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles and a number of U.S. Senators to Pakistan and the recent Washington visit of Pakistani Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had much to do with those talks.

"This intrigue of the U.S. war bloc in Pakistan," the paper continues "is part and parcel of the sinister plan to intensify aggression in Asia. The United States is trying to incorporate the 'military potential' of this Asian nation into its own strategic plans to carry out its vicious scheme to make 'Asians fight Asians'."

The U.S.A. was also urging Pakistan to conclude an alliance with Turkey, as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. That move was intended to sow discord between Pakistan and other Moslem States, to put pressure on those Arab States reluctant to join the U.S. aggressive organization. At the same time the rulers of the U.S.A. were also taking advantage of the strategic situation of Pakistan by converting it into an American air base for launching military attacks against the Soviet Union and China and for a military encirclement of India and partly of Burma.

The paper further writes that it was difficult to believe that the U.S.A. was concluding that alliance for her "defence." "No one would believe that the security of the United States calls for bases on the territory of another country many thousands of miles away."

The paper warns Pakistan that U.S. military "assistance" was always accompanied with violation of the sovereignty of the countries receiving assistance. Western Europe, Latin-America, and Australia provided many instances of that fact. There was no possibility either of the solution of Pakistan's financial and economic problems with U.S. aid.

The conclusion of the U.S.-Pakistan military alliance would greatly strain Indo-Pak relations and would accentuate the crisis over the Kashmir question. "It would be a disastrous error to think that the United States is giving 'support' to Pakistan on the Kashmir question by a military alliance with Pakistan. With such an alliance the United States would further encroach into Kashmir arrogating to itself this important strategic base near China and the Soviet Union. Thus

conclusion of a U.S.-Pakistan military alliance would be calamitous both to Pakistan and to India."

The people of China was also following those talks very closely because if military bases were set up in Pakistan, which was close to the South-Western border of China, her frontiers would be menaced. "The people of China," writes the paper, "will not regard with indifference the American plan to set up military bases in that area and turn it into a hotbed of war and a source of international disputes."

N.N.R.C. Commission Report

The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea forwarded a report on December 27 to the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers Command and the United Nations Command. The report had been adopted by a majority vote, India, Czechoslovakia and Poland voting in favour and Switzerland and Sweden abstaining. The minority report submitted to the Commission by the latter two countries was also being forwarded to the two Commands.

PTI reports: "The majority report said that it could not record a finding that North Korean and Chinese POWs in the custody of the NNRC in the southern camp were completely free from the influence of the former detaining side (the U. N. Command) and in particular of the authorities of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), whose incursions made it impossible for the Commission to come to any other conclusion."

"The Commission also became aware of the fact that the prisoners delivered by the U.N. Command were well-organized. The main object of such organization was to resist repatriation and to prevent such prisoners as desired repatriation from exercising their right."

"In pursuance of this objective, force was being resorted to by one set of prisoners against another with the result that any prisoner who desired repatriation had to do so clandestinely and in fear of his life."

"Referring to the procedure for explanations, the report said: 'The conceptions of the two Commands about the conduct of explanations were so divergent that no common basis could be found for the Commission's guidance. The Commission had, therefore, to exercise its own independent judgment in elaborating such rules of procedure as would ensure strict fulfilment of the terms of reference, having regard to the state of affairs prevailing within the prisoners' camps and the lack of understanding displayed by the prisoners about the entire explanation work.'

"As soon as the Commission adopted its rules of procedure governing the explanations, the U.N. Command lodged a formal protest against them, while the KPA and CPV Command generally agreed with these

rules, although it made a number of critical observations concerning some decisions."

"The Commission also noted that the U.N. Command's views coincided with those held by 'the representatives' of the prisoners who continued to display hostility to the conduct of explanations'."

The Commission further reports that when on October 15, the explanations began the Chinese and Korean prisoners under U.N. Command had refused to come out of their compounds even after the Commission had assured them that they would not be coerced in any way and those who did not wish to be repatriated would be brought back to their respective compounds. This refusal of the prisoners to come to the explanation tents confronted the Commission with the prospect of getting them out by the use of force which would probably have resulted in about 300 or 400 casualties.

The Commission had been divided on the question of use of force to compel the prisoners to come out of their compounds. The Chairman of the Commission, as the Executive Agent, had felt that without the unanimous backing of all the members of the Commission, force could not be used and consequently the Commander of the custodian forces had suspended operations and had given up attempts to bring the Korean prisoners out of their compound by the use of force.

The report says: "The Indian delegation was of the view that it could not accept the assertion that the prisoners had already made up their minds. This was contrary to the facts. Its acceptance would have frustrated the very basis of the Commission which was charged with the responsibility of helping to ascertain, in accordance with the terms of reference, the true decisions of the prisoners on the question of repatriation."

"The conduct of explanations was one of the fundamental and essential functions of the Commission and constituted its most important responsibility. Opposition by prisoners to the discharging of these functions and responsibilities of the Commission was unlawful both under the terms of reference and the rules of procedure. Consequently, force could be used to overcome that opposition."

"The Indian delegation felt that the terms of reference were no impediment to the use of force." But in view of the likelihood of a heavy casualty, the Indian delegation felt that the Executive Agent should have the unanimous authorization and support of the Commission and that the members should be ready to face the consequences arising out of the use of any force. But that support had been clearly lacking. The Swiss member of the Commission had stated that his Government would have to consider its very participation in the work of the Commission if force was used to compel prisoners to attend explanations."

In the circumstances, the Commission had given up the idea of using force and instead resorted to the only other course open to it—Persuasion.

The report recounts the repeated and lengthy interruptions in the explanation work. It adds that during the few days that explanations had been held, the Commission had observed a pattern of uniformity in the behaviour of the prisoners in the explanation tents. The prisoners had been normal and quiet when they were being brought to the explanation tents but within the tents a majority had become violent and had used the same language and had shouted the same slogans. The custodian force had posted three unarmed men within each explanation tent but while they could help to ensure order and discipline they had been unable to stop shouting. Only a minority, those who had sought repatriation and those who instead of shouting had sought to enter into a political debate with the explaining representatives, had showed an exception to that pattern.

The Commission could not assess the number of prisoners who had been prevented from exercising their right of repatriation through fear and it was also not possible to state that all those who had refused to be repatriated had done so "freely and voluntarily" and not because of certain fears inculcated in their minds over a period of time," the report adds.

"The Commission recognised that human beings reduced to live under the conditions of POW camps must have some sort of organizations voluntarily created for recreational and intellectual purposes. But the Commission entertained most serious doubts whether the organizations it had to deal with were of such voluntary character. Close and continuous intervention of outside influences lent confirmation to the doubts of the Commission."

"Indeed, the Commission itself was subject to a regime of threats and intimidations by the Republic of Korea, adding further to its difficulties."

In the POW camps acts of violence had been committed against those who had desired to exercise their right of repatriation. A number of murders had also been committed and attempts to investigate them had met with resistance from the "representatives of prisoners." A number of violent and hostile demonstrations had been staged in hospitals by the POWs.

The report concludes: "The Commission could not deal with the situation without resort to force, which it was most reluctant to do. The state of affairs in the camps was certainly not conducive to implementation of the terms of reference."

Bermuda Talks

The meeting of the leaders of the three big Western Powers at Bermuda from December 4 to 8 aroused much interest in diplomatic and political circles. But even before the meeting took place

knowledgeable circles had been pessimistic about the possibilities of the meeting. French reaction had been that the Bermuda talks would be used to coerce the French into agreeing to ratify the European Defence Community Pact.

The only positive outcome of the conference has been the Western acceptance of the Soviet offer for a meeting in Berlin of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., France, U.K. and U.S.S.R. to discuss the problems of Germany.

The final communique of the conference was designed to convey the impression of unity of the Western Powers but observers openly commented upon the disagreements of policy between the Big Three. The *Times*' Paris correspondent reported on December 8 that French feelings about the Bermuda Conference and its final communique were somewhat mixed. The *Times* writes: "All observers agree the final communique is even more arid and uninteresting than documents which usually emerge from such meetings."

"Many of the French correspondents reporting from Bermuda have echoed rumours of Anglo-American differences about the true nature of Soviet intentions and about Far Eastern policy, and there have also been reports of alleged British discourtesies to M. Laniel." (*Statesman*, December 10).

Washington Press wrote of U.S. pressure on Britain to make concessions to Egypt in the suspended talks on the Suez Canal base. The Foreign office in London, of course, denied it.

On December 17, Sir Winston Churchill, the British Premier, did indeed admit in the House of Commons that, to quote him, "there have been some divergences of policy between the Western Powers," when they had discussed "current difficulties" in the Far East and South-East Asia at the Three-Power Bermuda Conference.

And within a week of the issue of the final communique of the Bermuda Conference, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles was heard to be threatening France with an "agonising reappraisal" of U.S. policy if the former failed to ratify the European Defence Community. The Secretary of State was supported by the President himself two days later. *Reuter* reported from Paris on December 16 that Atlantic Pact Ministers were meeting in Paris "for secret informal discussions on problems which included Franco-American tension over delays in fulfilling the European Army plan."

In the light of these developments it is clear that the main object of Bermuda Conference of patching up the differences amongst the Western Powers (what else could have been the object of such discussions? The Western Powers could have resorted to normal diplomatic consultations for agreeing to accept the Soviet invitation; such a conference was clearly not

required for that. Moreover, the Soviet offer came only on November 27, but the decision to hold the conference had been decided upon much earlier), have not been a success.

The Struggle for Soviet Succession

One searches history in vain for a case of a peaceful and bloodless succession to a dictator who has climbed to power by force and based his rule upon force without troubling to restore the ruptured fabric of legitimacy. When Caesar was assassinated, the triumvirate that followed tore the Roman Empire apart. The Directory that succeeded the terror of Robespierre was dislodged by Napoleon, who wrestled all his days with the problem of restoring legitimacy, only to end them on St. Helena. Hitler's Reich perished in a flaming bunker in Berlin and Mussolini's Imperium Romanum did not outlast his destruction. There had been disorder and panic when Mussolini and Hitler died, for the lack of a procedure for the succession to a dictator was further accentuated by the invading armies closing in on the rubble of their cities. But the disorder and panic which Stalin's comrades speak of springs not from such external events but from their hearts and the essence of their system. A system that is based upon an unending war "on all existing conditions and institutions," an unending war upon their own people and upon all other peoples, cannot develop a legitimacy. The word "panic" escaping the lips of the rulers of Russia betrays a fear that is ineradicably in their hearts; they fear the prostrate people over whom they rule, they fear the outside world which they plan to conquer, and they fear each other. That is why Beria, the No. 2 of the Triumvirate, became traitor overnight and was executed.

The Soviet Government is not a government by Soviets. The people have long ceased to elect or recall "Deputies." The Soviets have long ceased to elect their leaders or decide anything. Nor is the Soviet Government a party Government either. Party life ceases as soon as there is only one party and no opposition.

As the Soviets have long ceased to decide anything or select their leaders and officials, so the Party has long ceased to decide anything or select its leaders. What was once a party has become a "transmission belt" (the words are Stalin's) to convey and enforce the will of the leaders upon the masses. Both decision and personnel selection are from the top downward; a military-ideological, organizational apparatus, a pyramidal power structure culminating in what Max Weber has called a charismatic leader.

On the surface everything seems designed to last for ever and to insure a simple, quiet, peaceful succession. Was ever such monopoly of power wielded by so perfectly organised a mechanism? Thirty-six years of continuity in government. Thirty years of continuity of personal leadership in the person of the all-wise, all-powerful *Vozhd*. Over a third of a century of uninterrupted happiness of the people, of non-existence of

opposition. More than that two decades of unanimous decisions on everything. Not the unity of human beings, but the unity of a monolith. Where is there a crevice in which might sprout the seedcorn of doubt, much less of disorder and panic? The Leader controlled the Politburo so long that at the Nineteenth Congress (October 1952) he could abolish it altogether in favour of a diffuse body so large and scattered that it could not be called upon to make day-to-day decisions. The Central Committee had long before been made into such a body.

The chain of command was so clear: the Leader controlling the Politburo, the Politburo controlling the Central Committee, the Central Committee controlling the Party. And the Party, in turn, controls an imposing apparatus of police, army, bureaucracy, press, radio, meeting halls, streets, schools, buildings, churches, factories, farms, unions, arts, sciences, everything. A ready-made machine, the greatest power machine in all history. Yet the first words of the orphaned heirs on the death of the Dictator are not human words of sorrow but ominous words about "disorder and panic" and "vigilance and uncompromising struggle against the inner and outer foe."

In all this mighty machine there is oppressive quiet, but no peace to ensure a peaceful succession. There is a multitude of laws, but no legality to provide a legal and legitimate succession. Lenin tried to prepare a "legal" and "peaceful" succession. Recognizing that he had acquired enormous personal authority, that perhaps willing it consciously, he had dwarfed the Party and its leading bodies and become a personal dictator, Lenin began to fear that his lieutenants would tear each other to pieces if any one of them tried to become a Vladimir Ilyich the Second. With no clear understanding of the dynamics of the totalitarian process he had set in motion, he sought to re-establish the moribund authority of at least one "collegial" body, the Politburo. His Testament proposed a collective leadership in which all his close lieutenants, working together, would replace him and together rule. For this purpose the Testament was carefully constructed, with a warning of the "danger of a split in the Party," with an adverse judgement on each of his associates to keep him from thinking that he was big enough to rule alone, and a word of praise for each of them, to indicate that none should be eliminated.

Collective leadership is difficult at best, but without democracy it is impossible. Where there is no constitutional rule for collective procedure, where in all fields there is dictatorship, where force settles all things, where opposition is not part of the game of politics but something to be eliminated and crushed, the whole momentum of the State and the system drives relentlessly towards personal dictatorship. So it was with Lenin; so it was with Mussolini; so it was with Hitler; and so it was with Stalin.

Even before Lenin was dead, Stalin began "disloyally" to gather into his hands the reins of power. The dying Dictator, speechless now from his third stroke, yet

managed to add a codicil to his will: "Stalin is too rude, and his fault becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position. . . ." But Lenin's Will could not prevail against Stalin's will and the innate dynamics of the machine which Lenin himself had set in motion. Stalin did not even permit it to be published in the Soviet Union. Precisely because Stalin did not possess Lenin's moral authority over his associates, he found it necessary to use more physical power. Unlike Lenin, Stalin could not win by debate. His method was to enlarge the organizational manoeuvres and frame-ups which were already a part of Lenin's techniques, to compel his opponents to besmirch themselves morally by repeated "confessions." Then he killed them.

Lavrenti Beria seemed to be on his way out at the moment of Stalin's death. For more than a decade a favourite of Stalin's, he had first run Georgia as head of the Georgian police, and then to all-Union Security Chief. In 1946, after the post had been divided into two, a Minister of State Security and a Minister of the Interior, Beria was relieved of direct responsibility for either, and elevated to Deputy Premier "to devote full time to his main work." People assumed that the main work was either atomic energy and atomic espionage, or over-all supervision of both security forces. Beria's men were put in charge of both, as earlier his men had been put in charge of Georgia when he left for Moscow.

The first visible sign of Beria's decline was a large-scale purge of his appointees in his native Georgia during 1952. Mgeladze, an anti-Beria man, became First Secretary of the Georgian Party, and with the assistance of Police chief Rukhadze "crushed in a Stalinist manner" many lesser leaders. Stalin, as was his fashion, forced Beria to discredit himself with his own followers by sanctioning these purges. At the nineteenth Congress in October 1952, Stalin eliminated Beria's man, Abakumov, Minister of State Security of the USSR, from his party and government posts. And on January 13, 1953, the lightning struck again. After patient preparation by Stalin and Malenkov, it was announced that the top Kremlin doctors were "poisoners," and that the deaths of Shcherkov and Zhdanov, which had occurred while Beria was still a power in the Secret Police, were brought on by the doctor-poisoners. All this had happened because the Security Forces were guilty of "lack of vigilance." Things began to look ominous for Beria.

As a cerebral hemorrhage saved Stalin when Lenin was about to remove him as General Secretary in 1923, so death intervened to save Beria on March 5, 1953. The very next day, the Ministries of State Security and the Interior were recombined into one, and Lavrenti Beria's hand closed firmly on the mighty power lever. Beria was one of the three speakers at Stalin's funeral. It was he who made the nomination of Malenkov as Premier. On March 21, Malenkov resigned the post of Secretary

through which Stalin had paved his way to power. But Beria had two serious handicaps to overcome. First of these was the unpopularity that has always clung to the head of the Secret Police. Beria's speeches began to include a vow to protect the civil rights of the Soviet citizen and uphold the Constitution. On March 28, a sweeping amnesty of petty offenders was proclaimed, and the Penal Code was ordered revised "within 60 days."

On April 3, the "doctors' plot" was declared a frame-up, the anti-Beria police leaders held responsible, and placed under arrest. In the name of undoing an injustice, a counter-purge thus got under way. On April 6, Semyon D. Ignatiev, whom Stalin and Malenkov had put into the post of Minister of State Security when Beria was losing his grip, and whom Malenkov had just made a Party Secretary, was accused of "political blindness and gullibility." On April 7, his ousting was announced.

One week later, on April 14, Beria struck back in Georgia. Secretary Mgeladze, Security Minister Rukhadze and "their accomplices" were charged with having framed up innocent Georgian leaders, "trampled down the rights of Soviet citizens," extracted "false confessions by impermissible means" (torture), "cooked up charges of non-existent nationalism," and shown themselves to be "enemies of the people." The accused were rehabilitated and restored to their posts. That same day, new police chiefs were appointed in virtually all the Republics of the Soviet Union. All published names seemed to be Russian, regardless of the nationality involved, and many of them were known Beria men.

The other obstacle to Beria's rise to absolute power was more insurmountable because it was intangible. Like Stalin, he was a Georgian. The once internationalistic Communist Party has long been playing with the fire of Great Russian nationalism and chauvinism. Now if a second Georgian from an obscure conquered province succeeds the first, the Great Russians will ask: "Are there no Russians left to rule over the Russian land?" It became impossible for a man labouring under the double handicap of Police Chief and Georgian immediately to lay open claim to the apostolic succession.

The Secret Police has its tentacles everywhere, in every factory, in every kolkhoz, in every Party organization. But the Party, too, has its cells everywhere, even in the Secret Police. The Army is riddled with Party agents and Secret Police agents and has been the most jealously watched power instrument of all. It was built by Trotsky who died in exile with a pickaxe blow in the back of his head. It was mechanised by Tukhachevsky who fell in the blood purges along with virtually the entire General Staff. Thereafter it bore a deep grudge against the Secret Police and it became easy for Malenkov to play up the Army leaders against Beria.

Problems of Private Enterprise

Planned economy and private enterprise have hitherto been regarded as quite incompatible and India's is per-

haps the first experiment in introducing planning in a mixed economy. The result has been as is usual under the circumstances—the persistent conflict between the private and public sectors, between Government outlook and private capitalists' outlook. Now the problem is how to maintain the balance. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the last annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce raises more issues than solves them and he did not give specific reliefs to the specific issues raised by the President of the Chamber.

Pandit Nehru said that industrialists in India should approach their labour problems with a human touch and make workers feel they were partners in industrial undertakings. A human approach, he said, meant that managements should take workers into confidence. Such an approach, he believed, would improve employer-labour relations and result in a greater return from workers. He asked employers to think how far they were deliberately applying this human touch in their factories and workshops and how far they had made workers feel they were partners of the undertakings which they served. The Prime Minister said he was always in favour of the promotion of healthy trade union activity. He was against formation of bogus trade unions and against splitting up trade unions by employers. It was always far better for industrialists to have well-organised and disciplined trade unions than to have conflicting group of workers. He had no doubt that, if employers dealt with workers satisfactorily and took them into their confidence, their co-operation with the management would grow.

Pandit Nehru thinks trade unions had the right to strike but in the present circumstances the methods of settling disputes through strikes and lockouts should be considered out of date. The Government did not support attempts to resolve industrial disputes by strikes and lockouts, which involve wastage of national wealth. The parties should endeavour to settle their disputes by mutual agreement. In the absence of mutual agreement, disputed issues should be settled by arbitration by a third party, or through tribunals. It was sometimes said that tribunals were not functioning properly and that they should be abolished. Was it reasonable to suggest that the judiciary should be abolished because it had not given justice to this party or that? The most rational approach would be to suggest changes for improving the working of tribunals. They should always see that there was no upheaval and that the economic structure of the country as a whole was not upset.

The subject of labour relations also figured prominently in the speech of Mr. Pakes, President of the Chamber. Mr. Pakes pointed out that in this sphere there were many impediments to the more rapid expansion of industry in the private sector and to the flow of capital therein. Although he is not opposed to the degree of regulation implied in a dual economy, he, however, maintains that it is idle to hope that capital would happily flow in "under conditions in which an expanding or

new industrial establishment may find itself totally unable, in times of recession, to shed its surplus labour, even on the most generous terms of compensation; in which technological improvements are impeded by the clamour against the resultant temporary retrenchment; in which rising wage levels and bonus awards imposed from outside sap the capacity of Indian industry to supply the home and external markets at reasonable and competitive prices." It is this aspect of the labour situation which is said, above all, to repel new enterprise and expansion.

Another aspect of labour relations to which Mr. Pakes referred was in connection with wages. He maintained that wages must be related to production and not increase in living standards of either the industrial workers or the masses as a whole could be achieved merely by raising the wages.

As regards the desirability of human approach to the workers in the factory, it is pointed out by Sri Homi Mody, that Pandit Nehru and many of his colleagues do not seem to have realised the basic fact that undue regimentation of labour-capital relations is not calculated to bring about mutual understanding. On the contrary, it will continue to keep the two sides indefinitely at arm's length. The famous "Giri Approach" was regarded as an indication of Government's awareness of this situation. But unfortunately Government has now discarded it, with Mr. Giri himself losing faith in the stand he advocated and Mr. Nehru making the suggestion as to the need for the Government to act as a third party to arbitrate in the disputes between workers and employers.

As regards the question of retrenchment, Pandit Nehru was rather vague. He said he was not opposed to retrenchment where it was necessary. He did not suggest that the textile or any other industry should carry on with "useless staff." He, however, wants that social reasons had to be taken into consideration while resorting to retrenchment, and a situation should not be created which would cause new difficulties or further complicate the existing ones. Labour-capital relation is a social need and should be viewed from the standpoint of social welfare. In the wider perspective, capitalists are not the exclusive owners, nor the interest of the labour is the only national interest. Wider social welfare should be the aim of all. The nineteenth century pattern of individual liberty has no basis in a modern welfare state and the interests of the capital is controlled by the interests of the society. An industrial concern should be viewed as a joint partnership of both labour and capital and either party should look to the interests of the other. From this viewpoint, the claim of the capital to use the "axe" whenever it so likes, is untenable. The question of surplus staff is not a matter of opinion, but a fact to be judged on each individual circumstances and it is a dangerous proposition to leave the matter entirely to the discretion of the capital.

Dealing with the point raised by the President of the

Association regarding the present taxation structure, Pandit Nehru said the Taxation Inquiry Commission, which was examining the matter in all its aspects would certainly take into consideration the suggestions made on behalf of the Association and other bodies. In his opinion, the progress and development of the country could not be financed by taxation alone. Taxation could not be meant only for helping the Government in carrying on its business. If they wanted to go ahead with industrialisation, they must take recourse to borrowing.

The object of taxation, as he understood it, was to equalize incomes and reduce big disparities of wealth. The income-tax, super-tax and other taxes all had this object. In India today, disparities in wealth are "terrific." However much such an economic system had endured in the past, the condition brought about by the modern social outlook would not allow it to exist further.

Referring to the profit motive, the Prime Minister emphasized that the Government were faced with entirely new problems in a new age which was changing very rapidly. They no doubt wanted industries to flourish and to have the incentive of making profit but within certain limitations. He refused to believe that human beings were such that, unless there was a profit-making incentive, they would not function properly. To suggest that would be doing great injustice to them. Many great inventions in the world were made not because of this incentive but because of some other ideals. They should think of the dynamic world and of dynamic India as it was today and put their heart into the new adventure of building India.

All income is a social product and the distribution must be socially determined. But where for some reason or other reliance is placed on private enterprise, the different concepts of income may be relevant and the reduction of the difference is essential.

Unfortunately, however, the Indian labour is lacking a most essential thing and it is the want of social welfare outlook. Sacrificing the greater interests of the country, they are today more inclined to party conflicts and their outlook is confined to group interests. While the cost of Indian labour is generally high, his efficiency is much inferior to that of Britain, America and Japan. The problem of Indian labour is his low productivity with high cost. The demand of Indian labour sometimes reaches such a height that it becomes impossible for capital alone to come to a settlement, unless the State intervenes. But State intervention sometimes makes the thing worse, as in the case of the Burnpur strike. The attitude of Indian labour is "all benefits, no liability." They should be reminded that in Soviet Russia strike means exile or liquidation. In that country labour strike is something incomprehensible as in the economic and political system of Russia the right of labour to resort to strike is non-existent. But that does not of course mean that there is no poverty among the labouring folk in Russia.

Government policy is often misleading and unhelpful

to industry. The forced reduction in textile production is an example that the Government do not always look to the interest of the people at large. A conservative and sectional view is forced on the producers and the consumers as well against strong opposition both in the Legislatures and outside. The cotton textile industry is being told to make not what it thought the consumer wanted nor yet what the consumer thinks he wants, but the Government thought, some years ago for reasons which no longer held good, it would be administratively convenient to allow the consumer have. The argument that production control ensured minimum standards of quality did not hold good, for in the buyers' market the discriminating purchaser himself acted as a reliable and satisfactory form of control. A relatively small measure of temporary unemployment now will only help to ensure a much larger measure of permanent unemployment.

Shipping Target

The progress of the Indian shipping industry is progressively falling behind the schedule. With a coastline of about 4,000 miles, India is well placed to be the centre of an expanding volume of trade with a number of countries in Asia and the need for a well-developed shipping industry for the country is obvious. Apart from strategic considerations, which require a vigorous shipping policy, the fact that of the Rs. 1,000-crore value of India's foreign trade and Rs. 100-crore value of coastal trade, only a small fraction is carried in Indian bottoms, emphasises the need for giving top priority to the development of the mercantile marine.

Influenced by these considerations the Shipping Policy Sub-Committee (1947) recommended a target of at least two million tons in five or seven years; even then, India would have only 2 per cent of world's shipping tonnage. This target was considered necessary in order to enable the country to carry "100 per cent of the purely coastal trade of India, 75 per cent of India's trade with Burma and Ceylon and with the geographically adjacent countries, 50 per cent of India's distant trades and 30 per cent of the trades carried in Asian vessels of the Orient." The Government of India also approved this objective. But it is now being realised that both the target for shipping and the objectives of the shipping will remain unrealised even in the distant future.

When the Planning Commission came to consider the matter, it fixed the target for shipping at a very modest level of 600,000 tons, as against the then previously accepted 2 million ton target. The Commission have fixed a target of 315,000 tons for coastal shipping and 283,000 tons for overseas shipping; the tonnage now engaged in these two sections of trade is about 211,000 tons and 173,000 tons respectively. In order to increase the tonnage employed in the coastal and overseas trade, the Commission provided for loans to the tune of Rs. 4 crores and Rs. 6½ crores, respectively; the Companies were expected to provide Rs. 2 crores and Rs. 2.2

crores, respectively, from their own finances. The Planning Commission also assumed that the Hindusthan Shipyard would be able to make available during the period of the Plan about 100,000 tons, of which 60,000 tons could be utilised for replacement of obsolete tonnage and the balance for providing additional tonnage for coastal trade.

These calculations have been wrong and the expectations did not materialise. At the recent meeting of the Consultative Committee of Shipowners, two important matters were discussed. One was the acquisition of additional shipping tonnage during the period of the Five-Year Plan, and the other was the building up of a nucleus of a tanker fleet.

It may be recalled that the coastal trade has been reserved since 1950. But even today a number of ships has to be chartered to meet the demands of the trade. The Planning Commission has therefore laid down that it is essential to place an additional 175,000 gross registered tons on the coast and in the adjacent trades. This will include 60,000 gross registered tonnage for replacing old, obsolete and economically unserviceable ships.

As regards the overseas trades, the Planning Commission has estimated that the acquisition of 40,000 gross registered tonnage will enable the Eastern Shipping Corporation to fulfill its obligation in the African and the Far Eastern waters, and 70,000 tons for the Scindia and the India Steamship Companies will enable them to carry out their existing commitments in their overseas services between India and the USA, and between India and the UK and the Continent. The Planning Commission was therefore not imbued with any high idealism, but was moved by the consideration for immediate needs. The Commission was no doubt aware of the fact that India's existing tonnage was only half percent of the world's total tonnage, but unfortunately it has not paid due consideration for the race for acquiring additional tonnage. As a result, India's role as a maritime power has been ignored.

There are three possible ways in which India's tonnage could be raised: (1) to place new orders, (2) to buy ships under construction for other customers who are willing to dispose of their right to ownership; and (3) to buy second-hand ships. As regards placing new orders, Germany is said to be quoting favourable terms. The U.K. delivery date is much longer, and Japan offers earliest delivery with high prices. The second alternative may bring earlier delivery, but prices are not always attractive. The third course left is to buy second-hand ships so as to reach the target without much delay. Any way, all these possible courses should be tapped in order to raise our shipping tonnage.

According to the estimate of the Planning Commission, the acquisition of 275,000 gross registered tonnage (165,000 g.r.t. for the coastal and the adjacent trades, and 110,000 g.r.t. for the overseas trades), will require finance to the extent of nearly Rs. 29.7 crores.

To meet the requirements of the coastal trade, four ships aggregating 20,000 g.r.t. have already been constructed and delivered since the beginning of the Plan. These have been built by the Hindusthan Shipyard at a total cost of Rs. 2.11 crores. Further, the shipyard have also launched two more ships totalling 10,000 g.r.t. and these will be delivered early next year. Shipowners have contracted to purchase these two ships at Rs. 1.18 crores. The Hindusthan Shipyard has also received orders for five cargo ships and will shortly book an order for one passenger vessel. Their total tonnage will be 25,500 g.r.t. and they will be delivered within the Plan period. These will be purchased by the shipowners at a price of Rs. 5.65 crores. The Vishakhapatnam Shipyard will thus build and deliver 12 ships during the period of the Plan for coastal trade with a total tonnage of 55,500 g.r.t. at a cost of about Rs. 8.94 crores.

As regards the overseas trades, the Hindusthan Shipyard has received orders from the Eastern Shipping Corporation for the construction of two ships of nearly 11,200 g.r.t. The Corporation has also placed orders with a German firm for a ship of about 7,200 g.r.t. Their total cost will be nearly Rs. 3.08 crores. The Vishakhapatnam Shipyard will thus construct 14 ships during the Plan period—12 for the coastal trade and two for the overseas trades—the total tonnage being 66,700 g.r.t.

The Government of India has provided for loans to the extent of Rs. 10½ crores to the shipowners. But it is regrettable that even this amount has not been utilised in full by the shipping industry. Apart from the provision of loans for Rs. 10½ crores under "shipping," the Government of India has also provided Rs. 4.51 crores under "shipbuilding," or, nearly Rs. 15 crores in all to be advanced to shipowners by way of loans. The terms of the Government loans are somewhat stringent. Loans will have to be repaid within ten years, the rate of interest for the loans to be advanced for the purchase of coastal ships being 4½ per cent, and for the overseas ships being 2½ per cent. The industry, however, estimates that the total cost for constructing or acquiring 275,000 g.r.t. will be nearly Rs. 39 crores and the estimate of the Planning Commission in this respect is much too modest.

Pandit Nehru in his speech at the opening of the Marine Engineering Institute expressed his dissatisfaction at the meagre nature of the provision for deep sea and Coastal Vessels in the Five-Year Plan. We hope he will press for the finding of ways and means to enlarge the scope.

Cottage Match Industry

The *Harijan*, quoting a bulletin of A.-I. Khadi and Village Industries Board, reports that two big concerns—WIMCO and National Match Factory—practically monopolised the match production in India. Those factories produced about 79 per cent of the matches consumed in India and nearly 200 factories produced the rest (21 per cent).

The small factories, run on cottage industry lines,

were confronted with a number of difficulties, among which mention might be made of the difficulty in getting certain types of supplies which were under the control of the large-scale factories. In addition, those factories were not properly organised and had to pay a higher price for the raw materials purchased. They also lacked an efficient agency to push their sales. These factors combined to weaken their competitive power and they had to undersell their products. Moreover, the excise restrictions also proved too difficult of fulfilment by the small industries.

In a recent meeting the Common Production Committee of the Board had reviewed the situation and had suggested ways and means for the development of the small-scale and Cottage Match Industry, the report adds.

The review disclosed that five factories owned by WIMCO were now producing 80 per cent of India's match supply and in the course of the last three years 72 factories had to close down on account of the keen competition and powerful marketing machinery of the WIMCO.

The *Harijan* further reports:

"The Committee classified the match industry into four categories, A, B, C & D. Those match factories which produce more than 5 lakhs grosses of match boxes yearly were put in class A. Factories producing 5 lakhs and less were placed in class B. Class C and D factories were defined as those producing 100 and 25 grosses match boxes every day. The Committee recommended that a cess of annas 4½ per gross of match boxes be levied on A class match factories. For the other classes subsidy was recommended at annas 1½ to B class factories, 4½ annas to C class and 6 annas to D class factories per gross of match boxes. According to the Committee, the cost of production for the village match industry would not be more than that for the large-scale industry. India requires about 36 crores of match boxes every month. The village match manufacturing industry in the first year would provide employment to nearly five thousand workmen in the country and help to relieve to that extent the unemployment problem."

Palm Gur Industry

The palm gur industry in India had originally been confined to only three States, viz., Madras, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal. But as a result of the help of the Central Government extended in the form of grant of subsidies and provision of technical guidance since 1948, production was now going on in fourteen States.

The industry produced about nine lac maunds of gur annually and provided jobs for about two lacs of persons. About 35,000 more persons were likely to find employment as a result of increased production on account of the execution of the development schemes in various States, taken in hand in 1953-54.

Experience had shown that only quantitative increase in production was not enough for development of the

industry without a simultaneous improvement in the quality of the product. Accordingly, certain emphasis had been laid on that aspect in the development schemes in Madras, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal.

Production had not been more encouraging "for certain handicaps caused occasionally by delay in the grant of permission to tap the trees in dry areas because of prohibition and in wet areas because of the fear of loss of excise revenue," reports the *Harijan* quoting a bulletin issued by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

World Rice Position

A preliminary estimate of the U.S. Department of Agriculture indicates that world production of rice in 1953-54 (August-July) would be slightly higher than in the preceding year. In 1953-54, world harvest of rough rice was forecast at 359,000 million pounds, compared with 357,000 million pounds in 1952-53 and 335,000 million in the average pre-war year.

Production was likely to be higher in almost every area of the Far East including India, Indo-China, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Pakistan and the Philippines. Increased production was also expected in the U.S.A., Cuba, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Colombia and Venezuela. In 1953, Japan's rice crop was the smallest in many years. The current Japanese harvest of rough rice was estimated at 21,996 million pounds, compared with 27,188 million pounds in 1952. Floods and typhoons which had caused considerable damage to Japanese crops, were responsible for this sharp fall in Japanese production.

In many parts of the world acreage under rice had been increased.

The Foreign Agricultural Service (F.A.S.) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture says that South-east Asia would have for export in 1954 quantities of rice sharply above those of the year before, and considerably larger than in any year since World War II. In its weekly report in the second week of December the F.A.S. estimated the export surplus of Burma and Thailand at about four million metric tons. Exportable surplus from Indo-China would amount to several lacs of tons.

The report says: "Rice markets in South-east Asia are reported at a virtual standstill at the present time, with all importing countries except Japan having good rice crops—a rare occurrence. There is no surplus of good quality rice, however, and present sales are having little or no effect on demand for rice from the United States."

Abolition of Upper Houses

The Bombay Legislative Assembly passed a resolution unanimously on Dec. 14 recommending to the Parliament to enact a law abolishing the Upper House—the Bombay Legislative Council, the abolition to come into force after the expiry of the term of the present council. All the parties—Congress, Communist, Praja-Socialist and Peasants' and Workers'—supported the motion.

The original motion tabled by a Congress member Mr. L. D. Kotbavale had urged for immediate abolition of the Chamber. But the House accepted an amendment moved by Mr. M. C. Parekh (Congress) providing for abolition to be effective after the expiry of the term of the present Council in 1955.

Article 169 of the Indian Constitution provided that Parliament might by law provide for the abolition of the Legislative Council of a State having a bicameral system of legislature, if the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned had passed a resolution to that effect by a majority of the total membership of the Assembly and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Assembly being present and voting.

Speaking on the motion Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, said that while the Government did not want to influence the decision of the members he would remind the members that the Government of India was soon going to set up a High-Powered Commission to examine the entire question of the reorganisation of States. He presumed that Parliament would certainly await the views of the Commission on the system of legislatures in the new States to be formed. Therefore, it would be wise to retain the Upper House until the expiry of its present term. In this connection he suggested that Parliament might consider the views of other States before taking a final decision on the matter.

The resolution had been initiated by the Bombay Congress Legislature Party on a directive from the Congress High Command.

At present only Bihar, Madras, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bombay had bicameral legislatures. The newly created Andhra State had no provision for a second Chamber. A move was already on foot for the abolition of the upper house in Madras.

The *Hitavada*, in an editorial article, welcomes the lead given by the Bombay Legislative Assembly for the abolition of the Upper Chamber, which the paper describes as a "drag on democracy." Public opinion had opposed the creation of upper Chambers in certain provinces even at the time of the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly on the matter. The Upper Houses, even the Council of States in New Delhi had no real power. The creation of a large number of legislators leading to the appointment of an army of ministers presented a threat to the democratic set-up. The work which many of the legislators did was negligible—but the money spent on them was a great drain on the country's resources. The Upper Houses were only "degnified debating societies without any power to enforce any of their decisions." Even as a forum for the training of future legislators and administrators they had been found wanting. Therefore, in the interest of democracy, the Upper Houses needed to be abolished. The paper trusted that the States of Bihar, Madras, Punjab, the Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal would take the necessary steps to get rid of their legislative encumbrances."

Prohibition in Bombay

Dr. T. R. Narvane, Deputy Minister of Prohibition of the Government of Bombay, disclosed in reply to a question on December 14 in the State Legislative Assembly that in 1952-53 60,431 applications for permits to possess and consume liquor had been received. Of those 1,781 had been rejected. He also stated that 58,893 applications had been received in 1950-51 of which 7,107 had been rejected. In 1951-52, out of a total number of 64,725 applications the Government had rejected 3,182. The minister added that 37 Government servants had been granted emergency permits in 1952-53, 28 in 1951-52 and 38 in 1950-51.

The Government could not disclose the names of the Government servants who had been granted liquor permits as it would not be in public interest to do so. In reply to another question by Mr. Tulsidas Jadhav, Dr. Narvane answered that it was not in public interest now to publish the names of the High Court Judges who had been granted liquor permits, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports.

3000 Apply for Jobs in Burma

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports on December 17 that the Burmese Embassy in New Delhi had received approximately 3000 applications from Indian nationals for 160 posts on the staff of the Electricity Supply Board, Union of Burma.

The report adds, "Candidates were required to have diploma and degree courses in mechanical and electrical engineering of a recognised university.

"Among the posts advertised were those of ten superintending engineers, twenty executive engineers, 50 assistant engineers and 80 overseers."

Mr. U. Ba Sein, Chairman of the Electricity Supply Board of Burma and Mr. U. Tun Ohn, Chief Engineer, had interviewed a number of candidates in New Delhi and would interview other batches in Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta by January 19, 1954, when they would return to Rangoon.

Workers Buried Alive Near Oil Refinery

Seven labourers, including two women, had been killed on the spot and eight others injured when the top of the Corridor Hill, Ghatkopar-Mahul Road, near the site of the Standard Vacuum and Burma-Shell Oil refineries had collapsed on December 14 burying the workers, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The workers are reported to be part of a 30-strong gang engaged by a local contractor's firm to clear the hill prior to levelling a road and laying down railway track for a siding for the refineries. A waiting motor lorry had also been crushed but the driver had a lucky escape. The Fire Brigade led the rescue operations assisted by men of the Chembur Sub-Police Station.

The report adds: "The hillock was being cut down to prepare a linking road between the two refineries as well as for the railway siding from Kurla to Trombay.

"Though the site where the accident, one of the most tragic in recent years, occurred belongs to the Government it could not be established till late tonight [14.12.53] as to which party, the contracting firm, said to be Messrs. Patel and Motichand, was working for the Stanvac, the Burma-Shell or the Central Railway.

"All these three parties denied that the contracting firm was working for them," it is further stated.

Police Highhandedness in Silchar

The *Chronicle*, 18th December, reports that a public meeting under the auspices of Silchar Merchants' Association had been held on the 16th December at Silchar in protest against the alleged uncalled-for arrest and torture of Shri Bibhuti Bhusan Roy, a leading merchant of Silchar. The meeting had unanimously resolved to observe a complete general strike on the 18th December and to stop contributions to all Government-sponsored funds and also to boycott Government functions till adequate steps redressing the grievances of the business community be taken.

According to the paper, Shri Roy had allegedly been arrested in the evening of 13th December while entering his firm at Central Road, and had been tortured by the police, including the Superintendent of Police himself. The arrest had been made in connection with a reported escape of a person from police custody that evening in front of the business house of Mr. Roy when he had been absent from his firm.

In this connection the reporter of the paper recalled that "last year about this time the present S.P. of Cachar, Shri Lala, had to face severe public condemnation as a sequel to his assaulting an M.E. examinee violating the sanctity of an educational institution."

Incidentally, the following comment in the December 4 issue of the same paper is revealing. The paper writes: "Reported slapping of a Naga Socialist M.P. by the police is condemned. It requires investigation as to what could make the police so much insolent. May we know what action has in this respect been taken?"

Discrimination Against the Bengali

The *Chronicle* reports on December 4: "In reply to the demand for recognition of Bengali as a regional language of Assam Circle of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for recruitment and promotion of employees in the Department in the Assam Circle comprising besides the State of Assam, Manipur and Tripura, completely non-Assamese areas, made by the last annual conference of the Union of Post and Telegraph workers, Cachar Branch, the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs Department informs that

'Bengali cannot be treated as one of the regional languages of Assam Circle unless it is recognised as a regional language by the Government of Assam.'

In this connection the report refers to the widespread public resentment at this decision prevailing in Cachar, Tripura, Manipur and the hill districts and all other non-Assamese-speaking areas in the Assam Circle of P. & T. Department. In a resume of the relevant facts for consideration in this respect the report says that the Assam Circle did not consist of the State of Assam only. It had within its limits Tripura and Manipur, both non-Assamese-speaking areas and lying beyond the border of the State of Assam.

Even within Assam more than one-third of the population had Bengali as their mother tongue and only less than a third spoke Assamese. There were other tribal languages, such as, Mizo, Khasi, Naga, Manipuri, Garo, etc.

Tripura and Cachar and Goalpara in Assam were compact Bengali-speaking areas. About six lakhs of East Bengal refugees speaking Bengali as their mother tongue were now in Assam.

And even in Assam, Assamese was not a compulsory subject in Matriculation Examination at present and until 1951 many schools in Assam Valley proper also had no arrangement for teaching Assamese. Hindi as an alternative to Assamese was little better. Moreover, no adequate arrangements were there for teaching Hindi widely.

The *Chronicle* in a short comment on December 4, refers to complaints of instances, of flouting the recommendations of the Public Service Commission regarding appointments to different posts. That policy, it was alleged, was being pursued with regard to Bengali candidates in particular and various clever devices had been resorted to with a view to depriving the Bengali candidates of their legitimate claims on the basis of P.S.C. examination results.

The paper deplores this "sad and unfortunate" policy and says that this sort of parochial policy was bound to prove fatal to the collective interest of the State; and it demands of the Government of Assam an authoritative announcement defining their policy in the matter of the allegations.

Deterioration in Refugee Rehabilitation

The *Chronicle* in an editorial article on December 11, refers to the deterioration of the refugee relief administration in Assam which had been particularly marked since the change-over of the administration from the Centre to the State. The seriousness that one could witness during the Central regime, though that too was considered far short of the demands of the situation, had, "since the change-over, been conspicuous by absence, careless, whimsical, thoughtless and a callous attitude gradually usurping."

The officers, "trained in the British school of colonial service," had in most cases been unable to appreciate the spirit of the age and pursued the old bureaucratic and dilly-dallying approach. The result was that "files multiply files, file-notes assume mounting dimensions, but solution of the problem goes farther every day. Refugees die and suffer like anything."

Meanwhile, the Assam Government's policy of evicting the refugees had assumed such an alarming proportion that an All-Assam Day protesting against that policy had been observed all over Assam. The paper suggests that the Government of Assam should stop the eviction of the refugees and legalise the refugee settlements. "Public demands it, situation deserves it," the paper comments.

Portuguese Terror in Goa

Under Portuguese administration Goa now presents a virtual reign of terror. In a typically fascist manner the European administrators of Goa were now leading a campaign from behind the scenes to coerce the various village communities there into adopting resolutions of loyalty to the Portuguese administration.

The Bombay correspondent of the *Hindu* reports a case indicating the extent to which official interference and pressure were used by the Goa Government to achieve those ends. He writes: "Dr. Domingos Carneiro Allen, the European Director of Civil Administration, Goa, compelled the village community of Aldona in Bardez to adopt a resolution, at one of their meetings, deciding to hoist the Portuguese flag on the office premises of the community on Sundays and holidays and asking the Government's permission to that effect." (*Hindu*, 13.12.53).

Aldona, one of the largest villages in Bardez, was the home of many wealthy emigrants. Undoubtedly, the correspondent writes, the move was intended to carry the impression that even the emigrants were behind the Portuguese Government.

Before the last elections to the Lisbon Parliament were held in Goa, the Governor-General himself had warned the Regedores (village administrative heads) in Goa to submit statements to the headquarters at Panjim, indicating almost a cent per cent voting in favour of the two unopposed candidates of the Uniao Nacional, Dr. Socrates da Costa and Conego Castilho da Noronha.

After the Government of India had announced the closure of the Indian Legation in Lisbon directives had been issued by the Governor-General in Goa, through the Directorate of Civil Administration, to all the village communities to send telegrams to the Overseas Minister in Portugal, protesting against the "arbitrary step" of the Government of India. The telegrams, in turn, had been published in the local

press under official pressure as "spontaneous expression of loyalty of the people of Goa."

Meanwhile, the Portuguese rulers of Goa were strengthening their military installations and were importing huge quantities of American arms and Negro soldiers from Portuguese East Africa, reports the special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The correspondent adds that the import of huge quantities of modern American arms, and the boasting of the Portuguese military leaders that with American arms they were now more than a match for India, had proved false the denial of the U.S. Consul in Bombay, Mr. Simpson, who had officially stated that the U.S.A. had no interest in fortifications or other military preparations in Goa.

The African Negro soldiers, most of them very newly recruited and shipped to Goa under incredibly miserable conditions were "part of NATO plans under which the Portuguese Government has undertaken to recruit and train 400,000 African Negroes in a period of four years. Goa is accordingly being used as a training camp for NATO ends and is also incidentally being made to bear the heavy cost of these troops, from out of their own budget even though Portugal is paid for such training through American aid." (*Bombay Chronicle*, 12th December).

Those African troops would also help Portugal to keep the Goanese people under a reign of terror. More troops were expected. Meanwhile, the Goa Government had been quite perturbed at the leakage of its military preparations and had cancelled the usual programme of military parades on November 25, the 'Reconquest of Goa Day,' for fear of corroborating these reports. This Day had hitherto been an annual event of great official pomp and show.

Referring to the conditions in Goa, Prime Minister Nehru said on December 17, "Other steps might follow" in regard to the Portuguese possession in India. He added, "It will not be, if I may say so of a dramatic type which will suddenly burst upon this august world," the *UPI* reports.

British Atrocities in Kenya

Referring to the evidence in the recent trial of Captain Griffiths at Nairobi, which disclosed a horrifying picture of murder and brutality, perpetrated by the British soldiers in Kenya, and which also revealed that members of the Government forces had been offered 5s. for each Mau Mau suspect killed, Mr. Fenner Brockway, a member of the British Parliament, writes in the *Vigil* that those disclosures had "outraged" the "moral conscience of a large section of the British people."

He writes that the evidence given in the trial indicated that the psychology of a section of the white population in Kenya which did not consider the Africans as human beings had obviously spread

from the bars of hotels in Nairobi to some army and police officers. "How else," he asks, "could monetary payments be offered for the death of 'suspects'? Not known terrorists, but those suspected of being terrorists."

Such wanton killing of the Africans were being carried out under the Emergency Regulations which permitted "authorised officers" to use force to the extent of "voluntarily causing death." The "authorised officers" as defined by the regulations, meant any member of the armed or police forces, any administrative officer, and even "any game officer or subordinate officer within the meaning of the Wild Animals Protection Ordinance!"

"In fact," writes Mr. Brockway, "this definition covers the greater part of the white male population in Kenya above 18 years of age, as well as the African members of the police and of the home guard."

No wonder that between two to three times as many Mau Mau "suspects" had been killed as wounded in Kenya—a fact admitted by no less an authority than Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttleton himself in the House of Commons.

Mr. Brockway lists two difficulties standing in the way of members in raising the question of these atrocities in British Parliament. First, it was difficult to gather witnesses in the case of the dead and in other cases names could not be disclosed lest they should also become the victims of similar fate.

There were instances of the armed forces sighting a group of Africans, who at the very sight of the forces would begin to run away. When they did not stop on being called upon to do so, the officer-in-charge would order his men to open fire. Next morning the Press would report that so many terrorists had been killed. "But more disturbing," continues he, "are the reports which we receive of Africans rooted out of their huts, by night or day, ordered to march forward—and then shot in the back." In this connection Mr. Brockway recounts the story of an African who had been taken out to be shot and had been saved only by the refusal of the ranker in the police to obey the order to fire. A report of that incident had been forwarded to the Colonial Secretary in April, 1953 and no reply was forthcoming, except an acknowledgement that it had been sent to the Governor of Kenya for comment. In August, the Colonial Secretary had stated that the Governor had not yet commented on the report, and that he would write to Mr. Brockway after the comment had been received.

Giving a short account of some of the other allegations received by him from suffering Africans, Mr. Brockway concludes with the demand for setting up a dependable Commission of Inquiry to go into

the allegations and for the immediate withdrawal of the "Shoot to Kill" ordinance.

Side by side with such outright barbarities is going on an intensely anti-Indian campaign by the European press and public in Kenya, because the Indian people and Government had expressed their disapproval of British Government's policy there. That propaganda had of late been whipped up after the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee (which hardly goes far enough) deprecating the use of heavy bombers in the anti-Mau Mau campaign. The latest outburst has come from Mr. S. V. Cooke, European member of the Legislative Council who said, "I am determined to oppose any proposals designed to lead to Indian participation in the executive Government of this country." He made it clear however that he did not "include the Pakistani in the term Indian." (*Hindu*, 20.12.53).

Summing up the situation in Kenya the Nairobi correspondent of the paper writes: "For long the Indians in Kenya have shared with the Kikuyu people the wrath and distrust of the settlers, and it appears that the two communities are destined to continue being coupled as the twin target of political attack by the Europeans in this colony in the crucial days that lie ahead."

The correspondent, however, refers to the regrettable speeches of two Asians—one by Mr. Ibrahim Nathoo, an Islamic member representing Muslim interests and another by a non-Muslim member, Mr. C. Madan—in support of a vote of thanks to the United Kingdom Government for its £11 million aid to Kenya in course of which they had condemned the Government of India's attitude to and the Congress resolution on Kenya. According to the said correspondent, "So completely was Mr. Nathoo carried away by his emotion that he actually went on to describe Great Britain as his 'mother country'."

It is absolutely needless to comment on this in that in the absence of such boot-licking sycophants no foreign country could have ever been able to dominate another. No word of condemnation would be enough for them.

Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement

An Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed in New Delhi on December 2. The Agreement would run for five years. The purpose of the agreement was stated to be the establishment of closer economic relations between the two countries. Under the agreement both the States pledged to provide maximum trade facilities between the two countries. All payments were to be made in Indian rupees and for that purpose the State Bank of the Soviet Union would maintain accounts with one or more commercial banks in India. The Soviet Union would set up an organization in India for promoting trade between the two countries. The

agreement also provided for the participation to the maximum extent possible of Indian shipping in the Indo-Soviet trade.

Though goods for exchange between the two countries were listed in schedules, trade in other commodities could also be carried on in accordance with import, export and foreign exchange regulations in the two countries.

The Soviet Union agreed to render technical assistance required for installation and operation of equipment supplied by USSR to India. She had also signified her willingness to render technical assistance for the planning and execution of various projects in India.

According to the joint communique issued by the representatives of two countries: "Among the goods agreed for export from India during the first year of the agreement are jute manufactures, tea, coffee, tobacco, shellac, black pepper and other spices, wool, hides and skins, vegetable and essential oils and a number of other goods."

"The list of goods agreed for export from Russia includes food-grains (wheat, barley), crude petroleum and petroleum products, timber and paper, iron and steel manufactures, chemicals, dyestuffs, medicaments optical goods, cinematograph films, printed matter and other goods as well as a wide range of industrial equipment, including boring, mining and road-building equipment, excavators, electrical equipment, equipment for the textile, shoe, food and polygraphical industries, tractors and agricultural machinery, various machine tools and instruments."

India's trade with the U.S.S.R. in recent years had been negligible, Indian exports to U.S.S.R. in 1952-53 being valued at only Rs. 85 lakhs. Sri H. D. Malaviya in an article in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* shows that between 1913-14 and 1917-18, the average annual export from India to U.S.S.R. amounted to Rs. 3,23,79,000 with an annual average favourable balance of Rs. 3,12,62,000. In the post-revolutionary period the trade registered a sharp drop and in 1923-24, Indian exports to that country amounted to only Rs. 26,000 with a deficit of Rs. 14,94,000. The Soviet Union's position in India's export trade would be clear from the following table:

Year	Value in Crores of Rupees		
	Total exports of Indian merchandise	Exports to Russia	% share of Russia in the total of exports
1913-14	241.35	2.45	1.0
1928-29	251.09	.25	0.1
1938-39	162.79	.38	0.2
1944-45	211.05	.37	0.17

The British rulers had realized the great importance of Indo-Soviet trade. That is why in the early

years of this century Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Black had been sent to Russia to study prospects of Indo-Soviet trade. Messrs. Chadwick and Black's *Report on Indo-Russian Trade* submitted to the Government of India had dwelt on the vast possibilities of expanding Indo-U.S.S.R. trade.

Lately the Soviet leaders had been emphasising the Soviet Union's interest in expanding her foreign trade and extending the trade to other countries, Mr. Novikov, a former Soviet ambassador to India, had declared on the occasion of the International Industries exhibition in Bombay that his country would be willing to supply capital goods to India and to accept payment in Indian currency. In several sessions of UNECAFE, the Soviet representative had spoken in the same vein.

Sri Malaviya writes: "Apparently, our Commerce and Industries Ministry took the necessary hints from these authoritative declarations of Soviet representatives and quietly pursued the matter. And with the coming to India of Mr. Menshikov, the new Soviet ambassador, the agreement was concluded."

Much depended on the successful implementation of the agreement, so far as expansion of Indo-Soviet trade was concerned. A great responsibility devolved on the U.S.S.R. in this respect. "On our part," Sri Malaviya writes, "we have no doubt that India stands to benefit from this Trade Agreement. India's intentions are peaceful as are those of the Soviet Union and the two can co-operate despite differences in ideology. And this agreement should not annoy our other trade friends like the U.S.A., and Great Britain, with whom, it may be taken for granted, our trade would continue to be the largest."

New Sheriff of Calcutta

Shri Dharendra Nath Mitra, born April 18, 1891, is the son of the late Upendra Nath Mitra. He was educated at St. Xavier's College, the Presidency College, and the University College, Calcutta. He married Suchandra Devi, daughter of Raja Subodh Chandra Mullick in 1916. He has been appointed Sheriff of Calcutta with effect from December 20, 1953. Having retired from the service of the Government of India in January, 1953, he joined the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd., as its Chief Adviser, which post he is still holding. Formerly he was Solicitor to the Government of India from 1937-47, the first Indian to occupy that position. For some time he was also a Solicitor of the Supreme Court, England. He was representative for India at World Health Assembly and at U.N. Conference on Freedom of Information. He was also an Adviser to U.N. Conference on Human Rights. He was Governor of the League of Red Cross Societies. He led an Indian Delegation to the Diplomatic Conference for Establishment of International Conventions for protection of war victims.

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE—ITS PERSONNEL

By Prof. G. D. SRIVASTAVA, M.A.

THE quality of a Legislature's work is to a great extent dependent on the general character and ability of its members. An analytical survey of the House of the People on the basis of the age, political experience, educational attainment and occupation of its members will provide fruitful data for determining its outlook, efficiency and representativeness. In view of the inadequacy of the available information and the necessarily subjective nature of the survey the figures and the conclusions should be regarded as indicative of certain tendencies rather than as embodying quantitative finality.

Taking the year 1952 as the base, Table I shows the distribution of the members of the House of the People in the various age groups:

Age-groups	TABLE I Comparative Ages		
	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
20 to 25	1	—	—
25 to 30	9	3	6
30 to 35	35	11	5
35 to 40	42	16	5
40 to 45	46	13	8
45 to 50	60	9	9
50 to 55	90	5	8
55 to 60	39	6	5
60 to 65	24	4	2
65 to 70	7	1	2
Above 70	1	—	—

[The analysis is confined to 472 members of the House as the ages of 27 members out of 499 could not be ascertained. For purposes of comparison Praja-Socialists, Communists, People's Democratic Front, R. R. Party, etc., have been grouped under Parties of the Left.]

248 members—50 per cent of the total strength—belong to the 40 to 50 age-group. The House thus consists mostly of elder statesmen and is dominated by age. In this respect it resembles the American House of Representatives in which the average age of a member is about 50 years.

In respect of age there appears to be a significant difference of emphasis among the various parties. The Congress members are on the whole older than their counterparts of other parties. While the youngest Congress member is 23 years of age and the oldest 73 years, the party has its greatest concentration in the 40 to 55 age-group which has 196 members constituting 60 per cent of the party strength. 161 members are above 50 years of age. On the other hand, members belonging to the parties of the Left are appreciably younger. They have their greatest concentra-

tion—about 60 per cent in 30 to 45 age-group while only 16 members are above 50 years. Others occupy the high plateau between the forties and fifties.

This interesting contrast points to the conclusion that Congress members have had to undergo a relatively long period of apprenticeship in public and parliamentary life before they could be elected to the present House. The leadership of the party resides in the old guard who have long parliamentary experience to their credit. The parties of the Left which show a preponderance of youth have had fewer opportunities of working in the legislatures primarily because their main energies have not been directed towards the parliamentary programme. It also indicates that the leadership vests in the younger generation to whom extremism had always a stronger appeal. The following table giving the political experience of the members supports this assertion:

	TABLE II Political Experience of Members		
	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
Members who have experience of Central Legislature	83	1	6
Members who have experience of Provincial Legislatures	76	5	7
Members who have experience of Local Self-Government	70	9	10
Members who have no political experience	120	47	50

In the case of the Congress, experience of old Provincial Assemblies and Central Legislatures seems to be the best preparation for continuance in the present House. About 50 per cent of the Congress members have such an experience to their credit. Most of the members belonging to radical parties are comparatively new to their task. Only about 10 per cent have parliamentary experience. Most of them are first timers and fewer than one-third of them have political experience as members of former Provincial legislatures or of local self-governing institutions.

	TABLE III Educational attainments of Legislatures			
	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others	Total
University Graduates	220	47	43	310
Members who have received higher Secondary Education	120	14	8	142
Members who have received only Elementary Education	28	4	4	36

310 members—62 per cent of the total strength—are university graduates but if the lack of college education is generally regarded as a handicap in politics, the figures do not bear it out.

TABLE IV
Occupations of Legislatures

Occupations or professions	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
1. Agriculture—			
(a) Farmers	43	11	3
(b) Landlords	17	1	3
2. Business	37	4	7
3. Professions—			
(a) Law	110	11	11
(b) Education	22	5	5
(c) Journalism	25	4	4
4. Retired and former civil and military personnel	20	1	7
5. Whole time public workers	60	22	2
6. Miscellaneous	16	6	7
7. Unknown	35	—	—

The occupations of candidates cannot be easily subjected to reliable statistical analysis to the same extent as their age and political experience. The first difficulty is the unwillingness of some members to impart precise information about their calling. One can know only what the candidate wishes to tell. A second difficulty arises from the high degree of occupational mobility among the members. The case of a legislator who began as an agriculturist, worked as an advocate, took to journalism and ended by becoming a member of parliament is typical for the range of his occupations. The occupation of such a person is difficult to determine for purposes of classification. In the present analysis a commonsense procedure has been adopted. An attempt has been made to find out the "formative" occupation of a member—the occupation which is likely to have moulded his outlook before he joined active political life. The classification has therefore been made on the basis of what may be termed as a man's first job. In some cases the entire life of a person may be so much soaked in active social and political work that no other label than public work would have any meaning. Such persons have been therefore included in the category of wholetime workers.

The outstanding features of the above table may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a spokesman for almost every aspect of national life. An individual member can at best be an expert in a restricted sphere but all the members taken collectively may have sufficient knowledge of most of the national and international problems of the day. In this sense the House of People is representative of the various classes and professions. There are, however, important limitations and gaps.

2. The House does not show perfect correspondence between the proportional distribution of seats and the relative importance of the different spheres of

national life. The professions contribute the largest number of members. Public workers and agricultural interests constitute the second and third largest groups. 207 members—40 per cent of the total strength—are drawn from the professions: lawyers, authors, journalists and educationists. If another group of 84 members consisting of trade union and regular party officials, social and political workers, is added to these, the number of professional politicians would be 291 giving them about 56 per cent seats.

3. Among the professions law looms large. They number 132, roughly one-third of the House. This may be due to the fact that law in our country is the best gateway for entering public life. The tradition that the man who knows the law, can make the law, gives lawyer-members additional prestige in the legislature. The predominance of legal profession in our country may be profitably compared with their representation in U.S.A. and Britain.

Comparative Strength of Lawyers

U. S. Congress, 1945—Senate 62 and House of Representatives 241.
British House of Commons, 1945—93.

This gives them 65 per cent seats in the Senate and 55 per cent in the House of Representatives. In Britain, they have about 15 per cent share of seats. Thus the proportionate strength of lawyers in India lies midway between their position in U.S.A. and England. As such our legislature follows the usual pattern and there is nothing alarming in the large number of lawyers who have found their way into it.

Parliament is largely a talking place. The professional group consisting of lawyers, educationists, journalists and public workers equip themselves for parliamentary work by training in one of the occupations most concerned with the arts of publicity, organisational activity and persuasion.

4. Political parties reveal an interesting difference in the percentage of their members drawn from the various occupational groups. About one-third of the members of the radical parties are drawn from trade union officials, party regulars and wholetime public workers. In case of the Congress this class accounts for only 14 per cent. Big businessmen, landed interests, former civil and military personnel figure more prominently in the parties of the right than of the left.

Speaking generally, the House of People represents a range of choice which practically covers every occupation and interest but for the lack of adequate representation to manual workers. Parliament is not the microcosm of the nation and so the natural predominance of the professional and talking classes should not be cavilled at. No particular training can produce the ideal legislator because he need not have perfect knowledge and expertness. He needs the

SOURCES

1. *Parliament of India—House of the People Who's Who* (1952) (Parliament Secretariat, New Delhi).
2. *The Indian and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who* (1952-53) (*Times of India*).
3. *Finer: Theory and Practice of Modern Governments*.
4. Personal enquiries.

—O:—

ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

general power of judgment, shrewdness, tenacity and insight into human character. Ample variety in the legislature therefore gives it a more representative character. A lesser representation of the professional classes would, however, permit broader representation of other elements in the body politic and contribute to make the House of People a somewhat more exact cross-section of Indian population than the present House.

ALL that happened in Lucknow during the last few weeks requires serious thought and consideration by those who are vitally interested in the promotion of peaceful and democratic traditions of public life in this country. The whole trouble is supposed to have arisen out of a comparatively minor matter. Whether the membership of the Students' Unions should be compulsory or optional is a subject over which there can be honest difference of opinion. Both in India and abroad, different types of constitutions for students' organisations prevail in different colleges and universities. We must realise, after all, that Students' Unions are not like Trade Unions where the workers are organised to safeguard their economic interests against the mill-owners: they are, in fact, meant to be in the nature of extra-curricular or co-curricular activities to supplement academic studies. In India, the relations of teachers with their pupils have been, from time immemorial, of the most sacred and sublime nature. It will be nothing short of a great tragedy if the teacher-pupil relationship is in any way reduced to the level of Trade Unionism in the economic or commercial sense. From this standpoint, the recent disturbances in the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities must be regarded as most unfortunate. Whatever might have been the grievances of students in regard to the constitution of their Unions, the acts of violence and indiscipline perpetrated by them deserve the severest condemnation.

It is, however, not enough to condemn those events and not to try to study the basic causes of unrest and turmoil among the student community. During my tour round the world a few years ago, I had the opportunity of visiting many countries and contacting students of different universities in various parts of the globe. I can say with confidence that Indian students are in no way inferior to the

students of any other country in the world from the point of view of intelligence, resourcefulness and hard work. Our youngmen also played an important role in the history of freedom struggle in this country. They have been acquitting themselves very creditably in various fields of technology and research relating to the programmes of economic and industrial development in India. We are surely proud of their achievements and have great faith in their potentialities. If they are in a sullen mood today, it is due to a variety of causes. Their agitation is partly due to political reasons because a few party-men try to exploit young students for furthering their political ends. This is surely detrimental to the growth of healthy educational traditions and merits emphatic disapproval. We have been of the definite view that our youngmen, so long as they continue to be students, should not dabble in party politics, although they should take a deep interest in national and international political events. After the completion of their studies, they will, of course, be entirely free to join any political party in the country. But, as Gandhiji observed, students should be "searchers and not politicians."

Turmoil among students is also partly due to the ever-widening gulf between the teachers and the taught. In our colleges and universities, the teachers are now more interested in their examinerships and group rivalries than in the primary task of imparting sound knowledge to the youngmen entrusted to their care. The personal example of the teachers is not capable of inspiring the students for imbibing high ideals of conduct. There is a marked fall in the standards of scholarship among teachers with the inevitable result that "scholars" have now become rare commodities in our educational institutions. Schools and colleges have become veritable centres

of commerce and business; they are more in the nature of factories manufacturing unemployable graduates rather than the Temples of Knowledge. That is why an undesirable type of Trade Union spirit manifests itself in these educational institutions and leads to most deplorable conditions and consequences. The *Gurus* of old concerned themselves mainly with the imparting of knowledge and character to their pupils and cared very little for the tuition fees that the students paid according to their capacities. Our educational centres are now mainly concerned with the financial aspect and pay very little heed to the moral, emotional and intellectual development of the students. This is, surely, a very sorry state of affairs and requires our urgent and serious attention. The numerical strength in schools and colleges has become very unwieldy; there are regular "shifts" as in the factories. It is, therefore, futile to expect great results from such commercialized educational concerns.

Above all, uneasiness among students is mainly due to a deep sense of frustration. After spending their youthful energies and hard-earned money of their parents, they are faced with bleak prospects of hunger and unemployment in a society which is still full of glaring economic inequalities. The existing system of education is so unrealistic and "bookish" that its products cannot afford to entertain any high hopes of a bright future. On the one hand, the nation needs a vast number of trained technicians for a variety of developmental schemes under the first Five-Year Plan, and, on the other hand, there is an ever-increasing army of unemployable undergraduates, graduates, and post-graduates who are compelled to knock from door to door for obtaining jobs befitting their academic degrees and diplomas. The type of education at present imparted to our youngmen has hardly any relation to the realities of the situation. In place of purely Arts or Science courses, there is an urgent need for establishing a number of Poly-technical institutes with a view to training up students for specific positions in life. In other words, our academic system requires radical changes in order to integrate education with the National Plan of economic development. Mahatma Gandhi gave us a new system of Basic Education for training young boys and girls through the medium of productive crafts and community work. It is gratifying to know that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have now accepted Basic Education as the future pattern for schools and colleges in this country. The Secondary Education Commission has

also recommended such type of craft-centred educational institutions with diversified courses of study in accordance with local conditions. We earnestly hope that no further time will be lost in introducing far-reaching changes in the Primary, Secondary and University stages of education so that students may be able to put their heart and soul in the studies that they are expected to pursue during the best portions of their lives. Systematic plans for reforms in education should be prepared by the State Government almost immediately so that there may be visible signs of improvement from the next academic year. Without such fundamental changes in the pattern of education, it is impossible to enforce artificial discipline among students through appeals and threats.

This does not, however, mean that we should tolerate acts of violence, arson and goondaism from any quarter. Despite the economics and politics of students' turmoil, the fact remains that indiscipline and violent activities must be checked and suppressed effectively if democracy is to survive and develop in India. We are fully conscious of the fact that there are a few political parties in this country which are out to create chaos and violent upheaval in society for attaining their objectives. They do not hesitate to exploit all kinds of situations for fostering crime and confusion. The State cannot afford to treat such acts lightly and leniently. Threats of fasts and hunger-strikes have become the fashion of the day. "Morchas" are another kind of "political stunts." The technique of fasting was employed by Mahatma Gandhi on very rare occasions. He considered himself the master of that technique and did not allow others to use it without his specific consent. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who is the greatest and noblest disciple of Gandhiji, also tells us that fasts that are being undertaken for trivial causes are very wrong in conception. They are surely against the spirit of Gandhi. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to all students in the country not to reduce the noble instrument of fasting to a farce. The Nation expects great things from them. In more sense than one, they are the builders of New and Free India. Let them realise their onerous duties to the Motherland and rise to the occasion. With radical reforms in the system of education and with substantial improvement in the economic condition of the country, we have no manner of doubt that the youth of India will come into their own and play a historic role in rebuilding this ancient land on the sound foundations of peace, democracy and economic justice.



AIR TRANSPORT IN INDIA

Its Origin and Development

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

I. INTRODUCTION

THE importance of Air Transport in a country of long distances like India cannot be over-emphasised, but it is a pity that our position in the civil aviation is not at all satisfactory as compared to that of such important countries as the U.S.A., Britain, France, Australia, Italy and Germany. Although India has undoubtedly made rapid strides in civil aviation since 1939, and continues this performance on a higher scale in the world perspective, her place on the air map is unimpressive. But she has earned a secure position for herself in the internal routes as well as in the international sphere. The following table reveals the advanced state of air transport in the countries of Europe and North America, but it is important to emphasise that the progress made by India is much more spectacular than the progress in these two continents. The growth and development of India's passenger, cargo and mail traffic as well as the distance in kilometers flown by India is quite remarkable. The fact, however, remains that the U.S.A., U.K. and Netherlands have a preponderating share in world civil aviation operations, as will be clear from the table reproduced below:

Country	Years	Km. Flown	Passenger Km. (in thousands)	Cargo ton Km.	Mail ton Km.
Australia	1939	13972	70771		
	1950	75167	1268689	42395	8143
Canada	1939	15482	33484	1411	623
	1950	47123	857121	9078	6629
France	1939	11180	74221	823	1435
	1950	48057	1117986	32615	14263
India	1939	2714	2139	28	329
	1950	30404	375582	18157	4255
Netherlands	1939	9450	60622	1136	1750
	1950	33653	772112	24334	7155
Thailand	1939	157	43	1.3	11.7
	1950	2035	18552	430.2	48.9
U. K.	1939	18450	90714	1380	11579
	1950	77617	1227479	35818	19804
U. S. A.	1939	116195	1214652	4834	12571
	1950	758966	16444823	114943	106868

The basic causes of the low rate of progress in India are many. A low level of economic activity, the small number of business concerns and only a few industrial cities large enough to support this high-rated transport, and the high cost of petrol, are in the main responsible for this state of affairs. When the under-developed character of the country is kept in view, and when it is remembered that so far nearly 40 cities have been brought within the network of air route, the expansion of air transport may be regarded as encouraging. India's vast area, her temperate climate with the usual clear sky, her geographical position in the East at the head of the Indian Ocean, and the great need to develop the second line of defence in the

air, are all important factors which augur well for the steady growth of civil aviation in the years to come in the country.

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF ITS GROWTH

Civil aviation in India owes its growth to an experimental flight by Sir George Lloyd in 1911, when he flew from Bombay to Karachi. A few exhibition flights were also given in 1911. The first World War emphasized the importance of the geographical position of India as an important link between Europe and the Far East and Australia. The introduction of air mail service between Karachi and Bombay created an interest in civil aviation. But this service was purely a governmental adventure and was established as a temporary and experimental measure, and was soon closed down when sufficient data relating to running expenses were collected. After World War I, the regular weekly Imperial Airways service between Karachi and London, the inauguration of the French and Dutch airlines across India, the introduction of the Empire Air Mail Scheme and the rapid development in other countries aroused the interest of the Government and the public. Up to 1927, the Government policy was confined only to the grant, i.e., lending of landing facilities to the foreign aviation companies. In 1927, the Civil Aviation Department was opened, a Director and a Deputy Director of Civil Aviation and a Chief Inspector of Air Craft were appointed only after India became a party to the International Air Convention. Aerodromes and Flying Clubs were established in certain places. In 1931, the Government arranged with the Imperial Airways Ltd. to operate an air service between Delhi and Karachi, but the agreement expired by the end of 1931. A fresh agreement was therefore entered into in 1932 with the Delhi Flying Club for service between Karachi and Delhi both for mails and passengers. Then a scheme was worked out for a weekly air service between Karachi and Calcutta for the weekly arrivals and departures of the air mails conveyed by Imperial Airways Ltd. from and to England but due to financial stringency it was abandoned. In 1932, the Tata Airways Ltd. under a ten-year contract with the Government started a weekly feeder service between Karachi, Bombay and Madras connecting at Karachi with the London-Karachi service. In 1933, the Indian National Airways Ltd. was established at Delhi to participate in the Indian Trans-Continental Airways Ltd. and develop feeder and other internal air services in Northern India. The I. N. A. Ltd., operated bi-weekly services between Calcutta and Rangoon and a daily service between Dacca and Calcutta but it was abandoned in 1935 on account of lack of patronage. Under a ten-year agree-

ment with the Indian Government it also instituted a weekly service from Lahore to Karachi.

In the same year arrangements were made with the British Government and the Imperial Airways for extending the London-Karachi service across the sub-continent to Singapore as a link between England and Australia Air service. For this purpose Indian Trans-Continental Air Ways Ltd. was formed with a majority of Indian directors in which the Imperial Airways Ltd. held 51 per cent shares, the Indian National Airways Ltd. 25 per cent and the Government 24 per cent. This Company operated jointly with the Imperial Airways a weekly service from Karachi to Singapore. From 1935, the Imperial London-Karachi service and with it the Trans-India service to Calcutta and the feeder services were operated twice weekly. In 1936, the Second Trans-India service was extended to Australia. In 1936, the Air Services of India Ltd., serving Bombay and Kathiawar, was formed. This Company made good progress and was carrying 70 per cent of the total air traffic in India but it had to be closed down in 1940 due to uneconomic servicing. In 1938, the Empire Air Mail Scheme was introduced. Under this scheme the whole of letter mail between the empire countries on the U.K.-Australia and U.K.-Africa routes was to be carried by air, no surcharge was to be levied. The Indian Government had to provide facilities for the distribution within India by air of the Empire mail brought by the Imperial Airways up to Karachi and in the reverse direction for bringing to Karachi all Indian mails destined for empire countries. To fulfil this obligation the Government of India entered into a 15-year contract with Tata Sons Ltd. and the Indian National Airways Ltd. for the carriage of mail on their routes. The Agreement was reached on these points:

- (a) The Karachi-Madras route was to be extended to Colombo under agreement with the Ceylon Government;
- (b) The services should be operated with the same frequency as Imperial Airways Service;
- (c) In the case of Tata Sons, the Government guaranteed to pay them Rs. 15 lakhs per year for carrying mail on the Karachi-Colombo route up to 500,000 lbs. plus Re. 1 for each lb. of the extra mail; and
- (d) Rs. 3.25 lakhs per year to National Airways on the Karachi-Lahore route up to 130,000 lbs. plus Re. 1-8-0 for each lb. of the extra mail.

The scheme made possible the stepping up of the two services to larger aircraft and greater frequency (5 times a week).

In 1937, the Tatas established a service between Delhi and Bombay operating twice weekly in fair weather. In 1937, the Air Services of India Ltd. also began an air service from Bombay to Kathiawar and to Kolhapur 6 times a week. The special features of this line were the high loads of passengers and comparatively low fares. But unfortunately due to war this service was discontinued in 1940.

Thus by 1939, the total route mileage in operation was 5,190 miles. The development was slow but steady. The two pioneer companies Tata Sons and the Indian National Airways had by then firmly established the foundation of scheduled air transport in India with comparatively small financial assistance from the Government. They had also demonstrated that air lines could be organised and operated efficiently on long and difficult routes if proper encouragement is given. In spite of difficult seasonal weather conditions, the regularity and safety of operation of the Indian Air Services was of a very high order bearing comparison with that of the most advanced countries. The Government was extending the ground organisation facilities. It had spent up to Rs. 1½ crores towards the provision of aerodromes, hangars, workshops, technical and administrative buildings and air route lighting. But with the outbreak of World War II drastic changes took place in the Air Transport. The Empire Air Mail Service was suspended in September, 1939, but a restricted service was maintained till June, 1940, when this, the air mails to J. K., was totally stopped. Air service to England was resumed in 1945 but the Empire Air Mail Service was finally abandoned from 1st April, 1947. Thus before the war there were 9 external services operating across India, Europe, Africa and Australia. In India, all air transport operations were put on a war footing under which air services were run directly for the Government and the defence services. The Tata Sons and Indian National Airways were entrusted with the operation of services in different parts in collaboration with the Royal Air Force, Transport Command. The Government helped these companies in every possible way. The Government loaned them aircrafts under Land Lease Agreement. These two services operated on a number of routes. These companies were put on a sound footing as they had got enough financial help from the Government by way of remuneration for their services. When the war came to end, the Land Lease aircrafts were withdrawn. These companies equipped themselves with Dakotas purchased from the U.S.A. foreign Liquidation Commission.

III. POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

With the close of the war, the government was forced to enunciate a definite policy for the development of civil aviation in the country. Sir Frederick Tymmas, a former Director of Civil Aviation, had made certain important suggestions for developing civil aviation:

- (1) He prepared a list of the trunk air routes which required the first priority by the Government and also the essential links between these trunk services.
- (2) He suggested that not more than 4 private air lines should make up the deficits of the companies during the first five-year period.
- (3) He also suggested that to ensure rational and orderly development of air transport, in the

post-war period, no transport services might be operated without a license issued by an Authority set up by the Government for that purpose.

(4) Further, the establishment of a Central Board for licensing scheduled air transport services was also recommended.

(5) For the operation of external services he proposed the establishment of two corporations, one for the operation of services to the East and the other for the West.

The Government accepted these suggestions. On their basis, for the development of air transport, it said:

"The policy of the Government is:

- (i) To permit the development and operation of air transport services, both internal and external, by a limited number of sound and reliable private commercial organisations with their own capital and operated under normal commercial principle of risks of losses and prospects of gain.
- (ii) The operation of the transport services would be subject to licenses granted by the Government; without such a license no air transport service can operate.
- (iii) The grant of State assistance in specific cases will be entirely at the discretion of the Government and the conditions to be laid down in each case. In specific cases, Government should take a financial interest in Companies operating air services and appointing a Director on the Board. It should, however, not take a controlling share in such cases.
- (iv) All the main air services in India should be operated by about four companies."

Along with the declaration of the Government's policy, the Indian Air Craft Act 1934, was amended and consequently an Air Transport Licensing Board was established in 1946. This Board was entrusted with the work of granting licenses to the operating companies on its being satisfied on these points: (a) that the financial stability of the Company applying for a license was sound; (b) that if license is granted, the company will maintain a proper standard of operational efficiency; (c) that there was really a great demand of traffic on the proposed route; and (d) that the Company would be able to meet the genuine requirements of the public regarding air transport.

With the establishment of this Board, a great improvement took place in the air transport. A large number of companies were floated for the operation of air services by the beginning of 1947. As many as 27 companies had been registered with an authorised capital of Rs. 42 crores of which the Government had authorised the issue of Rs. 9 crores, and 96 air routes had to be covered by them. Up to 1949, licenses were granted to 11 air companies.

The partition of India in 1947 affected the Air Transport very much. Air route patterns were changed. Orient Airways transferred its head office and activities to Pakistan. Indian National Airways had to give up a number of routes which lay in Pakistan. The airlines assisted the Government in evacuating refugees from West and East Pakistan. The part played by the civilian aircraft in refugee evacuation and in Kashmir

operations showed the potentiality of this form of transport and considerably influenced the Government in determining their aviation policy.

In order to give relief to those companies whose operating cost had risen because of an increase in the price of aviation-fuel and the expenditure on salaries and wages, the Government adopted these measures in 1949: *Firstly*, to facilitate the early carriage of mails, an "All Up" mail scheme was introduced on 1st April, 1949. The surcharge on mail for air conveyance was abolished. *Secondly*, a rebate of import duty on petrol consumed in civil aviation to the extent of 6 annas per gallon was granted by the Government from 1st March, 1949. This amount was later increased to 9 pies per gallon. A number of developments including various mutual agreements between different companies, the starting of new ones, the equipment with the new types of planes with a seating capacity of ten passengers only, took place till 1949.

By this time the Government of India considered the question of conveying mails between the four main cities of India, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi by night, but as the night air mail services were to be on an experimental basis and the routes were not fully equipped from the point of view of safety of passengers, the scheme was restricted to the carriage of mails only. The Licensing Board granted a license for the operation of mail services to Indian Overseas Airlines for one month with effect from January, 1949, which was extended to June 1949, after which date it was abandoned due to certain financial difficulties. Eventually, the license was granted to a non-scheduled operator, the Himalayan Aviation Company, to operate night mail services for 3 months, which ultimately was extended to January, 1951. This Company reduced its rates which was bitterly criticised by other air-operating companies. As it was a non-scheduled company some technical difficulties arose and hence the license was withdrawn on the recommendation of the Air Transport Enquiry Committee of 1950.

For external services to the West, Air India International was registered on 8th March, 1948 with an authorised capital of Rs. 7 crores and paid-up capital of Rs. 2 crores, of which the Indian Government subscribed 49 per cent and had the option to acquire a further 2 per cent at one time. Air India took up 10 per cent of the capital and the balance was subscribed by the public; 50 per cent of the profit earned by the Company was to go to the Government and the Company would have full rights of operation for a period of 10 years over all western routes. The Company's services from Bombay to London via Cairo and Geneva was inaugurated on 8th June, 1948. For external services to the East, licenses were granted in 1949 to two Companies, the Bharat Airways and Indian Overseas Airlines, to operate their services on two routes, viz., (i) Calcutta to Tokyo via Bangkok,

Hongkong and Shanghai, and (ii) Calcutta to Singapore via Bangkok and then to Australia.

Between 1946-49 licenses were granted to a number of non-scheduled operators freely and hence several non-economic units sprang up in the field.

IV. AIR TRANSPORT ENQUIRY COMMITTEE AND ITS FINDINGS

In view of the increasing importance of the air transport service in our country, the Government of India appointed the Air Transport Enquiry Committee under the Presidentship of Rajyadhyaksha on 8th February, 1950. To this Committee was entrusted the work of reviewing the present state of air transport in India and advising the government on the lines on which future development might be made so that the standard of operational efficiency of the companies might increase.

This Committee made a thorough investigation into the conditions of air transport industry in India and pointed out that the industry suffered from the following difficulties and defects:

Firstly, the number of operating units is much greater (if these are two) than that required (there was no work for more than 4 companies) to conduct the existing volume of air transport on an economic basis which has resulted in multiplication of overhead charges, wasteful competition amongst the operators resulting in reduced revenues. *Secondly*, there was an over-equipment of the companies with consequent drain of capital resources, low utilisation and heavy current running costs. *Thirdly*, there has been severe competition among the operators for a comparatively limited supply of technical personnel and this has resulted in the rise of wages and salaries to high levels, thereby raising the operating costs to a great extent. *Fourthly*, the Board harmed the operating companies by delaying in the disposal of applications for licensing. *Fifthly*, the organisation was very unwieldy. Some companies incurred heavy expense on organisation without taking into consideration the actual amount of traffic handled by them. They organised for an eventual operation of 50,000 hours whereas their work was for 20,000 hours only. Still others lavishly spent on equipment. They purchased a large number of Dakotas and spare parts from the disposal stocks. *Sixthly*, operating companies lacked proper planning. *Seventhly*, the cost of aviation fuel was also very high. It increased from 30 as. per gallon in 1946 to 41 as. per gallon in 1949. The companies had also to bear sales tax too. *Eighthly*, after the introduction of night services fares were reduced by the companies. The companies operating day services were also compelled to reduce fares thus weakening their financial position.

V. REORGANISATION OF THE AIR TRANSPORT

The Air Transport Enquiry Committee felt that only four operating companies were needed with their

headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Hyderabad. In order that the operating units should be economical, it suggested that the smaller companies should unite among themselves so as to form the four big operating units, and if it was not possible it emphasized that licenses already granted to certain companies should not be renewed. But the six companies which hold 10-year licenses should be permitted to operate.

Secondly, Air Transport should be reorganised, the number of aircrafts should be reduced, rates and fares should be increased and superfluous staff retrenched. This measure will ameliorate the economic position of the companies.

Thirdly, rates and fares should be reasonably fixed, giving the operator a return of 10 per cent on fixed capital assets. The rate of mails should be freight rate plus 12½ per cent. The fixing of rates should take into consideration the cost of operation, reasonable profit, 'what the traffic will bear' and need for the expansion of air services.

Fourthly, the Committee felt that as a result of the reorganisation at least 25 Dakotas would be rendered superfluous which would mean Rs. 2½ lakhs as the maintenance cost per annum. They, therefore, suggested that Government should bear half the cost of this surplus craft and the surplus staff should be absorbed in I.A.F. Further, the Government should continue giving financial assistance to the Air Operating Companies in the form of rebate on aviation fuel.

Finally, non-scheduled operation should be allowed to continue their existence provided they do not enter into unhealthy competition with the regular air lines, but they should not be permitted to operate on the routes already covered by the scheduled companies. Minimum charter rates should be prescribed by the Director-General of Civil Aviation.

Thus the A.T.E.C. suggested a very comprehensive scheme for the rationalisation of Air transport in India:

"Greater emphasis has been laid on the merging of the present companies into 4 units, the reduction in the number of aircrafts, increase and stabilization of rates and fares, curtailment of superfluous organisation and certain other technical details."

The Committee remarked that if this scheme was implemented, the operating companies will be financially self-sufficient from 1st January, 1953. But reorganisation could not be taken up immediately due to heavy commitments of the Government.

VI. STATE OWNERSHIP OF AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES

The question of State ownership of air services was first of all considered by the then Minister for Communications in 1947 at a conference, which discussed the following points in favour of the rationalisation of air transport. It said:

(1) Aircrafts would be utilised to the maximum capacity and the duplication of workshop and superior staff would be minimised.

(2) As the State provides training facilities to the pilots, it is thought desirable that air services should be nationalised.

(3) As air services would come under one management, their operational efficiency will increase enormously.

(4) The State has to incur heavy expenditure for the construction of aerodromes, establishment of meteorological stations and provision of communication facilities; it is but fair that the services should be owned by the Government.

(5) With the nationalisation of air transport, the profits will go to the Government and may be usefully employed in various public utility concerns.

The conference put forward these arguments against nationalisation. It said:

(1) If the air transport is nationalised it is feared that the same standard of efficiency cannot be maintained as is usually available when it is under private ownership.

(2) If nationalisation of transport is accepted, there is every likelihood of strained relations between the employees and the Government, especially in the case of the pilots of the proposed corporation going on strike.

(3) With the economy in personnel, some employees are sure to be retrenched which will be a sort of headache to the Government.

(4) As the proposed Corporation will enjoy monopolistic rights, it is expected that all the evils of monopolistic organisation will creep in. Absence of fair competition will further worsen the situation.

(5) After nationalisation, Government will interfere in the day-to-day working of the corporation and this will lead to unnecessary friction among the members of the Legislature besides a clear wastage of time.

(6) As air transport is still a luxury service for the masses, they would prefer that more money should be spent on other forms of transport and thus this industry will not develop as quickly as it should have developed.

(7) Government will have to pay a large sum of money by way of compensation to the existing companies which will create another financial difficulty in such hard times.

While giving suggestions to remove the defects in the air transport, the A.T.E. Committee ultimately discussed in detail the question of the nationalisation of the air transport. The Committee gave the following points in favour of State ownership:

(a) One unit in charge of all the operations can use the available resources, viz., workshop capacity, technical personnel and equipments to the maximum advantage.

(b) Nationalisation of air transport would be an advantage from the point of view of national defence.

(c) Without the same predominant profit motive as in the case of private enterprises, a State organisation would operate with the main policy of giving better and cheaper service to the public.

(d) A unified administration should bring about a certain amount of economy in expenditure as compared to that incurred in the case of opera-

tion by several units. This economy is estimated at 3½ per cent.

(e) The private air lines would need financial assistance from the Government if they are to stand on their own legs. Hence, if it be the case that the industry must be assisted by the Government, it is preferable that the Government themselves should run it in their own way. This would incidentally save the setting-up of any machinery to assess the amount of assistance required and to see that it is rightly spent.

The Committee said that there were several factors which needed careful consideration before nationalisation is decided upon. These points were:

(i) Civil air transport, being a highly technical industry of a very specialized character, requires on the part of the management maximum initiative and technical efficiency to keep pace with developments, readiness to take financial risks in replacing equipments, and constant personal attention on the part of all the staff dealing with the customer and an endeavour to please and serve him. On all these counts, State administration cannot compare with private enterprise.

(ii) It is doubtful whether there will be a sufficient number of persons available to Government combining both business and administrative experience for a big State enterprise like this.

(iii) As the Government of India granted 10-year licenses to the Air Operating Companies in July, 1949, it appears that the Government's policy was to leave the development of air transport in the hands of private enterprise. Therefore, if nationalisation is resorted to before the expiry of this period, there will be a change in the government policy and this might adversely affect the development of other industries too.

(iv) In the matter of efficiency, a governmental organisation, by a lack of flexibility and due to rigidity in financial matters, would be at a considerable disadvantage.

(v) In regard to economy in expenditure, there would be the fundamental handicap as regards finding a satisfactory means of measuring the economic efficiency of the State organisation, because it would be a national monopoly.

(vi) Operational efficiency of the Indian air transport companies has been uniformly good. Therefore, the question of taking them over does not arise.

(vii) If nationalisation is decided upon, which will be a sudden change over the existing policy, there is likely to be a sudden drop in efficiency at least in the early years.

(viii) If India is to keep abreast of the advancements in civil aviation in other countries both as regards equipment and technique, additional capital outlay would be involved; it is quite likely that the government will be called upon to assist them in carrying this burden. There is nothing unusual in such assistance being given, as in fostering such important industry every government extends the necessary aid.

The Committee, therefore, felt that time was not ripe for eliminating private enterprise from the field of air transport in India. They suggested that this question should be postponed for at least five years after which it may be re-examined. If however, the government then decide to take up air transport

services under its ownership, their operation should be entrusted to a Statutory Corporation which should work purely on commercial lines and which should be given complete freedom from governmental control except in regard to the main policy.

This Committee also envisaged that the India air operators should replace more modern machines in place of the Dakota aircrafts. A conference was therefore called in January, 1952, of the representatives of the air line operators to decide about the estimates of the replacement requirements, to select aircrafts which would replace the present Dakotas and Vikings and to discuss the problem of financing the purchase of new aircrafts. The conference estimated that 20 new aircrafts were needed at a cost of over Rs. 10 crores.

The Planning Commission has suggested that the air services should be placed in charge of a corporation in which the shareholders of the existing companies may be allowed to take proportionate part, if they wish to do so in exchange of their present holdings. The Central Government's share of the corporation should be large enough to secure the control over the industry. The total expenditure including the compensation to be paid to the existing airlines plus the price of purchase of 13 aircrafts will amount to Rs. 9.5 crores. But if the existing air lines agree to take shares of the corporation in exchange of the present holdings then the capital outlay will be Rs. 6.5 crores only.

In April, 1952, a Civil Aviation Committee was set up by the Government under the chairmanship of Shri M. A. Master to examine the existing system of civil air pilot training in all its aspects, viz., for suggesting the qualifications and methods of selection of trainees, organisation of the training institutions; setting the curriculum for the training of pilots of various grades, considering financial assistance to the trainees and looking to the operational efficiency of the pilots and giving encouragement of private flying. This Committee submitted its report in January, 1953. It recommended the setting-up of the Civil Air Board and suggested that the Government should raise their annual subsidy from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 18 lakhs; and an increased number of N. C. C. should be trained with financial assistance of the Central and Provincial Governments. It has recommended five categories of licenses—the student pilot, private pilot, commercial pilot, senior commercial pilot and air line transport pilot.

VII. NATIONALISATION OF AIR TRANSPORT COMES IN FORCE

The Air Transport Corporation Bill was introduced in the House of the People on 21st March, 1953 under which two corporations were intended to be set up, one for operating international services and the other for inland services, viz., Indian Air lines and Air India International. Each of the Corporations shall consist of not less than five but not more than 9 members

appointed by the Central Government, one of whom will be its Chairman. The two corporations will take over the undertakings of all existing air companies as going concerns and all the personnel of those companies who were employed by them on June 30, 1952, would be transferred to the two corporations and their terms and conditions of service will continue to be the same. This Bill was passed by the Council of States on May 14, 1953. A sum of Rs. 480 lakhs will be paid on account of compensation to the existing air transport companies, 10 per cent of which will be paid in cash and for the balance the corporation will issue bonds bearing interest at 3½ per cent per annum and redeemable at par at the end of 5 years. Both the interest and redemption of the bonds are to be guaranteed by the Central Government. The amount of compensation will be based on the valuation of their assets, after making due allowance for the liabilities. The assets will be valued with reference to the cost which each company incurred when it acquired a particular asset and provision for depreciation is made somewhat on the lines of the provisions contained in the Indian Income-tax, 1922. The principles of compensation are detailed in the Schedule appended to the Bill and the amount of compensation in cash of each company is to be settled in agreement with the Company on the basis of those principles. In the absence of agreement, the assessment of compensation will be made by a Tribunal, which will consist of 3 members appointed by the Central Government, one of whom will be a judge of a High Court.

Accordingly, nationalisation of air services which was to take place originally on 1st April, 1953, but was postponed till August 1st when an inauguration ceremony was held at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur and Hyderabad. The Government have set up two corporations—Indian Air lines and All-India International Corporation—one to manage international routes and has Mr. J. R. D. Tata as its Chairman, and the other to run internal air service has Mr. K. C. Mahindra as its Chairman. In this connection Mr. Jagjivan Ram has disclosed that two super-Constellations and two Comets have been ordered for the Air India International so that it could compete with other lines without any handicap. These aircrafts would cost about 3½ crores of rupees.

The Five-Year Plan makes substantial contributions for the development of air transport in India. For the first two years, i.e., 1951-52 and 1952-53, Rs. 185 lakhs will be spent per year of which Rs. 150 lakhs will be spent for the remaining period of the plan, the total amount earmarked is Rs. 967 lakhs of which 70 per cent will be spent on works and 30 per cent on the technical improvements. The plan also suggests that within 5 years, the operating companies should replace Dakotas and Vikings by modern types of planes.

The progress of civil aviation in any country depends on the number of air ports and the quality of facilities available there. In 1939, there were only 12 civil aerodromes in India, but they were not sufficient for the need of the country and this deficiency was realised by the Government during World War II. Under the post-war plan the Government proposed to develop 4 international, 10 major, 37 intermediate and 67 minor aerodromes, but on account of the partition of the country this plan had to be revised and under this revised plan it was decided to have 3 international aerodromes—Santa Cruz, Palam and Dum Dum, 7 major aerodromes at Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Patna, Allahabad, Madras, Vizagapatam and Lucknow, 13 intermediate and 22 minor and 21 new aerodromes in India. We have now 75 aerodromes maintained by the Civil Aviation Department of which 3 are international, 8 major, 27 intermediate, and 37 minor aerodromes, 20 are equipped for regular night flying facilities.

In order to provide facilities for ordinary citizens to learn flying at a very reasonable and concessional rate, there are 9 subsidised and 3 non-subsidised flying clubs in India. The subsidised flying clubs are at Bombay, Lucknow, Patna, Delhi, Jullundhar, Nagpur, Barrackpore, Madras and Bhuvaneshwar and the non-subsidised flying clubs are at Bangalore, Jodhpur and Hyderabad.

Facilities for the training of operating and technical personnel exist at the Civil Aviation Training

Centre, Saharanpur and the Government Flying School at Allahabad.

In order to provide for radio communication service to aircraft flying, there are 52 centres of Aeronautical Communications Service, which provide facilities for air and ground communications, radio aid to navigation, point to point communication and meteorological broadcasts for the benefit of aviators.

Thus, the story of Civil Aviation in India is made of a series of haphazard steps and miscalculations resulting in an enormous waste of resources, although, after 1947, it had made tremendous increase in flying activities. In 1952, Indian Air Transport Companies were operating scheduled air transport services—internal and external—covering an unduplicated mileage of 20,700, employing some 170 aircrafts, 250 pilots, and 180 other crew. More than 14 million miles were flown, carrying more than 400,000 passengers, 5,000 tons of freight and 1,500 tons of mail.

It is hoped that with the integration of air services great strides will be made in future. The future prospects of air transport are very bright in India, for India enjoys a suitable climate, favourable geographical position at the head of the Indian Ocean and good meteorological conditions. What is required to be done is the acceleration of business activities and the improvement of the air organisation. Fares and freights should be reduced and frequency of air services has got to be increased. India should be made more air-minded.

—:O:—

MECHANISATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By Prof. K. C. PETER

INDIA lives in her villages, villages full of beauty, colour and charm. Nearly 7 out of 10 people pursue agriculture as a profession. Much more than that. For Indians, agriculture is not a business, but a tradition, a way of life, a mode of living. The stark reality is that we are in the stranglehold of acute food scarcity. "More mouths, less food"—this explains the situation. There is a pang in the thought. The 'breeding storm,' right in the frenzy of which India is, shall have brakes on. That is a different question altogether. The present need is that we must produce enough food for the teeming millions of India.

SCARCITY IN THE LAND OF PLENTY

Modern agricultural implements and techniques can play a vital part in heightening agricultural productivity. As far as commercial crops go, India is one of the world's largest producers; but as regards food crops, India is left in the lurch. India produces 660 lbs. of wheat per acre, Japan 1713, Egypt 1918. In the case of rice, India produces 1240 lbs. per acre, Japan 3444,

Egypt 2998. The comparison boils down to this—the wheat yield per acre in Japan is more than twice India's and Egypt's thrice India's. In the matter of rice, Egypt produces two times India's and Japan nearly three times. If India can raise her yield of wheat alone to the Egyptian standard, India will be self-sufficient, free from foreign food.

THE WAY OUT

Can India produce sufficient food for her 360 millions? 'Yes' is the answer. We have to mechanise agriculture wherever possible as USA, Canada, Australia or Russia has done. If mechanisation of agriculture is not possible in certain tracts, we have to bring into full play improved agricultural implements specially designed for the region like Rajah plough, double-furrow plough, multi-furrow plough, etc. drawn by bullocks.

Power-machines, such as tractors, caterpillars, etc., with all accessories like ploughs, discs, harrow-drills, cultivators and combine harvestors, cover every stage of agricultural processes. An agriculturist can use a

jeep-plough, ten to fifteen times more efficient than an ordinary plough. He may use a heavy tractor, a medium-sized or a light one, suiting to the conditions of the land. The aim of using agricultural power-machines is to increase the output per worker and to reduce the cost of production.

There are certain conditions to be fulfilled before the adoption of modern mechanised implements in India. Firstly, there is the technological condition—that a farm served by a small-size or medium-size crawler tractor shall be 25 to 50 acres in extent. With a pair of bullocks the Indian farmer has control over 1.5 horse-power. But given a medium-sized crawler tractor, the Indian farmer has control over 20 to 30 horse-power. It means that using the power-machine is 16 times more advantageous.

Secondly, there is the economic condition. In India, labour is cheap and in abundance. The Indian farmer's capacity to incur heavy expenditure is far less. A light tractor with accessories costs Rs. 5500, a heavy one from Rs. 9000 to Rs. 20,000, and buying one will increase the farmer's capital investment seven times or more. Aside this, only 10% of the total cultivated land will be available for mechanised agriculture at present. Thirdly, there is the educational condition. The people shall be given basic training in mechanical and electrical principles. Otherwise, the cost of repairs will mount up as years go by, making mechanisation a losing game.

THE POSSIBLE RESULT OF MECHANISATION

Supposing that these conditions can be fulfilled through co-operative consolidation of holdings and other means, it is good and proper that we consider the possible results of mechanisation on our agricultural economy and social structure.

On the main, not less than four arguments are raised by those who say that mechanisation creates more problems than it solves. One: During depression, agricultural machines will be a financial burden, because labour will become dire cheap. Two: Mechanisation will lead to displacement of labour and consequent (technological) unemployment. Three: Capitalist tendencies will accentuate as the capitalists buy up neighbouring small land-holdings and as capitalists drive out labourers *via* labour-saving devices. Four: The social pattern will go capitalist giving rise to disparity of wealth and income and gross abuse of leisure.

Still practical difficulties are there, the most important of which are sub-division and fragmentation engendered by Indian laws of inheritance. Out of 361 million people, 250 millions depend on agriculture alone. Of the 250 millions, 45 millions are landless and 31½ millions rely on land "wholly or mainly or mainly unowned." Add to it the hurdles thrown in by the pepper-pot distribution of microscopic farms of an average 5-acre size. The size of an average American

farm is 145 acres, the size best suited for large-scale mechanisation. If lands are consolidated into blocks of economic holdings fit for mechanisation, at least 30% of the rural working population will be thrown on the scrap-heap of unemployment; 31 million people will be unemployed. Today, 10% only of the working population is absorbed in industries.

THE PREREQUISITES

Mechanising agriculture is a problematic proposition. Yet, today it is a greater necessity than ever, for right here the devil of neo-Malthusianism is raising its grizzly head. Hence, the sooner we solve the problem of food, the better for the nation.

Firstly, we must have big-size farms, 25 acres and above. We can have them through co-operative consolidation of holdings and co-operative farm methods. Only then can we do away with the danger of accumulation of land and farm-capital in fewer and fewer capitalist hands. The displaced labourers shall have to be absorbed in industries. For the stability of national economy a balance has to be maintained between agriculture and industry. Moreover, by the supply of electric power to all parts of this vast sub-continent, cottage industries and subsidiary industries can flourish side by side with large-scale industries. That will solve the problem of employment.

Secondly, India requires conservation farming. Vital principles of economy must have their say in farming. Every farm must have machines and accessories befitting to raise the best yield possible. It is the function of agricultural engineering to evolve suitable light and small mechanical aids to the Indian farmer. India needs multi-purpose machines that can be used also for lift-irrigation for pumping water high and for doing other odd jobs. The fact that India is going to have her own tractor industry throws our hopes sky-high.

Thirdly, if 68 million acres of cultivable waste and 35 million acres of fallow lands are brought under the plough with the help of bulldozers and heavy tractors, it will release another 40% of the total area cultivated for efficient cultivation. In such areas, State farms shall be the ideal and shall give the lead.

Fourthly, the domesticated animal population eats into the food of man. But machines do speedy operations, demand no food, bring in economy in costs, perform delicate jobs and push down labour and water requirements.

Lastly, the use of modern agricultural implements will bring into India, the machine-sense, a love of teamwork, discipline, economy and planning. Machines slave for man, keeping off his shoulders physical drudgery, leaving him to follow the creative pursuits of a rich and varied life.

Mechanisation of agriculture, apart from plugging many a leak in our national economy, will give India a new healthy outlook, and a new hope of a happier and more prosperous future.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN WEST BENGAL

1948-52

By KANIKA SOM, M.A., Dip. L.W.A.

THE importance of harmonious industrial relations in the industrial development of the country has long been recognised down from the Royal Commission of Labour in India (1931) to the Labour Investigation Committee (1946) and this has been given its proper place in our First Five-Year Plan. The reason for this is simple: the setting-up of good industrial relations in a country is one of the bases of its economic prosperity and all-round uplift. An objective study of the industrial relations in West Bengal since independence is therefore of particular importance.

THREE ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are three aspects of industrial relations—industrial disputes, absenteeism and trade unionism. Data on these are published by the Government of West Bengal. Those on industrial disputes show the monthly averages of strikes (including lockouts), of mandays lost due to strikes, and of the total workers involved in strikes for the years 1948-51. From these, two other useful measures can be derived: Magnitude of strikes, *i.e.*, the average number of workers involved per strike, and duration of strikes, *i.e.*, the average number of days a strike holds on. The absenteeism rate is defined as the manshifts lost due to absenteeism of workers as a percentage of the total manshifts scheduled to work. For the data of trade unionism we have the monthly averages of the trade unions registered and the membership of trade unions.

TABLE I
Industrial Disputes: Monthly Averages

Year	Total Mandays Lost	Total Disputes	Total Workers Involved	Magnitude of Strikes	Duration of Strikes
1948	176,298	25	24,531	981	7.19
1949	180,456	22	18,975	862	9.51
1950	61,550	12	9,553	796	6.44
1951	33,645	17	6,491	382	5.18

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

In table I and chart I, we have given the total mandays lost, the total number of disputes, the magnitude and the duration of strikes for the years 1948-51 (figures for 1952 have not yet been published by the Government). The figures of mandays lost due to strikes is the best quantitative measure of the effects of strikes on the national economy. From the table and the chart we see that days lost in strikes were very high in 1948 and 1949 (about 180 thousand), but in recent years these have considerably decreased; in 1950, days lost due to strikes were 62 thousand and in 1951, 34 thousand. In recent years therefore we note an improvement in industrial relations so far as can be observed from the figures of days lost in strikes. The frequency, *i.e.*, the number of strikes was the highest in 1948 (25 in number), and it decreased up to

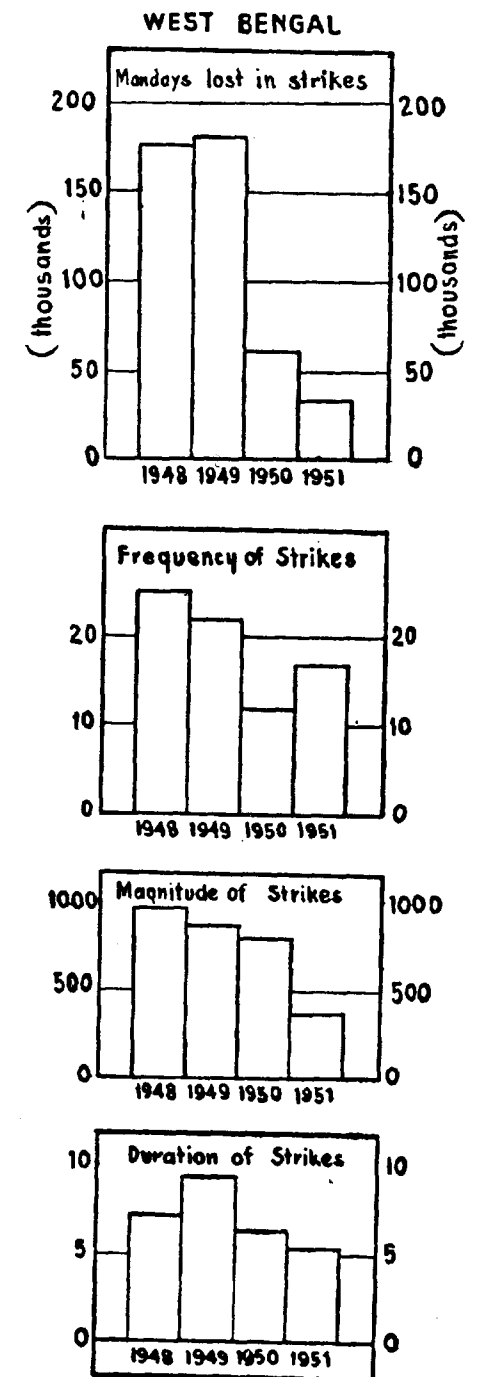
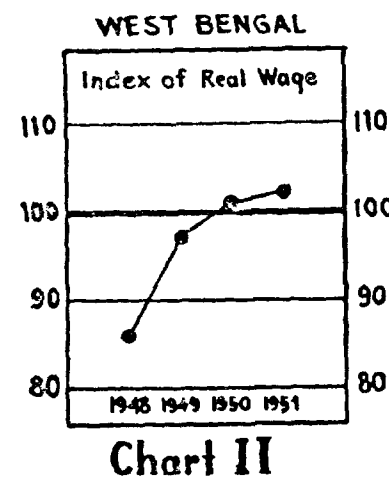


Chart I

is decreasing. The magnitude of strikes, i.e., the average number of workers involved per strike is consistently decreasing over the years. In 1948 there were 981 workers per strike, while in 1951 there are 332 such. The duration of strikes was highest in 1949, when a strike held on for about ten days on the average. It has since been decreasing. In 1951 a strike held on for about five days on the average.

TABLE II

Index of Real Wages (1939 Index=100)	
Year	Index of Real Wage
1948	85.8
1949	96.8
1950	101.1
1951	102.4

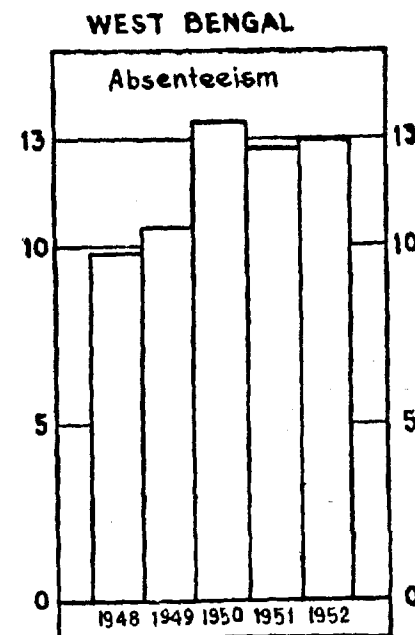


The high figures of days lost due to strikes in 1948 and in 1949 may now be traced. This may be due to the consciousness of the workers and the national upsurge with independence in August 1947. The number of trade unions and the membership of unions were also very high in this period. A comparative stability in labour relations seems to set over from 1950. The attention of the Government given to the problems of industrial relations is an important factor in this connection. The Factories Act (1948), the Minimum Wages Act (1948), the Employees' State Insurance Act (1948) and the Plantation Labour Act (1951) are, among others, pointers to this, as also the setting-up of Labour Advisory Boards and Works Committees. The decrease in the magnitude of strikes and in the frequency of strikes means that formerly there were many large-sized strikes, while in recent years there are fewer strikes involving smaller number of workers per strike. The decrease in the duration of strikes means that recently strikes are not prolonged as they were in 1949. These are good points in the industrial relations of West Bengal. The Korean War does not seem to have any depressing effect

on industrial relations. While the cost of Living Index was increasing, the Index of Annual Average Earning of workers was also increasing and we see from table 2 and chart II that in 1948 the Index of Real Wage of workers was 86 (1939 Index=100), in 1949 it was 97, and in 1950 and 1951 it was 101 and 102 respectively. With the advent of a war therefore there was increased industrial activity with a rise in real wages.

TABLE III

Absenteeism Rates : Monthly Averages				
Year	Absenteeism Rates in Industries			
	Total	Engineering	Textiles	Miscellaneous
1948	9.95	10.01	6.30	10.81
1949	10.55	9.55	7.41	13.90
1950	13.46	11.37	7.03	21.61
1951	12.76	10.20	6.82	25.86
1952	12.88	10.31	5.96	34.79



ABSENTEEISM

From table 3 and chart III we see that absenteeism rate in West Bengal industries is generally increasing over the years. In 1948 it was 9.95, in 1950 it was 13.46, and in 1952 it is 12.88. In the Engineering and the Textile industries the absenteeism rates have almost been steady, but in the industries in the "miscellaneous" group these are steadily increasing. From 10.81 in 1948, the absenteeism rate for the miscellaneous industries shot up to 34.79 in 1952. This would lead one to apprehend that adequate attention on the problems of absenteeism in the miscellaneous industries is not being given. We would like to draw the attention of the authorities to this.

TRADE UNIONISM

Trade unionism has a very important part to play in industrial democracy. The strength of a union depends on the number of its members. The stronger and the more mature a union, the greater is the likelihood of stable industrial relations between the employers and the employees. From table 4 and chart IV we see that the membership of trade unions was the highest in 1948 (twelve thousand). After that there was a considerable decrease in 1949, but it again increased in 1950 (eleven thousand). Subsequently, there were decreases in 1951 and 1952. As we have observed earlier, with the advent of independence and the impetus to all-round development, the workers became conscious of their rights and attempts at collection actions through unionization followed. Thus we witness the tremendous rise in trade union membership in 1948. The strength of unionism seems to be a bit abated in 1949, but it registered an increase in 1950 due to the industrial boom in 1950. The effect was temporary. The membership figures fell down in 1951 and 1952. The number of registered trade unions was the highest in 1948 (43 in number), it decreased up to 1950, but is increasing at present. The average size of trade unions was 284 in 1948, 838 in 1950, and is at present decreasing (181 in 1952).

CONCLUSION

Taking the period of study (1948-52) as a whole, we see that the days lost due to strikes, the average number of workers involved per strike and the duration of strikes are all decreasing. So far as the effects of industrial disputes on the national economy are concerned, these are a good sign, but there are two disturbing facts. While the decrease in the duration of strikes could be attributed to the attention focussed on the problem, consciousness of trade unionism has been at the same time on the decrease. Absenteeism again is increasing over the years in the "miscellaneous" industries.

Our conclusion then is: In recent years strikes in industries in West Bengal have ceased to impinge effectively on the national economy of West Bengal, but a certain amount of absence of healthy industrial relations is seen in the increase in absenteeism and the decrease in unionization.

The policy of industrial relations in West Bengal should then be oriented on these lines: Efforts have to be made to keep the days lost due to strikes at the low level, to decrease absenteeism in industries, and to spread consciousness of unionism. The high cost of living does not seem to be capable of a short-term solution, but our long-term policy should be to keep the cost of living at that level at which the real wages of the workers do not appreciably decrease in relation to the overall economic situation. The recent announcement of Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, on the fixation of minimum wages compatible with the minimum requirements of labourers is a step in the right direction.

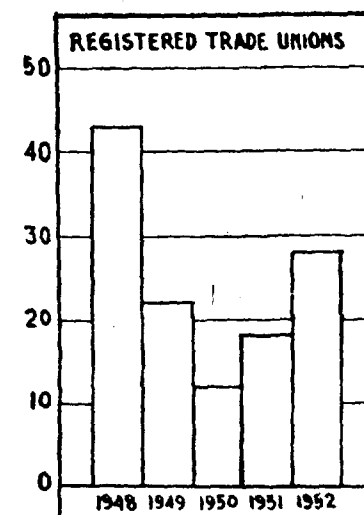
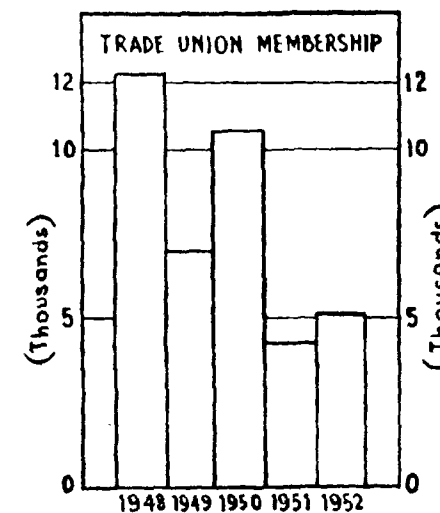
TABLE IV

Trade Unions : Monthly Averages

Year	Total Trade Unions Registered	Total Membership of the Registered Trade Unions	Average Membership
1948	43	12,215	284
1949	22	6,987	318
1950	12	10,654	888
1951	18	4,192	233
1952	28	5,074	181

TRADE UNIONISM

WEST BENGAL



KIBBUZIM

By KARL LOEWY

ALTHOUGH the attempt to transform the Zionist idea into a State of Israel is only in its beginning, it is already possible to recognise and even to analyse several phases of its process. Big things will depend on them, because they will, to a large extent, decide, whether the Jewish people will succeed in becoming an active force in the Eastern hemisphere, now assuming a new lease of life, or whether it will always be condemned to being a group of strangers in this part of the world.

In this connection, the struggle, going on for some time for the political power in the Kibbuzim, has attained significance. As it is not generally known, what a Kibbuz, plural Kibbuzim, really is, it is a necessary preliminary to define its ideological and material tasks. The aim of the Kibbuzim, at the beginning also called, Kvuza, was the realisation of the highest ideal of the Jewish Renaissance Movement of the 20th century, the creation of a Jewish peasantry on the Holy soil of Palestine, whose cultural level, hand in hand with tremendous achievements in farming, should be so high, that the Jews, who have turned towards Asia, should be able to keep in touch with the intellectual forces of the Western civilisation.

In the *American Review*, Zionist Quarterly, Elias E. Epstein, well-versed in the history and development of the Kibbuzim, defines their economic aims by the following seven points:

1. Control of the means of production
2. Extensive farming
3. Combination of farming and industry
4. Mixed farming
5. Intensifying of farming
6. High level of production
7. Non-stop cultivation.

This description gives quite a clear picture of the economic characteristics of the Kibbuzim. However, to make a full understanding of the Kibbuzim Movement possible, it is essential to complete this picture by describing its ideological motives, because, at least in the beginning, it considered itself an *avantgarde*, which added to itself the name "Chaluzim," "Pioneers." Although the basic idea of the Kibbuz is collectivistic, it is in no way communistic in the sense of the Bolshevik Communism. Its ideas are a combination of an Eastern Jewish conception of Jewish Nationalism, the integral Christianity of Tolstoy, the Liberal Anarchism of Kropotkin, and

Jean Jacques Rousseau's picture of society. Its thinking culminates in the liberation of the Jewish people from the slavery of the towns and their accessories, commerce and finance.

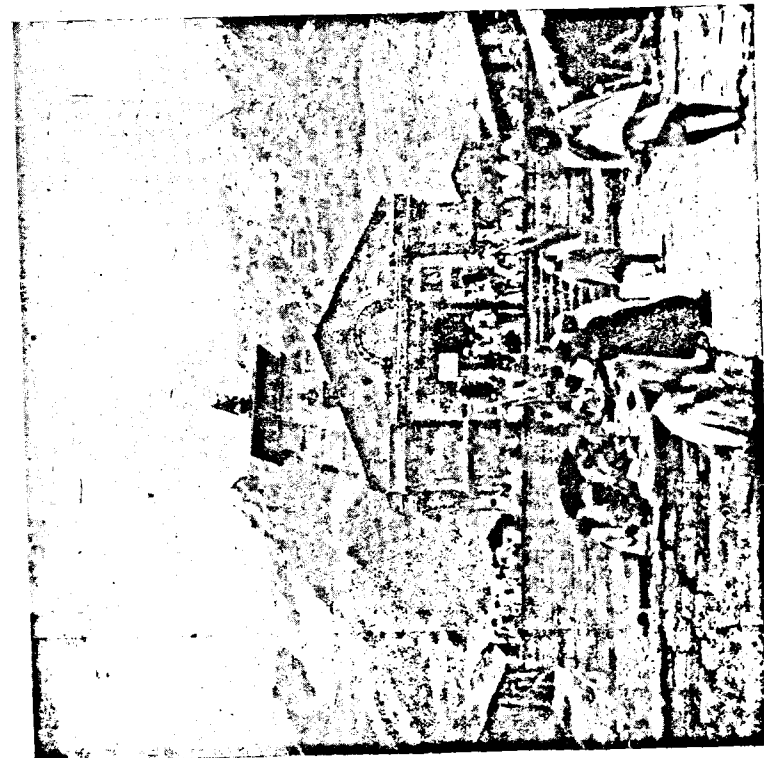
Its moral demands corresponded to their economic ethics. Their principle was the equality of everyone in his or her work, and this equality was transferred also into the relationship between man and woman. However, the idea of the equality of the sexes has never been put into practice in the life of the Kibbuzim. All those stories told about the promiscuity of the sexes in the Kibbuzim are entirely fictitious. With the exception of the combined upbringing of the children, there is hardly any more digression from the civil matrimonial rules in the Kibbuzim, than in any other human society.

During the great time of the Kibbuzim, up to the 1914 World War, there were only two Kibbuzim: Daganian and Merchavia. Their great inspirer was Chaim Weizmann, who saw in them the means of a peaceful conquest of Palestine through Jewish labour. Weizmann succeeded in convincing the Capitalistic American Jews, that an experiment of collectivistic colonisation, which was completely new to their way of thinking, was necessary for the fulfilment of the Zionist idea. He also managed to raise the funds for this experiment. The preparation for the rural settlement in Palestine, which eventually followed the method of the Kibbuzim, was carried out outside Palestine, through the so-called Hechaluz Centres. In 1938 there were thirteen of these spread over the whole of Europe. Despite the difference of their views, which ranged from orthodox religious sects to radical atheist-socialist communities, they all, without exception, enjoyed the furthering of the Zionist World Organisation.

There was a constant stream from Central Europe into Palestine of young people, strongly influenced in their ideology by their various non-Jewish Youth Organisations. Out of the contact which they made with those who had lived in the country for some time, there developed a particular type of people, characteristic for Palestine,—the so-called Kibbuznik and his female pendant; the man in blue shirt, peak cap and shorts, the clothes of the woman similarly unconventional and only slightly feminised. The women members of the Kibbuzim likewise wear shorts, which in time also became the fashion of the urban youth. The Arab view, that



Kedarnath in view

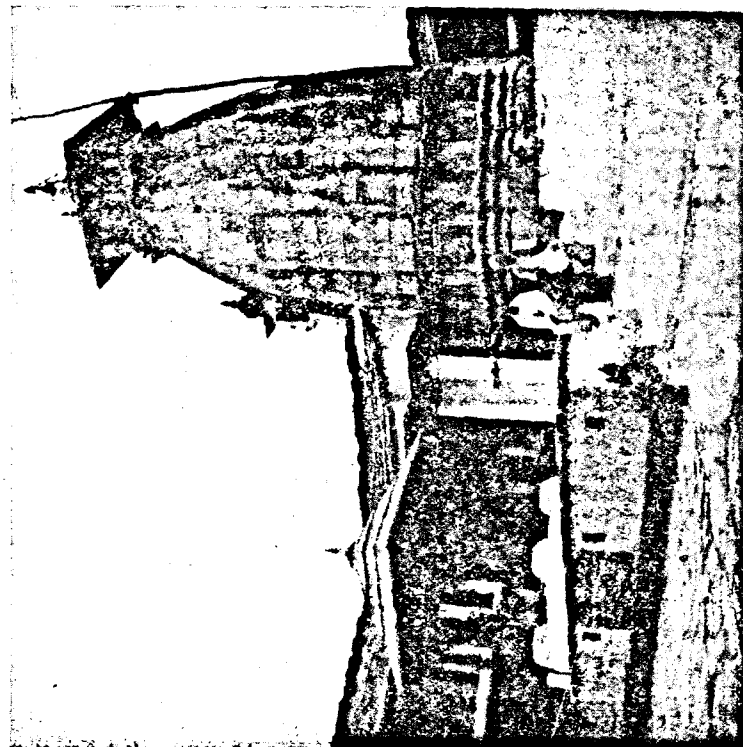


Temple, Kedarnath
(Morning)

THE HOLY SHRINES OF THE HIMALAYAS



Samadhi of Simat Sankaracharya at Kedarnath

Okhimath
Winter residence of Kedarnath

for the sake of moral feeling, a woman's body should be concealed, has not been a minor contributing factor in the intensifying of the antagonism between Jews and Arabs.

In course of time, representative groups of the Kibbuzim have been formed, which have to-day become the exponents of the conflicting parties. Broadly speaking, there are three groups:

1. That of the small Kibbuzim, which has always stood in the right wing socialistic camp of the Mapai. They have always purposely kept their numbers low, in order better to nurse the spirit of comradeship.
2. The party from the Kibbuz Arzi, which has grown out of the socialistic Youth Movement of the Hashomer Hazair (Young Watchmen). In its outspoken anti-religious attitude, it is a party strongly inclined to the Left. They try to replace religion by art, and to give new meaning to the old Jewish festivals by bringing them into relationship with the daily life.
3. The Kibbuz Meuchad, a general Kibbuz, which used to be a purely utilitarian organisation. Its intellectual models are Ain Harod and Yagur. Ain Harod, the bulwark of the Kibbuzim, is today the object of fierce battles from left and right. Both are really villages of more than 1,000 inhabitants, and they govern communal organisations of a quality, such as even Central Europeans would not be ashamed of.

The many ups and downs, which practical Zionism had to suffer in the economic field until the creation of the State, had little adverse effect on the Kibbuzim. Although they endured hardship, they were never seriously threatened with the danger of a breakdown. They were safe in the protection of the Zionist Institution, which never let them perish, because they were at once the elite of the Jewish youth and the fundamental basis of the Zionist development.

The internal and external difficulties began with the creation of the State, for whose existence they have done so much, and for whose fundamental being they hoped to play the same role as they did for the Zionist Movement. The State still appreciates the Kibbuzim, and some of its Civil Servants come from their ranks, but the State has obviously other tasks on hand than that of being their sponsor, after more than generously endowing them with land, which had lost its owners through the war between Jews and Arabs, and was therefore war-booty.

The Kibbuz Movement, which can no longer rely on an influx of young people born in this country, the European sources of additional members having long since been exhausted, is faced with two alternatives: Unconditionally to surrender to a State with totalitarian tendencies, or to become perpetual rebels. At the end of both paths, however, stands the same alternative, the sliding into a dull everyday existence, against which at one time the Kibbuzim fought a mortal battle.

In the search for historical parallels for the events which have for some time been taking place in the Kibbuzim of Israel, the disagreements in the Cloisters of Byzanz after the Council of Nicaea, probably resemble the situation most closely. Although in Israel the subject under dispute is not that of godliness or similarity to the Deity. The differences, which have arisen in the Holy Land are not in the metaphysical sphere. However, the question of whether or not the judgment in the Prague Spy Trial was a just one, is debated with as much literary skill and physical glibness, as were once the problems of the celestial world.

One step is enough to pass from the sublime to the ridiculous. When people who founded Ain Harod, and in 32 years of hard work transformed the settlement from a marsh land to a flourishing village, still have their meals in a communal dining room, when these same people have separate catering arrangements according to their parties, and insist on there being a space of three feet, separating the rows of benches of the Mapai-members from those of the Mapam, then logic and common sense will no longer have much meaning in this discussion. Cruel self-irony has christened this line of division "Latitude 38." The overstepping of this line is no less daring a deed than the crossing of the frontiers between Israel and an Arab State.

Equally strange incidents have occurred in other places, such as for example, in the Kibbuz Jad Chema, which are characteristic of the general situation. Thirty inhabitants of the Kibbuz Jaron in Upper Galil had entered upon a hunger strike, because as members of a Leftist group between Mapam and the Communists, they had been ejected from the community. After being forcefully driven out of their Kibbuz, 27 of them found refuge in the Kibbuz Jad Chana near Chedera. Here it came to fierce clashes between the various groups, which were only with difficulty subdued by the Police, each Party emissary fetching help from outside.

There has never been a lack of conflicts in the Kibbuzim, but they have always been based on the general universal human problems, and not on party-politics. Life in a Kibbuz, as life in a Cloister, cannot be tolerated by everybody. The price paid for the elimination of the struggle for one's existence, is not small. Individual freedom of movement ceases, and the attraction of a communal life with people of similar views, has recently been considerably diminished through the completely indiscriminate acceptance into the Kibbuzim of new candidates.

For this reason, a large part of the German Jewish youth, who emigrated to Israel after having been forced out of their country by Hitler, have already turned their backs on the Kibbuzim. Their departure, however, was only a kind of natural selection, which endangered neither the spiritual nor the material structure. Above all, their departure was made good

by a big economic boom, which for Palestinian conditions, was of long duration. It may sound strange, but the Kibbuzim were amongst the beneficiaries of the Second World War. They enjoyed more than a small portion of the monetary blessings, brought into Palestine, as indeed into the whole of the Middle East, by the presence of the Allied Armies. The rising prices of farm products, of goods produced by the Canning Factories of Givat Chaim and Givat Brenner, and the woodwork factory in Afikim and several other places, transformed the Kibbuzim, considering what they originally were, into big money-earners. Suddenly, their pockets, until then only barely filled by the help of Zionist Institutions, bulged with large sums of money. The takings of the Kibbuzim rose from £19,000 in 1939 to £58,000 in 1940, and to £89,000 in 1941, the Palestine pound at that time still having its full value. Under the influence of this boom, they did not succumb only to the mad desire of economic expansion; the longing for a better and more extravagant way of life after their long-endured ascetic existence, became one of the doubtful consequences of this sudden uplift. The dining houses of the Kibbuzim became more luxurious, the food of the members was far better than that of town workers, the common rooms were furnished with arm-chairs, like English clubs, and small residential suburbs were built for the older members.

Despite the similarity in their basic organisation, the Kibbuzim differed greatly from each other in several important points. There are various causes for these differences—in one place it is the origin of their founders, in another the natural conditions, and not to a small extent the donations of members' parents and relations. Gan Schmu'el was fortunate in being built on land with an old flourishing orange plantation, and right from the beginning, it had no great worries. Chefzibah, founded by Czech intellectuals, has, in the course of years, changed from a communal settlement into a collective residence of older grandseigneurs. The conditions of two camps, formed almost simultaneously, and approximately 10 km. from each other, prove what a great influence external forces can have on the development. The Kibbuz, Gesher ha Sib, consists largely of the sons and daughters of wealthy American parents, in Beth ha Emek most of the inhabitants come from England. The average age in both Camps is 25. Gesher ha Sib enjoys comfort, which surpasses even the standard of well-living Israeli townspeople. Beth ha Emek suffers from an acute lack of the most necessary essentials. It has to live by its own labours, and on the now very minute contributions from the Zionist funds, while the members of the former Camp were carefully equipped by their parents for their Israel adventure, and are constantly subsidised.

With the wealthy as with the poor, the politi-

cally still united as with those split up into parties, one course of events is noticeable: The main conception of the idea has disappeared, all have fallen from the path envisaged by their founders, and fight a tedious battle for a continued existence, which today has only a material purpose.

It was not poverty, which brought them to their present position, but a boom, which lasted almost fifteen years, and which has made them forget the purpose of their task.

The second misfortune was the extravagant way, in which the Kibbuzim were treated after the termination of the Jewish-Arab War, during the sharing of deserted Arab land. Idealists, fighting hard for their existence became big landowners overnight, without having the experience or the knowledge of big European landowners, of the management of a large area of land without sufficient capital to keep it going. Although they have received most of the American contributions of technical equipment, the conditions in Israel are beginning to take such a turn, that they are not capable of making enough out of their land to satisfy their greater needs for existence. Therefore, even the big Kibbuzim, considered during the boom, as prosperous concerns, are not in the position to meet even ridiculously small obligations in ready cash.

This condition, the end of which it is impossible to foresee, has changed the former feeling of security to one of fear for one's existence, which hopes to find its salvation in politics. In the vain efforts to find a way out of this dilemma, lie the roots of the conflicts in the Kibbuzim. The younger generation particularly, in as far as it is not trying to urbanise itself, is seeking its deliverance in Communism, in which it sees the saviour from the danger of perishing in the whirlpool of a free fight for one's life.

Neither the State nor the Zionist Institutions conceal the significance of the conflict which present conditions threaten. To remove this danger, they have as yet only tried half-hearted methods, the isolation of antagonistic elements by dividing those Camps infected by party combats. Despite its high costs, this method has proved itself ineffective. It has already reduced the State and Organisation accounts by several million pounds.

The question arises, whether by a reform similar to that of the Cloister Reform of Cluny, the Kibbuzim could not be assigned new tasks, which by opening up new prospects, would create new spiritual impulses. Its success depends on whether the State of Israel will remain a Lilliput organism, or whether it will be capable of fighting its way into being a nucleus for far-reaching religious and social ideas. Until this question is decided, the Kibbuzim will have to continue to vegetate between life and death.

Nahariya, Israel.

MASS SOCIETY AND CITY CULTURE

By RAM SWAROOP VYAS, D.S.S. (London)

Mass society is a modern phenomenon and thrives in a particular cultural set-up, called city culture. It has given rise to many modern problems of social psychology and social pathology. We have got used to the idea that we are progressing and that science and civilization are leading to an earthly paradise. But it may be, that our conception regarding 'progress' may be wrong. Progress is a value-judgement, a subjective evaluation and not an objective fact, and as such we may be projecting our ideas into nature. And it is more than likely, that instead of 'progressing' we may be rapidly heading towards downfall and decay in our city culture, which today symbolises for us the idea of 'progress.'

"Mass society is characterised by rationality, impersonal relations, extreme specialisation of roles, loneliness of the individual in spite of concentration of sheer numbers, and loss of sense of intimacy and security. In such societies suggestion, persuasion, propaganda, demagoguery and other aspects of crowd behaviour are common. The irrational thus comes to stand in sharp contrast to the rationality of implied science, high skill and deliberate choice. The impress of mass society upon man and their culture constitute one of the most crucial problems of personality balance, sense of emotional security and moral use of power."*

Mass society is an outgrowth of modern industrial civilization and culture and denotes the fact that the psychological characteristics of individuals living under the conditions of urban life are not to be found in the older primary group life. In our big cities we have a mass of isolated individuals, interdependent in various external ways, lacking any close sense of personal intimacy and emotional security and often having no central unifying value or purpose. It must be pointed out here that this lack of any unifying value or purpose, lies at the root of so many of our maladjustments in our social and personal life. Our modern urban culture is in many ways a crowd-minded society, such as having transitory contacts, emotional reactions, irrationality and values different from those of more stable cultures.

Kimball Young has described in some detail some of the basic features of mass society and their implications for individual and group life as follows:

"1. There is a stress on rationality, specialisation of roles or functions, impersonality or impermanence of contact and self-assertiveness; these indicate a loss of warm intimacy and emotion of unity and solidarity that we find in the primary group and in the older secondary associations that drew their social support from the primary contacts of their members.

"2. Such a condition fosters a sense of personal insecurity, loneliness and incompleteness, with the result that

"3. There is a widespread democratisation of wants and a growing demand for their equalitarian satisfaction.

"4. As a result of this and high division of labour the older dominant class, or elite has been challenged and class organisation is in a state of great flux.

"5. There arises a strong desire for social-cultural conditions which will restore at least some of the needed emotional warmth, integration and sense of security. The old cultural order no longer fits the complex demands of life.

"6. Despite the rationality implied in the machine process, in scientific ideology, in specialisation of function, in individual rewards (wages, profits and prestige) there is a marked increase of irrational and emotional thought and conduct. The manifestations of this are evident in the increased desire for crowd contacts, as at sport events, political rallies, prize fights and the motion-picture houses, and in less frequent but more violent mob actions.

"7. In these situations, suggestion, persuasion, emotional appeals, vicarious adventure, and vicarious security are provided. A mixture of rational and irrational carries the individual away and give him the sense of intimacy, solidarity and completeness of response that he lacks in his rational and routine contacts.

"8. But such mass society is temporary, it does not afford the permanence and continuity which human beings crave as the foundations for their life."

It may be asserted that such a society is no better and no worse than any other previous social order. It is only different, and just as the primary group life of the primitive and the ancient people gave sense of security and stability, they lived in a more or less static society and the individual was made to fit the Procrustes bed of the social tradition. There was no such thing as an individual development, as we find it today in our competitive urban society, and it may be doubted, if on the whole those societies were better adjusted than our own. In the primary groups of Eastern people, where family is still a dominant feature of society, the good of the society is generally sacrificed to the advancement of the family. The conditions are different because of the difference in technology and transport, but it cannot be gainsaid, that all the features enumerated above exist in mass society and that the individual seeks a return of the old filial security and emotional warmth, and perhaps it is too high a price to be paid for the material advance which science and technology have offered us.

This digression is only to say that because we miss some of the earlier features of primary group life, we imbue them with a rosy colour. It may be that in course of time man may become well-adjusted to the modern urban society, as he was used

* Kimball Young: *A Handbook of Social Psychology*.

† *Op. Cit.*

to the trees in ages gone by. But one serious criticism against modern urban society is, that here we find the pace of change much greater and man cannot easily still retain his balance and sanity under these conditions.

But in spite of what has been said, the problem is real and man in modern mass society feels lost and lonely.

"The many demands of individual choice in the midst of numberless contacts and means of satisfaction leave the individual distraught and dissatisfied. As a result he indulges in thoughts and actions that resemble in many ways those of the member of an action crowd. A transitory or irrational quality makes his attitudes and values different from the more stable and rational ones assumed in traditional social life. Old moral codes appear outworn, personal loyalties of the past mean little or nothing, he desires to get everything for himself, 'while the getting is good,' there is a certain disintegration of life organisation. This may reflect in the breakdown of society's moral order. Man in mass society is easily roused to a pitch of enthusiasm for this cause and that, but may be easily thrown into despair by reverses as easily as the man in the action crowd. He not only seeks a sense of solidarity and security by joining with his fellows in the crowds and audiences, but identifies himself with the vague and amorphous public that are addressed by the radio and the printed page."*

The mass society whose chief features and characteristics have just been mentioned, came into being as a result of what is termed Industrial Revolution and the social and technological changes that have resulted therefrom. The most important factor was the use of steam power, both for manufacture and transport. Later on, electric dynamos and petrol and oil engines partly supported and partly supplanted the steam power. W. S. Thompson has emphasised this fact. According to him,

"Steam power was of very great significance in promoting mass urban growth in modern times. It not only made necessary the concentration of workers, but it also made it possible to transport food and raw materials from distant parts of the country and from foreign lands. Of all the many factors which made for the tremendous concentration of working populations in the urban regions, steam power should probably be assigned front rank. Machines and steam power created the first factories but there was a cumulative tendency at work here. Factories that were successful tended to grow even larger. Since steam power continued to be the main source of energy employed, additions to plant facilities were made right adjacent to the earlier buildings. The larger the plant the greater the number of people who had to live near it in order to work in it. Satellite industries also tended to collect round the major industries. And the problem of industrial administration also added to the congestion as offices were situated in the factories, and in addition to labouring classes, a lot of white collar people were employed and lived in the neighbourhood.

The professional classes, such as doctors and lawyers and teachers serving both the industrialists and the labourers also flocked to the new urban centres."

But it would be misleading, if it is understood, that the development of factory production was the chief factor in creating urban centres, and the congestion that led to mass society. Particularly in England, the enclosure of land for sheep, and the disorganisation of agricultural life also sent many young people into the city in order to find employment. Agriculture is also related to the development of city life, through the development of scientific agriculture, by means of improved tillage methods and better crops, initiated by Tull and Townshend. Robert Bakewell showed how to improve the breed of domestic animals. Thomas Coke and Arthur Young encouraged large-scale and more efficient farming. These innovations together with extensive enclosure of land, ousted peasants from the land and created an army of unemployed farm hands to seek new occupations either in rising towns or in foreign lands. While creating unemployment, it at the same time made it possible to produce a far greater amount of food than ever before, and thus helped to maintain a large working class population of non-agricultural group in urban areas. And as farming became more efficient less people were required to produce more food. The average American farmer feeds and clothes about twenty other persons from the produce of his farm. Sometimes this contribution of agriculture to urban growth is overlooked. It was the increasing efficiency of farming which made it possible for the cities to become larger and more numerous after the industrial conditions had supplied a stimulus to urban growth. It would not be inaccurate to say that machines and factories made the industrial town necessary, while improved agriculture, transportation and trade have made it possible for larger cities to exist with unparalleled frequency.

Just as the development of factory system and the improvement in agriculture made the huge agglomeration of people, called cities, possible, so the cities in essence create the mass-man whose problems we are studying. In this connection the historic development of cities and their evolution will give us a more complete picture of our theme. We are mainly indebted to Lewis Mumford† for the very full and significant analysis of the evolution of the cities. He correlates definite urban types or stages with the social and cultural conditions produced by these and in return fostered by them. His theory of urban evolution represents a valuable sociological contribution to our conception of the stages of urban growth.

The first type or stage of urban society recognised by Mumford is what he has designated as

ecopolis. This is the village community which arose in Neolithic times. It was based upon a pastoral and agricultural economy of a simple sort, but with a surplus production which provided security and continuity. Permanent dwellings were constructed and an elementary plan of village construction worked out. The village was based upon blood relation and community association. This agricultural village community was the germ or prototype of the true city which appeared later.

The second type or stage of urban development was the polis, represented by Oriental city-states and early Greek and medieval towns. This grew up from the merging, an association of several village communities. It had a common citadel favourable for defence, a common shrine or temple in which was worshipped a common deity, and a meeting place for the exchange of products and ideas. While the polis was founded primarily upon a rural economy, we find here the beginning of mechanisation in water mills, metal working, wheeled vehicles and paved roads. The social division of labour was further developed, giving the urban society free time and new energy for the development of philosophy and art. Special buildings, such as temples, stadiums, theatres, guild-halls were constructed to house these new cultural activities. But the traditions and social customs of a rural age still dominated the psychology of these urban dwellers.

Third in order came the metropolis. This type of large urban community arose when some one city, as a result of strategic location, better natural resources, superior trading facilities or all these attracted an unusually large number of inhabitants. This enabled it to assume a predominant position in the region or the county as a whole. Mechanisation of life was carried still further, the division of labour multiplied. Manufacture and trade finally edged out agriculture as the economic basis of urban life. In order to assure an adequate food supply, foreign trade was elaborately developed. These trading contacts together with the immigration of foreigners produced a cross-fertilisation of cultures. New habits and ideas were introduced. Greater wealth and treasure stimulated the development of thought, philosophy and art. It has been in these new and vigorous metropolitan centres, such as Platonic Athens, the Florence of Dante, the London of Shakespeare and Emersonian Boston that human culture attained its very finest expressions. But even as early as the metropolitan stage, we find symptoms of decay. The various cultural elements were not adequately integrated, a selfish individualism sprang up, war was professionalised, and a fatal gulf developed between the wealthy classes and the workers. The metropolis came to be dominated more and

more by the rich and by the ideals entertained by that class.

The fourth stage of urban development is what Mumford describes as megalopolis. In this stage we come even more definitely upon evidences of social pathology and urban decline. The city is dominated by financial and business elements. Mere bigness and power become in themselves the ends most sought after in urban development and city life. The lust for power and wealth crowds out the finer human sentiment. Mechanisation is carried to a new level of development. Bureaucracy in government becomes characteristic. Standardisation dominates life, even in the field of culture and art. Scholarship descends to sterile compilation and statistical research. Education is devoted primarily to encyclopedic instruction and knowledge is divorced from the realities of life. The workers are thoroughly exploited by the wealthy classes and the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat becomes sharper and more comprehensive. Representative examples of this megalopolitan stage of urban development have been Alexandria in the third century B.C.; Rome in the second century A.D.; Constantinople in the tenth century; Paris in the eighteenth century and New York in our day.

Megalopolis degenerates into tyrannopolis, a stage into which certain contemporary cities are already entering. Here the whole urban economy becomes essentially parasitical. Both economics and politics are carried out for the purpose of exploitation. Politicians build up a coalition with organised criminals. Hence, the tyrannopolis is dominated by respectable people who behave like criminals and by criminals whose activities do not bar them from respectability. This is the age of organised racketeering and commercial crime. Political idealism is replaced by cynicism and loss of nerve. The predatory psychology spreads even beyond the boundaries of State and leads to war and excessive drain on great armaments programme. Dictators with all the characteristics of local gangsters writ large take over the control of entire States. All intellectual and artistic work is repressed and thorough-going censorship established. All original work in arts and science ceases.

Finally, we come to the last and sixth stage; that of urban collapse or the period of necropolis. In this terminal stage of urban evolution the cities are laid waste by war, famine and disease. The cities themselves become little more than empty shells, graveyard of ancient glories and contemporary degradations. The buildings fall into ruins, the stores are looted, economy collapses. Foreign invaders may come out to wipe out what remains or the process may be brought to an end by dry-rot from within. In the necropolitan era we find the city of the dead,

* Op. Cit.

† Lewis Mumford: *The Culture of Cities*.

flesh turned to ashes, life turned into a meaningless pillar of salt.

While Mumford does not contend that cities must inevitably pass through all these stages, he shows that we have had examples of each of these stages in the cities of the past including necropolis in the form of Babylon and Nineveh. Most of the large cities in Europe and America have reached the stage of megalopolis and in Fascist countries, they had attained the stage of tyrannopolis.

A survey of city culture thus displays greater maladjustment, as its size and population increases,

and in proportion its value diminishes. The crime, insanity and suicide rates are much higher than for rural areas, and in large towns delinquency areas exist. There is greater life disorganisation, as has been pointed out earlier, and the loneliness of individual in spite of sheer number breeds pathological mental states. It, therefore, seems advisable that an upper limit should be placed on the increase of the cities, and that vast human agglomerations and conurbations producing unhealthy biological and mental conditions should not be allowed to develop unhindered.

—:O:—

TOWARDS BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

An Indian Visitor's Impressions

By DR. KRISHNA BAI NIMBKAR

OUR visit to the United States, Canada and Japan has been made possible by the generosity of the Ford Foundation and the Planning Commission of the Government of India.* We were a team of five women invited to America and Canada to take advantage of the seventh triennial conference of the Associated Countrywomen of the World, which opened in Toronto on August 11.

The ACWW as the Association has come to be known, is the only international body representing countrywomen among 239 non-governmental organizations, having consultative status with the United Nations. It speaks with authority on behalf of some of its member countries, on problems facing women in rural areas in these countries and does what it can, to assist them. It is the Association's view that if customs and habits of a people have to be changed towards a better living, it must be done through women.

In the five-member team, two of us, myself and Shreemati Kameswari Kuppuswamy of Mysore, were from India, nominated by the Planning Commission; two from Pakistan and one from Egypt.

After going through the endless and what appeared to me, interminable formalities of passports, visas, inoculations and medical examinations and taking our final instructions from the Planning Commission authorities and the Ford Foundation Representative for India in New Delhi, we two boarded the plane for Karachi at New Delhi. At Karachi, we changed over to a BOAC flight. We left its beautiful airport on a warm, Saturday afternoon, August 22, and reached London the following day.

THRILLING EXPERIENCE

This was my first long-distance flight outside my own country. The varied lands and climates one flew

* Dr. Mrs. Krishna Bai Nimbkar is a member of the Social Welfare Board, recently constituted by the Government of India, to co-ordinate the work of voluntary social service organisations in this country. She is now on a study tour and is visiting America, Canada and Japan.

over; the halts at stifling, suffocating airports of Basra and Beirut; the strict passport formalities there; the view of the oil fields from the air; the breakfast at Rome's international airport the next morning; the aerial view of that "eternal city"; the flight over the glistening, snow-capped, Alps mountains in broad daylight; the gorgeous lunch at Frankfurt, at its lovely and colourful airport, with a holiday crowd watching the landings and taking off of international planes; the crossing over to the English coast from Dunkirk over the English Channel; the vain attempts to spot out famous English landmarks, to which one had been so utterly familiar through history and literature; and the final thrill, of majestically landing at London's Northholt airport. All this constituted a very, personal and thrilling experience indeed.

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC FLIGHT

The same night we changed over at London, to a BOAC Strato-Cruiser, on our trans-Atlantic flight to New York. It was a flight worthy of all the superlative descriptions contained in travel books and folders. We flew all through the night, losing sense of time and dates and space. We made a brief halt at the Reykjavik airport in Iceland, saw the famed, midnight sun, enormous icebergs floating lazily on the waters of the Atlantic, half submerged, terrible and fascinating in their austere, cold beauty, of their isolation and majesty. Thence, over Labrador, with its pine-covered forests and its jagged countryside, followed by a brief halt, at Goose Bay. Onward, then to New York, flying over Manhattan, to that great city's international airport. From there, to La Guardia Airport by taxicab, passing lines and lines of New York's skyscrapers, until one reached Washington.

IN WASHINGTON

In Washington, we were welcomed warmly by the American women; the Ford Foundation people had specially appointed an "escort" for us, Miss

Landrum, herself, a retired Extension Worker, who helped us to see places.

Our itinerary covered a period of about twelve weeks. The first week was devoted to what they in America, call an "Orientation" course, which is conducted with remarkable efficiency and American thoroughness, by the Washington International Centre. The second week was devoted to a programme of visits, talks and observation, at several State departments or Bureaus of the American Federal Government, like those of Labour, Agriculture, Education and Health and Social Welfare. Also included in this programme, were many luncheons and meetings with representatives of many voluntary and social service organizations in the country, which had their national headquarters at Washington, with regional and branch organizations in the States and Counties.

Between the two weeks, we had time to spend two week-ends with American friends and had opportunities to observe how they lived in their homes. We had also some experience of life in a metropolitan city during our stay at the Statler Hotel, one of America's chain of big luxury hotels. Our rooms in this hotel were equipped with every conceivable convenience, such as television sets, radios, telephones, air conditioners and everything that would delight a traveller. The meals provided were gorgeous but cooked and prepared from simple material, pleasant to taste and in endless variety.

We had opportunities too to stay overnights with some of our hostesses in their homes. We watched them discharge their daily chores with efficiency and quickly with the aid of their electrical and mechanical cooking ranges, cold storage arrangements, washing machines. We saw some of them do a week's washing in their homes in half an hour, without worrying about the *dhobi*. We saw them cleaning their backyards and mowing their lawns in a matter of minutes.

We saw too, the American farmer in his home setting. We watched him attend his cows, his fowls, his pigs, his grass farms. We noted the utterly hygienic standards achieved in the milking of his cows and in the preparation of his farm's milk products for the American markets. We ate great, luscious apples, straight from the trees in his orchards, drank milk from his coolers. We visited the local board hospital, completely equipped for all kinds of medical relief to the local community. We saw too the ivy and honeysuckle, the pines and the oaks, the silver spruce and the maple, which we had only read about in our school text-books at the Egmore Presidency Training School in Madras. We drove to Maryland with the young Mrs. Wilson, aged 65, driving us in her automobile, to see a village farm at Harper's Ferry, passing week-end holidaying crowds in their automobiles, across the Shannon Rock

river, crossing areas filled with hotels, trailer caravans, wayside markets and drug stores. It was a memorable week-end indeed for one, who travelled third class in India on principle and who had promised Gandhiji, when she was a girl, not to wear anything but *khadi*. I wore my usual *khadi* wherever I went. Its dignity and simplicity attracted attention. There were friendly comments in the newspapers about the *khadi saris* I wore and a genuine appreciation for things one stood for.



Dr. Krishna Bai Nimbkar

SOME SALIENT FEATURES

Such was America, as it appeared to me during the first fortnight of my stay there, in that new world they are trying to build. Through all the things I was privileged to see, I noticed and thought of some of its salient features. The utter unconventionalism, the smile of welcome, the civility and politeness they give to one another, the hospitality with its spontaneity, the awareness of increasing internationalism that seems to govern the expanding life of the ordinary American citizen of today, his deep assimilation of the spirit of modern democracy, his intense desire to keep up to standards of righteousness laid down by his people, the growing pride in his institutions and new traditions and the desire to take his nation from greatness to greatness, bore evidence to the magnificent struggle of a new type of humanity. All this made an abiding impression on me. I felt deeply moved indeed. Their courage and faith in themselves was something of an eye-opener to me.

The American human energy is something very terrific. Their vitality and struggle to keep themselves perpetually active which results in every man, woman and child to engage themselves, in some form of work or other, is astonishing. At the same time, they seem to find a lot of leisure to do things they would like to do. This is probably because of their highly mechanised existence. In short, their material existence has reached a standard of perfection and regimentation, which is unthinkable to a person from the East.

CREATED NEW PROBLEMS

I may be right—I may be wrong in my assess-

ment of American values, but it does seem to me that all this mechanical perfection towards a better material existence, is likely to dull the edge of creative effort in the long run. A day might come when the American people may not know what to do without the perfect means at their disposal. For example, the manner in which household vermin has been exterminated by their moth balls, vacuum cleaners and insecticide sprays is also leading the American people, equally to discover means to exterminate the human being, considered undesirable by them, by their research into the use of the A and H bombs!

These imbalances agitate one's mind, especially, if one were accustomed to the idea of a Gandhian peace. It is also agitating the minds of many in America itself—of world federalists, humanists and pacifists who are all trying to work out a new formula for human endeavour, towards directing the era of perfected ways of living to enrich the underprivileged world. Is it this motivation then, that is at the bottom of the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 Programme, the TCA and the International Educational Exchanges? Or is it the attempt to counter the expanding political philosophies of a totalitarian communism, which, according to them, has done the world no good? Or again, is it the psychology of an emergent, new race of men and women, trying to assert itself and to establish itself in its new position, replacing a decadent world power and race groups of Britain and France, to which two countries themselves, the Americans still claim ancestry? All these

questions impinge themselves on any visitor from the East, who sees America and the Americans for the first time.

THE INDIAN VIEW

The Indian visitor to America reacts to it all, according to his or her roots, which they have had in India. Personally, I cannot help upholding, honestly and truthfully, the philosophy of Gandhi and Radhakrishnan and Vivekananda. The internationalism of Nehru and the vision of our own attempts at the revival of our ancient village economy based on self-sufficiency and self-help, leading to a fulfilment of both the spiritual and material needs of man, enabling him to live in harmony with Nature, with his neighbours, with trees and flowers and even bees and insects in their setting and with God in His manifold manifestation seems better. It seems to me too, that in a system of practical philosophy such as this, our Five-Year Plan is a good beginning. It may not be perfect. But it has the seeds of big endeavour on a national scale, to solve some of our problems, without forgetting the basic things we in India are made of, rightly or wrongly.

Yet, I still believe we have a lot to learn from America. We have a lot to teach them too. There is not a more receptive nation today to our philosophies of life and living. This we shall be able to do, only by these mutual exchange programmes for which we have to thank the far-sighted policies of both the Governments of India and the United States of the present day.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM "Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir"

Papers giving descriptive accounts of religious rites and practices of different parts of this vast country are always welcome. They help the people in knowing each other. Nay, they tend to create a feeling of unity and solidarity among the people by way of bringing into prominent relief the underlying unity pervading through the apparent diversities that binds together the Hindus of different corners speaking different languages, wearing different dresses and observing apparently different religious practices. Hence, the need for compiling these accounts with care and presenting them in a clear and unambiguous form requires no emphasis. But unfortunately this does not in general appear to be fully recognised. So the papers sometimes arouse our curiosity but do not satisfy it.

Rajali's paper on "Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir" published in the August issue of *The Modern Review* seeks to show that Shakti worship became popular in Kashmir from olden times and refers to the deities worshipped and the feasts and festivities observed to this day. All this is very good and interesting. But story?

only a mention of the names, presumably in their popular and sometimes corrupt forms, without giving any details serves very little useful purpose. Even a reference to the Sanskrit forms would have in some cases at least been of partial help. Occasionally, but not always, the Sanskrit forms may easily be guessed. *Gauri Trateya* seems to be *Gauri Tritiya*, *Jetha Astami* and *Poh Astami* may be *Jyaishta Ashtami* and *Pausa Ashtami* respectively. But what is *Khriv Chodah*? Is *Navatah* a variation of *Navaratra*? And we want to have some information about the time and nature of these festivals. We want to have some details about deities like *Sarika* and *Rajni*. We cannot remain satisfied with the statement that the *Sivaratri*, a festival of wide popularity, is observed in Kashmir on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Phalgun and not on the 14th as in other parts of India. Some light needs to be thrown on the reason for this difference. Is there any Shastric authority for this Kashmirian practice or even a reference to it in any popular or mythological

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE CHILDREN OF HARI

By T. B. NAIK

SAINT Augustine used to say that man wonders at the rolling sea and the boundless sky but does not look at the most wonderful thing: man, himself. It was perhaps Hamlet who wondered at man, noble in reason, infinite in capacity, like an angel in action and like a god in apprehension. An anthropologist is another person who wonders at man and his affairs, but he is different. He does not give up man as a quintessence of dust like the Prince of Denmark. His wonder is replaced by sobriety, he studies man and his work most dispassionately and objectively and gives us the report of his observation.



A Balahi patriarch on his seat of honour

I am introducing to you* such an anthropologist's study of a small man in our state. The study is called the *Children of Hari* and is written by Reverend Stephen Fuchs. Now over 45, father Fuchs was associated with the Society of the Divine World at Khandwa where he spent about ten years. He is now working for the famous Anthropos Institute of Vienna in its Indian Branch at Bandra, Bombay, and he also lectures at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Fuchs has written over fifty superior papers in the *Anthropos*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay*, the *New Review*, etc., and has also worked on behalf of the Census 1931 among the Bhils of Central India, taking their anthropometric measurements. This book, *The Children of Hari*, describing the culture and social life of the Balahis has about 463 pages, 22 plates, a good introduction by Christoph Von Haimendorff, is priced Rs. 25 and is published by Harold Verlag, Vienna, in 1950, and available at the Indian Branch of the Anthropos Institute, Bandra, Bombay 20.

II

POPULATION AND RACE

The Balahis are untouchables belonging to the Nimad District of our state. Their total all-India population is about 5 lakhs 84 thousand and they are distributed in

Ajmer-Merwara, U.P., Gwalior and M.P., where they number 56,782. They appear to be of the same stock as the Chamars of U.P. and seem to have migrated here from that state and settled near Khandwa and Hoshangabad. They have been studied in and nearby Khandwa.

Racially the Balahis are not a caste approaching to anything like uniformity of features or purity of race. The mean stature of males is 159.6 cm, the mean cephalic index of males is 77.3 and the mean male nasal index is 80.5. Their skin colour varies from a light brown to black and the hair colour is a very dark brown or black. They seem to have received a number of accretions from Aryan and non-Aryan races of India; for even in the distribution of blood groups they differ from the Indian average; they have all the groups, A, B and O in the same proportion.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The wearing apparel of the Balahis consists mainly of loom-made articles untouched by needle and scissors. The traditional dress of a male Balahi consists of a loin-cloth, *keiti* or *dhoti*, a coat, *angarkha* or *angarsa*, or a shirt *camiz*, and a head-cover, *pagri* or *topi*. Shoes, *juta*, they wear only in the summer when the hot soil burns even the thick soles of their feet to blisters or on a journey and during field work.



A Balahi Sadhu

The usual attire of the Balahi female consists of only two pieces of cloth: the *lagra*, a large sheet which covers the lower portion of the body, the back and the head; and the *choli* or *angia*, a bodice which covers and supports the breasts. The *lagra* is about 15 *hathis* in length and about four to five feet in breadth and is donned in the usual Marathi style. Women and girls never wear shoes except in the hot season, when at field work or on

* Introduction of the book to the Jamalpur Book Club on December 7, 1951. The photographs have been very kindly given by Dr. S. Fuchs, the author of the book.

a journey; but they take off the shoes when they enter the village. A woman should not wear shoes when she meets a man, especially if he is her husband.

The Balahi men have various methods of dressing their hair. Often the whole skull is shaved with the exception of the *chutti*. This fashion, very popular with them, is known as *gota*. Others have the hair of their head cut except for the portion over the ears. This is called *kalam*. Some keep very long hair and cut it off at neck-length; it is called *singora*. Women allow their hair to grow and coil it in a simple twist at the back of the head; and they are rather untidy in arranging their hair.



Devotees of Kati Mata

Balahi men generally wear few ornaments. They have ear-rings *murkhi* and *bhauri*, silver-rings on the wrists, finger rings and waist chains *kurudlu*. But the Balahi women have a greater number of ornaments of gold, silver, nickel or glass; but never of brass. In the ears they wear the *dodi* and *jhumka*, in the hair the *bindia*, *bija*, and *bora*; and round their necks the *takli*, a massive silver ring and silver chains, and *pot* strings of glass pearls worn by married women. Then there are finger-rings, wristlets (the *dal*, the *erya* and the *gol*), anklets (the *kara* and the *payera*), and toe-rings (the *bela*, the *tichhia* and *bichhia*). Unlike the aborigines they wear few tattoo marks.

FOOD AND DRINK

They eat *joari* bread, boiled rice and *dal*. Wheat and vegetables are also eaten when they can afford to buy them. There are two specialities of Balahi diet for which they are looked down upon by other castes; they eat carrion and *jutha*, the leavings of food of higher castes. They drink liquor, use pan and at times a few take opium also.

III

LIFE HISTORY OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Birth: Children are most welcome for the Balahi. When a child is born there is much rejoicing and feasting. Now-a-days it is customary for the father himself

to assign a name to his child. He never ventures to give the child his own name or that of its mother for the belief is that the parent would die if a child is given the name of its father or mother. Frequently a boy or a girl gets a second name by which they will be called. The real name is not even known in public. Boys usually receive as their names an epithet of Krishna, Rama or any other Hindu god. Children are also named after days, e.g., Manglya (Tuesday) or Budhya (Wednesday).

On the sixth day after birth the goddess *Chatti* is worshipped. This goddess is supposed to write the child's fate on his forehead on the coming night. On the eleventh day after birth *Jalwai* puja is done. The ceremony resembles a certain rite in the wedding ritual and shows that a marriage is not complete if not blessed with children. The mother moves out of her seclusion on the twenty-first day. The mother nurses her child for about three years or until the next child arrives. She suckles the child whenever it begins to cry. There is no regular time of feeding. They just grow up being attended to by older siblings and there is no botheration about their training and education. There is no cruelty towards children and no infanticide. They learn by imitation and observation and soon reach the marriage age.



A Khadi

MARRIAGE

From the Balahi point of view the first purpose of marriage is procreation, the perpetuation of the family, the clan, the caste. A Balahi marriage, as any other Hindu marriage, comprises three groups of ceremonies which are performed to celebrate, (i) the betrothal, (ii) the actual marriage contract and (iii) the beginning of conjugal life.

They of course see that a man marries outside the clan of his father and of his mother. Blood relationship up to the fifth degree and affinity to the third degree inclusive make a marriage unlawful. A widow cannot marry a member of her former husband's clan.

Engagements are generally arranged when a Balahi boy is about six to eight years of age and the girl

usually slightly younger. The betrothal is entirely a parental affair; if both the parties agree they decide on the *chhoti mangni* in which the boy's father with a few men of his village goes to the girl's home; there they drink liquor saying: "Let us now drink the liquor of the betrothal."



An old Balahi woman

When the last bottle is empty, the boy's father pours a few drops of liquor in a glass and offers it to the girl's father saying, "I am giving you my son. Let there be no quarrel." The girl's father drinks it, pours some drops in it and offers it to the boy's father saying, "I give you my daughter. She will work for you. Treat her with indulgence." This ceremony is called *larka larki ka adla badla*. After two or three months the boy's father goes to the girl's father's house with presents, which includes some clothes and sweets for the girl. One year after the betrothal the bride-price has also to be paid up. It amounts to Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 and is demanded by the girl's father because he loses a worker in the house and also because he brought her up. It also guarantees for the stability of the marriage.

In the marriage proper the main ceremonies are: the bride and the bridegroom are anointed with *haldi* in their respective homes; at the bridegroom's house a marriage booth, *mandap* is erected; the bridegroom's party, *barat*, goes to the bride's village in carts and stay for a while in a special house, *janwasa*. Then the bride and the bridegroom meet under the *mandap*; their hands are joined and the hems of their garments are also tied; and after a banquet there are a few other minor rites performed. The next day the bridegroom's party with the bride goes to their own village. The girl goes to her father's house after a few days during which she is not allowed to sleep with her husband and lives there until her first menstruation.

After her first menstruation word is sent to her father-in-law that she is now ready to enter married life

and that he may come to fetch her. The man soon arrives with some companions and is served with liquor and a good feast. They go to their own village with the girl early next morning. The arrival of the girl at her husband's house is called *ana*.

IRREGULAR FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Over and above the regular marriages described above there are elopements and enforced marriages also. A woman can enter the house of a man and inform him of her intention to stay with him and he keeps her. Polygamy is allowed but not largely practised. Widows are also allowed to marry. Divorces are allowed and are frequent. Usually, it is the woman's relations who seek a divorce because of ill-treatment, dissatisfaction of the women or the prospect of a good bride price in case of a remarriage.

DEATH AND FUNERAL

Then, comes death as sure as anything; and the Balahis do not believe in deceiving a patient with soothing words about his chances of recovery. They are frank and express doubts as to his recovery. They, even the dying men, have little fear of death, do not think about it and live entirely for the present.



A young Balahi woman

The dying person is placed on the ground, a bier is prepared, the dead body is washed and clad in a new cloth. The mourners put some silver coins and grain-balls in the hands of the corpse and spread new clothes over the bier and then tie the dead man on the bier. The widow of the dead man dresses in her best clothes and ornaments, weeps with heart-rending sobs, anoints the dead man with *haldi* (signifying the return of the marriage *haldi*) and then takes off her jewels and ornaments.

Four men carry the bier to the burial ground led by a near relative carrying a smouldering dung-cake in his right hand. All the way the mourners should incessantly say: *Ram bolo bhai Ram!* The body is buried; the mourners take a bath in a river or *nala* and return home.

Ten days they mourn, the women singing pitiful dirges in the early morning every day. On the tenth

day they offer *puja* to Ganapati and then there is a funeral banquet

IV

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

THE CLASS

The Balahis as a caste have several endogamous subdivisions—the Kori, the Gannoria and the Katia. They have a number of exogamous class, which they call *got* or *kul*, the members of one *kul* being considered brothers and sisters cannot marry each other.

THE FAMILY

It is the most important unit in their social organisation. It generally consists not only of husband and wife and their children but also of the wives of children of the grown-up sons. It is more often than not a family group, a so-called joint-family. In a well-ordered joint-family all its members contribute their share to the support of the whole family. The father is the seat of authority; and the owner of the entire property. When the brothers separate they get equal share of family property, sisters do not get anything.



Balahi dancers

THE PANCHAYAT

The public affairs of a Balahi village community are managed by a communal body called *panch* or *panchayat*, which has a membership of four or five elders elected by the adult male population of a village. The *panch* has wide jurisdiction powers. It discusses and decides, for example, the sinking of a well, the building of a *mandir*, or the acquisition of common caste-property. It can enforce the observance of the caste-rules and can punish the transgresses. Slander, petty thefts, disputes, even bride-price and divorces, all fall under its jurisdiction. The *panch* has authority to impose punishment extending from a small fine to expulsion from the caste, which is really a very hard punishment. There is a bigger though rarer caste-council consisting of members of twenty or more villages, which meet to decide more important caste questions.

CASTE OFFICIALS

The Balahis have a number of important caste officials. The first is the headman of the caste called *patel* or *mehtar*. His office is for life-time and his task is to preside over caste meetings. No purification ceremony is performed without him. The second is the *bhat*, the caste-registrar, who visits Balahi villages fallen to his share and records important events of each Balahi family in his district. The third one is their spiritual *guru* who is himself a Balahi. He goes from village to village where his followers live; he is often called to attend a wedding but certainly his presence is required for the funeral services on the tenth day after death. The fourth official is the barber, *nai* who is also a Balahi. To each *nai* a certain number of villages is assigned and it is his task to cut the hair and shave the head of the Balahis living in these villages. Then at certain feasts, weddings and funeral feasts, he is called to act as the official master of ceremonies. And last but not the least important is the Balahi Brahman who administers to the spiritual needs of the Balahis. He is also called to cast the horoscope of a new-born child and to give it an auspicious name.

SOME CASTE RULES

Here are a few of the many caste rules: (i) A Balahi is expelled from his caste for killing a man, or a cow or a bullock, a dog, cat, jackal, squirrel, horse or mongoose; for committing incest; for being beaten by a sweeper, Mang or Dhobi. (ii) The Balahis regard as unclean—the dead body of a dog, a cat, a mongoose, a donkey, a horse and a squirrel. They never touch even a live donkey and usually avoid touching a live cat or dog. (iii) New accretions from other castes are always welcome to them. The only condition for admission to their community is that the applicant comes from a higher caste.

RELATIONS TO OTHER CASTES

The Balahis are not commonly treated with contempt by members of higher castes but rather as a people with whom one should not be in close contact. A high caste man feels polluted and must take a bath if he is touched by a Balahi. It is said that in times not long passed a Balahi was not even allowed to spit on the ground for fear of polluting a high caste man who might tread on his spittle. He had to carry a spittle on a string round his neck.

With equal, if not greater, severity the Balahis treat members of castes a shade lower than their own. They keep distance from a Mehtar (lower than themselves) more carefully than any member of a higher caste. In fact, a Balahi would lose his caste if he sits with a Mehtar on the same bed or bullock-cart.

RELIGION

The Balahis believe in most of the Hindu gods like Rama, Krishna, Mahadeo, Hanuman and Ganesh. They

worship the snake god, the god of cattle and of buffaloes and also Kabir. Their belief in the Hindu gods shows that they are largely Hinduised.

They have their own clan-gods and goddesses whom they pay the highest respect. They have the mother-cults also in the form of the worship of the Dhaj Mata and Katimata. There is a lot of superstitious beliefs in witches, ghosts and demons. They have sorcerers also who can drive out witches if they have possessed any one.

ECONOMIC LIFE

About 2.6% of all Balahi earners are cotton weavers; 73.0% are employed as field labourers, woodcutters, etc., only 12.2 per cent are cultivators of any kind, 2.0 per cent are raisers of livestock and the rest have various other occupations. On the whole they are very poor and generally indebted.

V

THOUGHTS AFTER READING THE BOOK

We have travelled very far in being acquainted with the culture of the Balahis. We must stop now and see what the book has given us. In the first place it shows that anthropology and sociology are very useful not only in gaining a detailed knowledge of the working of a society but also in laying bare the ills of the people. If we want to know a remedy we must have the diagnosis of the disease first. These are the sciences which can do that for societies. If we want to know the trials and tribulations of the Harijans and help them, Harijan sociology must precede all other efforts.

Secondly, the book is a challenge to all of us who call ourselves free citizens of India. Here is a problem the book says as real as the yonder beggar on the road which is a blot on our country. If we are to be a really democratic people, untouchability must go. It is an anachronism to-day in the face of industrialisation, democracy and rational thinking on social subjects. The longer we connive at it, the more dangerous the future of democracy becomes.

Lastly, the book brings to light, though not directly, a very important characteristic of all "culture" that

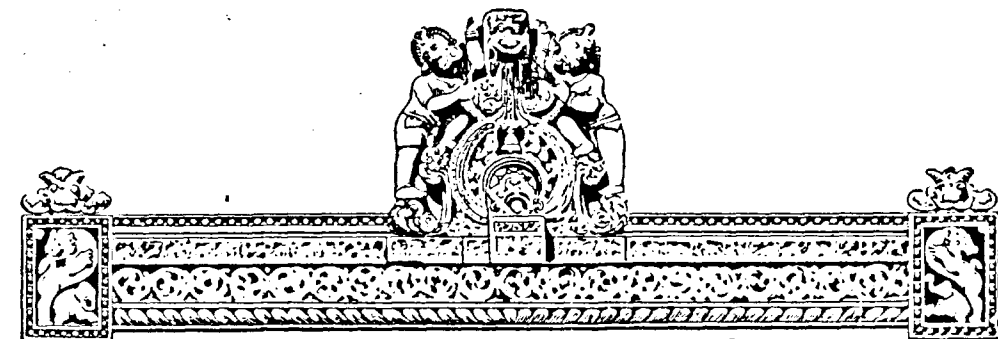
culture is not only a historic continuity but also a geographic continuity. The Balahis have so many customs similar to the people of Gujarat and their language has so many Gujarati words that if we want to really understand them, we must know a lot about Gujarat culture and vice versa. Those talking about water-tight provincial cultures should take a note from this.



A Balahi Bhat

IN THE END

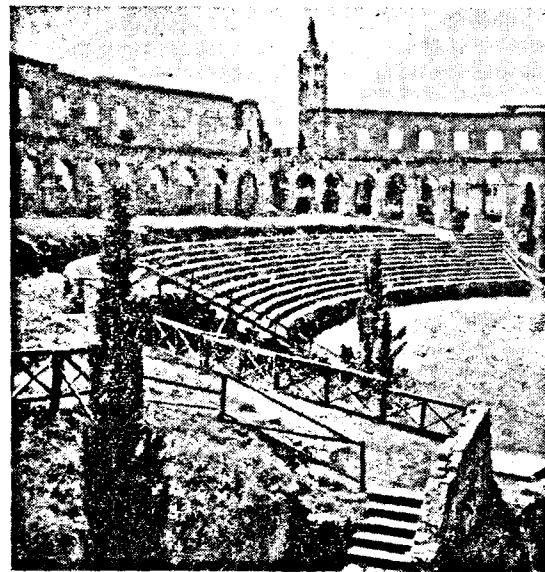
The book is one of the most objective and scientific records of a culture I have ever read. There is very little of emotion in it and nothing of romance which some of the "tribal" anthropologists are prone to have. It is a patient study of over ten years and shows that in anthropology tip and run writers producing a monograph every year, cannot succeed in the "scientific" sense. The printing and binding are excellent. I recommend the book to all the members of the Jabalpur Book Club and also add that it is better to read one such book than to read ten novels or a hundred short stories.



MEDIAEVAL MONUMENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

By R. P. SINGH

Of all the Slav tribes, the South Slavs were those who came nearest to the cultural centres of the late Roman Empire during the great migration of the Nations. The works of their early art shows how best their sense for formative art was ennobled by the ancient beauty of the Roman palaces and squares. Elements of the Great Roman art always infiltrated into South Slavs' art in accordance with the traditional conceptions. Slav buildings dating from the conversion of Christianity are still preserved in the Balkans and resemble in principle the Byzantine, Eastern and South Italian architecture of that time.



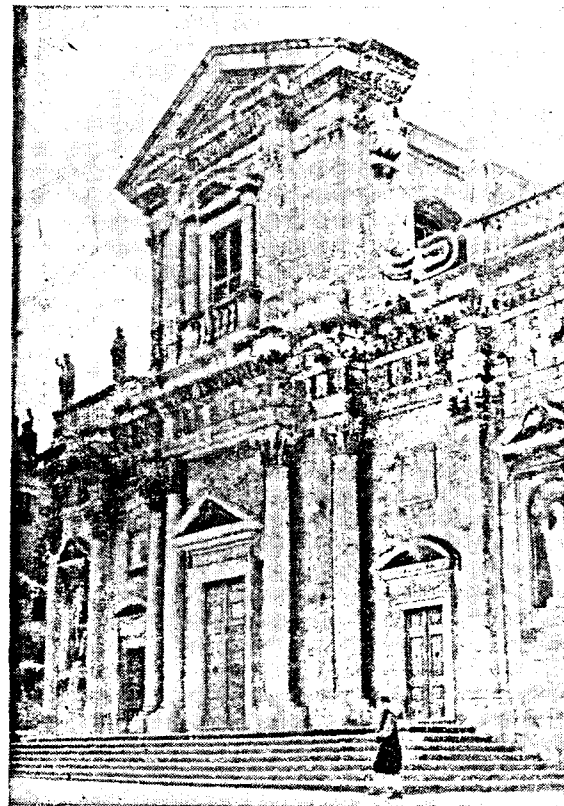
Amphitheatre in Pula. A magnificent example of Roman architecture built from the 1st to the 2nd century. The ellipsoid arena held 25,000 spectators

Among the monuments scattered all over Yugoslavia, the Dalmatian monuments are more interesting and appear in greatest variety. The monuments in Macedonia are clearly marked with Byzantine influence, while those in Serbia and Bosnia present an original synthesis of Roman and Eastern art.

Condition for the particular development of this architecture are to be found in the age-old tradition of stone chiselling, which is abundant and excellent in this region. These imposing monuments are scattered throughout the beautiful regions of the old Serbian Empire. The members of the Nemanja Dynasty cultivated a particular type of church—a single chamber with a vaulted roof of vast diameter and of cylindrical construction. Records relating to these buildings show the engagement of architects from the Littoral for inlaying the facades of these churches with marble and for decorating

them with splendidly sculptured porticos and trifores, was directly dependent on their affinity with the contemporary art of the eastern and south-eastern Adriatic Coast.

At the beginning of the 14th century the greatest architects of the northern regions of the Byzantine Empire crossed the frontiers of the Serbian state. They succeeded in imposing on a whole school of architecture principles habitual in those regions. The monuments of this group have a ground plan usually a quadrangle with an inserted cross having a cupola above the inter-



Palace of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (3rd century) at Split on the Adriatic Coast

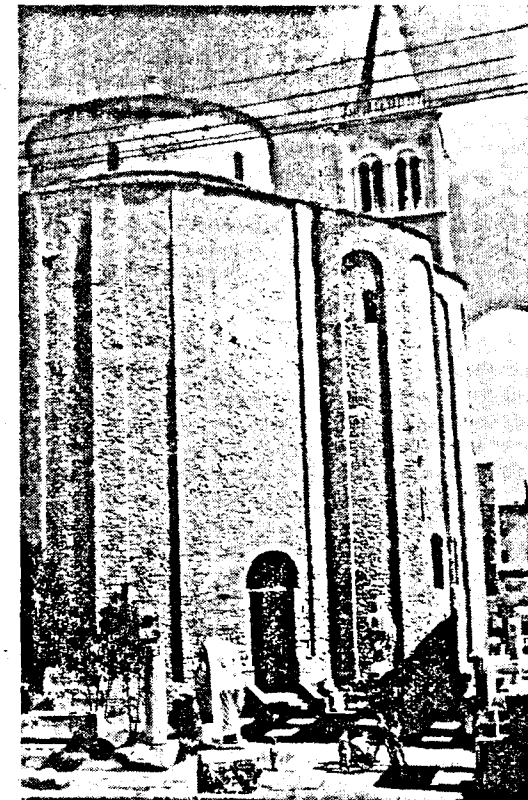
section of its limbs. Roofs crowned with one or more tall cupolas express an upward surge, but the interior appears somewhat confused because of the intricacy of its supporting system. The facades also lack plastic stone decoration.

The third group consists of the buildings of another school at the mouth of the Morava river. Their ground plan is trefoil, whose apses support the beautifully proportioned cupolas. The facades, embellished with deco-

MEDIAEVAL MONUMENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

51

rations carved in stone, have a Gothic tendency—a tendency which becomes apparent in the last buildings of the middle 15th century.



The Church in Zadar, built at the beginning of the 9th century by Bishop Donat, unites the Byzantine conception of space with the Roman style of building

The architecture and sculpture in the interior regions, especially in Macedonia and Serbia, chiefly form a frame for the art of painting. The characteristics of its expression and form are directly related and tightly interlaced with Byzantine school.

Paintings and frescoes of Yugoslav mediaeval art, which embellish these monuments are distinguished by certain features of their own. Humanistic conception is more evident. The grand composition of mural paintings in particular and the architectural proportion of buildings in general are determined by the proportions of man. Every design is penetrated with the thought of man, so that his relation towards the edifice is perfectly harmonious. This art, with vivid emoluments of humanism and realism, forms a sort of introduction to the European Renaissance, not only because of its expression in form but also because it is the most complete manifestation of an epoch which prepared the modern era. And for the people who created this art it is the best document of their past which is according to the poet's words:

"Like the stars which though expired
Still send their light to man,
And man sees the light, form and colour,
Of stars which exist no more."



Medieval City Wall of Dubrovnik, commercial Republic on the Adriatic. The ships of Dubrovnik used to call on the Indian ports in the 16th and 17th centuries



Tombs from the early middle ages found in Stobi

INDIA'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

By T. S. R. RAO

IN an age of passing values, with the accent deeply and well set upon materialism and earthly accomplishments, when the richer and rarer sublime values of life have been sadly forgotten, India has indeed struck a happy note of harmony by continuing to serve as a store-house of inspiration and spiritual wealth to those who aspire to rise above mundane pleasures and attachments and breathe of the heavenly air of lasting happiness and peace.

Immeasurable has been India's contribution in the past to the cause of peace and goodwill among mankind torn amid constant wars and man-made catastrophes. While Greece and Rome of Archaeological fame were in their infancy building the beginnings of their mighty culture and civilisation, while the continents of Europe and Africa were all wilderness with primitive people inhabiting them, not far removed from their simian ancestors, India provided the stirring contrast by shining forth as a dynamo of art, culture and religion that blazed a deathless trail through the East, enlightening the masses, giving nations and peoples a God to worship and a lamp of faith to shine in their hearts. While barbarism in its stark and crude form ruled the hearts of millions in the West, where man had only just discovered fire, India thrived and blossomed forth like a full-bloom lotus, shedding a rare spiritual fragrance around, providing thereby vital nourishment to the country, and the people, not only of this land but also in other lands in the East.

Only India could bring forth time and again, as the hour needed them, great souls who were not unlike their Creator in their spiritual effulgence, to disseminate knowledge divine so that man may forget his wars, and his ambitions, his wealth and his family attachments and turn his face for once in his life towards the Divine Source from where he came and to which he would return ere long. India was—and still is—like a cradle whereby every hour of day and night were born in various parts of the country enlightened souls to lead a blind struggling mankind along the thorny meshy path towards a lasting peace.

The most surprising and unique feature of India's religious beliefs has been that it has succeeded in attracting, through all these centuries, countless aspirants and adherents not by the power of sword or gold but by the simple magnet-like force of sacrifice and suffering. Gandhiji was a symbol of these twin-ideals of India's faith and religion, and it was no wonder therefore that he demolished the might of the world's largest empire and gave back to the people of India a liberty they had long lost all touch of. All men and powers bowed before him, for he carried in his hands a force that power-blind men could not understand, a force that could turn the most destructive bombs and weapons into damp squibs, that could sheath the unsheathed swords of fanatics, wipe the tears of the oppressed and make the faces of men flush with smiles at the very thought of suffering and jail-sentences.

Amazed by the accomplishments of science and invention in the Western countries, we are prone to nurture

secret desires that India too should have skyscrapers, a hundred thousand theatres, jet-fighters and atom bombs, that India too should wax bold with the prop supplied by armament power, with an unimagineable capacity for destruction, so that she also can command allegiance from the smaller nations of the world as do the Big Powers. Let us at this juncture remember that arms and power have with them, as essential corollaries, only misery and destruction. In this connection, it may be wise to recall the noble role played by India's Custodian force in Korea in cementing the deep cracks in the lives of several thousand Koreans. Even though, on the face of it, foreigners may think it to be a fantastic claim, I would humbly aver that in these hard months of trial and suspense, in an air filled with mutual suspicion and distrust, India has done more than the belligerents on either side to give a fresh hope and a new inspiration to the prisoners of war, who, in a way, reflect in them the various aspirations of the Korean people.

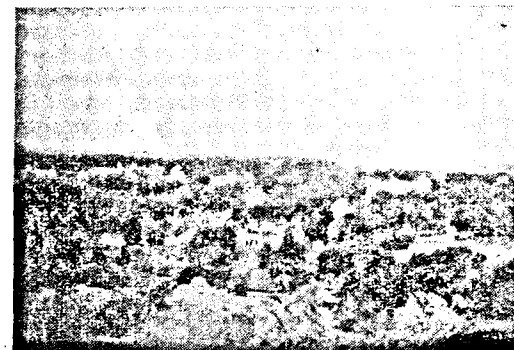
Let us not forget that just as naval strength is the backbone of British prestige and power, as art is the backbone of life in France, so also religion is the bedrock of India's future prosperity and happiness. Unknowingly, it plays a signal role in our lives in bringing the three hundred sixty-two million people of India, with numerous barriers of sects and castes in them, together under one banner. Whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Jains or Christians, whether we live in palatial mansions with servants to wait upon us or in dingy dirty hovels sustaining ourselves on barely a single meal a day, we are all in a sense receiving our vital sustenance from the pulse-beat of faith—in our God—in whatever form we take Him—and our spiritual wealth. We may have dispensed with rituals, even with religion itself in the case of some of the ultra-modern Indians who live in a fantastic world of limousines, clubs, ball-room dances, etc., we may consider ourselves to be rationals with no belief in the existence of a God who is (supposedly, though) not responsible for millions starving and naked, we may even challenge those who continue to have a small faith in His mercy, to prove that He exists and thus vindicate their faith—we may do all these things and much more if only to show we are not unlike our European and American cousins, that we too are "highly civilised" and ultra-modern in "culture" and manners; but let us not delude ourselves, in our hour of need, when we succumb to fits of depression and misery, when life seems to be all darkness and death a welcome relief, it is that imperceptible pulse-beat of religion and faith which is in our veins that rushes to our rescue and helps us, with or without our knowledge, to regain our faith in ourselves and to have a new faith in God's mercy and kindness.

It is only then that we will, perhaps, realise why only India can give to the world a Gandhi and a Budha, an Aurobindo and a Ramdas, and why no other country in the world can do likewise. India's greatest and most precious wealth today is her spiritual heritage.

WARANGAL: THE HOME OF TEMPLES

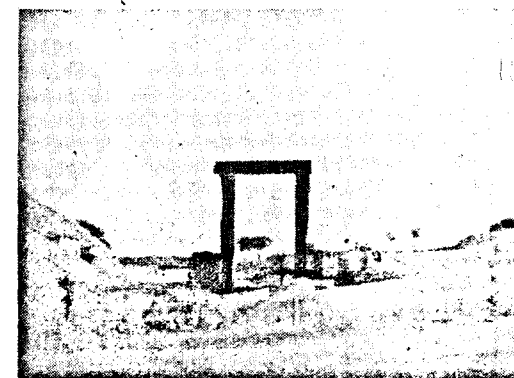
By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

VERY few cities in India are so unique and enriched with such glorious tradition and history as Warangal in the State of Hyderabad. This city, which consists of Hanamkonda and Matwada, came into prominence as early as in the 11th century when for over two hundred years it was the metropolis of the Kakatiya kings under whose reign it enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and a great name. Even today Warangal has something novel to offer to an occasional visitor, to a scholar of history and to everyone who is a lover of Nature's majesty and pastoral charms.



A view of Hanamkonda from the top of a nearby hill

The history of Warangal has a fascinating record of spectacular achievements in the field of art and architecture. The Kakatiya monarchs, who ruled during the 12th and 13th centuries, were noted for their able admini-



The unfinished Gateway at Hanamkonda

nistration and took a keen interest in the promotion of structural art. Among their more important contributions are probably the Warangal Fort, the Thousand-Pillared Temple at Hanamkonda and the Ramappa Temple at Palampet. With the rise and fall of kingdoms, the lapse of time and due to some mischievous destructive

elements, these monuments have now lost a portion of their grandeur; but still today they are a source of inspiration and delight, and we have a right to feel proud of our heritage.

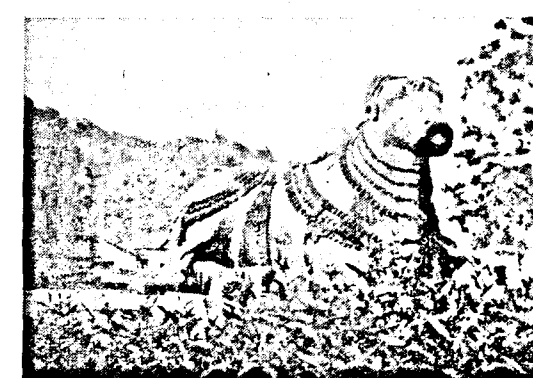
At the Fort area, amidst ruined monuments, we can see the four richly carved gateways which have a very close resemblance with those at Sanchi.

The Thousand-pillared Temple, erected in the year 1162 by these Andhra kings, has today no longer all its 1000 pillars but the remaining few are of great beauty and show a very high degree of art and workmanship.



The Thousand-pillared Temple, Hanamkonda

This temple with its spontaneously carved pillars has been hailed as one of the finest specimens of Dravidian Art. It is no exaggeration to say that even today after 800 years we can still find these pillars as smooth as the



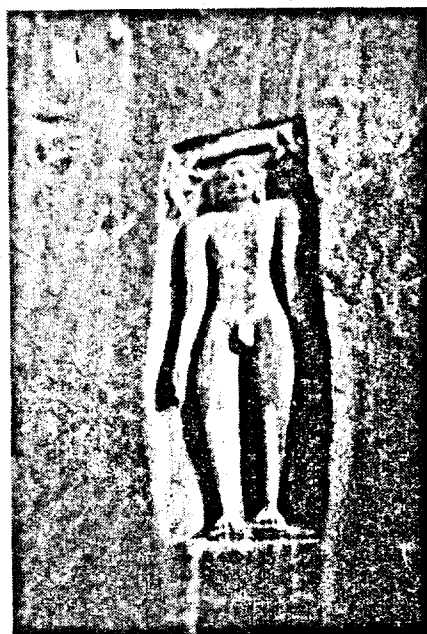
The Nandi at the Thousand-pillared Temple

panes of glass and can even see our reflection in them. Between the two shrines of the temples is the life-size image of Nandi, comparable to those in Mysore and Tanjore, which has been the subject of great praise.

There are several other works of art and sculpture of that age scattered everywhere and particularly at

Hanamkonda. The Padmakshi Temple, perched on the high peak of a hill, besides presenting a placid and serene atmosphere, is reputed for its "pride of

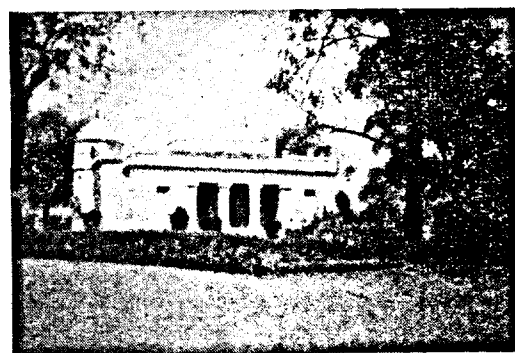
Taking the district as a whole, Warangal is lavished with Nature's bounty and is the abode of novelty and grace. The Pakhal lake is famous for its construction



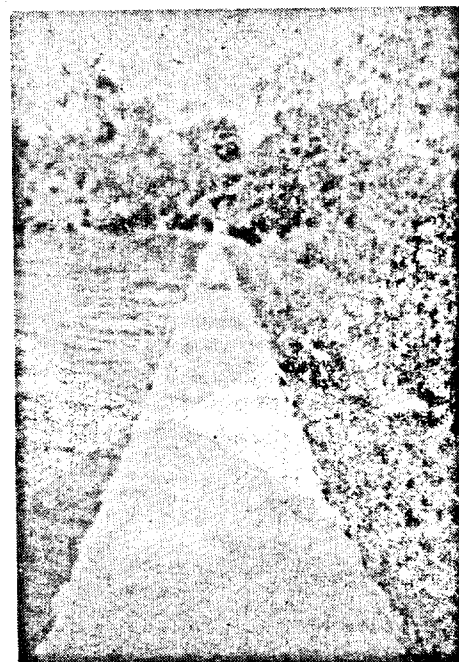
Jain Tirthankara

position" and is visited by devotees throughout the year and particularly in the month of Shrawan. The huge 15-foot tall smiling figure of a Jaina Thirthankara on a massive rock, is yet another monumental work of the 12th century.

With the passing of time and changing civilisations, there has come about a revolutionary transformation, and the Warangal of today is different from what it was a few centuries ago. In the absence of those great artists, there exist today people who at least can boast of their past, and even in the absence of worshippers, the temples



The Town Hall at Public Gardens remain. It is a sad commentary on the character of the inhabitants but is an account nearer to reality.



Palampet Lake, Warangal



The Ramappa Temple, Palampet and the serene atmosphere it presents. This lake lies enclosed by mountain-ranges and thick woods which

are the most sought-after spots of big game-hunting. Similarly at Palampet, close to that charming temple, is another lake, which is the home of crocodiles. Wild beasts can be seen moving about sometimes even during sunny hours, and a lover of sport will always be well-rewarded in these wild solitudes. Human habitation is rare if not absolutely unknown. A holiday tour of this area, however, will be a source of adventure, fun and exhilaration.

Rather unfortunately, Nature has been unkind in presenting extreme climates to Warangal with the result that there has always been a set-back in agriculture. However, in spite of growing competition and rivalry, cottage industries like spinning and making of swords and daggers have survived. The carpets of Warangal were acclaimed as the finest in the world in the international exhibition held in London in 1935.

The real charm of the city probably lies in the fact that with all its modern equipments it has not lost its rural character and is the home of Nature's grace. This rare combination and the "wedding" of city and village atmosphere has made the lives of the people here worth living. It is a feast for eyes to go towards the Bhadri Tank, where climbing over the hillocks, he will be amazed to behold the awe-inspiring sights of Nature. There, lying on the edge of the tank, the Kali Temple invites him for adoration and worship. Far away lie the textile and oil mills puffing all the while, while under his

very feet are the square-cut paddy fields promising a rich harvest. Walking nonchalantly through the zigzag path, the visitor will reach the foot of the Padmakshi Temple in the vast expanse of the cremation ground.

The people of Warangal seem to be well aware of the charms of these solitudes, for it is to such spots they come to celebrate their two important festivals. Early in the month of October, on the final day of the "Festival of Flowers," the women, dressed in their best, gather to sing and play and then float their flowers in the nearby tanks. It is a great fun to see these women carrying their decorated plates of flowers with a spirit of competition and move on nonchalantly through the paddy fields. There will always be a crowd of young boys around them to help them float their flowers going deep into water and countless admiring men all the while. Similarly, the people gather here in a solemn style to indulge in folk-dances and sing to celebrate Dasara Festival. They finally visit the temple and offer their homage and prayers as their forefathers have done through the ages.

Even though Warangal may not have anything special today, it is still an important city of the State. The undying and marvellous remains of the past, the peculiar customs of the people and the eternal beauty of natural scenes will always be a source of pleasure to its chain of visitors.

—:O:—

NEW IMPETUS TO RURAL HOUSING

Progress of Community Projects in Hyderabad

RURAL housing has acquired a new impetus in some of the community project areas of Hyderabad where the authorities and the people have embarked on comprehensive construction programmes to make the living conditions in the villages healthy, comfortable and beautiful. In the Munirabad project area, where nearly 37 villages will be submerged this year by the water-spread of the Tungabhadra Dam, feverish activity is going on to rehabilitate the villagers in new locations. In that area the Government, the people and the military have joined hands in what looks like a race against time—before the onrush of Tungabhadra water submerges the existing villages.

In another project area, namely, Nizam Sagar, a small village, named Durki, stands out as a monument of self-help, showing what people themselves can do, if they so wish, to make their own living conditions healthier and happier. Early in February this year the community project authorities led by the Development Commissioner of Hyderabad State, Shri Zakir Ahmed visited this village and seeing the poor conditions of the houses and the surroundings started, by way of setting an example, the work of plastering the houses themselves.

The villagers looked on in amazement but the spirit soon caught and subsequently they took up the work themselves. By now the village has assumed a new look; nearly 70 houses have been renovated. The old constructions have been pulled down, and well-ventilated, bright-looking tenements with red-tiled roofs have sprung up proving once for all; if such a proof were necessary, that the Indian villager is neither indolent nor unreceptive to new ideas.

With nurturing care consistently bestowed on the village by the young Project Executive Officer of the area, Shri D. P. R. Vital and his staff, the spirit has now permeated the entire population. All the villagers have taken up the work, the only exception being the village potter who is at present having a brisk trade. It is his privilege to supply the tiles for these new houses and his entire family is on the job turning out tons of tiles each day. The potter has no time to build his own house now because that means loss of business but he is very definite that once when the large spate of orders ceases, he will have a house as good as any of the other villagers.

PROBLEM OF SUBMERGED VILLAGES

In the Tungabhadra area, the rural housing work that is on hand is of a very urgent nature as the dam is almost nearing completion. Thirty-seven villages are going to be submerged this year. It has not been an easy job for the Project authorities to convince the villagers about the need for shifting even though they are going to a much better area and the houses they

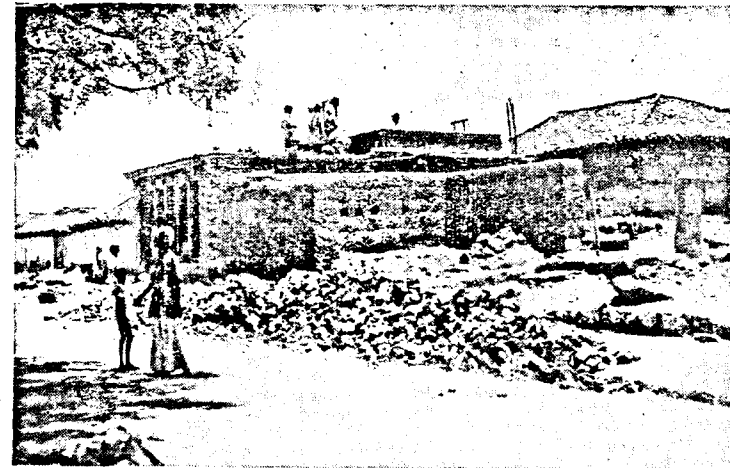
houses will be built. The village will be colonised by the Harijans.

Most of the displaced villagers are agriculturists but in one of the villages, namely, Katarki, there is a community of weavers who are being specially rehabilitated in a village near Kopbal. Already some of the looms have been fixed in the new site and the weavers are busy constructing their own homes.

People of all these villages are generally co-operating with the authorities by helping in the removal of their goods and in construction programme, but in one of the new villages, namely, Hyati, the spirit of self-help has assumed a new glamour. Here, almost the entire construction work is being done by the people and the programme is being conducted by a village council. The Project authorities are assisting by providing some material and essential equipment. During the last four months, the villagers have completed about 45 houses. The activity that is going on here is worth emulating all over India.

VILLAGE COUNCIL

In addition to rural housing the other aspects of community programme on hand include agricultural extension work, construction of roads, health and



A view showing demolished houses at Durki village, Nizam Sagar Project area, on the foundations of which new, bright-looking tenements will spring up. In the background, some of the new tenements are seen.

would get would be decidedly better and healthier. The simple villagers, first of all, would not believe that the dam water would submerge the area. They had their astrologers to tell them differently! Secondly, even though the villager understands, more than anybody else, the value of water for agriculture, he cannot be quite happy over the prospect of seeing this water ruin his hearth and home. Why alone his village should be submerged, while others escape? That was a question.

The initial resistance, however, was tactfully broken by the sympathetic and kindly approach of the Government and now a scheme is on hand whereby the population of these 37 villages would be rehabilitated in 19 model villages and 5 work centres, in higher levels at the Anicut area of the Tungabhadra. Building work has started in all the villages and in order to expedite construction and transportation of goods and the people the military has lent a helping hand. In one of the villages of the area, the military authorities have, since May 5, 1953, constructed 37 houses. Many more



An extensive area in the Nizam Sagar Project Block, where green manuring has been introduced for purposes of demonstration.

sanitation measures, animal husbandry services, etc. In the Nizam Sagar area, construction of roads has been taken up in several villages. A number of new wells have been built and old wells repaired. Nearly 20 village councils have been started in the first Project block consisting of 60 villages on which work began in October last

year. In other areas village councils are under active formation.

PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

Public co-operation is noticeably present in the Nizam Sagar area where all classes of people are contributing in manual labour as well as by donations of land. The Harijans of the village Birkur appear to be a particularly enthusiastic lot. The entire population here is working on the construction of a well, a few furlongs away from the main village. Their enthusiasm is so great that when recently the project authorities suggested to them the need for building an approach road to the well their spokesman said: "This is our work. If you permit, we will do it today." These simple people have not yet got rid of the old habit of taking orders! So, the order was given and about a hundred Harijans—men, women and children—spread themselves out and began construction of the approach road.

Even the village poet whose predecessors in the past had sung the praises of kings and potentates, of damsels in distress, of the blue sky and the meandering rivulet, has found in the community projects an avenue of expression and a field where imagination can have a play. Recently, a party of Government officials visited the village Pocharam in the Nizam Sagar area where a seven-furlong village approach road was being constructed entirely by the people. The officials were greeted ceremoniously—reminiscent of old traditions—and the village poet read out his own composition on the progress of community programme in the village. He said:

*Taluqa Banswara kai sare mauzaun par
Mauza Pocharam lai gaya hai apna fakhar
Aji is chhotte se mauza ko dekhkar
Sharam aana chhahai mauza waloonko deegar
Community Project ka kam nikla hai kia behar
Sare Hind main yan aachha aiyaga nazar
Riyaya apni mehnat se kare har kam ko
Woh pahunchaigai apne achai anjam ko.*

The village of Pocharam has won a proud distinction among all the villages of Taluqa of Banswara.

The achievement of this small village should put to shame the people of all other villages.

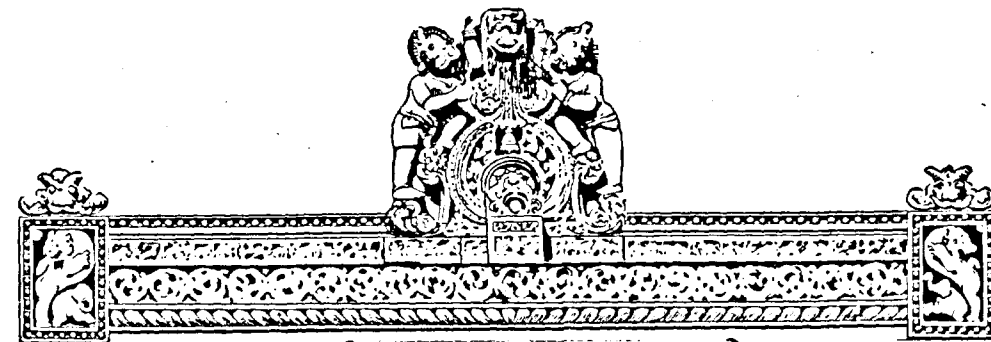
How fine has been this work of Community Projects! This is sure to win approbation throughout India. (If) the people put in hard labour to do their duty, they will certainly achieve commendable results.

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Simultaneously, with carrying on the work, arrangements for having more trained personnel are on hand. The Village Level Worker (V.L.W. in short) is the key man in community project work. He is a multipurpose man and his interest should comprehend almost anything that affects rural life. He ought to know a good bit of agriculture and animal husbandry; he must have the rudiments of engineering skill and knowledge in road construction; he should have a working knowledge of health and sanitation measures; and finally, must act as the friend and guide to the villagers in their daily life. He is the Government's man on the spot and the extent to which he is helpful, the people will consider Government helpful. To find one with so many qualifications is not easy. Proper training is therefore necessary.

In Hyderabad, a few miles from the city, at Himayat Sagar, there is a Village Level Workers' Training centre which has so far trained 67 V.L.Ws who are now working in the Project Areas in the State. Training of more is on hand, as V.L.Ws in hundreds will be required when the comprehensive National Extension Service comes into operation.

Within the premises of this Centre a Training Centre for Social Education Organisers sponsored by the Central Community Projects Administration is functioning. Social Education Organisers who would be looking after the cultural, and educative aspects of work in community programme will go out to the project areas after their initial training is over. The present trainees include five girls who appeared to be quite comfortable in their new surroundings and have taken up the work of training in right earnest.—PIB.



CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA

By Dr. ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D. (Dublin),
Principal, S. N. College, Khandwa, M.P.

SINCE the Home Minister to the Government of India, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, made a statement in the Indian Parliament about the foreign Christian missionaries in India, a prolonged controversy has followed in which Indian Christians and Christian missionaries have taken part either in their own behalf or in behalf of the foreign missionaries. Statistics point to a fairly large number of foreign missionaries working in India and the statement does not appear to have affected their work in any way. Still the volume of the controversy is significant and the subject deserves a dispassionate study.

Unfortunately there has been some confusion of issues. The Home Minister spoke of foreign missionaries, but many apologists have spoken of mission work as a whole. It is necessary to go to the bottom of the whole question. Some of the correspondents to the Press have made out that the fault, if any, in the method of missionary work, is individual and the work itself is above criticism. This view also needs very careful consideration.

The past Christian proselytization work in India belongs to three different ages, widely divided by time. The earliest period falls in the first century A.D. when St. Thomas preached in Kerala; the second period in the sixteenth century and later when the Portuguese invaders of India converted people in Goa and other territories occupied by them; and the third period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when under the British regime, foreign missionary bodies established themselves in India and carried on their work. Probably the missionary work in the first period was of the ordinary religious type. In the second period, however, the Portuguese power applied its usual inquisitorial methods with violence as the chief means of operation. In the British period the means adopted by the various Christian churches included the following activities:

(a) Publishing books, pamphlets and journals and engaging public speakers to prove the superiority of the Christian religion to that of Hindus and others and to persuade the latter to renounce their creeds;

(b) conducting schools and colleges to impart modern western education and, side by side, compulsory instruction in the Christian religion;

(c) running hospitals and asylums to provide the benefits of western medicine and surgery and organising religious propaganda side by side;

(iv) running orphanages to give shelter to destitute children and converting them;

(v) working among Hindu scheduled castes, offering them economic aid, besides educational and medical help and converting them, and

(vi) working among the scheduled tribes—the aborigines, by helping their economic and social organization, and giving them the benefit of hospitals, schools and orphanages, and converting them at the same time.

While carrying on their work the missionaries received support from the British Government. In fact the Church of England was the Established Church of India. Vast amounts of money, some of it received from the Government (as land grant, educational aid, railway concession, grant to orphanages, etc.), some raised from the public (for orphanages, students' associations, etc.) and the rest brought from the home countries, were spent in the application of each of these methods, each aiming finally at conversion.

But the combined result of all the attempts at conversion made through a long period, from 200 years to about 2000, is far from creditable: the Christians of all denominations among all sections of the people today in India number just a little more than 2 per cent of the total population (and this after excluding the portion of old India, now called Pakistan, which has very little Christian population). If we exclude the minor converts and their descendants as well as the infantile section of the population, the aborigines, then the percentage of Christians in India will be much nearer zero than the unit. This is a strange phenomenon in the history of Christian proselytization in the world. To those who admire the fast spread of Christianity in Europe, the failure of Christianity in India appears a miracle!

A careful study of the facts ought to throw some light on the matter. Let us have a glimpse of Proselytization, in India through the ages. It appears St. Thomas converted a fair number of Brahmins who still have preserved the superiority of their social group. Among the Portuguese converts there were the courtiers of the Zamorin who were invited by Vasco de Gama to his ship and treacherously carried away to Portugal and members of their class converted later. In the British period Brahmins and other advanced Hindus were converted in the beginning but soon it was found more profitable to concentrate on the scheduled castes—the so-called untouchables—and a good harvest was reaped in Madras. But it soon appeared that even these did not respond satisfactorily, so, at a later stage, the usual entrants to the Christian churches were small children, rendered destitute through famine, flood or poverty. Even this process, however, did not bring the desired numbers; so the missions turned from the plains to the hills and began to work among the aboriginal tribes, who, presumably by a form of tacit courtesy, had been left alone to live their

picturesque tribal lives by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. As anthropologists say, these aborigines are no better than children in their psychological make-up, and converting them is like converting children. This retreat from advanced to backward Hindus and from backward Hindus to destitute children and to primitive races tells its own tale. This proves conclusively that Christian missionaries failed to attract attention to their religion and having given up all hope of success in a purely religious propaganda offered western secular knowledge and secular science as a substitute for the spirit of religion which Jesus had placed above bread and physical and material prosperity. This was in effect a surrender of Christianity as preached by Christ. As Dr. Radhakrishnan said about Jesus in one of his Oxford lectures:

"He founded no organization but enjoined only private prayer. He was utterly indifferent to labels and creeds . . . He did not profess to preach a new religion but only deepened spiritual life." (Vide *East and West in Religion*, p. 58)

One who failed to influence spiritual life but worked quantitatively on a material basis may not be recognized by a critical observer as a religious teacher at all. Herein would appear to lie the real source of the weakness of Christian Missions. Thinking Europeans, unconnected with missionary work, expressed themselves frankly on this subject. For example, J. Taboys Wheeler in his *History of India from the Earliest Ages*, which was published in the last century, says in relation to what he calls "the vexed problem of why Christianity has failed to achieve that conquest over that national faith which it has effected elsewhere":

"Hitherto the nonacceptance of the Christian religion by the people of India has been referred to inscrutable causes, such as the mysterious dispensation of Providence, or the exceptional depravity of the heart of the Hindu. But it will appear hereafter that it should be rather ascribed to the current of religious ideas, which has flowed in channels unknown and unappreciated by the western world, and which has rendered Christianity less acceptable to the civilized Hindus of the plains than to the barbarous aborigines who inhabit the hills." (Selection from the book in *India, Vedic and Post-Vedic*, p. 124).

No pains were spared by the Christian missionaries to induce the world to believe that the heart of the Hindu was exceptionally depraved and a vast amount of vituperative literature and oral propaganda was let loose year after year to the great mortification of Hindu society. But Hindus, either on account of their traditional mildness, or through the traditional attitude of allowing truth to stand the severest criticism and of facing argument with argument, made no attempt to ban this propaganda and even today, when some, of this offensive stuff is still in circulation, nobody thinks of invoking the power of the state to suppress it.

As to "the aborigines who inhabit the hills," there

are some places, like the Naga Hills, to which only Christian missionaries were permitted to go and Hindus were denied access. (Vide the Home Minister's statement in the Indian Council of States on September 15, 1953).

A study of the social life of the Indian Christians reveals a very unhappy fact. With all the proselytizing zeal in him the white missionary could not establish any sort of equality or harmony between the European and native Christians. The colour bar presented a formidable difficulty. Unlike Muslim converts of the Mahomedan period, the Christian converts found no special favour with the Christian rulers. They became as painfully conscious of foreign domination as the other Indians, and more painfully conscious of the line of demarcation drawn between Indian and European Christians. This sentiment has found clear expression in the correspondence to the Press in connection with the foreign missions controversy. Indian Christians, therefore, showed the patriotic desire not only to have political independence but also to have their free national church. A cultural reaction was also in evidence, many Christians going back to Sanskrit names, Indian costumes and Indian etiquette, from the westernised ways of the first era of Christianization. The white Christians not only had rare marriage contracts with the native, but what was worse still, entered into extra-marital relations to a certain extent and brought into being a social group that was accepted neither by the whites nor by the natives as their own. These people, though Christian in religion, did not find a place in their fathers' church, for in most places there was one church for the whites and another for the natives, and even one cemetery for the white and another for the coloured people. Hence Christianity in its concrete manifestation in India through its social life was far from being such as to create unusual enthusiasm among the people of the land. This presents a strong contrast to what had happened in Europe when Christianity was first propagated there. A learned French scholar, Jerome Carcopino, in his *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, says about the Roman converts in the second century A.D.:

"No doubt the Christians of Rome still formed a small minority of the population; a minority always exposed to the prejudice of the masses and the hostility of the authorities . . . (But) the Christians were brothers and called each other so. . . Many observers in those days were constrained to say of the Christians: 'How simple and pure is their religion! What confidence they have in their God and His promise! How they love one another and how happy they are together!'" (P. 138, Eng. edn.)

The Indian story was quite different. The race of the missionary and that of his converts were worlds apart. The high-sounding language of the Christian scripture appeared ironical before the actual facts. There is also a strange irony in the situation that the spirit of the New Testament was admired, preached and

demonstrated in practice by eminent Hindu leaders of religion and morality. Ramakrishna Paramahansa practised the Christian mode of worship and arrived at a spiritual realization of the Christian approach to the divine; Swami Vivekananda preached about "Christ the Messenger" and members of the Ramakrishna Mission (described as missionaries by some) are engaged in interpreting, without any machinery for conversion, the highest truths of the Christian religion; preachers like Keshav Chunder Sen and philosophers like Dr. Radhakrishnan have shown the same regard for the finest things of Christianity as they have done for those of Hinduism; and we do not know of any Christian political leader of the world whose life approximated to the ideal set up by Jesus as the life of Mahatma Gandhi did. If in India there is a very reverent attitude towards Jesus it is not because of the strange dogmas and pseudo-historical facts circulated by missionaries in a strange spirit of intolerance, but because of the life and teachings of eminent Hindus who loved their religion the more because of their loving what is fine in others' religion too.

In the eyes of Indians who have been taught through the ages to look for the spirit of religion and not to substitute it by mere form or belief, there is something unnatural in the hard Christian dogma, that says that only Christians can go to heaven and all others are doomed to eternal hell. This strikes the Indian not only as a lack of "spiritual good manners," but as an affront to human personality. The attitude of the average Indian towards the missionary who brings him the message of salvation from the otherwise sure doom is one of bitter resentment. He will say: "I am ignorant and shall thank you if you give me knowledge," or "I am sick and shall be obliged to you for your medical help," or even, "I am destitute and shall be grateful for your financial help," but he will resist with life his having to say, "I am doomed to hell and shall thank you for bringing me salvation." It has been claimed by missionaries that they conduct humanitarian work and convert only those who, fascinated by their religion, implore them to admit them to the Christian fold. This claim is not tenable. For one thing, how can small children picked up from villages or given shelter during famine, flood and earthquake decide for themselves? In a conference held in Delhi during Mahatma Gandhi's fast in the house of Maulana Mahammad Ali, it was unanimously decided by the representatives of different religions, including important Christian divines, that minors should not be converted. But that undertaking has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance by Christian missionaries.

To-day Christianity with its old-world dogma and medieval intolerance strikes a note of disharmony not

only for a secular democracy but also for the ideal of one world which all leading thinkers of the world are cherishing. How can one cultivate the spirit of equality and fraternity for a fellow citizen whom one believes to be doomed to hell? Secondly, the one world is to be the world of men as men in which fraternity will be based on common humanity without reference to religion or its old-world claims of superiority or inferiority. Christian missionaries, if they have to come up to the modern standard of world citizenship, must renounce the dogma that divides existing men into those who will be saved and those who will be damned. The world has had enough of religious arrogance, or for that matter, racial arrogance. The verdict of history is against such an attitude. Arnold J. Toynbee, in his *Civilization on Trial*, says:

"Our own descendants are not going to be just Western like ourselves. They are going to be heirs of Confucius and Lao-Tse as well as Socrates, Plato and Plotinus; heirs of Gautama Buddha as well as Deutero-Isaiah and Jesus Christ; heirs of Zarathustra and Muhammad as well as Elijah and Elisha and Peter and Paul; heirs of Shankara and Ramanuja as well as Clement and Origen . . . and heirs of Lenin and Gandhi and Sun Yat-Sen as well as Cromwell and George Washington and Mazzini."

Toynbee is not an atheist. He says that we must "relegate economic and political history to a subordinate place and give religious history the primacy. For religion, after all, is the serious business of the human race."

But if religion is a serious business and the missionary has real faith in it, then whether he is liberal-minded or not, he must be sincerely business-like to the extent of putting up his wares openly before the view of the public. Religion should not be camouflaged under politics or economics or secular knowledge or modern science (which have often developed by defying its checks) nor should it be a camouflage for politics or some other secular interest. And, further, it must carry its appeal to majors who are also free from compelling obligations and not to minors or distressed people lying at the mercy of the evangelist (e.g., a leper in an asylum). Just as, under law, votes cast by minors, or under constraint, are held to be invalid, similarly, options exercised by such people or in a similar way should be held invalid and such conversions should be declared null and void. Christian missionaries who denounce unfair methods of conversion may demonstrate their sincerity by publicly releasing all such converts from their religious fold.

Let religion as religion be given a chance. It is only a cynical or defeatist attitude that holds that religion like pure gold should have an alloy in order to pass current in the world. India has believed otherwise. She has held fast to the faith that 'Truth alone conquers.'

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Article Five

THE LION BREAKS OUT OF HIS GILDED CAGE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XV*

A Cornish schoolmaster whom I knew slightly walked over to the car in which I was seated. With his back turned towards the large public building alongside which it was standing at the moment, he respectfully motioned with his hand to let me understand that he did not wish me to be formal and get out of the car.

"Glad to see you after a long, long time," he said almost effusively for the shy man I knew him to be. Perhaps the atmosphere of the place had got hold of him. This was an Uttar Pradesh city with its roots deep down in our cultural past.

As we talked it came out that he was returning to his post with Father Himalia beetling above it. With a few of his "hand-picked" students he had hurried towards the land fringing the Bay of Bengal. For reasons known only to the Lord over involution, cataclysmic forces had lambasted Midnapur. With humanity welling in his heart, his young fellows and he engaged in such relief as puny man in such a dire circumstance can render.

I did not, I hope, appear to him to be inattentive to the details he, in his matter-of-fact way, was giving me. As I recall it a dozen years later, it was something to this effect. He was proud of his boys. They had served the afflicted men, women and children faithfully. Not the least caste scruple had been displayed by them.

XVI

My thoughts flitted towards Syama Prasad Mookerjee, his chief, the redoubtable Moulvi Fazlul Haq, ex-Civil Servant, lawyer and rebel against Jinnahism, their colleagues and their masterful Colonel-Satrap. This was, to be

sure, not the first I had heard of the catastrophe. It, however, raised before my eyes a picture of the poignant hardships, in this instance not of man's making, that the people must have been suffering; the immensity and urgency of the problems with which they must be confronted. And they were anything but a "happy family," if a family at all.

Not so very long before I had visited that part of the country. It happened in this wise:

I had gone to Khargpur. The saloon lent me by the kindly agent of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway† was drawn up on a siding that made it convenient for me to visit the workshops. Finding the Superintendent friendly, I asked him if he would run me in his car over to Midnapur.

"You happen to be interested in that trouble-spot?" he asked quizzically. His reference was, of course, to the political problems that the authorities—he himself was a Scot—were trying to solve with their "star-chamber" methods.

"Rather," I replied. "I have been reading about it since 1907, when Khudiram Bose hit the front-page headlines. I then was living in Chicago and can remember the flurry it caused even in the far-off 'Windy City'."

After giving me a sumptuous luncheon he put me into his car and headed straight for the "trouble-spot." Suddenly our progress was halted. When he applied the brakes the car stopped upon the brink of an unbridged channel. I wondered if my friend had mistaken the road. He should, I thought, have driven to some other point where there was a bridge. It turned out, however, that he was quite familiar with the countryside thereabouts and every

* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the September, October, November and December, 1953 issues of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

† See St. Nihal Singh's books, *The Changing Scene in India*, and *Along an Indian Railway*, both relating to the territory served by that railway, now incorporated in the Eastern Railway.—Editor.

now and again went from Khargpur to Midnapur.

He told me that there was a scheme for bridging the river : but probably it was tucked away in some pigeon-hole in the Bengal Secretariat. Some day, he hoped, it would be put through. This ferrying business wasted time—and tried temper.

By then a boat had drawn up. I admired the speed and skill with which it was made fast to the bank. My acquaintance dexterously drove the car on to it. In no time at all we were on the other side of the water, upon the further bank and driving into the heart of the city.

Now I saw sights that made me feel that I was in a highly militarized place not far from the front line. Had the driver and his car not been known to the keepers of the peace—such peace as there was—we surely would have been taken to the police station for interrogation. On either side of the avenue through which we proceeded there were small, squat buildings at stated intervals. "Bells of Arms," proclaimed the engineer, who, I seem to recall, was a high-up in the Volunteers.

He had promised to take me to the Hijli Camp, where, without charge or trial, suspects were kept in detention by the imperialists. He did not do so, however. Judging from the excuse he made, he may have thought better of it, or perhaps some one, possibly in authority, had applied the damper.

During that and one or two subsequent visits I saw enough of the countryside to enable me to visualise what a game of hide and seek could be played there by patriots of whom the police had fallen foul. Watercourses, large and small, and the Canal, still navigable almost up to Calcutta, intersected it. The tract reminded me, in fact, of the English fen lands.

The war had already started, I seem to remember, when I visited the district. The man-hunt that had been going on more or less continuously since the Khudiram Bose days had been intensified—brutalised.

XVII

And now, in face of the havoc wrought by a tidal wave, unbelievably high winds and flood, what was to be the attitude of the powers-that-be? That question had jumped into my mind the moment I read the news of the calamity.

Would the vendetta against the population that was suspect in official eyes be relaxed in

the face of the catastrophe? Would humanitarian considerations overlay at least the imperialist moods and tenses?

From the distance that separated my headquarters at Dehra Dun from Midnapur the prospects seemed promising. His Excellency had ordered out a plane and was making an aerial survey of the situation. Immediately upon returning to Calcutta he used the "mike" to give a concrete idea of the disaster to the public in general. He had seen a village without any sign of life, completely isolated by the floods. There were "many square miles destitute of cattle and crops." Almost every tree had been uprooted, huts had been rendered uninhabitable. Roofs had been lifted off the "pucca houses." He had found "even a solid 12-foot brick-wall blown flat by the gale."

The "bunds" had been washed away. Not only were the crops standing in the fields destroyed but, he feared, "the fertility of the soil" had been adversely affected "throughout a strip along the sea-coast several miles in width."

His picture of the wastage of life was harrowing. "Live-stock have perished wholesale," he related. Ruin stared thousands of persons in the face. Their homes had been wiped out. Their possessions had vanished. They were without food—without clothes. Worse still, their "means of livelihood" had disappeared.

While making an earnest appeal for relief he indicated the steps Government were taking to deal with the situation. "Engineers had surveyed the damage," he said, "and repairs would be made." His estimates were being framed. He promised that "compensation would be assessed, seed would have to be provided, cattle to be obtained."

This was humane and commendable.

The Governor's broadcast contained, however, a note that sounded ominous. He stressed the fact that "deplorable disorders . . . persisted in parts of the province and in particular in the very areas where the cyclone had wrought most havoc." He made "it clear that Government consider it their duty . . . to suppress all violence and disorder of this kind." They had both the ability and the intention to do this. "Is it not tragic," he asked, that the authorities should have to "divert their energies to suppress violence instead of concentrating them upon" the task of "helping the distressed?"

XVIII

There were complaints—serious complaints. Action was tardy, to begin with. A cyclone of an intensity the like of which had never before been known had struck Midnapur and adjoining areas on the 16th October, 1942. Over the area into which the Bay of Bengal penetrated there had been a tidal wave, as also a cloudburst. News of so grave a disaster was not communicated to Calcutta for three days, though the wireless was available. Another three days were lost before relief operations were started. As the canal by which rice was to be despatched had not become blocked, fault was found for the delay. The quantity was sadly deficient: for the sufferers were not far short of 15 lakh persons.

There was complaint also against secrecy. A complete blackout had been ordered from Calcutta. Not for 18 days was the public given any news.

The Revenue Minister took the Legislature into his confidence on the 12th November and made a supplementary statement the following day. The Governor made the aerial tour four days later (November 17th) and made the appeal that I have summarised above.

According to statements from unofficial sources, about 40,000 persons died. Some 90,000 per cent of the live-stock in the area perished and seven lakhs of huts were destroyed.

Grievous was the blow struck by Nature. Man's cruelty to man made it gruesome. Syama, accompanied by fellow-Ministers, had gone to Midnapur about a fortnight subsequent to the dread visitation. He was gravely disturbed by what he had seen and heard there. Of this he gave vigorous expression in the letter he had sent to the Governor on November 6th.

In Midnapur repression "had" been carried on "in the pre-cataclysmic period," he declared,

"in a manner which resembles the activities of the Germans in occupied territories as advertised by British agencies. Hundreds of houses have been burnt down by the police and armed forces. Reports of outrages on women have reached us. Moslems have been instigated to loot and plunder Hindu houses; or the protectors of law and order have themselves carried on similar operations. Orders were issued from Calcutta that it was not the policy of Government that houses should be burnt by persons in charge of law and order. I have ample evidence to show this order was not carried into effect. . . ."

Then he went on to point out that even after the terrible visitation,

"the burning of houses and looting were continued in some parts of the district. Apart from the manner in which people were fired at and killed, these acts of outrage committed by Government agencies are abominable in character. Let us condemn by all means acts of lawlessness perpetrated by volunteers. To my knowledge they did not take the life of any Government servant. In any case the wrongs perpetrated by breakers of law and order are no justification whatsoever for the upholders of law and order to terrorise innocent people and to oppress one and all in a ruthless manner."

"The reports which I have received about the callousness and indifference of some of the officers even after the cyclone perhaps find no parallel in the annals of civilized administration."

He proceeded to charge the Government with "the suppression of news of the havoc and even of appeals for help, for more than a fortnight." This he characterised as "criminal."

The Governor was told by him that even "in the presence of the District Magistrates complaints were received" by him and his colleagues,

"that boats were not made available on the fateful evening or even later to save the lives of the people who were perilously resting for a brief while on the roofs of their houses that ultimately collapsed. One gentleman gave a harrowing description of the manner in which he and others begged the officers to allow a boat found by them to ply for a couple of hours in order to rescue some men, women and children lying near the area concerned. This request was summarily rejected and the men who had used the boat were threatened with dire consequences. Later on, all the people whom this party wanted to rescue were washed away, never to be found again."

And he added :

"Our intervention in this respect proved fruitless. Transport facilities and movements were extremely restricted even when we visited the district a fortnight later."

Sensitive to the care and conservation of the cattle wealth of the people, good Hindu that he was, he wrote to the Governor :

" . . . Cows were requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules. The total destruction of cattle owing to flood and storm would be anywhere between 75 and 85 per cent. Of the cows that remained, although they were giving milk and some were with calf, a good many were snatched away from private houses by the police and the military for the purpose of feeding the troops. Such inhuman callousness is indeed unparalleled."

He disclosed that an officer had reported in writing recommending "that relief, whether organized by Government or any private agency, should be withheld for a month and thereby people taught a permanent lesson." To

his horror he had found that "even *bona fide* private relief workers from Calcutta, though they produced their credentials, found themselves in jail under the Defence of India Rules."

Of his and his colleagues' utter helplessness in righting these wrongs he wrote white frankly :

"There is no chance of any enquiry being held, although other provincial governments have held enquiries, under far less serious circumstances, for then again prestige will suffer. The only chance that people of this province apparently have is to suffer patiently at the hands of the upholders of law and order and wait for the day when Nemesis is bound to come."

He admitted that there might "have been sporadic outbursts, but from his personal knowledge" he could "definitely assert that the bulk of the people, including supporters of the (Indian National) Congress, genuinely want peace to be restored immediately." He had had talks with many politicals, "both inside and outside the Midnapur Jail." From these he was

"satisfied that if officers dealt with the situation with tact and sympathy, subversive activities would completely stop and the whole of Midnapur would rise to a man to work whole-heartedly with Government for giving relief. It is disgusting how valuable time has been wasted for one month because of the apathetic and dilatory attitude of some of the local officers on the one hand, and the strange obstructiveness of some of the representatives of law and order in Calcutta on the other. Meanwhile, thousands are suffering for want of food, shelter, medicine, clothing and drinking water."

He also pointed out to His Excellency how Hindus were prejudicially affected by collective fines. To quote him :

"... The scheme of imposition of collective fines on Hindus alone, irrespective of their guilt, has been an all-India feature and is a British revival of the ancient policy of Jijia for which Aurengzeb made himself famous. In Bengal, the Chief Minister had been averse to the imposition of such fines and tried again and again to lay down certain principles which were unimpeachable from the point of view of elementary justice. You have interfered with the Chief Minister's decision and have prevented him from giving effect to these directions. Amounts have been imposed in many cases without any regard to the total damage caused or the part played by the inhabitants concerned. In at least one case I know the collector was not even consulted; in some others local officers were invited by Government itself to propose the imposition of fines. I have carefully examined the papers with regard to a number of these cases and the monstrosity of the imposition has staggered me. I challenge you to place the materials on which decisions have been taken before any impartial judge and I have not the least doubt that in most cases the verdict will be that the fines are not at all leviable in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance, or

that the discrimination made is completely unjustifiable or the amounts fixed are entirely disproportionate in character. Fines have been imposed in many cases without the Chief Minister knowing what was being done. Only recently it was suggested by the Chief Minister that the realization might be delayed by a fortnight and the entire policy considered at a Cabinet meeting. Your answer to this request, which was made on behalf of us all, was in full conformity with the traditions which you had already established. You had no objections to Cabinet meeting being held. But you indicated beforehand with sufficient clearness, but with unbecoming impropriety and discourtesy to ministers, that you would in any case pass orders in exercise of your individual judgment for the immediate collections of the fines."

He complained that "military matters" were kept a "dead secret from the Ministers"; and warned :

"If the worst happens, you and others, who now feel overpowered by special responsibilities will, like your friends similarly situated in Burma, desert the province, we remaining here, unarmed, unprepared and emasculated, to face your parting bullets and the yet unknown operations of the denial policy on the one hand; and the oppression of the invading enemy on the other. And yet with good-will and statesmanship on your side to which the great bulk of Indians would have warmly responded, what a bulwark a Free India and the Allied Nations would jointly have been against the combined forces of the Axis Powers."

I hardly need to add that the Cabinet had become to Syama a cage, albeit a cage with golden bars. At a single bound he jumped out of it on November 16, 1947.

XIX

With his resignation Syama had sent to the Chief Minister a copy of the letter to the Governor from which I have given a few brief excerpts. These bear upon the Midnapur situation. So terrible was it that I have devoted to it this article almost in its entirety.

There were other matters of the highest importance to which he referred, in his frank, bold, caustic style. The Governor was, in fact, flayed alive for his policy, especially, in certain matters, his lack of policy. Since most of these points were dealt with in the preceding article, I do not propose to say anything further about them here.

Being a shrewd lawyer-administrator, he knew that the men at the semi-automatic loom of destiny in Calcutta and the master-loom at New Delhi were not likely to rush into print his condemnation of their attitude and conduct. He, therefore, took care to publish, within three days of resigning, a statement in which he took into his confidence the electors and the people in general. As I remember it almost

a dozen years later, in doing this he virtually summarised the charges of racialism, sectarianism, unconstitutionality and callous slowness in dealing with matters of life and death that he had levelled at the British agent and the coterie of (non-Indian) bureaucrats who were, in effect, his bear-leaders.

In view of what has gone before I shall content myself with the remark that his statement was informed with candour and vigour characteristic of him and seldom exceeded by any parting kick administered by a retiring minister in India in Imperialist leading strings.

The public showed its esteem for him and evinced its gratitude to him for his lion-hearted espousal of their cause, by voting him, four days later (November 27), into the chair of the committee appointed at a monster meeting held in Calcutta. That body was to secure the implementation of a series of resolutions that had been passed. To show the popular temper at this stage I make space for these :

"... this public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta demands in the name of suffering humanity :

(a) That full facilities should be afforded to all workers engaged in relief operations and that a liberal and co-ordinated relief policy be adopted allotting as many centres as possible to non-official organizations working in collaboration with the authorities.

(b) That general amnesty to all political prisoners in the district of Midnapur be granted.

(c) That all restrictive and administrative orders

which hamper the movement of the relief workers and accentuate the spirit of distrust on the part of the people be abrogated forthwith.

That the Curfew Orders and other restrictive orders, including permit system be immediately withdrawn. That all difficulties in the way of relief work, such as lack of transport, boats, motor-lorries, cycles, and the hopeless insufficiency of stock of rice and other provisions in affected areas and the deplorable lack of arrangement for supply of drinking water be removed without delay.

(d) That raids by the police and the military which have been and are being carried on in certain areas be immediately stopped.

(e) That Collective fines be cancelled and Chowkidari Tax and realisation of other taxes and impositions be withheld.

(f) That cottage industries be organized in the areas, specially in respect of salt and together with proper organization for marketing of the same. Immediate steps be also taken for utilising local labour for the reconstruction of embankments and roads and re-excavation of tanks.

(g) That this meeting also appeals to all leaders and workers in the affected area to stop all political agitation and to concentrate all their attention and energies for the purpose of organizing relief work and reconstructing the economic life of the people in the affected areas."

Thus ended an episode in Syama's life. Or, shall I say this began another chapter in his public career ?

[Article No. 6 of this series will deal with the use Syama Prasad Mookerjee made of his freedom. It will appear in an early issue of *The Modern Review*. —EDITOR]

—O:—

LEO TOLSTOY—THE LAST PHASE

By PROF. J. MINATTUR, M.A. (English), M.A. (Pol. Sc), L.D.B., J.D.

RECENTLY when June Haver, the Hollywood filmstar left the screen, for the cloister there was quite a flutter in the film world. Everyone will remember the surprise and the shock with which the world received the news of King Edward VIII's abdication because he wanted to marry the woman he loved. Sacrifice of any sort appeals to the imagination and evokes wonder and admiration. But most sacrifices are from personal motives and most renunciations dictated by necessity. The jilted lover or the ruined profligate may decide to tread the spiritual path. It is a some overwhelming passion or experience that spells the change in these men and women. There are others who renounce the world not in reaction against environments but in obedience to a nobler urge. To this group belong Gautama the Buddha, Asoka the Emperor and Gandhiji the Mahatma. A humbler example of this

kind is Count Leo Tolstoy, the Russian nobleman and writer.

The East is the home of religions and the teeming womb of thinkers. Light in a metaphorical as well as physical sense comes out of the East and advances westward. The West we associate with materialism : especially so modern Russia. When out of the all-pervading gloom and mists of materialism, the light of a Tolstoy bursts through, it is nothing short of a miracle.

The miracle is all the greater when we come to think about the early life of Tolstoy. He was born in a very rich, ancient and aristocratic Russian family with noble traditions and a record of distinguished service to the country. He was active by nature and abounding in physical energy and high spirits. He led a loud and boisterous life. He was adventurous and passionate. He

served in the Crimean war. He was by no means introspective in the beginning. In early life when the girl to whom he made love refused to have him he pushed her out of the window and years later married her daughter and had a large and happy family. As a novelist there is probably nobody to compare with him. Few will disagree with Matthew Arnold's opinion that *Anna Karenina* is the greatest novel ever written. According to the world's way of thinking, here indeed was a happy man who had been treated splendidly well by life. This happy and prosperous man living in a materialistic country in a materialistic age gradually looks into his soul, turns to the East for wisdom and finds that all is not right with his way of life. This is the journey of the Magi in the reverse direction. The original Magi came out of the East and marched west in quest of wisdom. But Tolstoy the wise man of Russia turns to the East and the teachings of the Buddha for the right way of life. Simplicity and non-violence appealed to him powerfully. He was moved by the example of Jesus Christ also. Like a bold man he put into practice what he believed.

Under the great urge he renounced all riches. He stopped writing novels. He ceased to take any interest in his family to whom he was once so attached. Before the change, he was passionately devoted to his wife. The story of his proposing marriage to her by writing the words on the table at a party reads like an incident from some high romance. His wife could not naturally understand the great change that came over him. Nor could the world. He gave away all his costly clothes and went about the countryside clad as an ordinary Russian peasant. He looked so much the poor peasant that when he went into a Russian monastery to meet a monk, he was mistaken for a beggar by the good brother at the gate and was asked to come another day for alms. But when he told the brother that he had not come for charity but to discuss some knotty theological matter with the head of the monastery and that his name was Tolstoy, the brother was completely taken aback at the great mistake he had made.

The complete man of the world shook himself free of the bonds of the world. He no longer went to any parties or met his old friends. He found fault with the very organisation of society. He preached that governments were not necessary and patriotism was idiotism. He disbelieved in the necessity for marriage and held sex to be a ridiculous obsession (And when he was vehemently denouncing sex, he got a child after he was sixty; his enemies had a chance to attack him and that they did not lose). Money he believed was the root of all evil and refused to have anything to do with it. When he had to travel by train, the railway would not carry him unless he paid for his tickets. The man who believed that money was evil would not touch money. So his faithful friends had to pay for his ticket to the immense merriment of his enemies. Private property was of course not recognised. No one

should possess anything. Tolstoy was as fierce as St. Francis of Assisi on this point. But when a shirt belonging to one of Tolstoy's followers was stolen by a boy who stayed with him, he lost his temper and wanted to bring him to book. If property was so bad, was not the boy doing a good service in stealing the shirt, asked the enemies of Tolstoy. Tolstoy lost all interest in the ordinary affairs of the world and in his later life he never read a newspaper for years.

His wife was a narrow-minded woman who could not understand all this philosophy. She told her husband repeatedly that he was doing a most foolish thing, that he had a responsibility to his family and that if he did not want any money from the sale of his books, he should permit her to receive the money. Of course, Tolstoy was impatient with all this remonstrance. He came to dislike his wife. He wanted to escape from her: once he did escape in his old age. He was brought back. When he was past eighty and very sick he again escaped from home to avoid his wife and her nagging. Early one morning, unknown to everybody in the house he arranged with his coachman to take him in the coach away from the house. On the way he became very ill and was taken into a roadside house where he died—a refugee from the conventions of society.

It is by comparison with Tolstoy's wife that one comes to appreciate the greatness of Kasturba Gandhi. She was also placed in identical circumstances. But as she was more understanding and had a more generous heart, she herself took to the altered ways of her great husband.

Tolstoy, it will be realised, thus aimed at the simple and noble way of life for the individual and anarchy for the world in general. He created great enthusiasm among a few and for a time there were Tolstoyans living in colonies in many parts of the world. Greatest among the admirers of Tolstoy was Gandhiji himself.

But Tolstoy's was an impracticable creed. The few incidents given above will show how difficult it was to live up to the ideals of Tolstoy and how the great master himself fell short of perfection. Within a generation of his death, his followers lost all enthusiasm for the new faith. Tolstoy's conversion therefore did not benefit the world greatly; it did good only to his own mind. This has to be contrasted with the instances of the Buddha, Asoka or Gandhiji. The reformation in these great men produced immense public good besides benefiting themselves. Measured by results, Tolstoy's conversion is therefore a great loss to the world as he would have written many more great novels had he not changed his ways. To put it a little differently, it is the altered Buddha or Asoka or Gandhiji that the world admires, it is the early, the unreformed Tolstoy that commands the respect of the world. Probably his wife in her narrow-minded way was after all right in her judgement.

BEGINNING OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN PRE-CONGRESS DAYS

By. NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

In tracing the history of the beginnings of the Indian national movement in Pre-Congress days we have to refer to the progressive political thoughts, hopes and aspirations of the educated, politically-awakened Bengalis, their political activities and to the gradual change of the older relations between the governing class and the governed. In those early days of the second half of the nineteenth century Bengal was the leader of progressive thought in all matters, of the rest of India, and the Bengali Press was the model for the Press in the rest of India. Political parties had not yet grown up and the leaders of the educated people were the talented editors of Bengali papers of the time. The principal features of the growth of the national sentiment at the time may be better illustrated by means of some selected extracts from contemporary newspapers.

The present article deals with five years from 1865 to 1870.

POLITICAL IDEAS, HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

The appearance of *Som Prakash* early in the second half of the nineteenth century is held to have opened a new era in Bengali journalism. The start may be made with this paper.

In reply to *Hurkaru* which charged the paper with disaffection and suggested the propriety of circumscribing the liberty of the Vernacular Press for some criticism of the Government in regard to the Bhutan expedition *Som Prakash* (1865) wrote: "Every tax-payer has a right to express his opinion on the expenditure of the public money. The troops in Bhutan have become dissatisfied. Are we to be counted enemies to Government because we brought this fact to the notice of Government for redress? The editor of *Hurkaru* supplies an illustration of the current saying that Englishmen leave their English feelings behind at the Cape. The native editors are not enemies to the English nation as such, but they are hostile to the worthless and illiberal Englishmen, who blinded by their selfishness, work out for the evil of this country and endeavour to keep the natives on a level with slaves." Referring to the question of control on expenditure, *Dacca Prakash* (1865) wrote that it was necessary to form an Advisory Committee and consult public opinion before any expenditure is made.

Discussing the question of the political rights of the people *Som Prakash* wrote in 1865, "We have no political rights, we have no career open to our high expectations. Does not the civilisation of India surpass that of the age when King John signed the Magna Carta or of the

time when King Henry III instituted the Parliament? If it does, why should the rights which England was permitted to enjoy in the twelfth century be thought too great for India in the second half of the nineteenth century?" Again, "Will it not be proper to grant as a favour now those rights which will have to be granted of necessity as a due in the end? It is ridiculous like an old wives' tale to say 'First become fit and then you will get it.' The English certainly possess extraordinary energy and power, but that power has its limits. Let Government commence to introduce gradually an independent constitution in this country, otherwise it will not possess the loyalty of the people of this country." Two years later it wrote: "We are constantly told that Government are obliged to support 80000 European troops for fear of another revolt. In order to remove all fear of rebellion Government should allow the public to have a voice in the imposition of taxes and State expenditure. We emphatically declare that the time for giving the people some degree of control over the revenues of the country has arrived." About the political hopes and aspirations of the people it wrote in the same year: "The benefits which were sufficient in 1857 do not satisfy the people in 1867. By what rules are Canada and Australia governed? Thoughtful Indians compare their situation with that of the inhabitants of these places. Education is rapidly spreading and the people are able to understand the state of the country and what their natural rights are." Discussing the question whether the monarchical or republican form of government is suitable to India the same paper wrote in 1869, "A system of government that ignores public opinion cannot be popular." In 1870, that is, fifteen years before the birth of the Congress, we find that same paper demanding a representative form of government with control over finance and internal administration of the State.

DISCONTENT AND DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT

Referring to the change of the attitude of the people towards the Government *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870) wrote: "Government have lost the confidence of the people. They suspect the true motives of measures adopted by Government." There was strong agitation in the country in 1870 over two measures and discontent increased. These two measures were Government's move to reduce expenditure on high English education and amendment of the sedition clause to curb the freedom of the Press. *Bhaskar* (1870) wrote: "If you really think that by giving Bengalis an English education British rule will be destroyed why not do away with

English education altogether? If you wish to turn the favoured peasants into pundits by teaching them Bengali we do not object. But we would ask, was it to help the peasants that Lord Mayo came?" *Som Prakash* wrote in 1868 that people thought the English had come to believe that if high education were given to the natives they would subvert British rule. *Dacca Prakash* (1870) wrote: "If we look carefully into all the measures of the British Government from the first to the last the gratitude that exists has scarcely a desire to continue." *Som Prakash* (1870) wrote: "Popular opinion is opposed to Government to an extent which has never been known throughout the whole period of British rule in India." In 1868 the same paper wrote: "Although it is generally allowed that England's mission is to raise India in the scale of civilisation and fit her for self-government, yet when the time comes for India to claim independence it will be denied."

ANTI-BENGAL FEELING

In 1867 *Som Prakash* wrote: "Whatever of religion, policy, the arts and sciences have sprung in the North-western Provinces the Bengalis have fostered and nurtured. The Bengali newspapers are taken as examples in every Presidency. We admit that the inhabitants of the North-west are more warlike than ourselves, but none have more of that courage that is necessary under the policy of the British than the Bengalis..... All India is affected by public opinion in Bengal, the Civilians know this and yet try to ignore it." *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870) wrote: "Government believe that the Bengalis hate the English and cherish hatred against Government, their professions of loyalty are only words." *Education Gazette* (1870) referred to instances of British Civilians preaching anti-Bengali feeling in the North-western Provinces.

SEED OF BENGALI REVOLUTIONARISM

Though educated Bengalis were suspected and though they criticised Government severely yet *Som Prakash* wrote in 1870 expressing generally the attitude of contemporary politicians, "The educated community do not desire that the British rule should come to an end, what they want is that the faults of Government should be corrected." Outside this school of progressive, liberal politicians there was a small conservative group which took its stand on the Hindu Scriptures and preached the doctrine of divinity of the king. One unexpectedly comes across a new school of thought.

In 1870 a poem was published in *Education Gazette*. To meet with parallel matter we have to step over 38 years and come to the days of the Bengal revolutionary movement. The Mitra mela, the Ganapati and Sivaji festivals of Maharashtra arose 25 years later. As an illustration of the revolutionary twist in the Bengali mind the poem in

question is a remarkable piece of literature. The intellectuals of the Renaissance movement in Bengal who propagated all-India unity and nationalism and recalled past national glories discovered Rajputana and Maharashtra. The invocation of Sivaji as the symbol of Hindu revival at a time when the depredations of Mahratta horsemen were frequently referred to in the papers, and the appeal to all the provinces of India to unite and dye the soil of India red with the blood of hated aliens are a remarkable performance in 1870. Only twelve years after the Sepoy Mutiny one finds the seed of revolutionism germinating in the soil of Bengal.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

The British Indian Association (established in 1851) was the principal political organisation of the time. Some papers complained that it was an organisation of the upper classes and did not speak of the wants and grievances of the middle and poorer classes. In 1866 we hear of an Indian League being established. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1870) wrote on the need for forming a Representative Association for checking the autocracy of Government. It recommended that the field of work of the British Indian Association should be extended to cover the whole of India so as to make it an all-India organisation and branch associations should be organised in every district. With the idea of organising an all-India cultural front the Chaitra mela or Hindu mela was started in 1867 by the Bengali leaders of thought and society. It was held at the Belgachia gardens of Ashutosh Deb. *Education Gazette* spoke of it in the next year as a 'national gathering.' The need for creating some agency to speak on behalf of the Bengalis and India to the British public and Parliament was felt as early as 1865, when an Indian Club was established in London.

MUSLIM MOVEMENT

A report is published in papers of the annual session of the Muslim Literary Society held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, in 1865. The L. G. of Bengal who was its patron, attended the session. This Society was established in 1862. References to the Wahabi movement and the Farazi movement in East Bengal appear in the papers of 1870. The Wahabi trial at Maldah was going on at the time. In 1870 there is a clear indication of the re-orientation of the Indian Muslim view on English education, and from the same year also the Indian Muslim policy of demanding special treatment from the rulers began to be followed openly. When Government proposed to restrict the spread of English education in the country by increasing its cost the educated community started a strong agitation against it. *Urdu Guide* (1870) wrote: "Whatever Government may do in regard to the Hindus they should not increase expenses for the Mussalmans."



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 PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI:
By Dharendra Mohan Datta. *The University of Wisconsin Press, 811 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin.* 1953. Pp. 155. Price \$2.50.

Professor D. M. Datta, formerly Head of the Department of Philosophy, Patna University, was invited to lecture on Indian philosophy by the University of Wisconsin in the United States. In course of his stay there, he was also asked to deliver a series of public lectures on the subject. Two of these lectures were on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. These were broadcast several times, and were widely appreciated. The Kemper K. Knaff Committee which sponsored these lectures, later on decided that the speeches should be put in print in order to make them available to a larger circle of readers. The present book is a result of that decision.

Professor Datta first of all introduces the reader to a brief outline of the characteristics of India's civilization; and then proceeds to give us an outline of Gandhi's life, while describing the forces from either the East or the West which helped in moulding his character. He then brings together Gandhi's ideas on the nature of God, the World and Man. As we all know, Gandhi wrote abundantly; but this was always done as an aid to action, and not for the systematization of his own thoughts for presentation to the public. Professor Datta has indeed done a very valuable piece of work by not only systematizing the thoughts but also by drawing comparisons between them and several schools of Indian religious philosophy. Sometimes, he has been led to draw comparisons with modern thinkers like Whitehead.

He then proceeds to describe Gandhi's special contribution to the field of social and political action. According to the author, the greatest contribution of Mahatma Gandhi lay in trying to live most earnestly in the light of what he held to be true and good for the entire human family. His second major contribution lay in the introduction of a simple and universal ethical code into the field of human politics, where morals are looked upon as an anachronism.

In the last section of the book, entitled "Moral Leadership of the World," Prof. Datta traces the present-day ills of the world to a widespread neglect of those moral principles which alone have helped to distinguish humanity from the brute creation through the ages. He pleads for a restoration of those simple moral truths into their proper place in life. He never loses hope, does not yield to cynicism or despair in spite of enough reasons to the contrary, but holds up the hope that the very presence of men like Gandhi in the modern world, or of small acts in the lives of common men and women where love takes the place

of selfishness, should give us strength to rise above our present condition and once more restore humanity to the dignity which is its due.

The book is replete with quotations from Gandhi's writings, and will thus also serve as a carefully selected summary of his main thoughts and beliefs. We only wish that a popular Indian edition will make it available to a large circle of readers in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ASPIRATIONS FROM A FRESH WORLD: By Shakuntala Rao Shastri. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bharatiya Book University), Bombay. 1952. Pp. 198. Price Re. 1-12.

In this well-written monograph the authoress has attempted to trace the gradual development of religious and philosophical ideas in the Vedic literature from the earliest times to those of the Upanishads—a literature constituting "the rich heritage of India, the culture of which has given to India a permanent place in the civilised world." (Preface p. ix). Of the twenty chapters of this work, the first three deal with the *Rigveda* and the next three (iv-vii) with the three other *Samhitas* apiece, while the twelve following chapters (Chs. viii-xix) are devoted to a detailed analysis of ten principal Upanishads and a general estimate of their thought. The concluding chapter gives in the briefest outline an account of the six systems of philosophy. From a general consideration of this work, it must be pronounced to be a distinct success within its limits, there being in this case, naturally enough, no question of originality. The authoress's reading is deep and extensive, her judgment is judicious, her style is admirably lucid and eloquent, her quotations are well selected. Particular praise is due to her presentation of the ideas of the Upanishads both individually and collectively. One may well endorse her proud claim in the concluding words on this point: "It is to be regretted that the Upanishads have not been more widely known among the nations of the world. When properly understood, the Upanishads are sure to be cherished as the most precious legacy of humanity."

We propose to make a few remarks. From the chronological standpoint it is a little confusing to be told that the seers of the Vedas and the Upanishads composed their verses "thousands of years ago." (Preface p. viii). From the point of view of space, it is equally confusing to learn (p. 13) that "the Vedic hymns were composed in the plains of the Punjab near the Hindu Kush at the foot of the Himalayan range." The statement (p. 14) that the non-Aryans in Rigvedic times fought the Aryans "with horses and chariots" is not founded on fact. The account of government in the Age of the *Rigveda* (p. 23) is too sketchy to be of much use. The description of the

development of the caste system from the *Rigveda* to the *Yajurveda* (pp. 26, 61-63) is inaccurate in some points, as when we read that "there were no caste distinctions among the Aryans" in Rigvedic times, that the word Brahmana for the priestly caste is rare in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, and that the ancient term (*Brahma*) for the presiding priest at the sacrifice was applied in the *Yajur-veda* to all engaged in the sacrificial work and later on "transformed into Brahman, and finally made Brahmana which is still the usual name of the priestly caste." The title of Chapter IV ("*Yajur-veda*") is misleading, as the reference throughout is only to one and the most imperfect recension of this Veda, viz., the *Vajasaneyi-Samhita*. The description (p. 87) of the Vedic *Samhitas* as "mainly and essentially poetical compositions," while applying largely though not exclusively to the *Rigveda Samhita*, has little application, as the authoress's own judgments (pp. 59, 81) testify, to the *Atharva Veda* and the *Yajurveda*. As regards the *Brahmanas*, while it may be correct to characterise them (p. 90) as "utterly devoid of poetic and artistic merit," the further statement that they contain "hardly a new idea" is unwarranted by facts. In the field of religious ideas, as the authoress herself remarks (pp. 99-100) "many of the conceptions and practices of later Hinduism are found in their germs in the *Brahmanas*" which form "the connecting link between the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*." In the domain of political ideas and institutions it has been shown elsewhere (*Hindu Political Theories*, 2nd Ed., pp. 21-34; *Hindu Public Life*, Part I, pp. 50-160) by the present reviewer what important strides were taken by the authors of the *Brahmanas* under the guise of dogmatic interpretation of the sacrificial ritual.

The book is remarkably free from misprints, but *Sambasa* (p. 14) requires correction.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMEN IN THE VEDIC AGE: By Shakuntala Rao Shastri. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Re. 1-12.*

SOMNATH: THE SHRINE ETERNAL: By K. M. Munshi. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Re. 1-12.*

We have here two interesting books published in the Bhavana's Book university organised by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay with the laudable object of producing books in a uniform get-up and at cheap price covering the best literature in the world and in particular the literature which stands for India and the fundamentals for which Indian culture stands. In the first of the two books, the author seeks to draw the attention of the readers to the position of women as revealed in different branches of Vedic literature, e.g., the *Rigveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Srauta Sutras* and the *Grihya Sutras*. The learned author makes an analytical study of the literature, especially the portions referring to the life and culture of women, branch by branch. In the absence of an index or even of topical headings under the different chapters dealing with different aspects of Vedic literature it is difficult to look up the information available in a particular branch on a particular topic. In this respect the arrangement followed in an earlier work on a partially identical topic, e.g., B. S. Upadhyaya's *Women in Rigveda*, is good and helpful. Unfortunately this latter is not even found to have been referred to in the book under review. The second work is a popular and cheaper edition of a bigger, attractive and more costly publication issued on the occasion of the installation of

Somnath in May, 1951. It describes in a fascinating manner the chequered history of the shrine which was destroyed and restored from time to time by a number of Muhammadan and Hindu rulers in succession through several centuries till the reconstruction of the temple and the installation of the deity in a calm atmosphere on the attainment of Independence by India and the accession of the Junagadh State, which contained the Shrine, to the Indian Union.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A LIFE-SKETCH OF SRIMANT PRATAP-SETH: By G. R. Malkani, M.A. Published by the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, East Khandesh, Bombay. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2-8.

The Indian Institute of Philosophy at Amalner was founded in the summer of 1916 by Srimant Pratapseth, a Marwari philanthropist still alive. Passing through various vicissitudes during its long life of nearly four decades it is now well-established and widely known. Its useful activities in the cause of indigenous philosophy have attracted the attention of the elite of our country. We may very well be proud of its silent and unostentatious work for the last thirty-six years.

The book, under review, contains a short life of the Founder of the Institute and a brief account of the Advaitic system of Thought. The *Life-Sketch* covers only 55 pages and the rest of the book is devoted to the study of Advaitism. Prof. Malkani's account of the life of Srimant Pratapseth centres mainly round his contacts with the Institute and is worth reading. Prof. Malkani treats Advaitism in a very interesting and impressive way. Although the book was written in 1945, it does not require now to be modified in any important respect. Prof. Malkani is a Master of Arts in Philosophy of an Indian University and further equipped with a degree of an English University. Being well-versed both, in Indian and Western philosophy he is capable enough of treating the most important system of Indian Thought with authority. The book contains a good picture of Srimant Pratapseth and is nicely printed. A picture of the Indian Institute at Amalner should have been added in the book.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRAGMENTS OF A PRISONER'S DIARY, Vol. II: By M. N. Roy. Published by Renaissance Publishers Ltd., 15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.

Under the sub-title, "India's Message," this writer, well-known in the world of controversy as an acute thinker of varied experience, as an interpreter of Marxism though challenging the Lenin-Stalin thesis very often, has given us a book which is one sustained attack on Gandhism, and indirectly on Sanatan Hinduism. The sub-title is a misnomer, therefore. For, M. N. Roy with all his knowledge of Western lore, of India as interpreted by Western scholars, will not be accepted by any Indian as an authentic witness to their people's history. His criticism of Manu and other social legislators are out of date. Quoting Fraser and other Western scholars that religion becomes "a psychological fixation" is a sorry attempt to explain a phenomenon that has played such a great part in the evolution of humanity. Mr. Roy says that "the purpose of the book is not controversial." A reader will, however, find therein nothing but controversy. He revels in it. And, therefore, stirs others to engage in it, thus doing a necessary work of education and enlightenment. This is the utility of books like these.

SURESH CHANDRA DAS

OUR INDIA—1953: By Minoo Masani. Illustrated by C. H. G. Moorhouse. Published by Oxford University Press, Mercantile Buildings, Lal Bazar, Calcutta-1. Price Rs. 5.

The author is a famous man. Minoo Massani has had a varied and distinguished career as Mayor, ambassador and a member, successively, of the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the Constituent Assembly and the Parliament of India. The artist Moorhouse has drawn the pictures and charts to illustrate the book, which is full of so many excellent pictures and designs that it is a veritable feast for the young readers for whom the book is intended. The book was first published in 1940 and over 500,000 copies have been sold since then. The author re-edited and revised the book and published it in 1953. But as the publishers say, the same thing can be told about India in 1953 as it was in the beginning of the Second World War and after the Partition of India into two States, India and Pakistan, in 1947. The book attempts to draw a glorious picture of India and has helped the Planning Commission not a little in forming the Five-Year Plan of India. The author stresses and points out how the vast resources of the lands and forests, rivers and mines of India can be so utilised that our present poverty-stricken India can be turned into a prosperous, happy and smiling land, full of plenty and power. The happy and telling way of Masani, impressing upon the minds of the young reader, the prospects and possibilities of India with the help of beautiful illustrations by Moorhouse, is simply delightful. The book is so admirably written that not only students but teachers also will enjoy it as a store-house of information and instruction. The cover, get-up, paper and printing are excellent and bespeak well of the well-known publishers.

B. K. SEAL

BE STRONGER LIVE LONGER: By V. W. Goyle. *Careers Institute, New Delhi, 1953. Pp. 186. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The publishers' blurb on this book's dust cover describes it as "a golden key that ensures health, home and happiness . . ." As a matter of fact, this is a very scrappy and unnecessarily inflated work which attempts to lay down certain general principles about health, diet, physical exercises, food, etc. Much the most of the book goes on the lines of "You must learn to avoid the life-shortening foods and to eat more of the life-lengthening foods" (p. 51), "Eat a well-balanced bulky diet leaving plenty of residue to stimulate action" (p. 127), or, "Take in a health magazine like *Health and Strength* and you will soon have a healthy mind" (p. 133). All this certainly does not add up to what the publishers, in their inimitable way, claim, viz., that "This is a you-must-not-miss-me book, a true Forget-me-not, that will adorn your heart and health . . . a memorable monument that will echo in your mind and muscles for years to come and go!"

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA—KARNA-PARVAN: Edited by P. L. Vaidya. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1950.

Under the general editorship of the eminent Sanskritist, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (who took charge in 1943), the Bhandarkar Institute has tackled in course of the last ten years many important *parvas* of the great Epic, including the Bana-Parvan and the Shanti-Parvan, the longest canto.

We are very glad to read the first part of the Karṇa-Parvan, ably edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya. After collating some 56 manuscripts, he selected 32 important ones, on which he based his edition. But it took nearly five years to prepare the critical apparatus of the constituted text, and now the first part is published, which will be followed by the concluding cantos, with Dr. Vaidya's editorial notes. It is significant that one manuscript of the Karṇa-Parvan coming from the Bombay Government collection is dated as early as Samvat 1514, equal to 1458 A.D. So the manuscript is five centuries old. Along with such North Indian manuscripts, Dr. Vaidya consulted the Telugu Grantha and Malayalam versions.

SHANTI-PARVAN (Fascicule 23): Edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.

This is the second fascicule of the Moksha Dharma, which would be completed, we hope, in another fascicule. Dr. Belvalkar has shown his mastery in textual criticism by his previous editions of the Bhishma-Parvan, and the Bhagavad Gita, followed by the Raja-Dharma and the Apad-Dharma sections of the Shanti-Parvan. We congratulate him and the Bhandarkar Institute on their monumental research publications, and we appeal to all orientalists to come forward to secure for the Institute substantial financial aids expediting the complete publication of the Great Epic of India.

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

BANKIM RACHANABALI (Part I): Complete Novels of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay—with a brief Introduction to the life and works of the author. Published by the Sahitya Samsad, 32-A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 10.

The international recognition of Bengali as an important language is due to the literary creations of two master minds—Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath. It was Bankim who largely inspired our national revival and gave us our national song. That represents only one side of his genius. As a teacher and leader of thought he was no doubt one of the foremost. But his works are not mere instruments of message; they are vital and fresh; they glow and glisten with the smiles and tears of life. As an artist he is of the supreme calibre. The fastidious critic, who complains of his lapses or occasional deviations from aesthetic principles, would do well to remember that the greatest creative artists—Hugo, Shakespeare, Tolstoy—are not free from them. The elation of the spirit that we experience on the first reading of his principal novels and the lasting impression they leave are unmistakable signs of their greatness. His romances still breathe the fragrance of bygone days; we almost visualise the gallant heroes of old; the dead past awakens at his touch. And, in his tales of the present, while he faithfully represents the light and shade of the passing moments, he never fails to point to the eternal verities of life.

Not merely on his novels does his claim to immortality rest. In his works of literary criticism and on economics, sociology, philosophy and other subjects, he shows amazing versatility, depth and intellectual brilliance.

The absence of a low-priced durable edition of his works has long been regretted by Bengali readers. They will now feel grateful to the publishers who have spared no pains to make this volume attractive in every way. Neatly printed, decently bound and nicely

got-up, it is sure to allure the prospective buyer. It comprises all the novels of Bankim Chandra, arranged chronologically, and contains a valuable introduction—biographical and critical—by Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, whose untiring research-work and keenness for historical accuracy have won appreciation from all scholars. We eagerly await the publication of the second volume, which will consist of all his essays and belles lettres.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

NAYA MASIHA (The New Messiah): By Shyam Sundar 'Ashant' Shanti Sandesh Karyalaya, Khagoria, Monghyr. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

Bhoo-dan Yajna is throwing up writers and poets as every great movement does. The writer appears to be a product of the movement. To be more useful the writer should exercise a little restraint and make the vehicle of his thought such as appeals straight to heart.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

GUJARATI

GANDHI SAHITYA SUCHI: By P. G. Deshpande. Published by the Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 238. Price Rs. 3-4.

This is Gandhiana, in its true sense. Every subject touched by Gandhiji, and to be found in different languages, like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, English, etc., is referred to here and the place where it could be found noted in this compilation. The strenuous labour bestowed on compiling this list is well-rewarded as till now this book remains as the only one of its kind.

NOTE: Besides those already noticed we have received small and medium sized books in various subjects, published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. They are cheap and meant to reach almost every household:

(A) Biography: (1) Bhakta Ambarish (2) Bhakta Jataran, (3) Yaksha and Yudhishtir, (4) Dattatraya, (5) Yogishwar Yajnya Valkya.

(B) Domestic Hygiene and Remedies: (1) Fast During Illness, (2) Poison in Food, (3) Causes of Illness, (4) Household Doctor, (5) Churn Aushodhi (Powders as Drugs).

(C) Agriculture: (1) Elements of Agriculture, Parts 3 and 4, Cattle and Foodgrains.

(D) Story: (1) Kanku and Kanya.

(E) Devotional: (1) Sakhis of Tulsidas, (2) Haripatha by Jnandev, (3) Atma Ramayan, (4) Dreg Drashya Vivek by Sankaracharya.

(F) Miscellaneous: (1) Jivan Charya, (2) Grahajivani Kata, (3) Prem Pantha, Part I, (4) One Hundred Signs of a Fool.

JIVANMANTHI JADELI (2nd Edition): By Mrs. Lilavati K. Munshi. Published by the Gurjar Granth-Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 376. Price Rs. 5.

Found in Life is a book containing seventeen attractive stories of Indian life. Its first edition appeared in 1932, when Shrimati Lilavati was in the Belgaum Jail. The state of society when she first began to exercise her pen in story-writing in 1925, has changed much, but these stories have still retained their popularity.

K. M. J.

59th Year!

New Volume from January 1954

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR

AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

The premier English monthly conducted by the Monks of the Ramakrishna Order. Devoted to universal religion and philosophy, culture, education, and art and other topics of national and international interest.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: "Admire its writings as contributions to pure Indian culture."

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN: "I have been a regular reader of Prabuddha Bharata and can say that its sanity in dealing with religious doctrine and discipline has been its most impressive characteristic."

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING: "I think Prabuddha Bharata is one of the most interesting and important magazines that one can find today in any country."

SUBSCRIBERS ARE ENROLLED FROM JANUARY

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Maurice Maeterlinck A Modern Mystic

William Nightingale Brown discusses in an article in *The Aryan Path* the mystical element which was so strong in the famous Belgian writer and Nobel laureate, the late Count Maurice Maeterlinck:

Count Maurice Maeterlinck, who died a few years ago in the South of France after a long period of exile in America, was personally known to me. His name, of course, is well known; but his teaching as a philosopher and a mystic has not received, in recent years, the attention which it deserves.

Maeterlinck has often been compared with Shakespeare, Carlyle, Ibsen and even Bernard Shaw. He was certainly an artist-philosopher, but he comes nearest to Emerson, I think, by reason of his firm grasp of the heart of things, though he surpasses Emerson in depth of vision. Maeterlinck's ideas are more than transformative; for they stand on the borderline of the creative. His language exhales the charm of poetry. It is inspired and communicates itself in quietness and with a smoothness that almost defies analysis. His great message stamps him for ever as a philosopher of mysticism and an aesthetician.

Maeterlinck realized above all things the dead do not die.

They are not to be found in our cemeteries, but in the hearts and habits of us all. This is, to him, the happiest of all mystical thoughts. Thus mysticism, ignored by the practical world, is in the end our sole recourse and its truth claims a strange privilege.

While life demands that we should get things done, Maeterlinck implores us not to lose sight of that state of Being which brings us into touch and in tune with the Infinite. The realm of Silence attracts him beyond measure. In it he sees a more communicable element than is to be found in articulate speech.

Silence and Secrecy co-ordinate themselves in Maeterlinck's view. The humble bee, of which he knew so much, cannot labour except in darkness; thought cannot work except in silence; while virtue must court secrecy in order to find its power.

It seems that only when life within is sluggish do we rise to speak. No sooner do we speak than some invisible force warns us that the Divine Gates are closing against us.

To Maeterlinck there is a silence of music and a silence of love.

The silence of love is more to be desired than the words of love, for a glance of deepest devotion speaks more loudly than words. And Maeterlinck strikes a Carlylian note when he affirms that the great, silent men are scattered here and there, meditating each in his own department of thought and activity—silently working, silently thinking. Their names

are not always to be found in the newspapers, and, if by chance they do appear, no loud glaring headlines introduce them, as if they must appear in humbleness and apparent secrecy.

When we delve deeper into the great mystic's mind and analyze his thoughts, we become more optimistic about the future of man's spiritual nature. He gives us hope when he avers that there are recorded periods when the soul, in obedience and response to unknown laws, won an ascendancy in men—rose to the surface of humanity—and gave the clearest evidence of its existence and its wondrous power.

When we delve deeper into the great mystic's mind Maeterlinck, since its eternal nature reveals itself in many diverse and unforeseen ways. When humanity, for instance, is struggling from beneath the crushing onslaught of evil, a spiritual and secret influence is abroad, operating through laws unknown to us, to soothe, to comfort and to uplift, and at last to save. The sternest known laws of Nature, together with inscrutable circumstance, must eventually yield before the omnipotence of the mysterious ALL.

Maeterlinck sees untold wonders in the soul, and he leads us into bygone days to prove that, while the soul may at times have been forced into obscurity by the unworldly of man, it could only slumber for a time and afterwards was bound to re-awaken in silence and in certainty.

Maeterlinck's morality, like everything else that came within the scrutiny of his inspired pen, was mystical and transcendent.

No ordinary, everyday morality for him, for he knew no less than some of us know that what passes for morality is often an inverted form of greed and selfishness. How many times did he witness good acts done for mere gain! He had, therefore, to search more widely and more deeply into the real meaning of this glibly used term; and he found morality to be an essential part of the divine purpose of the universe.

Maeterlinck discovered during his habitual meditations that our moral conceptions seemed mutable,

Drink

SOMARASA

The best Indian restorative and the most ideal Liver Tonic to put your damaged liver kidney and heart in order. Price Rs. 4/- per bottle and Rs. 2/- per phial. Postage extra,

Apply to:

RAJVAIDYA AYURVEDIC WORKS

172, Bowbazar street, Calcutta-12

able to change, and advanced with what he called "timid steps" towards loftier regions that at first appeared somewhat obscure. Yet the signs of growth were there, and he had been forced to approach the moral realm in that way.

He wonders what might happen if the soul were suddenly to take visible and naked shape, still laden with her most secret thoughts and feelings and dragging behind her the mysterious, inexplicable deeds of her past life. Would she be ashamed of anything? Would she, a bashful maiden, endeavour to hide her numberless sins of the flesh? He avers that the visible and naked soul would know nothing of them because those sins had never touched her. They were committed countless leagues from her spotless throne; she was living her life where the Light fell on her; and it was that life and not the present visible life that she could recall.

Such a revelation concerning the soul and the deed is profound and inspiring. Very few writers, if any, have approached morality from that angle, but the more we learn of it from Maeterlinck, the more we realize the spiritual background of the concept.

His remarks concerning the Deeper Life tend to create a feeling of stability. Despite the grim realities of existence we have, he thinks, an aptitude for a higher life.

Men, he suggests, are to be distinguished from one another by the communication each has with the Infinite; and it lies within the power of all sentient beings to increase these communications. He believes there is a day in the life of every man when the heavens open of their own accord. It is at this moment that his true spiritual personality begins. Our real birth, in fact, is not our physical birth, but dated from the time of our first realizing that there is something grave and unexpected in life. The moment we become aware of the Sublime and its surrounding influence we realize that it transcends all other realms. This Sublime knows no rules, no artifice, on device. This, thinks Maeterlinck, is amply proved by the immortal works of the artists, the poets and the musicians, the highest of whom become seers.

In the Deeper Life no one, of course, is ever alone, because such a life is a wonderful vibration of friendly influences that come from Truth, Beauty and Goodness. He proves that it gives to mankind real strength, increased only in those who acquire the state of resting on the great Altitudes where life absorbs the soul. It also gives us the power to approach men and things with the inner eye, the inner ear and their particular and exclusive understanding—in short, with the only discernment that counts in the long run—the inner vision.

Maeterlinck's revelation of the Inner Beauty corresponds with the nature of the Inner Life. The Beautiful, to his vision, is a condition or realm that depends for its efficacy not on its spectacular quality but on the soul. Maeterlinck sees beauty as the unique aliment of the soul: it is the soul's chief nourishment and, of course, wholly spiritual.

Swedenborg called the soul "the Unique Angel;" and Maeterlinck, in accepting the definition, said that "Each day will reveal to us a new beauty in that mysterious angel; and we shall walk together in a goodness that shall ever become more and more living, loftier and loftier. Any other beauty is lifeless and made up of the past alone."

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfigurement, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DISNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
1/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

Preparing for Journalism

Prof. Floyd Baskette writes in the *National Christian Council Review*:

When I arrived in India four months ago to take over the Hislop College department of journalism, established a year ago by Professor Roland Wolseley, I had several misgivings about the whole project.

I knew there would be critics who look upon professional training in journalism at the university level with doubts and suspicions. I remembered that even in America, where journalism courses of one type or another are offered at about 500 colleges and universities, it took several years to convince editors and publishers that training in journalism could benefit the profession.

I realized, too, that the students we would get would never have had a preliminary course in journalism as undergraduates, nor would they likely have had any experience on college publications. I hoped, however, the students who applied for journalism training would have a broad educational background, a fluency with the English language, and an aptitude for writing and editing.

It would be dishonest to assert that everything has gone smoothly or that the programme's second year is off to a splendid start with promise of a flowing success. But it can be said that we have had encouraging support from the Hislop College principal, Dr. David Moses, that the publishers and radio station managers we have contacted have been most co-operative, that we have added materially to our equipment and library facilities, and that the students, for the most part, are showing progress. A few are exceptionally capable. We now have 196 journalism books in the library and we are subscribing to three foreign periodicals and twenty-six Indian newspapers and magazines. We have added six typewriters and a radio set to our laboratory equipment.

Probably the most encouraging prospect, however, is the definite challenge for our journalism programme here. That challenge comes by way of providing a sound, basic training in journalism, and an opportunity for service in related areas.

A sound journalism programme should include more than skills in writing and editing. It should challenge the student to utilize his general educational background so that what he writes has accuracy depth. It is one thing to train a person in the mechanics of writing or editing, and it is quite another thing to teach him to become a responsible writer or editor, to impress upon him the fact that accuracy and impartiality are more important than style, that background is often more necessary than overt facts, that the word-user has a heavy burden to be fair with the reader.

Facility in journalism comes with practice. I have no quarrel with a practising journalist who insists he got his training 'the hard way.' Here we try to combine practice with theory. We require all our students to undergo twelve weeks of a supervised internship in a newspaper, magazine, or radio establishment.

Our courses give students some knowledge of world journalism, of the history of journalism, of law and ethics as they apply to journalism, and of the opportunities in the field of journalism.

We also try to help the student know something about the consumer of news and information. In both our introductory course and in our research seminar we try to find out what and how a reader reads, how he reacts to words, pictures, and typographical devices, and how he can distinguish between facts and propaganda.

Journalism involves more than training for newspaper workers.

We believe there is a place in journalism for service training. Therefore, we ask all our students to take work in fundamentals of good writing and in social education materials writing so that they can help supply reading materials for the new literates. We offer magazine article writing for those who may want to perform as free-lance writers or who may be interested in magazine editing. We encourage students to apply journalistic techniques to their own fields of interest, such as religious journalism, trade journalism, or for information work for the national extension service or community development projects.

We hope that groups such as the National Christian Council will maintain an interest in the journalism programme at Hislop College. The programme is flexible enough to help train young persons specially for work in church literature. Our courses in fundamentals of good writing, reporting, editing, magazine article writing, social educational materials writing, and graphic arts can be applied directly to religious journalism. The classes are small enough to give attention to individual problems and needs. Furthermore, the schedule is flexible enough to permit special seminars or short courses devoted exclusively to helping staff members of religious publications improve their work. The two-day workshop conducted for the staff members of Youth Fellowship Magazine in Jabalpur last September proved its worth and indicated that similar workshops should be attempted.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

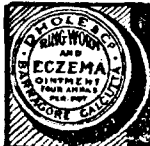
Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | Advocate |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted

Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum

Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum



DHOLE & CO.

BARNAGORE-CALCUTTA



The future of the journalism programme at Hislop College will depend upon the type of student we can attract and the type of leadership we can maintain for the department itself. Groups such as the N.C.C. can aid materially in both needs. They can encourage capable students or magazine staff members to undergo this training for service to the church. They can help us find promising young Christian Indians who can work in the department of journalism as staff members.

Last year the department had the services of Professors Roland Wolseley and Harold Ehrensperger. This year, I am assisted by Everton Conger, a former faculty member at the University of New Mexico, who will remain on the staff for next year. Efforts are now being made to obtain a replacement for me. Eventually, the department must be staffed entirely by Indians who are well-trained academically and professionally. If a promising candidate can be found by next year we might be able to obtain for him a grant for a year's training abroad. Vital help has already come to us from the foundation administering Fulbright grants and from World Literacy, Inc.

These are some of the opportunities and needs of the department of journalism at Hislop College in Nagpur.

The United Nations and Non-Government Organizations

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The United Nations, as the very name implies, stands for the ideal of one world and in the present context particularly for world peace. 'One world' and 'world peace' have now ceased to be mere academic abstractions, or convenient shibboleths for mass-mesmerism; they are the most vital problems of our time. Security, progress and other similar needs of the individual or community life are now deeply related to these international issues of the day. Naturally, therefore, a wider perspective is necessary for the proper understanding of these problems and their solution.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS AND THE IDEAL OF ONE WORLD

The change of physical conditions towards the removal of geographical barriers with the aid of scientific inventions and discoveries has created an atmosphere of interdependence. Advanced means of communication and transport have further intensified the mutual contact and rendered desirable the habit of international thinking. These are some of the advantages which should have facilitated the realization of the most cherished ideal of our age, though, alas, the failure of scientific skill to usher in the happy world of men has been one of the grimmest paradoxes of our time.

So the solution is to be sought elsewhere. Human efforts towards internationalism are perhaps as old as the beginning of human civilization, though in different ages they took different directions and were actuated by different motives. But in most cases initiative had been taken by a few humanitarians and impelled by circumstances people in general gave to these efforts only a passive support. Sometimes even that was not forthcoming and such activities were disposed of as utopian. That perhaps accounts for the failures of earlier attempts.

But the fact is that no community scheme can really succeed without the active participation of the individuals and also without a sense of responsibility for and attachment to the organisation. It presupposes too a feeling of confidence in one's own self—a belief in his own ability to do something constructive and substantial towards a collective endeavour. And these sentiments are fostered in a man when he works for a particular common ideal. Only active participation or interest can give significance to or generate inspiration for a noble cause. But all this is possible only through the decentralization of powers and duties so that the non-governmental organizations can serve as the units through which people can effectively strive for the ideal of the United Nations.

HOW THE IDEALS OF U. N. CAN BE ACHIEVED

The idea of the United Nations is first born in the individual mind or it lies dormant waiting to be roused by a clarion call. The purpose of these organizations, therefore, is to give the fullest possible scope to the growth and development of international mind by making people conscious of their surroundings and also of the necessity of a wider outlook not only for a vague ideal but even for self preservation. And this can be done on a more democratic basis through small organizations spread over the world. Governmental or semi-governmental organizations in their representative capacity have the sanction of law and authority—they can impose views, dictate terms and people usually look upon them

as external superstructures, or with indifference, sometimes even with suspicion. But for the implementation of the principles of the U. N. elements of coercion should be eschewed as far as possible. If these principles fail to become articles of faith no amount of official propaganda can deliver the goods and conversely if the urge comes from within no dissension among political intriguers can check their onward march.

Among the non-governmental organisations those set up for cultural activities have a special contribution to make. They should be able, if they are worth the name, to establish cultural relations among diverse nationalities for art and literature, emphasize the common heritage of men and their common destiny. Also they should engender a feeling for man's spiritual dignity and his essential goodness. So a great stride is made towards the new world order when this consciousness of common ties and common fate is created in men. Since art and literature appeal to our deeper and finer instincts they can more effectively bring about the required change of hearts, for what is really needed is a new attitude towards life. Change of circumstances may make us feel happier, give us more economic security, may even arouse a new spirit of nationalism; but these are not enough. The only answer to the thousands of our baffling problems is co-operation on a world basis—internationalism. Such organisations have another advantage over huge and gigantic state machinery: they keep alive a healthy sense of values and because they treat men as individuals and not merely as a collective political entity, their approach is more fundamental and as such their effect more enduring. The same purpose may be served by religious institutions if they steer clear of rigid dogmas and preach the basic unity of all religions.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND IDEALS OF U. N.

Social organisations also can do a great deal in that direction. Man is not born free as he is supposed to be and real living is a constant effort towards expansion—a progress from self-centred living to a grand identification with humanity. Since his very birth the life of a man is moulded by customs and conventions of his family, society and country. He, therefore, naturally falls into the narrow grooves of thought and fails to see beyond his nose. Even when he lives in a world of easy communications and involved interests he shows no concern over the mighty consequential events of his time or even when he knows that his very living is vitally affected by such occurrences, the basic pattern of his remains the same as fashioned by his circumstances. Social organisations can set his mind free from the harmful influences of his narrow surroundings. They can by laying a special emphasis on the normal relations between men and men, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, educate an international mind. They can also teach tolerance through contacts and discussion—a virtue that should be most scrupulously cultivated in this age.

Internationalism, like democracy, is not merely a political system or an untranslatable theory—it is a way of life. So it should be practised in our attitude towards men and things, in our daily behaviour and conduct if it should ever be a part of our existence. The ability to transcend regional limitations and tolerance cannot

be acquired except through social contacts. And a lonely man in society is perhaps a menace to the ideal of one world. Social organisations, if they work properly for the purpose they stand for, are bound to widen the mental horizon of men and cure them of much of their orthodoxy of thought and addiction to artificial social habits. They may also, through co-ordination, eventually help in forging a powerful public opinion against such subversive elements as communalism, racial discrimination and even the use of dangerous weapons like atom bomb etc. In fact the vision of the new world set before these organizations will gradually generate a feeling of brotherhood and a habit of thinking in terms of a happier world to the making of which the contribution of the individual, however small, will be considered indispensable.

On a wider scale the same aim may be achieved through other organizations and activities such as, organizations instituted for mutual economic aid in times of distress or national calamities and sports and games. These are usually designed with a lofty motive and conceived in international terms. In the present context their utility cannot be over-emphasised.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND U. N. IDEALS

The importance of educational institutions in this regard does not warrant any special mention because it is self-evident. In respect of capacity and responsibility these radiating centres of learning stand as a class by themselves. If they do not ignore the drift of current events—as no educational institution can afford to—a more humane and purposeful ideal will be integrated in the form and content of education and large numbers of men and women thus educated will naturally begin from the right end.

But the basic need, I think, is to make people believe that the United Nations is a partial fulfilment of their cherished dream and that the power lies in their hands to give it a full-fledged shape or kill it in embryo where it still struggles for its *raison d'être*. The fact that a few took the initiative in the formation of the United Nations does not in any sense make it an oligarchy. But if people are to be disabused of this misconception—for there are moments when we might feel inclined to draw hasty conclusions—the responsibility of disseminating the ideals of the U. N. should be taken up by many more non-governmental organisations and all possible mediums will have to be exploited for this very urgent and important purpose. This does not mean that the governmental organisations are redundant; it only means that few such organisations with the disadvantage of bureaucratic status can indeed do very little towards the implementation of the principles of the United Nations or that though they keep the machine working they cannot by themselves hope to achieve the results stipulated in the original plan. The spirit of co-operation emerges from a strong sense of duty and mutual trust and if the individuals do not participate in the implementation of an ideal, it remains, so far as they are concerned, either a lofty abstraction or a political catchword and to that extent amorphous and unreal. In the ultimate analysis the United Nations is a people's organisation—its success, therefore, entirely depends on the active co-operation of the people.



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG CALCUTTA

As a poet Emerson was most uneven, capable of bare, bad verse and a kind of archaic obscurity. Yet his dozen great poems possess, as Van Wyck Brooks remarked, "a nervous, intellectual style, swift, clear and cold as a mountain stream." His essays are full of phrases which from epigrams have become household words. His prose style was gnomic, cumulative, fresh thought piled on thought. He is one of the most quotable and with Shakespeare and Pope among the most quoted of authors, the fragments of his wisdom frequently outshining the works in which they are embedded.

After 60 he wrote and thought nothing new. His last years, however, were brightened by the honours heaped upon him. Harvard conferred on him an honorary LL. D. degree and made him a trustee; the great of the world flocked to his Concord doorstep; he travelled like a king to California and then again to Europe and to Egypt. He was nearly 80 when he died, quickly and quietly, of pneumonia, on April 27, 1882.

Among his famous works are *Addresses and Lectures* (1849), *Representative Men* (1850), *The Conduct of Life* (1860), *Society and Solitude* (1870), and *Letters and Social Aims* (1876).

Emerson entered Harvard as a messenger and as a messenger he left—and remains in—the world.—USIS.

Which America?

Dale DeWitt observes in *Unity*, March-April, 1953:

In these days of controversy and the defeat of many ideals whose permanence was taken for granted, people are thinking more seriously about this nation and its survival. They ask questions such as these: "Is the basic character of America changing?" "Is the Constitution being undermined and circumvented?" "Are fundamental liberties being lost?" "Are we to become like our enemies?"

We are now at a point in history when America could change in a number of ways, and with reference to these ways we must ask, "Which America do we want?"

What are these Americas that could be? Which kind of America in relation to these possibilities do we believe in?

First, we have the most critical choice. Do we want a more authoritarian America? Or do we want a fulfillment of democratic ideal? The present problems of liberty are quite real. New laws are being passed limiting freedom. The abuses of investigation for political purposes are tightening up the range of honest opinions which people may have. The recklessness of public

widely appreciated at home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,

Mr. A. W. Hunter

3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.

Neem
TOOTH PASTE



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.
CALCUTTA-29

accusations is creating fears and the failure to exercise normal freedoms. Community life is becoming restricted as seldom if ever before. Every reactionary, authoritarian, and anti-liberty group is playing to the limit the opportunity to change the face of America, hoping for a success that will be permanent.

There are two aspects of this situation which bear upon our decisions. The first is that the problem shapes up over the fear of Communism. The second, that the reactionary effort often seems more truly a fight against liberalism than against Communism.

That Communism is a serious problem is not to be doubted, both within and abroad. The bitter, vicious trail of Communist intrigue in America is a disgraceful betrayal of liberty. The Communist party functionaries have been ruthless and utterly without honor or morals in their espionage and their attempts to create confusion.

No one should doubt that every legitimate agency of law and investigation has a responsibility to go the limit in exposing Communists for what they are or prosecuting them for their violations of law. Liberals know this and have accepted the responsibility to fight Communism, and can do it more effectively than most of the reactionaries would like to see America a basically authoritarian country. For after all, what the Communists fear most are liberal and democratic ideals. They know their true enemy is the American concept of liberty.

Communism abroad presents a problem which is far more critical, and this challenge is only partially being faced. The strange contradiction of our time is that many of the reactionaries who claim such virtue in the fight against Communism in the United States take attitudes which seriously hamper the fight against Communism abroad. Thus one can legitimately question whether their fight is entirely sincere or, rather, ulterior in character.

At any rate the nature of the reactionary one hundred and fifteen per cent is for an authoritarianism that does not differ greatly from certain aspects of Communism. It is from this exploitation of the danger of Communism that the edge of authoritarianism comes closer and closer to American life.

Bertrand Russell recently said, "We hate the Russians because they do not allow liberty. This we feel so strongly that we have decided to imitate them."

Edward Crankshaw in the book, *Cracks in the Kremlin Wall*, has said: "I can think of only one way in which the Kremlin may still conquer us, and that without war. It is by so frightening us that for fear of the enemy within we transform our own society imperceptibly into an apparatus of totalitarianism." This possibility we must reckon with.

The other point mentioned, that many of the reactionaries are fighting against liberalism more than Communism, seems evident in the effort made to destroy liberalism wherever possible. Liberals are attacked by reactionaries more often, it seems, than are Communists. Laws and pressures are supported which more greatly endanger democracy and liberalism than Communism. When laws are passed ostensibly to block Communism, and at the same time enable persecutions which destroy fundamental liberties, we lose the substance of democracy.

What a pleasant confusion this is to the Communists. Those who have observed the Communists most closely, such as Herbert Philbrick, the former F.B.I. agent, have pointed this out. There is a coincidence in philosophy and method, if not in intent, between Communists and many reactionaries. So much so that it is easily understandable that Communists are glad to see the reactionaries at work.

Distinctive Jewellery

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/8, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA - PHONE: P.K. 4466

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.,

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Ralph Waldo Emerson—American Philosopher, Essayist and Poet

"Nothing can bring you peace but yourself."

"The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint men with himself."

"We need not fear that we can lose anything by the progress of the soul."

The above quotations illustrate the philosophy of individualism propounded by Ralph Waldo Emerson, the celebrated American philosopher, essayist and poet.

Every constituent part of Emerson's philosophy could be traced to European or Oriental sources, where he found his inspiration. Compensation (the balancing of good and evil in nature and fate), self-reliance, and the "oversoul" (akin to the modern subconscious)—each had its advocates elsewhere. But it was Emerson's function to synthesise these scattered concepts and to weave them into a fabric stout enough to serve as a sail against the winds of opposing doctrine. This fabric, although derided and opposed by many of his contemporaries, has since gained an honoured place in the American heritage.

Emerson was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 25, 1803, in a family of clergymen for generations. His father died when he was only eight, and as his mother found it hard to support her six small children, his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, assumed responsibility for his upbringing.

Emerson attended the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard in 1817, earning his way as a messenger and waiter. On his aunt's advice he turned to the ministry, the seventh of his family in line to adopt that profession. His studies at the Harvard Divinity School were interrupted by incipient tuberculosis, which sent him to Florida and Georgia in search of a warmer climate. He was, however, "approbated to preach" in 1828, and in 1829 became pastor of the Second Church (Unitarian) in Boston.

His attitude toward the Church was intellectual and unimpassioned. He regarded Christianity as a racial experience. But in 1832, he gave up the clergy and sailed for Europe. There he met the three men whose work and ideas meant most to him—Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth. He returned to the United States with his life attitude and life work clearly set before him.

In 1834, Emerson settled in Concord, Massachusetts, the home of some of his ancestors, in a house which was his home until 1872, when it burned and was exactly replaced by a fund raised by his friends. In 1835 he married Lydia Jackson. They had two sons and two daughters, but the oldest and best loved, Waldo, died in 1841.

Around Emerson in Concord gathered the group which came to be known as "the Concord School"—Bronson Alcott, Henry David Thoreau (who lived with the Emersons for long periods as a sort of housekeeper), Nathaniel Hawthorne (always a bit aloof) and Margaret Fuller. These were the Transcendentalists, the idealists who would reform the world from within out, who relied on intuition and the perfectibility of mankind. Emerson disclaimed their label, but he was their inspiration and the core of their association.

Meanwhile, Emerson had to live and to support his family; and his only way to do this was by lecturing. Every year he made a lecturer tour, extending annually farther and farther west; and these lectures were the source of most of his essays. When he was not on tour, he lived very quietly, studying and reading, drinking in new inspiration from the few of his like-minded friends. As the years passed, however, he tended to lose most of his early radicalism.

The first publication of his philosophical thought was in *Nature* (1836). In 1837 Emerson gave the Phi Beta Kappa (scholastic society) address at Harvard, in which he called for independence from European cultural leadership.

Emerson's first volume of *Essays* appeared in 1841, and the second in 1844. In 1840 the Transcendentalists started *The Dial*, in which reform ideas were given expression. In the first two years, Margaret Fuller was editor and Emerson a contributor. In its next and last two years Emerson was editor and sought to replace the concrete programmes with more philosophical expressions.

In the latter part of 1846, his first collection of *Poems* appeared. In 1847, Emerson made his second trip to England and France, visited the Carlyles and met the literary notables of the day. On his return he gave lectures, later published as *English Traits*. In the 1850's Emerson became absorbed in the anti-slavery issue and national events. His attitude toward the Civil War was one of rejoicing for the national spirit called forth.



AMRUTANJANI
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJANI LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Thus the situation, the source of which lies in the Communist threat, has produced another danger which may become equally serious, a danger that another America, authoritarian in nature, may supersede the one we have known. And we must ask ourselves which America we want.

There are three specific changes in the American way of life now possible which would make the totalitarian danger more real.

One of these is that we might become a military nation, basically, rather than a civilian nation. Again, the Communist threat is the cause of the danger. Again the point is to be raised as to how far we must change in order to meet this very real external danger. In the minds of many, the issue is Universal Military Training. To some it concerns the question of military influence in politics. But there is no doubt that the necessary greater military strength of the nation needs careful assessment, so that we may locate accurately the dividing line between a military and a civilian nation. Possibly the issue may lie in whether the increased militarization is accomplished on a temporary or a permanent basis. But undoubtedly much will depend upon the alertness of citizens to the graveness of the change that is taking place. Our nation was conceived and established on the plan of civilian dominance of military affairs. If that civilian dominance is lost, America will not be the same nation. Which America do we want?

Another area of possible change in which the alternatives are clear concerns the public schools. On July 2 the National Education Association which was meeting in Detroit was attacked by an article in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine*. The article, according to the *New York Times*, accused the leaders of the association of "being leftists and of trying, in the role of a Hitler or Stalin, to capture the minds of the youth of the United States."

From Catholic and some Protestant sources have come accusations that the schools are Godless and Secular.

Mr. Allen Zoll and Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain have engineered attacks upon the schools in a number of important communities in different parts of the country. These critics are seeking to discredit the public schools in the eyes of parents and civic leaders.

What they want seems to be the abandonment of modern educational methods, the return to enforced discipline, and the teaching of the limited curriculum associated with the three R's; they want the teaching of religion in the schools; the teaching of a special brand of history, economic conservatism, and 100 per cent Americanism. If this were achieved it would inevitably mean the subservience of the schools to religious groups, to professional patriotic groups, and to other pressure bodies.

The American Public Schools System has been for generations one of the bulwarks of democracy. Now with the combination of attacks, and the extremism of those who irresponsibly exploit the Communist threat, the schools are definitely endangered. This campaign could change the character and effectiveness of the public school program and conceivably through the next generation of children change the character of our nation.

In regard to the conduct of public schools, which America do we want? The doctrine of the separation of Church and State has from the beginning of our nation been one of the distinguishing features of our democratic system. Historically, two reasons have been

emphasized for this separation. First, difficulties arise from the schismatic character of religion, making inevitable either a preferential position of one established church or the competitive striving for power of a plural establishment. From a practical standpoint there does not exist "religion" *per se*, but religions and sects. It is highly artificial to speak of religion in relation to the state. There are the sects of the Christian religion and there are the divisions of Judaism, and several other distinct religious bodies in the United States. Once the idea of mingling religion and the state were approved, the next question must be: "Which Religion?" or "Which Church?" For it is not quite possible for the various religious bodies to carve up the state between them. Nor does it seem likely, since they cannot agree to merge their views, that they can combine on a joint relationship to the state. This is especially true since some of them lay claim to an exclusive possession of spiritual truth.

The other reason for separation is that it is through this arrangement that freedom of belief and of worship are guaranteed. The history of the adoption of the First Amendment, the discussions surrounding the Virginia statute which as much as anything is its background, make it perfectly clear that one of the major purposes was the assurance of freedom of religion. The wording of the First Amendment itself makes this purpose clear. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Even the slightest merging of religion and government will raise questions of a doctrinal nature and begin the process of limiting religious freedom.

On this issue, which America do we want? An America which makes religion a function of the state?—or an America where there is equal freedom for all religions and where the responsibility for religious life is placed where it rightly belongs, in the church and home? This is a decision now being made.

Thus, in several major areas we find issues, our attitudes toward which may determine the character of the American nation for the future.

We can envision as a real possibility an America of fears and intimidation, with the abridgment of freedom of speech and press, and greatly diminished liberty in most fields of life—an America hardened into an authoritarian mold—; a highly militarized nation where all men are trained to be soldiers and military men are dominant; an America of tightly controlled public schools which make children into reciters of limited knowledge; and an America in which the religions engage in a terrifying controversy to control the government or are dominated by it.

Democracy in the United States was not easily established—there were always those who fought it. Its maintenance has been difficult and its existence could be lost. It will be if we do not keep before us clearly the picture of America as we have known it.

The French historian Guizot once asked James Russell Lowell how long he thought the American republic would endure. Lowell replied: "So long as the ideals of its founders continue to be dominant."

Which America? That of our founders or that of modernized tyranny? This is the question we must face with clarity of understanding in the days ahead or lose what is dearest in the forms of human relationship.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

83

WHO Experts on Health Education of the Public meet in Paris

The following information has been received from WHO Headquarters, Geneva:

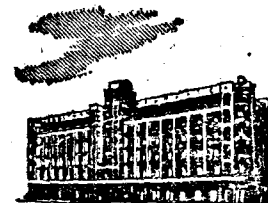
Health education of the public seeks to promote higher standards of health by increasing knowledge and influencing behaviour and is now considered an essential part of modern public health services.

For this reason the World Health Organization appointed an Expert Committee on Health Education of the Public, which held its first session in Paris, 7-11 December, 1953, at UNESCO House.

Leading experts from Brazil, England, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the USA attended the session in order to set guiding principles for consideration of governments and for the WHO programme of health education, which, as a result of requests from many



Life Insurance is not a fair-weather friend, but a friend in need. It is a protection against the rainy day—a safe and sure coverage for future eventualities. It guarantees security to those who avail themselves of its benefits. And you can as well enjoy these benefits by placing YOUR INSURANCE with the HINDUSTHAN which is your own Company. It has a tradition of 46 years' dependable service to the nation.



THE SEAL OF SECURITY



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA-13.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

- | | Rs. as |
|--|--------|
| Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (No. 1, to 9 out of Stock) each No. at Rs. 4 82 0 | |
| History of Orissa Vols. I & II—R. D. Banerji (Each) 25 0 | |
| Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu 12 0 | |
| Dynasties of Medieval Orissa—Pt. Binayak Misra 5 0 | |
| The Knight Errant (Novel)—Sita Devi 8 8 | |
| The Garden Creeper (Illustr. Novel)—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 8 | |
| Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 0 | |
| India And A New Civilization—Dr. R. K. Das 4 0 | |
| Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (Illustr.)—P. N. Roy 4 8 | |
| Story of Satara (Illustr. History)—Major B. D. Basu 10 0 | |
| My Sojourn in England—ditto 2 0 | |
| History of the British Occupation in India—[An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.]—N. Kasturi 8 0 | |
| The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee 6 8 | |
| The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy 1 0 | |
| Protection of Minorities—Radha Kumud Mukherji 0 4 | |

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

countries, is expected to develop into an important activity of the Organization.

Experience shows that educational work on health matters is a far more complex question than expected. A wide range of factors has to be taken into account, not only medical, but also social, cultural, economic and religious factors, which differ widely from one country to another. Educational tools, such as posters, films, demonstrations, etc., must be adapted to the interest, problems, psychological and cultural characteristics of the people concerned.

Thus, although it is not possible to establish uniform educational methods and measures applicable to all countries, the WHO experts attempted to define some common principles which could be considered as universally applicable.

They also presented recommendations as to training requirements for health education workers, one of the major handicaps at the present time being the lack, or even the complete absence of training opportunities for many categories of health workers and educational leaders such as doctors, nurses, teachers, sanitation personnel and voluntary workers whose educational role is extremely important.

Finally, the WHO experts are to take up the question of scientific research and the assessment of health education. Research is needed into new educational methods and materials, their relative cost and their applicability to societies at different stages of social, educational and economic development.—WHO Press Release.

Soviet Union Seeks ILO Membership

Russia has applied for re-admission to the International Labour Organisation. In a communication to the ILO Director-General the Government of the Soviet Union says that "with a view to broadening co-operation with other countries in the solution of problems confronting the International Labour Organisation, the USSR has decided to accept the obligations of the Constitution of the said Organisation." The letter added that the Soviet Union would not, however, consider itself bound by a provision of the Constitution which says that "any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this Constitution or of any subsequent Convention concluded by the Members in pursuance of the provisions of this Constitution shall be referred for decision to the International Court of Justice."

The Soviet Union was a member of the ILO from 1934 until 1939 when it was a member of the League of Nations, membership in the League carrying with it membership in the ILO. When it ceased to be a member of the League, the USSR did not declare its intention of retaining its ILO membership, and the seat which the Soviet Government held on the ILO's Governing Body was thereupon declared vacant. Under the provisions of the present ILO Constitution a State which is a member of the United Nations may become a member of the ILO by communicating to the Director-General its formal acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution.

Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the ILO, in his reply emphasises that the ILO at its annual conferences has frequently expressed the firm conviction that the ends of the International Labour Organisation can be

more effectively advanced if its membership could be more universal. Mr. Morse, however, points out that the ILO Constitution does not make any provision for membership on the basis of incomplete acceptance of its obligations. Drawing attention to the constitutional points concerning membership Mr. Morse expresses the hope that the Government of the USSR may wish "to consider the desirability of giving the matter further consideration and of communicating further with the Director-General on the subject."—ILO News Service.

A New Academician in France

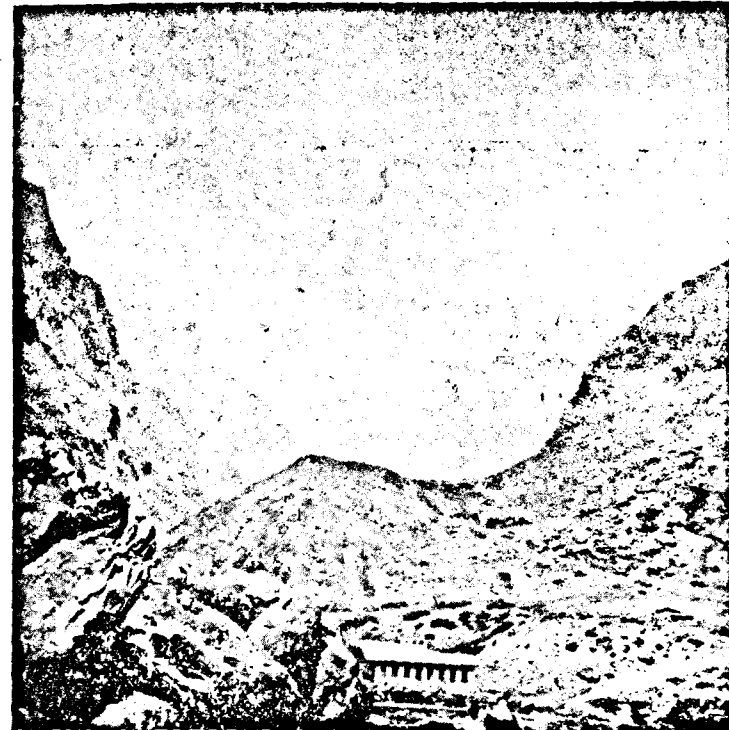
Pierre Gaxotte, the well-known French historian, has been elected to the French Academy in the place of Rene Grousset, the great Orientalist, who died recently. M. Gaxotte was received in the Academy on October 29 by General Weygand. Thus a historian has succeeded a historian, a thing which is rare in the Academy. The occasion permitted the two speakers to make general reflections on the writing and value of history. M. Gaxotte said that history arrived at truth only by intellectual vigour combined with scruples, and by perpetually revising conclusions. Succeeding Rene Grousset M. Gaxotte naturally spoke about the knowledge of Asia among Western scholars, and he singled out Voltaire's *Essai sur les Moeurs* as a very great work. He said that Voltaire created universal history, comparative history and the history of civilization. In his reply General Weygand spoke of the lessons of history and mentioned some ways of applying them to contemporary needs.—News from France.

Course in French Civilization for Foreign Students

The course of lectures on French civilization for foreign students began at the Sorbonne on November 3, 1953. It comprises lectures by recognized authorities in the University on the culture of France and is intended to give an idea of the political, economic, intellectual and moral formation of France and the French people. The lectures are supplemented by a practical course (six hours a week) in grammar, drafting, phonetics and allied subjects. This teaching is in the hands of specialists and is designed to impart a sound knowledge of the French language within a short time.—News from France.

A New Work by Cezanne at The National Gallery, London

The famous National Gallery of London, one of the greatest art galleries of the world, has just acquired at the price of thirty thousand pounds (about 4 lakhs of rupees) one of the most beautiful works of Paul Cezanne, the great French painter (1839-1906). This work is called *La Vieille au Chapelet* (*Old Woman with Rosary*).—News from France.



A view of Mt. Nilkantha from Badrinath



Joshi Math, founded by Sankaracharya

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

FEBRUARY



1954

VOL. LXXXV, No. 2

WHOLE No. 566



DANCE

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

By Maniklal Banerji

NOTES

The Congress Session at Kalyani

The 59th Session of the Congress, held at Kalyani near Calcutta, is over. It is only a week since the plenary session was over and as yet we are too near the noise and dust of the vast gathering to be able to visualise the full import of the deliberations and the resolutions. Pandit Nehru himself was uncertain about the public reception of the messages, as was clearly expressed in his concluding address at the end of the plenary session.

Shri Nehru said: "Many years ago there arose a voice from Bengal which reverberated in every nook and corner of India. This was the voice of freedom. It was raised 50 years ago and it awakened the whole country. After 25 years, you and I have again come back to Bengal. Again a voice has been raised here in Kalyani Congress in Bengal. How far it has reached our ears and your hearts I cannot say. You have now the task of taking the message of this voice to your respective cities, towns, districts and hamlets. You have to explain it to the people. Not only you will have to explain the main resolutions passed here but also the present State of our country, our problems and our duties."

Since the full import of the Session is not yet clear, it would be more than useless to consider the question of results. For, in the main, nothing new was discussed, nor were any fresh solutions offered of problems, old or new. It was more or less an occasion where open declarations of policy were made and the workings of the mind of our high executive were expressed in terms which sought to be clear. The subjects discussed in the committees, and later clarified in the open sessions, were multifarious, ranging from Foreign Relations to intimate domestic problems, such as the question of linguistic readjustments of boundaries.

We cannot as yet make up our minds as to whether this titanic concourse of peoples, this gigantic set-up of Exhibition, pandals and forest of hutments

and booths, ablaze with lights at night, this parade of the glory of the Congress, touched the people's hearts. We do not know whether any message of hope was carried away from Kalyani to the huts and houses of Sri and Srimati Common Man. We know that an attempt was made, at vast expense of money and effort, to draw the self-same Sri and Srimati back into the folds of the Congress, from which they are more and more inclined to stray away. All that knowledge will have to wait until such time as concrete results justify verbal declarations, which hitherto has seldom been the case. But one thing was clearly seen, and that was that Pandit Nehru still retains the hold over the minds of the masses, and that as yet the old attachment remains unbroken. This was demonstrated beyond all doubt when his voice alone sufficed to bring order into the seething masses of unruly visitors, time and again.

The main issue put before the Subjects Committee was that of Foreign Policy. The Resolution on Foreign Policy was as follows:

"India's thought and cultural and historical background have inevitably led her to pursue paths of peace, even in her own national struggle for independence, she adopted, under the guidance of her great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the path of non-violence. On the achievement of independence, her policy, flowing from this past history and background, led her to devote her energies to the promotion of international peace. She sought the friendship of all nations and, at the same time, avoided any alignment of entanglements which might result in her being hostile to any country. Any other course would have been a deviation from the policy she had proclaimed and the betrayal of the principles she had long stood for. It would have meant also a surrender of her freedom of action to the dictates of others.

From long and bitter experience she had learnt that a nation desiring freedom must basically rely on itself and dependence upon others meant a limitation

of that freedom and an abandonment, to some extent, of the spirit and individuality of a nation, which give it strength, vitality and purpose.

The Congress is well aware that there are great and powerful nations, far more advanced in many ways than India is, and these nations are sometimes pressed by the urge for expansion and the desire to make other countries fall within their orbit of influence. India cannot and has no desire to compete with them in strength of arms. At the same time, she cannot and will not surrender her way of thinking or action to pressure exercised from outside. She will continue to offer her friendship to all countries and co-operate with them to the best of her ability, but she will resist any aggression or any attempt to compel her to function against her own wishes. The principles she has endeavoured to follow are based on the pursuit of peace and of the conviction that means are always important and must not be sacrificed to ends; in particular, that war to-day is likely to be a horrible calamity and irretrievable disaster and must be avoided. Every step that increases tensions between nations and the climate of war must also, therefore, be avoided.

The Congress reiterates its conviction that India must continue to follow an independent policy in international affairs and not align herself with any group of nations against any other group."

In chain with this resolution came that on the U.S.-Pakistan military aid Pact, which was moved by Sri Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay. Sri Desai gave a clear exposition about the significance of the proposed pact, but said nothing beyond giving the stereotyped expression of the reactions of a Congress bound to *Ahimsa*. In supporting the resolution Dr. Syed Mahmud (Bihar) clarified the issues to a wider extent, and justified India's protest. He said, India's protest might create some misunderstanding in Pakistan. "But we cannot fail in our duty only because the truth might be misunderstood." He further discussed the curious stand that the U.S.A. was taking in this matter.

Dr. Mahmud said that America had a record of giving support to the freedom movement of backward countries. "She has always been against imperialism and colonial domination." It was because of this stand in the past, that America was looked upon as a friend by colonial countries.

Today "blinded by the fear of communism," Dr. Mahmud continued, this glorious record was being forgotten. He expressed the hope that this alliance between America and Pakistan would not come about.

Pandit Nehru clarified the stand of the Congress government fully in his Presidential address at the plenary session on Jan. 23rd, the significant portion of which we append *infra*. But neither in Sri Desai's speech nor in Pandit Nehru's address do we find any discussion of one curious aspect of this present tension. And that is the Why and Wherefore of the most

offensive attitude of U.S. officialdom—at least of that section that seems to carry the most weight there—which has been clearly expressed by the deliberate statement that the U.S.A. authorities "could not care less, about India's reactions to this pact."

Dr. Mahmud has stated that U.S.A. is "blinded by the fear of Communism." That only explains a part of the stand. It does not explain as to why India should be regarded as so ignoble as all that: "Could not care less" means that India does not even deserve a thought in this matter. Why should we be regarded as being lower than the lowliest? This deserves consideration, both from our point of view, and from that of the Americans. Let us take the latter first.

All history bears witness to the axiomatic truth that a nation that is guided by megalomaniacs, faces utter ruin as an inevitable consequence. Our creed of *Ahimsa* as propounded by the Father of the Nation, to whose memory we have just paid our homage, was based on that fundamental fact. The Egypt of Akhenaten, the Greece of Alexander and the Rome of the Caesars bear mute testimony to that. Chenghiz Khan was the greatest conqueror the world has yet known, and he and his dynasty have vanished without almost any trace. The history of Germany and France, in our own times, to say nothing of Japan and Italy are glaring examples of today. Britain was going the same way, and it was only the sanity of the Labour Government saved her from utter ruin, else she would have been still involved in a struggle a hundred times more ruinous than what is taking place in Malaya and Indo-China. With all this plain before her eyes, how can America decide to tread the same path? It is known to the world that the American Way of Life is not that of Jingoistic Imperialism.

It is not that the question of this Pact generating deep resentment amongst the Indians has not been put before the powers-that-be in the U.S.A. There have been many statements in that country itself to that effect, notably that in an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor*, which clearly said that it was plainly on the cards that this military aid Pact would get the U.S.A. the friendship of 75 million Pakistanis, at the cost of the resentment of 350 million Indians. And yet the U.S.A. "Could not care less."

It is evident today that there are two Americas in the U.S.A. There is a section there that is oblivious to the fact that the U.S.A. is as yet a tyro in diplomacy and that her knowledge of matters Asiatic are infantile in the extreme. That section is unable to learn the lesson of Korea, where the U.S.A. paid in billions of dollars, and—what is of far greater value—with the heart's blood of hundreds of thousands of her bravest, for the aberrations of her advisers, military and civil, who abandoned China with the same cretinism of "could not care less"!

It is that same section that refuses to see that all the dollars and the atom bombs and all the fighting

force that the mighty mechanized civilisation of the U.S.A. could muster and mobilise would be as nought if their opponents could but win India and China completely on their side. They do not realise that in that landslide, practically all Asia—and Indonesia—with the exception of some sparsely populated desert regions—would be regimented against them. The plight of the French in Indo-China—and of the British in Malaya to a lesser extent—register no reaction in their power-befuddled brains.

But there is another section in America, that is fully cognisant of these facts. Why are they helpless?

They are helpless because our own reactions have been persistently illogical all through.

We have made of *Ahimsa* a fetish, despite the lessons of history. Our reactions to all injuries inflicted on us have given the world an idea that we are weak and impotent. Emperor Asoka was in his own way the greatest monarch that ever reigned. He made the same mistake. His descendants perished and his cherished people were subjected to untold sufferings. We have forgotten that Freedom has to be paid for, not by mere shibboleths. We have forgotten the lessons of our own history, that mere forswearing of aggression does not save an innocent people lacking virility. We have to appreciate in our hearts and minds the full import and the reason as to why the Sage said of Sri Ramchandra:

Nasya krodhah prasadascha nirarthosti kadachana.

Pandit Nehru on the Pact

The following excerpts are from the Presidential address of Pandit Nehru at Kalyani:

"After the attainment of independence, our urgent task has been to devote ourselves to the economic betterment of our people, to raise their standards of living, to remove the curse of poverty and to promote equality and social justice. The extent to which we succeed or fail in this great task will be the measure of our achievement. That remains therefore, and will remain, our first duty and concern. But the world presses in upon us from all directions and we cannot remain unconcerned with what happens elsewhere, more especially in Asia. We stand on the threshold of the atomic age which knits together this world and makes it one integrated whole, for good or ill. The geographical position of India in South Asia has throughout history brought her in intimate contact with the other parts of Asia. We cannot ignore or change geography.

"We have thus to develop some kind of an integrated view of the world, for we cannot live in isolation. That does not mean that we should interfere with others or that we should submit to the interference of others in our country. But it does mean greater co-operation among the countries and peoples of the world, for the only alternative left is conflict on a colossal scale and terrible destruction.

"Instead of this spirit of co-operation, we find the very reverse of it, and great and powerful countries are ranged against each other, prepared for armed conflict and accusing each other of aggressive designs. The world is sick and weary of this conflict and of the fear that it has bred. No one wants war and yet, by some strange fate or uncontrollable destiny, it is the thought of war that dominates our lives.

"Can war, if it comes, solve any of the problems that confront us? It is clear that it will bring no solution. All that it is likely to do is to bring uttermost destruction and even uproot the very basis of modern civilisation and culture. It will degrade humanity and lead to far more problems than we face today. War, therefore, must be avoided for, in existing circumstances, there can be no greater evil. Any step that leads to war has also to be avoided and we must seek solution of our problems by other methods, the first step is to ease the tensions that exist.

"Two powerful blocs of nations confront each other, each trying to play a dominant role. One is called the Communist bloc and the other calls itself the Democratic and anti-Communist group. Those who refuse to join either of these groups are criticised as sitting on the fence, as if there could be only two extreme positions to take up. Our policy has been one of non-alignment and of development of friendly relations with all countries. We have done so not only because we are passionately devoted to peace but also because we cannot be untrue to our national background, the principles for which we have stood. We are convinced that the problems of today can be solved by peaceful methods and that each country can live its own life as it chooses without imposing itself on others. We are a democratic country and our objectives have been laid down in the Constitution that we have framed. We can never forget the great teaching of our Master that the ends do not justify the means. Perhaps most of the trouble in the world today is due to the fact that people have forgotten this basic doctrine and are prepared to justify any means in order to obtain their objectives. And so, in the defence of democracy or in the name of liberation, an atmosphere is created which suffocates democracy and stifles freedom, and may ultimately kill both.

"We claim or desire no right of leadership anywhere, we wish to interfere with no country just as we will not tolerate interference with ours. We believe that friendly and co-operative relations are essential among the countries of the world, even though they may disagree in many ways. We do not presume to think that by our policies or by any step that we might take, we can make any serious difference to the great world issues. But, perhaps, we might sometimes help to turn the scales in favour of peace and if that is a possibility, every effort to that end is worthwhile.

"Peace is not merely an absence of war. It is also a state of mind. That state of mind is almost completely absent from this world of cold war today. We have endeavoured not to succumb to this climate of war and fear and to consider our problem as well as the problems of the world as dispassionately as possible. We have felt that even if some terrible tragedy overtakes the world, it is worthwhile to keep some area of the world free from it to the extent possible.

"Therefore, we have declared that India will be no participant in a war and we have hoped that other countries in Asia would likewise keep away from it, thus building up an area of peace. The larger this area is, the more the danger of war recedes. If the whole world is divided up into two major and hostile camps, then there is no hope for the world and war becomes inevitable.

"It is not our way to live in or by fear. We should not live in fear of aggression from any country. If, by misfortune, there is any aggression, it will be resisted with all our strength.

"It is in this context that we have viewed the proposals for military aid from the United States to Pakistan. That is not merely a question of a rich and powerful country aiding an undeveloped country, but something which goes to the root of the problem of peace as well as the freedom of many countries in Asia. These countries, including India, have only recently attained independence. They will only retain it so long as they are worthy of it and are capable of defending it. The moment they rely upon others to do so, they have already lost part of that independence and the rest may also slip away later. For the countries of Asia which have suffered, so long and so terribly under foreign domination, this is no small matter. In the long perspective of history, this means a reversal of that process of liberation for which we have all struggled in Asia for generations past and which at last yielded results. This is not a question of motives, but of certain steps which inevitably lead to others. We have struggled for freedom and guard it as a precious heritage. Are we now to risk it because of fear or a feeling of helplessness? That is a question which every country in Asia has to put to itself and to answer.

"There have been so many contradictory statements about this proposal of American military aid to Pakistan that it is difficult to know what the real facts are, but enough has been said to show that this is no airy talk, but has much substance behind it, and enough has been said also that behind this proposal lies far-reaching consequences. If Pakistan accepts this aid, she becomes part of a great group of nations, lined up against another. She becomes potentially a war area, and progressively her policies are controlled by others. To deny this has little meaning. Freedom recedes in Asia and the currents of history reversed.

"For India this is a serious matter from many points

of view. The mere fact that war is likely to come to our frontiers is grave enough. The other fact that this military aid might possibly be utilised against India cannot be ignored. I earnestly trust that even at this stage this unfortunate development will not take place and I say so, not in hostility, but in all friendship for the people of Pakistan.

"Ever since partition, with the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state, it has been my conviction which, I believe, is shared not only by the Congress, but by vast numbers of our countrymen, that India and Pakistan should live in friendship and co-operation. We accepted the independence of Pakistan and there was no question of challenging it in any way. Any other course would have been the height of folly. Therefore, we have wished well to Pakistan and hoped that its people would prosper and develop. It is true that we had disputes on a number of issues and several of them still remain unresolved. But that does not lessen in any way the basic fact that India and Pakistan have to live in friendship, or else, both suffer greatly and endanger their freedom. Our disputes must be treated as matters for us to decide and not for outsiders to interfere. Indeed, I think that some of these disputes might well have been settled by this time if there had been no external interference from outside parties.

"Two or three years ago, I offered to Pakistan that we should make a 'no war' declaration, thus making it clear that on no account would our two countries go to war against each other. That offer was rejected. So far as we are concerned, it remains open, for we want no war. Indeed, we are prepared, as a natural consequence of our policy, to have such agreements with any of our neighbouring countries, thus ensuring that there would be no aggression on either side.

"While the situation created by the reported military aid to Pakistan is a grave one and deserves our earnest attention, there is no reason why we should be alarmed by it."

Mr. Butler on the U.S.-Pak Pact

At a Press Conference at New Delhi, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. R. A. Butler, appealed to India to keep the issue of U. S. military aid to Pakistan in proper perspective and not to exaggerate it. Explaining that he had no precise information about the nature of the aid, Mr. Butler said that in the case of Britain, American economic aid was being translated into a little more of defence aid. The proposed aid to Pakistan might be a manifestation of this ordinary trend of American economic policy. He said that if the proposed U.S. assistance to Pakistan was in the nature of a little defence aid, it did not amount to a military pact. But if there was really a proposal for a pact, it would be wrong for him to pronounce any judgment as he did not know the terms.

Re-organisation of States

Another contentious issue was that of the reorganisation of the States. The resolution runs as follows:

The Congress welcomes the appointment by the Government of India of a Commission for the re-organisation of States and the terms of reference that have been laid down for it. The present constitution of the States in India, as a result of historical growth and the changes brought about after independence, is in many respects unsatisfactory and their re-organisation has thus become necessary. In considering this problem it is important that all relevant factors should be borne in mind, such as, cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic progress both of each State and of the nation as a whole. In particular, the unity of India and national security must be given first priority.

This problem can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore an agitational approach is not only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay satisfactory solutions. The Congress therefore recommends to the nation, to help in the solution of this problem by encouraging a co-operative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination.

This is particularly necessary when the present situation in India demands national unity and a combined effort to build up the nation.

We quite understand that an agitational approach is undesirable at the moment. But, in case, the terms of reference are not comprehensive, the States concerned must move in order that this matter be settled once for all. We cannot have linguistic domination of any group by any other. Even in the Congress session Pandit Nehru had to intervene on one occasion as the following news report shows:

"Congressnagar (Kalyani), Jan. 24: Congress President, Sri Nehru had to remind the delegates present at the morning session of the Congress today that Bengali was one of the national languages of India, and under the Constitution everyone had the right to speak in his own language.

"These remarks came from Sri Nehru, when some delegates had been insisting that Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy of West Bengal, who was speaking in Bengali in support of the resolution on Re-organisation of States, should speak in Hindi.

"Enraged, the Congress President said that if anyone did not like to listen to Bengali speeches, because he did not understand Bengali, the delegate concerned was at liberty to go out. But they should not forget that Bengali was also a national language."

Korea

This was the *obiter dicta* of the N.N.R.C. as spoken by Pandit Nehru:

"In Korea, we undertook heavy responsibilities in accepting the chairmanship of the Neutral Nations

Repatriation Commission and sending our Army personnel. We did so as part of our contribution to bring the Korean war to an end and promote peace in that unhappy and war-torn land. Whatever may happen today or in the near future in regard to Korea, we may feel in all humility that we used our endeavours in helping to bring hostilities to an end. That was some service to the cause of peace and it is in this light that the real significance of our proposals before the United Nations, in regard to the issue of prisoners of war, should be judged."

Seminar on Arts and Crafts

An Asian regional seminar sponsored by U.N.E.S.C.O. on the role of arts and crafts in general education and community development will be held in Tokyo this year, according to Mr. P. Kirpal, Deputy Director of U.N.E.S.C.O.

Mr. Kirpal told the P.T.I. that the seminar will be held under the direction of the "great Indian artist and art educationist," D. P. Roy Chowdhury, of the Madras Art College.

The U.N.E.S.C.O. official said that the seminar "has attracted immense interest all over Japan. The artists and the art-loving public here hope that this event will give them an opportunity to meet artists and teachers of crafts from Asian countries."

Mr. Kirpal revealed that an international exhibition of children's art and possibly of crafts from Asian countries will also be organised at that time.

Indian art has gained immensely in the past from the visits of Japanese artists like Taikwan. It is but in the fitness of things that the exchange be kept up in friendly visits.

Missionaries Seek Firm Basis in India

For some little time the vexed question of the anti-Indian activities of certain foreign missionaries has been agitating the public mind. In this matter there is some chance of the legitimate desires of the Indian Christians being overlooked due to the anti-Christian zeal of the fanatics on the other side. This would be undesirable without doubt. We should not allow the heat of the moment, generated by the present U.S.-Pakistan pourparlers, to blind us to the interest of that fairly considerable and extremely loyal minority. In this connection the following report from the *Worldover Press* is of interest:

New Delhi (WP)—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has had on his desk, as a result of the 12th conference of the Indian National Christian Council last November, a letter regarding the views of some government officials which have caused embarrassment to Christians, non-national and national. The contents of the letter have been kept secret but the entire council backed up its secretariat in saying that it will co-operate with the State where there are legitimate grievances against certain forms of Christian work, but that missionary efforts are the very essence of its faith and on this point there can be no compromise of principle.

A report to the conference, which was held at Gun-tur for five days and which was attended by 133 members representing over 150 churches, missions, etc., showed that many thorny questions about the entry and stay of foreign missionaries had been dealt with to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

The new constitution, approved by the conference is oriented toward the churches in India rather than toward the missions. The "Council," it states, "is established on the acceptance of the principle that the church is central in the Christian enterprise." It further says that "Questions of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity lie outside the province of the Council." This emphasis, however, seems destined to render the Council incapable of taking any far-reaching decisions.

When the Council branched into four commissions, for example, to discuss (1) the Christian concern for social justice, (2) the life and witness of the local church, (3) the pattern of Christian work in India, and (4) the church in India and missions abroad, it was found time and time again necessary to hark back to fundamentals—the very questions of doctrine and polity the Council had declared outside its province. Thus the findings of the commissions, which are soon to be offered to the members churches, missions, and Christian organizations, are only in the nature of members' opinions.

The conference strongly affirmed that foreign missionaries were still needed in India, the value of this statement being all the more significant because it was put forward by Indians themselves. There was a clear demand that a far greater amount of mission work be given to Indians. There was a seeking for "an indigenous expression of the faith and church practice."

Chinese Influential in Indonesia

The bogey of Communism, that is being seen by the U.S. authorities everywhere, has to be put in its proper perspective. The *Worldover Press* gives the following interesting news regarding Indonesia, regarding the Chinese there.

Bandung (WP).—With its enormous population, China long since burst its border and sent millions of its people throughout Southeast Asia. The 3,000,000 Chinese in Indonesia are assimilated to a greater degree than elsewhere, 80 per cent or more speaking the Indonesian language. Many are descendants of settlers employed by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century. A large proportion have become Indonesian.

The Chinese divide politically, as indicated by their daily papers. Fifteen Chinese language dailies, published on Java, Celebes, Sumatra and Borneo, have a total sale of 87,000 copies, their circulation ranging from 1,000 to 15,000. Communist total circulation is 37,000, pro-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Communist circulation is 36,000. Those claiming the middle of the road, or following a third-force policy, print more than 14,000 copies.

The importance of Chinese in the Indonesian

Communist movement is shown by the fact that all Communist newspapers, in any of the languages used, except one small trade journal are owned by Chinese. Though there is an Indonesian Communist Party, which has 17 representatives in Parliament, Communist press outlets are entirely Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese language dailies, many Chinese purchase and read Indonesian language papers. For instance, *Sin Po*, the leading Chinese language paper, also prints an Indonesian language edition with a circulation of about 15,000. But *Keng Po* (printed only in Indonesian), edited by a Chinese, and favorable to the anti-Communist world, has a circulation of 26,000—this being all the copies its presses can print.

Literacy among Chinese in the Chinese language is about 25 per cent, whereas literacy among the Indonesians is considerably below 10 per cent for the country as a whole. Thus 10 per cent of Chinese adults buy a daily paper, while the adult Indonesian population buys only 1.2 newspapers per 100. This discrepancy is not due to differences in the literacy ratios alone, but also to the fact that whereas the Indonesians are primarily an agricultural people, who live in villages, the Chinese are concentrated in cities. In Medan, Sumatra, for example, the Chinese constitute 35 per cent of the population, and in Surabaya and Jogjakarta 19 per cent.

There is considerable anti-Chinese feeling, growing from jealousy over Chinese commercial dominance. The immigration quota of Chinese has been reduced to 4,000 a year.

The Mau Maus and the Kikuyu

The *Worldover Press* gives a report on the situation in Kenya from the pen of a special observer who had an unbiased point of view. It is useful as it gives a calm view about the matter. It runs as follows:

We were cautioned by some longtime Kenya residents not to take too literally reports in the press on the arresting or even the killing of Mau Mau terrorists. That there are Mau Maus, and that they are terrorists, is well assured; but the African police, so these seasoned observers say, are poorly trained, quick on the trigger, riddled with dishonesty, and speedy in producing "evidence" that they are effective.

Because of this situation, innocent Kikuyus are murdered in cold blood. Passes supposedly to be carried by all Kikuyu are sometimes confiscated by policemen, who then place their word against that of their Kikuyu fellow countrymen, and get credit for an arrest. If the unlucky Kikuyu has money, he can get by without a pass.

Moreover, some of the morally and ethically sensitive European citizens say that the reign of terror being met by a reign of terror is an overdoing of the old idea—"fight fire with fire." The consequence is to produce in the Kikuyu who wants only to live in safety the feeling that he has no trusted friend on either side.

"None," so these Kenyans report, "from among the Kikuyu would dream of putting their case before the police." They become the silent army of the misunderstood, in whom may be brewing . . . who can read the lines in their faces or know the deep-cut wounds within them? Who can forecast the day of reckoning?

Almost in the same breath, one must add that the way of government in such a situation is far from easy. Police efforts of all kinds have been whipped up to meet the emergency. Controls over its own efforts and forces are not readily managed. Government is denounced by white settlers who demand an even more drastic policy, and blamed by those who decry the corruption and injustice of much that is done. Add to these certain "liberals" who tend to feel that rebels anywhere are always right, and you have a government that pleases virtually no one.

Now the mass of Kikuyu begin to take the Mau Mau threat, not with panic, but with more complacency. It is estimated that more than 90 per cent of the Kikuyu have by choice or by force taken the secret oath, but that perhaps fewer than 500 constitute the core of the Mau Mau rebellion. No one really knows, but that is a guess hazarded by several Europeans living in Kikuyu territory.

In such a city as Nairobi, where Europeans and Indians together are a small minority, everyone goes about the streets as if nothing were wrong, except for the occasional white settler who wears a pistol in sight in his belt. But in the Kikuyu country to the north of Nairobi where we went recently by auto to see some mission schools, whites are admonished not to go singly but with two or more others.

There are barbed wire defenses in some locations, such as the areas of Nairobi where supposedly loyal Africans live, and around police stations and certain schools in the countryside. One principal of a boys' high school in Kikuyu territory, however, remarked in answer to our questioning: "We have no barbed wire here nor do we want it, nor do we want a barbed wire mentality."

"Have you any weapons?" I countered. "No," was his firm reply, "except the pangas (tool-weapon-implements) which the African normally carries and which the students would have." This attitude may well be on the increase.

While police action of various kinds may suppress or even dissolve Mau Mau activities in some places, is there anything more basic which can be done to remove causes of the disturbance?

That is a question that cannot be answered by a visitor and hardly by an experienced Kenyan, so far as any immediate relief for the situation is concerned. To make land available at once to those whose battle-cry is land seems to offer little relief, and probably is not the deeper answer to the problem.

The land question is a complex one. Doubtless

there is a case for either side, and this visitor feels a special sympathy for those at the bottom of the pile. It is incumbent on those who hold power to use it for the needs of the underprivileged.

This is America!

The air is thick these days with the statements and counter-statements, at home and abroad, regarding the pact between U. S. and Pakistan. But few realize, in that context, that even in the U.S.A. there is now a feeling of uneasiness regarding the drive against Communism, of which this pact is the diplomatic outcome. The *Worldover Press* carried the following in its December 23 issue as an illustration:

From the welter of accusation and innuendo, grim fact and wild exaggeration, that has surrounded the question of Communist infiltration, two utterances stand out: one for its sanity, the other for its terse description of McCarthyism.

The first was President Eisenhower's assertion that the problem of Communism in government should be handled without injustice to any individual; that we cannot afford to destroy within the country what we are trying to protect from outside attack.

The second was former President Truman's summary of McCarthyism, the movement and the spirit: "It is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of the due process of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spreading of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society."

What poisons the air of America today is not the issue of democracy against Communist totalitarianism. On that issue, virtually all are united. Those who divide the nation are political opportunists, resorting to totalitarian methods themselves; who employ the very tactics of Communism to batter down liberal opinion, internationalism, work for peace, and the vital American tradition. The activities of such groups and individuals have long since invaded world affairs. U.S. foreign policy has suffered discredit in many countries, most lately in friendly Canada.

It is time for people of other lands to realize, as their press shows they do not, that there is another America. It is time for those in the United States who have given way to fear and confusion to know they need not; to know that when they oppose the reckless trend at Washington they are members of a strong and gallant company who will not readily surrender the finest heritage of America. For these reasons *Worldover Press* is devoting space to a few recent statements from those who speak the language of the true America, statements which gain force when gathered together.

Dr. Robert Clothier, in an address to graduates of Rutgers University upon his retirement as President:

"There are Communists among us, traitors to the nation and the principle of human freedom....None of us is so naive as to deny it. What I do deny is the right of one person to damn another in the public mind by merely accusing him of being a Communist. I deny the right of the public—which means you and me—to strip a person of his good name...because another person, without evidence and without proof, accuses him."

Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University in the *New York Times*: "The doctrine of guilt by association is unsound in logic...because it assumes that a good cause becomes bad if supported by bad men. But truth stands on its own merits...it is neither enhanced nor impaired by the authorities who support it. If all the subversives in the land asserted that two and two made four, two and two would still make four. If a particular cause is worthy of support, it does not cease to merit support because men we disapprove support it."

Dr. James Bryant Conant, President, in his final report to the Board of Overseers of Harvard University before accepting appointment as U.S. High Commissioner to Germany: "It would be a sad day for the United States if the tradition of dissent were driven out of the universities. For it is the freedom to disagree, to quarrel with authority on intellectual matters, to think otherwise, that has made this nation what it is....Our industrial society was pioneered by men who were dissenters....The global struggle with Communism turns on this very point."

Foster Rhea Dulles, Professor of History, Ohio State University and cousin of the Secretary of State: "The threat to the academic freedom which is so essential to our underlying freedom of thought is today a very real one. It lies not only in the specific restrictions some well-meaning university boards of trustees or other governmental authorities may seek to impose....It is also to be found in the creation of an atmosphere of intimidation which may cause the faint-hearted to be afraid to speak out and to weigh their ideas not in the scale of truth, but that of conformity. Here the final responsibility lies with the community, with society, with the American people."

Frank W. Abrams, chairman of the board, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, to the American Association of School Administrators: "I'm skeptical about teaching young people too many dogmas—mine or anybody else's. I certainly feel that how to think is more important than what to think. In my judgment, American industry today is built on the free inquiring mind more than on any other thing."

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, President of Brown University, in a statement analyzing Congressional weaknesses, told a student convocation that if Congressional investigations really proved what they seem to imply, "the Communists have dominated the State Department and are not yet rooted out; they have infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency; they have been able to turn Army

intelligence reports into Soviet propaganda; they pilfer secrets from the Government Printing Office; they shape instruction in the schools and orient the churches." If such implications were taken at face value, "Our situation would be hopeless; we would for years have been and would now be, in effect, ruled from the Kremlin... Anyone...who tries to scare us to death by pretending the Communists have dominated our foreign policy, or indeed any other aspect of our lives, seeking to perpetrate a fraud on the American people in the interest of creating fear."

By a vote of 8 to 0, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed an Oklahoma law requiring state employees to take an oath that they had not been, within the past five years, members of any organizations declared subversive by the Attorney General. Justice Tom C. Clark, who wrote the decision, asserted that a person may have joined innocently, or that an organization itself may have been innocent at certain stages. In his concurring decision, Justice Hugo Black declared: "The Oklahoma oath statute is but one manifestation of a national network of laws aimed at coercing and controlling the minds of men. Test oaths are notorious tools of tyranny. When used to shackle the mind they are, or at least they should be, unspeakably odious to a free people...We must have freedom of speech or all or we will in the long run have it for none but the cringing and the craven."

Generally regarded as the most distinguished jurist in the United States, Judge Learned Hand recently said, in a statement that cannot be too widely quoted: "Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that the community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbour as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."

J. R. Wiggins, Managing Editor of the *Washington Post*, on the methods of Senator McCarthy in questioning James Wechsler, Editor of the *New York Post*: "When a Congressional committee summons an editor before it and subjects him to hours of secret questioning and examination and interrogation, every man to whom the printed word is sacred must feel rising out of his cultural subconscious the warnings of history. When the mighty power of Congress is focused upon an editor by a politician whose activities have been the object of the editor's persistent censure, how can we fail to recall the numberless morbid examples and melancholy precedents of history?"

U.S. Arms deal with Pakistan

The *New York Times* in an editorial on January 2, commends the idea of giving arms aid to Pakistan, "a staunch friend of the democratic West," and writes: "A firm, strong friend in Pakistan and another in Turkey could, militarily speaking, anchor the whole of the Middle East." The contention of the newspaper is that "military aid for Pakistan would be a good policy. Indian protests may make it impractical, and hence a bad policy, but this would not mean that in our opinion India was necessarily being wise or right."

The U. S. magazine *Newsweek* reports that the U. S. Vice-President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, in a secret report on his Asian tour to the National Security Council headed by President Eisenhower, had recommended arms aid to Pakistan on the ground that American policy should be based on what was best for the U.S.A., and not on any fear of angering Nehru. Mr. Nixon is reported to have "returned from his trip convinced that India's neutralism stemmed from Nehru's belief that India could be a dominant force only if the non-Communist Asia remained weak and unarmed."

Reuter says: The magazine reported that Mr. Nixon felt the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia was "touchy" and that the "Indian Foreign Service connives there against the West, as it has throughout Asia."

Lord Swinton, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, said in reply to a question at a Commonwealth correspondents' luncheon meeting in London on January 14 that the British Government had "no inclination to oppose" U. S. arms aid to Pakistan. The Minister also disclosed that India had made her views known to the British Government and that British Government had also given their views to India. But he declined to disclose the exact terms of the British reply to India.

The *London Times* in an editorial also commended the idea of bringing in Pakistan, Turkey and Persia in a defence organization when the prospects of the formation of a Middle East Defence Organization had become dim. But at the same time the newspaper struck a chord of anxiety betraying concern lest British hegemony in the Middle East was encroached upon by the U.S.A.

Referring to the fact that possession of India had offered Britain a position of strength from where she could influence the affairs of the Middle East from Karachi to the Caspian until 1947, the newspaper wrote: "Those people in New Delhi, Ceylon and London who have lately been disturbed because the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff are showing interest in the provision of military aid to Pakistan have justification for suspecting that somewhere and somehow history is in the making." (*Hindu*, 17.1.54).

The newspaper noted India's concern lest some future agreement between Karachi and Washington should drag the subcontinent into a future world war and wrote that Britain "too has reason to watch with anxiety any negotiations which might link an important member of the Commonwealth with the United States in an association from which Britain was excluded. Another ANZUS Pact would be regrettable. It should not be necessary. In any talks, unofficial or official, that take place this spring the United States would do well to note three things. First any proposal for the establishment of American air bases in Pakistan would do serious harm to the equilibrium of the Middle East, and defeat the prime object of the whole enterprise of 'immunization.' Second, the provision of military assistance must rest on a firm platform of social and economic betterment. And last, over-enthusiastic diplomacy must not be permitted to drive a wedge, however, unintentionally, between the United States and Pakistan, on the one hand, and this country (Britain) and India on the other. The Commonwealth as such must be a senior partner in the business. The Middle East's oil and traffic arteries have boomed large in American eyes in the last few years. They are part of the Commonwealth's history." (*Hindu*, 17.1.54).

O. Orestov in a critical article in *Pravda* on January 5 writes that "the anxiety of Pakistan's neighbours had grown stronger in the past days in connection with the trip undertaken by Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister to the Near East, where, according to press reports, he conducted negotiations regarding the formation of Middle Eastern military alliance.... In this connection Pakistan's leaders have lately come out with a number of new denials justifiably appraised by well-informed observers as a kind of smoke screen."

"Thus, speaking in Damascus on December 30, Zafrullah Khan stated that his 'visit to Teheran and Damascus does not pursue any definite aims'.... 'The best way to Iran,' he said, 'lies through Damascus and courtesy (?) compelled me to stop at Damascus.' Zafrullah Khan added that 'diplomatic ethics' prevented him from mentioning the questions he discussed with the leaders of Syria during his 'visit of that courtesy'."

Orestov adds that if Damascus, as the Pakistan Minister asserted, lay on the way to Teheran then the same could not be said about Amman, capital of Transjordan. "It was certainly not considerations of 'courtesy' that forced the Minister to make such a big detour."

The authors of the Middle Eastern Military Alliance desired to draw Iraq into the alliance besides Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. But Iraq, strongly influenced by Great Britain, had taken the stand of biding its time and keeping silent in the meantime.

"Although Zafrullah Khan flew over its capital, Baghdad, he did not regard himself 'impolite' to pass over the city," writes Orestov. He goes on to state that "Zafrullah Khan concentrated his attention on Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan, while the United States, according to Iranian newspaper *Keihan*, is negotiating with Saudi Arabia and Iraq for the conclusion of a military agreement with them."

Referring to the Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ali's assertion that the U.S. Military assistance would not be connected with any stipulation and that the U.S. 'aid' pursued strictly peaceful purpose Orestov wondered why the Pakistan Prime Minister then thought it senseless to conclude a non-aggression agreement with India, which was more worried than any other country over Pakistan's military plans.

Political circles in New Delhi also connects the Pakistan Foreign Minister's recent visit to the Middle Eastern countries with efforts to revive the idea of a regional military alliance there, writes the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu*. The correspondent adds that "Two countries of the Middle East to which carefully planned and cautious approach is being made are Iran and Afghanistan. The reason is obvious. Both these countries have treaties with Soviet Russia and any move on their part which may even remotely be construed as hostile to the latter's interests or security, would provide Russia with an immediate excuse to interfere." (*Hindu*, January 17).

In this connection Afghanistan's protest to the U.S.A. against the projected military alliance and sudden and unilateral decision of the Afghan Government to abrogate its treaty of friendship with Pakistan had engendered some speculation. London, New Delhi and Karachi were studying the treaty to see how far their interests were affected by it. It was also significant that at the very time as the treaty of friendship was abrogated, the Afghan Government sent a Minister to the embassy in Karachi which had remained in the charge of a junior official for several years. The correspondent believes that Afghanistan's realisation that she might have to face difficulties if Pakistan adopted a stiff attitude had led her to take that step. "Almost at the same time the Pakistan Government responded by releasing Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, whose influence over the frontier tribesmen is undoubtedly considerable. Pakistan's gesture is to be interpreted as an indication of her desire to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Pakistan problem, if there is one. Although there was countrywide enthusiasm in India over the release of Badsha Khan, his release has more significance in the context of Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan than with India," the correspondent adds.

The prospects of the arming of Saudi Arabia and Iraq have alarmed Israel and Israel's ambassador to the U.S.A. M. Abbu Eban, is reported to have told Mr. Dulles on January 16 that "it would not be wise to arm Iraq and Saudi Arabia—in fact, any Arab State," cables D. P. Wagle, *PTI* correspondent in Washington.

Communist Party of India's Policy

The third Congress of the Communist Party of India was held at Madura from December 27 to January, 3. In a comprehensive review of the Party stated on several issues at a Press Conference in New Delhi on January 12, Sri Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, re-elected General-Secretary of the Party, said that the Communist Party would strive to build the broadest unity for carrying out the "key task before the democratic masses," of removing the "present Government and its replacement by a democratic Government." He characterised his party's attitude to the present Government as one of "uncompromising opposition" with "limited support on certain matters" which helped the cause of peace and the relaxation of tension.

In reply to a question he said that the Communist Party had grown in strength and influence. During the past two years the membership had more than doubled and work had been undertaken in several new areas. The Party had a membership of seventy thousand, including candidate members. He added "while there is no reason to feel satisfied with our progress, our position today is much stronger than at the time of the General Elections."

He said that there had not been a shadow of change from the previous policy.

Answering questions he said that the Party would support the Government in repelling threats to the sovereignty of the country but mere "threat" to the security of the country was not sufficient justification for them to extend unreserved support to the Nehru Government. The policy of the present Government was one of maintaining links with the British Commonwealth against the interests of the people. The Government of India was silent about British atrocities in Malaya and had refused to take up the question of British Guiana formally though she was part of the Commonwealth. Gurkha troops were still being allowed transit through India. Internationally, the Party demanded, "India join hands with all States trying to lessen war tension, see that foreign forces are withdrawn from all countries, military bases removed and the Atom Bomb banned." "We want a policy which accords with our national interests and not to play anybody's tunes," he said.

Giving his assessment of the political situation Sri Ghose said that one most significant event was the Municipal Election in Uttar Pradesh where the Congress had swept the poles a short time ago. "We think more and more people are becoming disillusioned with the Congress. The change depends on the rapidity with

which democratic parties and elements wage a united struggle. He added that the unity among the Leftist forces was largely motivated by a common opposition to the Congress and as such had only a 'negative basis.'

The Communist Party Congress had elected a 39 member Central Committee including Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and a nine-member Polit Bureau with Ajoy Kumar Ghosh as General-Secretary.

The position of the C.P.I. is becoming more and more anomalous, *vis a vis* the Nehru Government. While Moscow is trying to draw the Nehru regime nearer to it, its local satellites preach disruption!

Spain in Western Defence

On September 26, 1953, the USA and Spain signed a 20-year defence agreement giving the USA the right to develop and use naval and air bases on Spanish soil and assuring Spain of military equipment from the U.S.A. The defence agreement gave the specific conditions under which Spain would receive military aid. The State Department has released the text of the agreement together with other agreements.

In a statement the State Department said the assistance to Spain totalling \$226 million would be given under the mutual security programme during the year ending June 30, 1954. The Department said that \$85 million of this would be for defence support assistance and \$141 million for actual military equipment.

Strategically Spain is a redoubt, a fortified castle in the European theatre of war. Within that larger theatre of war Spain is considered to be an indispensable stronghold in the Mediterranean operational areas and a bridge between North Africa and the European peninsula. Hannibal used it for the invasion of Rome, and it has served as such for the Moors in their campaigns for the conquest of the main body of Europe.

The main reason why Spain is a vast redoubt in the eyes of the military planners is the fact that it is hemmed in by great walls of mountains, and by the sea. Its sierras drop down to the coast, leaving only narrow strips of land between them and the water. Its interior is crisscrossed by mountain ranges with their deep valleys. The central area is a mountainous tableland covering two-thirds of the country.

Spain's position has made her a central factor in the struggle for Mediterranean power for more than 250 years. The War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713) was fought on the issue of whether Spain's future kings should be Hapsburgs or Bourbons. Although the Bourbons, members of the ruling family of France, held the throne, England cancelled this French advantage by the seizure of Gibraltar (1702) and of the Isle of Minorca with its magnificent, land-encircled deep water harbour (1706), and by so doing took a long step toward making herself the mistress of the Mediterranean. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) provided that Spain should never form a political—and consequently a military—union with France.

During the Napoleonic Wars Spain made the fatal blunder of becoming one of Napoleon's satellites. She was coerced into ceding the Louisiana Territory to France (1800), and her South American colonies began slipping away. Nelson at Trafalgar (1805) broke the combined sea power of Spain and France, while Wellington helped the Spanish popular armies drive the French out of the country. Spain has never since been an important naval or military Power. Possession of Malta made England's Mediterranean position so strong that she returned Minorca to Spain in 1802 in the Peace of Amiens.

The Napoleonic War thus had the double effect of extricating Spain from her political entanglements with France, and of casting her in the role of a neutral Power in European conflicts. But in this role she continued to be a vital factor in the Mediterranean equilibrium. Her neutrality during World War I was of utmost importance to the Allied Powers in preventing the entire Mediterranean area from being converted into an area of war. The intervention of the Axis Powers on the side of General Franco during the last civil war was an attempt to destroy this equilibrium. Republican President Don Manuel Azana noted this when he said in a speech to his ministers at that time: "They have come to checkmate the Western Powers, both England and France, which have been interested in maintaining this equilibrium, in the international political orbit of which Spain has revolved for numerous decades." Soviet Russia also entered the scramble to upset the traditional Mediterranean balance.

Although from the standpoint of land communications Spain remains the old *Cul-de-sac* and perhaps always will be that, from the standpoint of air traffic the peninsula has become, if not a bridge, at least an important station on the route between the two continents. And it has potentialities for serving as an auxiliary springboard in long-range air operations. Looked upon as "outpost" of Europe, Spain offers to military strategists the promise of a last ditch European stand against an invasion from the East, and of an evacuation centre for allied forces and civilian populations which found themselves forced to retreat. Any plans for use of the peninsula in the event that the Russians scored a smashing victory in a drive across Germany and France are, of course, subject to the charge of defeatism by the French and the Germans, who are alarmed at any suggestion that Western defence calculations embrace a theory of warfare that involves the abandonment of the Western European countries to Russian occupation. The fact remains that should the enemies reach the Pyrenees, Europe's last stand could be made only on the Spanish peninsula. The next line of defence and counter-attack, would lie in North Africa.

The Sydney Conference

The Sydney Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, held in the second week of January, rejected

the view that "any solution of our problems can be found in the creation of a closed system of discriminatory arrangements, which could lead only to chronic restrictions and recurring crises." The purpose of the Conference was to take stock, to consolidate, to reaffirm and to strengthen future plans. It has expressly reaffirmed all the objectives which the Ministers set for themselves in January 1952, and amplified in December 1952. The joint *communiqué* issued by participating Finance Ministers at the conclusion of the Conference, indicates that they still believe in expanding world trade, in securing freedom from exchange control and import restrictions, in co-operating with the USA and in the continuation of the GATT.

The Conference considered the outlook for world trade. The Commonwealth is responsible for about one-third of that trade. The members resolved to ensure that their own actions and policies will be such as to inspire confidence. They stand prepared to take appropriate steps, both individually and in concert with each other, to sustain production and trade and the sound development of resources and to ensure that temporary economic fluctuations are not permitted to interfere with the progress towards long-term objectives. The Commonwealth is ready to co-operate with other countries and international institutions to this end.

The policies adopted since the meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in January, 1952, have been at the base of the remarkable change in the balance of payment of the Sterling Area. In the year ended 30th June, 1953, the Sterling Area had a surplus of over £400,000,000 in transactions with the outside world, as compared with a deficit of nearly £1,000,000,000 in the year ended 30th June, 1952. This marked improvement in the fortunes of the sterling Area, to which all members have contributed, brought with it an increase of about £250 million in the central reserves of gold and dollars. These reserves have continued to increase, although rather more slowly in the second half of 1953, and at the end of the year stood at £900 million. Throughout the period sterling has gained strength.

The Conference reviewed the prospects for the coming year. It agreed that the Sterling Area as a whole would seek to maintain a substantial surplus in its payments with the rest of the world. Earlier main emphasis was placed on dollar earnings. Although the dollar situation has improved, the Commonwealth countries have resolved not to relax their efforts to achieve a dollar surplus, and they have now equally realised that it is just as important today that they should earn a substantial surplus in other non-sterling currencies. Success in these aims will depend in part on the level of world trade, but the Conference emphasised that the primary task of all Sterling Area countries in the forthcoming year is to increase their earnings by intensive efforts over the whole field of exports.

It is really gratifying that the Commonwealth countries have realised that alternative markets (other than

dollar ones) should be developed and the dependence on dollar imports should be dispensed with to the fullest extent possible. In this respect the *communiqué* says: "In this task, we must show ingenuity, increased efficiency and competitive strength. We cannot afford to disregard any market and we must develop our exports wherever we can. While we must continue to expand our traditional major exports, we must also expand our exports of the immense variety of other products which, in the aggregate, form so large a proportion of the total earnings of the Sterling Area." This shift of emphasis is mainly due to the failure of the USA to take energetic measures for enabling the rest of the world to trade with it more freely. The persistent dollar crisis has engendered a feeling of despondency and strengthened the hands of the votaries of Commonwealth Preference. India should however take a dispassionate view of the matter and should not allow herself to float with the tide. She should follow a neutral course in economic affairs as in political relations. Empire Preference is no remedy for the dollar shortage and Empire Preference would tend to isolate India from the European markets, notably that of Germany.

In recent months Commonwealth, as well as some European countries, have inclined towards developing their trade with Russia and other Communist countries in East Europe. The Communist countries have agreed to buy goods which the former countries can supply and for their imports, the Communist countries are prepared to make payment in gold. Russia needs food, agricultural raw materials, consumer goods and plant and machinery. There are also many other countries behind the Iron Curtain that want similar goods from the Commonwealth countries.

At the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December, 1952, the UK Government undertook to make a special effort to provide additional capital for Commonwealth development in the knowledge that this required an additional level of internal savings and an adequate surplus in its overseas accounts. In 1953, the UK Government authorised loans and grants totalling £120 million for development in the sterling Commonwealth, including the colonial territories for which the United Kingdom has a special responsibility. The loans were made through a number of channels, including the London market, the Export Credits Guarantee Department, and the Colonial Development Corporation. The grants were made to the colonial territories from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The United Kingdom Government will continue this policy in 1954 and will make special efforts to develop its own resources. While this involves burdens and risks, the United Government has consciously undertaken the task in the faith that sound development is the basis of the future prosperity of Britain and Commonwealth, that such development is needed in bad times as in good, and that the provision of finance from the United Kingdom will substantially help its own exports.

Finance from the United Kingdom for Commonwealth development flows through many channels. Two new channels were opened up in 1953. The Commonwealth Development Finance Company has started operations, its role being primarily to help the financing of development undertaken by private enterprise. A beginning has also been made in the use of the sterling which the United Kingdom made available for lending through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There are cases, however, which International Bank finance does not cover, for example, where development consists of large self-contained projects combined with a mass of small items involving overall a high proportion of local expenditure. Commonwealth Government may now approach the London market after consultation with the United Kingdom Government not only in relation to particular projects but also in support of general programmes of development, provided the necessary conditions have been fulfilled. In view of the many claims upon this market, including provision for development in the United Kingdom, access has to be limited. The United Kingdom Government will, therefore, wish to be sure, first, that the programmes as a whole are in conformity with the general policy of concentrating on the improvement of the sterling area balance of payments and, secondly, that the country concerned is making an adequate contribution from its own resources. It is also necessary in the general interest for the timing of any such borrowing to be carefully regulated.

The Sydney Conference noted with great satisfaction the passage in President Eisenhower's recent message to Congress in which he referred to the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments in which others could earn their own living and the United States economy could continue to flourish. All Commonwealth countries await with interest the detailed recommendations which the President will make to Congress after the Joint Commission on the Foreign Economic Policy of the United States has made its report.

In the Sydney Conference there has been a remarkable departure from one of the chief objectives of the Commonwealth. Convertibility of currencies is no longer the immediate goal to be achieved. The objectives are now increased production, rapid development of commonwealth resources, achievement of a surplus in trade not merely with the USA but with all non-sterling countries, and removal of import restrictions at least in regard to inter-Commonwealth trade. A major reason for relegating convertibility of sterling as a distant objective is the prolonged uncertainty about US foreign economic policy. Another important reason is the fact that the dollar and gold reserves of the sterling area are still not large enough to take the risk of convertibility. Although the International Monetary Fund announced, immediately before the issue of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' statement, its readiness to follow a more liberal policy in regard to providing accommodation to any member country which is prepared to make its

currency fully convertible. But this has not influenced the Sydney Conference to alter the attitude of the Commonwealth countries towards the issue of convertibility. In the current half-year, imports of the sterling area are expected to rise by £160 million, as compared with the first half of 1953, while exports are anticipated to be lower by £30 million. As a result, the trade surplus of the Commonwealth is expected to fall from £430 million for the financial year ended 30th June, 1953, to £233 million for the year ending 30th June, 1954. The Commonwealth countries feel that the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves must register a further substantial increase before the Commonwealth can embark upon making sterling convertible. Another factor is that the sterling area must know in advance as to what policy the US will follow in regard to its import trade. The Finance Ministers argue that it is no use making sterling a convertible currency, unless the task of earning dollars becomes easier than it is now.

It is significant that despite the prospects of a lower trade surplus, the Commonwealth countries have decided not to restrict imports. It is perhaps due to their realisation that the restriction of imports leads to a vicious circle of inflationary spiral, and that the best way to build foreign exchange resources is to expand exports. Only increased production at competitive costs can lead to higher exports. This aspect of the matter is reflected in the renewed emphasis made at the Sydney Conference on the intensive development of Commonwealth resources and on the need for following sound economic policies directed towards checking inflation.

Indo-Ceylon Pact

The Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon signed a Pact in New Delhi on January 18 at the conclusion of their three-day talks on the future of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon. The Agreement is subject to ratification by the two Governments. The Indian delegation to the talks consisted of Prime Minister Sri Nehru, Mr. V. V. Giri, Labour Minister and a former High Commissioner in Ceylon, Dr. Katju, Home Minister, the Deputy Minister, Secretary-General and Commonwealth Secretary of the External Affairs Department and Mr. C. C. Desai, India's High Commissioner in Ceylon. The Ceylon delegation included the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Finance Minister, Mr. M. D. Banda, Minister for Education, Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan, Minister of Industries, Housing and Social Services, Senator Ukwalla Jayasundra, the Secretary of the United National Party, Mr. G. H. Ellawela, Mr. C. Coomaraswamy, the Ceylonese High Commissioner in India, and the permanent Secretary in the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs.

The two Prime Ministers agreed to do all in their power to stop illicit immigration and the Ceylon Government agreed to undertake the preparation of a

register of all residents who were not already on the electoral register. The registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act would be completed by the end of 1955. All persons, so registered, would be placed by the Government of Ceylon on a separate electoral register for a period of ten years. Those who did not register their names would be encouraged to register themselves as citizens of India.

The following is the full text of the agreement:

"The Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India, accompanied by some of their colleagues, met in conference in New Delhi on January 16, 17 and 18, 1954, and considered fully the problems of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. As a result of these discussions, certain proposals were framed by them, which will now be placed before their respective Governments.

These proposals are:

"1. Both Governments are determined to suppress illicit immigration traffic between the two countries and will take all possible steps, in close co-operation with each other, towards that end.

"Periodical meetings between high police authorities on either side of the Palk Straits may be held and information relating to illicit movements exchanged.

"2. The Government of Ceylon propose to undertake the preparation of a register of all adult residents who are not already on the electoral register and will maintain such register up-to-date.

"When this registration is completed, any person not so registered will, if his mother tongue is an Indian language, be presumed to be an illicit immigrant from India and liable to deportation and the Indian High Commissioner will extend all facilities for implementation of such deportation.

"3. The Government of Ceylon may proceed with the Immigrants and Emigrants Amendment Bill which throws on the accused the onus of proof that he is not an illicit immigrant; but before any person is prosecuted in accordance with this provision, the Government of Ceylon will give an opportunity to the Indian High Commissioner to satisfy himself that a *prima facie* case exists for such prosecution, the final decision being that of the Government of Ceylon.

"4. The registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act will be expedited and every endeavour will be made to complete the disposal of pending applications within two years.

"5. All persons registered under this Act may be placed by the Government of Ceylon on a separate electoral register, particularly in view of the fact that the bulk of the citizens do not speak the language of the area in which they reside. This arrangement will last for a period of only 10 years.

"The Government of Ceylon agree that in certain constituencies where the number of registered citizen voters is not likely to exceed 250, they shall be put on the national register.

"6. Citizens whose names are placed in the separate electoral register will be entitled to elect a certain number of members to the House of Representatives, the number being determined after consultation with the Prime Minister of India.

"The Government of Ceylon expect to complete their action in this respect before the present Parliament is dissolved in 1957.

"7. In regard to those persons who are not so registered, it would be open to them to register themselves as Indian citizens, if they so choose, at the Office of the Indian High Commissioner in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution of India.

"It is noted that Ceylon proposes to offer special inducements to encourage such registration and that these inducements will be announced from time to time.

"The Government of India will offer administrative and similar facilities to all persons of Indian origin to register themselves as Indian citizens under the Constitution of India, if they so choose, and will also give publicity to the availability of such facilities.

"8. Both Prime Ministers are desirous of continuing the present practice of close consultation between the two Governments in matters affecting their mutual interests."

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala described the agreement as "a couple of steps forward" towards the final solution of the Indo-Ceylon problem concerning people of Indian descent in Ceylon.

On arriving in his country the Ceylon Premier told a Press Conference on January 21 that the proposed registration of non-nationals as envisaged in the Delhi Agreement would provide Ceylon with adequate machinery for detecting illicit immigrants. He defended the agreement saying that "Indian nationals, whose names appeared on the adult register, would be liable to be sent back to India in the event of their being jobbers or otherwise without means of livelihood. He also indicated that an Indian who changed his occupation would also be liable to similar treatment. A labourer who lost his job and sought to become a motor car driver would not be allowed to stay in the island, but there would be no objection to his seeking similar employment," *PTI* reports.

Gratuitous, free travel, and remittance facilities would be among the inducements offered to people to register as Indians. Asked whether the gratuities would be paid by the Government of Ceylon or by

the employers, the Premier hinted that employers might be required to pay a cess of some kind. He considered it possible that people of Indian origin registering now as citizens of Ceylon might later on renounce their Ceylonese citizenship to go to India, when the economic situation had improved there.

In a speech before a meeting convened in his honour by the Ceylonese citizens in Bombay on January 20, Sir John Kotelawala said that nobody in Ceylon was against the Indians but at present Ceylon had no room for more people. He said, "When we do not get employment our Indian friends in the island must help us by giving their place to us. Nobody can be angry with us. We are only trying to live in our island as we want. We want that the Ceylonese must have their right."

In our opinion there are certain implications in the provisions of the agreement which cannot be passed over with equanimity. Though the condition of compulsory repatriation of a large number of Indians, on which the talks in London in June last year foundered has been dropped the agreement seems to imply that the Government of India would have to accept those Ceylon Indians who lost their present employment as Indian nationals. Such Indian nationals were to be repatriated, as the Ceylon Premier made clear in his speech before pressmen on his arrival in Colombo on January 21, quoted above.

Besides, while suggesting the grant of permanent residence certificates to all those who could not manage to obtain Ceylon citizenship, the statement of the Ceylon Premier seemed to envisage, as the *Hindu* wrote editorially on January 17 before the announcement of the agreement, "the tying up of the permanent residence permit holders to their present employment, on pain of deportation. This will give an opportunity to any unscrupulous employers for undue exploitation as an employee will have no other choice than to be under the same employer if he does not want to be repatriated to India as an Indian national. It is a matter of common knowledge that estates in Ceylon frequently change hands, resulting in thousands of workers of Indian origin being thrown out of employment. Normally they seek employment elsewhere. The same thing happens in the case of shop assistants, clerks, salesmen, etc. Retrenchment of workers in estates is also common due to price fluctuations and seasonal drops in production. It is obvious that to compel such persons to embrace Indian nationality and the India Government to accept responsibility for taking them back and rehabilitating them in India would be sheer injustice."

Again, the future of sons and daughters of the holders of permanent residence permits—and their children born after the coming into force of the agreement—remains uncertain. They also face the risk

of being repatriated as Indian nationals in spite of their being born and bred in Ceylon.

The Slump in Free Gold

The news that the Reserve Bank of India is considering the question of selling to the open market the smuggled gold, worth nearly Rs. 2 crores, calls out for immediate action. Now is the opportune time to force the Indian gold price to the same level with the world price. The Indian gold price is much higher than that fixed by the IMF. In recent months there has been persistent decline in the price of the "free" gold—that is, gold dealt in at prices above the levels determined by the exchange parities of currencies as agreed with the International Monetary Fund. The major development in the history of this market has been the persistent fall in the free market price, which has crumpled steadily from \$37.50 a year ago to \$35.35, and now therefore, is only a little above the dollar parity price of \$35 a fine ounce. The fall in free gold price has been the result of a persistent offering of newly mined gold in the free market and of a considerable contraction in the demand for premium gold. This sagging of demand has been mainly due to the easing of international tension, particularly in the Far East, but it also reflects the waning of hopes of an increase in the American official price of gold—hopes upon which a considerable bull speculation in gold had been built up.

Recently the South African Government have decided that in view of the negligible premium now commanded by gold sold on the free markets, they must withdraw the restrictions that, in deference to the wishes of the IMF, they had imposed upon all South African sales of gold in the free market. They no longer insist that such gold must be sold in processed form. The sales are, however, still limited to 40 per cent of the supply of South African gold, but the sale of gold in the form of fine bars is now allowed.

The free gold market falls into three broad areas: the Far East the Middle East and Europe. In the Far East the most important dealing centres are Macao and Bangkok. In recent times the importance of Bangkok has considerably increased in this respect. "Trade in Macao is still hampered by the fact that all important licences are issued to one fabulous operator, whose virtual monopoly of the business has made this small Portuguese enclave on the mainland of China a decidedly expensive centre in which to deal, and one in which the expenses have not been sufficiently reduced to leave scope or profit now that the premium is so small." For some time past Thailand has become a great hoarding centre for gold, and it is also now a transit centre independent of Macao.

The capacity of the Far Eastern market to absorb gold has been greatly reduced. Communist discipline, combined with the virtual disappearance of the wealthy trading classes, has virtually suppressed the hoarding demand for gold in China. The market in Hongkong is

still an important centre in the Far East gold traffic; the customs and exchange controls have been relaxed recently. Gold can now be sent to Hongkong on a "through" bill of lading. But the Hongkong authorities do not allow gold sent on a "through" bill of lading to remain for a long time there. Although the Hongkong authorities grant export and import licences for gold, they maintain a "black list" of destinations which at present includes Macao, the most important of the Far Eastern centres to which gold might be sent through Hongkong. It is now possible to obtain a gold export licence from the United Kingdom for Macao, but the transaction is interrupted in Hongkong because re-export from there to Macao is still prohibited.

The next main geographical grouping of the international gold market in the Middle East, and Beirut is the main centre of distribution for this group. This market is fed by gold from Europe, and it supplies the Middle East countries, including Arabia; these countries in turn smuggle gold to the forbidden shores of India. The Middle East market has, however, the solid basis of a genuine continuing demand for gold for currency purposes. Gold coin is still in circulation and provides a means of payment, as well as the recognised measure of value in Arabia and the adjoining sheikhdoms, including that of Kuwait. The booming prosperity of these rich oil regions creates a steady demand for gold in all its forms—coins, bars and ornaments. The dhows of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian coast carry much of the smuggled gold to India. The smuggling of gold to India last year from the Middle East has declined to a large extent. The authorities in Kuwait and other Middle East centres have placed more rigorous controls last year on dealings in rupee notes, and this fact has considerably hampered the traffic in gold with India—since rupee notes necessarily constitute the major means of payment for the smuggled gold. The other and more fundamental reason for the decline in the smuggling of gold has been the decline in demand in India itself. The money surpluses that in the past went into gold hoards are no longer mounting up as they did in the years of the postwar inflation; and this tightening of money has been reflected in a drop in the rupee price of gold in recent months from Rs. 85 to around Rs. 81 per tola (from \$47½ to \$45¼ per ounce).

The Paris gold market receives its gold supply through Switzerland where transit traffic is wholly free from control. Geneva is the obvious transit centre and the imports into France, though illegal, can now be made with such facility and have to overcome such perfunctory checks that they hardly deserve the name of smuggling at all, though that is what they are. Zurich is the main dealing centre, and has shared with Amsterdam the task of redistributing the increased offers of Soviet gold that appeared in the market last year. The shortage of sterling with the Communist countries has been reflected

in the offers of platinum, silver and gold by these countries.

A report also suggests that the smuggled gold seized by the Government of India may be kept as a monetary reserve by the Reserve Bank of India. But to allow the gold to rot in the vaults of the Reserve Bank is a sheer wastage under the present system of note issue in India. When there is demand for the yellow metal in this country and when supply is now plentiful, the short supply (which is the result of the deliberately enforced import control) benefits, not the Indian consumer, but the speculators and a handful of those gentlemen of the Bombay Bullion Exchange who are privileged to control the gold destiny of India. The gold market in India is now weak and apprehensive, and if this huge quantity of gold is now forced into the market, it will not only stabilise the gold price in this country, but also lower the general price level and will be anti-inflationary.

Durgapur as Site for Proposed Steel Plant

Several German experts representing Messrs Krupp and Messrs. Demag, the firms with which the Government of India had entered into an agreement for the construction of Rs. 70-crore iron and steel plant, had examined several places in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur, in the Damodar Valley, West Bengal and Rourkela, about 120 miles from Hirakud, Orissa, as proposed sites for the plant. Madhya Pradesh was not found suitable and the scope of selection of the site was now confined to Durgapur and Rourkela, reports the *Weekly West Bengal*.

The report says that the West Bengal Government in a detailed memorandum to the German experts and to the Government of India had shown that the location of the plant at Rourkela would involve an additional capital expenditure of Rs. 8 crore and extra operational cost of Rs. 1.1 crore, increasing the cost of production per ton by Rs. 22.

On the other hand, if the plant was located at Durgapur, possible economies in capital costs under different heads had been estimated as follows: Power supply, Rs. 50 lakhs; Water supply, Rs. 2 crores; Transport, Rs. 50 lakhs; Township, Rs. 50 lakhs; Workshop, Rs. 1 crore; overhead and interest charges, Rs. 2 crores; and miscellaneous, Rs. 2 crores.

The proposed plant with an initial production capacity of 500,000 tons of ingots per year and an ultimate target of one million tons would require a steady, all season power supply of 25,000 to 30,000 k.w., when producing 500,000 tons a year. Durgapur, in the Damodar Valley, could immediately draw its supply from the DVC grid of 132 k.v., an integrated system of water and steam power passing close to Durgapur. Power could also be drawn from the Bokaro Thermal plant and supply of power would be independent of the vagaries of monsoon.

Rourkela had no source for immediate supply but

was expected to draw its power from the hydro-electric station at Hirakud when it was completed. The cost of transmission from Hirakud to Rourkela, a distance of 120 miles, would be one crore of rupees. It would also be necessary to have a standby thermal station at 35,000 k.w. at Rourkela, involving an extra capital outlay of Rs. 5 crores.

The plant would require a minimum flow of 200 cusecs of water, or a large reservoir of at least 200,000-acre feet capacity. At Durgapur, the Damodar had already a minimum flow of 200 cusecs, which would rise to 500 cusecs in a year, 1,000 cusecs in two years and 1,500 cusecs in three years as the dams at Maithon and Panchet Hill, already under construction, were completed. Even the present minimum flow at Durgapur was sufficient for the plant. All that was needed was a pumping station with pipe lines for delivery of water to the plant.

Water supply at Rourkela was going to be much more difficult. A dam would have to be constructed either on the Koel or the Brahmani river. It was not known whether the catchment above could get sufficient water. The dam would cost from one to two crores of rupees, according to its size. In addition, a pumping system would also have to be constructed.

About 55 per cent of the capital outlay would be on the heavy plant and machinery and essential stores which would have to be imported through Calcutta. The total freight charges for the transport of those materials from Calcutta to Durgapur would be about Rs. 21 lakhs. For Rourkela, the figure would be about Rs. 54 lakhs. Durgapur was located virtually on the Grand Trunk Road. No road transport was available at Rourkela.

Durgapur could also provide proper accommodation for engineers, workers and other employees and there was already a railway siding there. No such facilities existed at Rourkela.

The Government of West Bengal had also emphasized the advantages of Durgapur over Rourkela regarding facilities for the assembly of plant and machinery in the DVC workshops, for supply of oxygen from Calcutta and Burnpur and for the construction of a workshop for the repair, maintenance of machinery and equipment at cost Rs. 1 crore against Rs. 2 crores at Rourkela. Finally, because of those special advantages the plant at Durgapur could be completed a year ahead of the stipulated four years' time schedule, resulting in a saving of Rs. 2 crores on capital costs.

Fall in Indian Banks' Business Abroad

There has been an overall fall of Rs. 16 crores in the liabilities of the offices of Indian banks abroad according to the *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin* for December, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The report says: "The total liabilities of the offices of Indian banks abroad which amounted to

Rs. 108 crores at the end of December, 1951, declined to Rs. 92 crores at the end of December, 1952, a fall of Rs. 16 crores over the year.

"Deposits which formed nearly two-thirds of the liabilities fell from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 64 crores. Borrowing from banks which were negligible at Rs. 1 crore at the end of 1951, rose to Rs. 6 crores in October, 1952, and closed at Rs. 5 crores at the end of the year."

In Pakistan, there had been a sharp decline in the number of offices of Indian banks. The number of offices outside Pakistan had remained steady but their business had showed a slight tendency to decline owing to a drop in the business in Ceylon, Thailand and Japan.

A significant development during the year had been the opening of an office in Hongkong by an Indian scheduled bank.

Communication Difficulties of Cachar

The communication difficulties of Cachar were brought to the notice of Sri Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister for Communications, by the Cachar District Journalists' Association in a memorandum presented to the Minister during his recent visit to Silchar, reports the *Chronicle*.

The memorandum drew attention to the fact of virtual isolation of Cachar from the rest of the country despite its immense strategical importance from the point of view of the country's defence. Its only communication formerly was through Eastern Pakistan. Now it took four days to reach Calcutta by the new Assam link. The inland steamer service, still running through Pakistan, was none the more convenient as for almost six months in the year, the cargo steamer could not ply beyond Karimganj on account of shallow water. The only dependable and quick service was provided by Civil Aviation but that was too costly for the ordinary man to avail himself of the amenities offered. Therefore, a reduction in air passage was suggested bringing down the fare from Calcutta to Silchar to Rs. 50 for all and Rs. 30 for the students. A similar reduction in cargo rate was also suggested. Besides tea, Cachar and the Lushai Hills produced oranges and pineapples on a commercial scale but it was very difficult to find a market for those products on account of transport bottleneck. This resulted in a deterioration of the economic condition of the people.

Cachar was separated from the rest of the State of Assam by inaccessible Hill range. The Hill section of Assam railway which remained suspended for about five months in a year did not provide a reliable means of communication. During the rains very often even the telegraph and telephone communications also got dislocated. In view of this the memorandum urged the Hon'ble Minister "to esta-

blish daily air link between Silchar and Gauhati and Silchar and Jorhat-Dibrugarh so that due to breakdown in railway system the district may not be cut off from its capital at Shillong, the High Court at Gauhati, and the District Judge at Jorhat."

Silchar was a very important centre for collection and dissemination of news by virtue of its position as a connecting link with Agartala, Imphal and Aijal in the South-eastern border region of India. Keeping in view this fact as well as the uncertainties of the existing channels of communication the memorandum suggested the introduction of wireless telegraph and telephone services at Silchar and the establishment of a Teleprinter there.

The memorandum also drew the attention of the Union Minister to the grave injustice done to the Bengalis by the Posts and Telegraphs authorities. The Assam Circle of the Posts and Telegraphs Department consisted of Manipur, Tripura and Assam. In the Assam circle, the single biggest linguistic group was the Bengali-speaking population numbering 35 lakhs even on the moderate estimate while the number of those who knew Assamese would not exceed 30 lakhs (the number of actual Assamese-speaking population being about 23 lakhs only). The principal languages of the region were Bengali, Assamese and Manipuri besides the important tribal languages like, Lusai, Khasi, etc. Though the Assam Government had not yet fixed any language as the regional language of the State, "curiously enough for reasons best known to the authority concerned for the Assam circle for recruitment of E.S.T. only Assamese has been recognised as the regional language." That measure militated against the fundamental right of equal opportunity guaranteed under the Constitution. The memorandum added: "For other circles in the country where there are more than one important regional languages all such languages have been recognised; but an exception has been made for the Assam circle as a result of which no Bengali or Manipuri could sit for the examination for appointment in these posts."

The memorandum drew the attention of the Minister to the fact that the Union Government's policy of establishing at least one post office in every village having more than 2,000 people was not being followed in true spirit in Assam.

Administrative Changes in NEFA

A regulation promulgated by the President contemplated a major change in the administration of the units of North-East Frontier Agency. The *Chronicle* reports that according to the regulation, the North-East Frontier Tract comprising Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hills District and Mishmi Hills District, and the Naga

Tribal Area would in future be collectively known as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA).

The regulation also laid down that the Tirap Frontier Tract would henceforward be known as Tirap Frontier Division, Abor Hills as Siang Frontier Division, Mishmi Hills District as Lohit Frontier Division and Naga Tribal Area as Tuensang Frontier Division. Balipara Frontier Tract would be divided into two separate administrative units, the Subansiri Frontier Division and the Kameng Frontier Division.

The paper further reports: "Political observers attach importance to this regulation as they see in it another step towards separation of NEFA from Assam."

Situation in Pepsu

Upto January 9, a total number of 444 nomination papers had been filed from 48 constituencies throughout the eight districts of Patiala and East Punjab States' Union (Pepsu) for the general election to the 60-member Legislative Assembly, reports the *PTI*. The report adds, "A significant trend in the nominations is the setting up of Scheduled Caste candidates for general seats as is evident from the eleven nominations on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation in addition to its ten nominees for reserved seats."

The All-India Scheduled Castes Federation, the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Pepsu National Front, under Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, the former Chief Minister, have formed an electoral alliance. The Akali Dal is also reported to have reached an understanding with the Hindu Mahasabha on jointly contesting the general elections there. Though the Dal failed to reach an understanding with the Praja Socialist Party, according to Master Tara Singh, the Dal had decided to leave the field for the P.S.P. in the event of a straight contest with the Congress.

Reviewing the position of the different parties the political correspondent of the *People* in Patiala writes that Congress had the least chance of winning outright. The Congress was following a realistic policy, writes he, if not too full of political rectitude.

The correspondent writes that in Pepsu it was an election, not of principle, but of strategy and fluid tactics. Two major parties had emerged after some unscrupulous combinations—the Congress and a Leftist Front. The Akalis were a poor number three. The Congress had nominated more Sikhs than Hindus (36 out of 52) "but there are too many princes and princelings and biswedars on the list, thereby taking away its character for popularity and cleanliness."

The so-called Leftists were composed of five elements with little in common between them except opposition to the Congress.

"The candidates are, almost all of them, of a doubtful kind with fluid loyalties and no ascertainable views. There is no doubt that the Congress itself is bargaining for trouble with such a large element of aristocrats in its fold who might prove a deadening, conservative force in its councils."

There were strange alliances. Strangest of them all was that between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Akalis who were generally believed to represent two extreme ideologies. At one time Congress had wanted a united front with Sardar Rarewala.

The Leftists were deadly opposed to Rarewala and would support the Congress candidate to defeat him by not putting up a candidate of their own.

The programme of the Leftists, if it could put into practice, the correspondent writes, should make Pepsu "an excellent state to live in." The programme included "abolition of Rajpramukhs and stoppage of privy purses, merger of Pepsu with the Punjab, leading to the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State, abolition of jagirdari without compensation and dissolution of big landed estates among the poor peasantry, 'restoration' of civil liberties, raising of Part B States to the status of Part A States," the correspondent adds.

All India Primary Teachers' Conference

The First All-India Primary Teachers Conference was held at Nagpur from the 5th to 7th January.

In his Presidential address Principal Donde characterised the basic education scheme as "impracticable and impolitic as it was bound to arrest the expansion of primary education and give longer date for literacy. It was more expensive than any other system." Principal Donde said that basic education scheme might be tried as an experiment in a few model schools but "it should not be allowed to run riot as the only system of primary education." He urged everybody to review dispassionately the whole position, the *Hitavada* reports.

He suggested the appointment of All-India Primary Education Commission in the lines of the universities' and Secondary Education Commissions to investigate into the conditions of primary teachers in different States and also the efforts made or proposed to be made by various State Governments in the matter of introducing free and compulsory primary education. The directives of the constitution said that by 1960 free, compulsory, primary education should be introduced throughout India for all children between the ages of six and fourteen. The proposed All-India Commission would also suggest what should be the irreducible minimum of the contents of primary education which every State Government should guarantee to the people. Principal Donde criticized the present overloaded curriculum and urged for its considerable simplification.

He expressed disappointment at the small provision

of Rs. 155.65 crores for education in the Five-year Plan which was only seven percent of the total expenditure under the Plan. Of these 155.65 crores of rupees 57.6 percent had been allotted for primary education.

He suggested a change in the present administration of primary education. The local bodies had not been successful in administering primary education. A more responsible and competent agency had to replace the local bodies. Academic competence of teachers should be given an important place in the scheme of primary education.

He drew attention to the sad plight of the primary teachers and suggested that in addition to improving their living conditions the teachers could be given a "social status" by associating him on a footing of perfect equality in many public social activities. He urged for official recognition to be afforded to the Primary Teachers' organisations and they should be consulted in times of necessity and especially in the matter of curriculum and course of studies.

The *Hitavada* in an editorial article on January 10 writes that principal Donde in his timely, "illuminative, well-balanced and constructive address brought out the strange phenomenon which prevails in this country, whereby everyone concedes that primary education is a fundamental right and yet few are prepared to make that right a reality." The newspaper bears a doubt whether by 1960 universal free primary education could be introduced in the country. Primary education was the responsibility of the States concerned but "if these are unwilling or unable to discharge the obligation laid down in the Constitution, the Centre must move in the matter without further delay."

Condition of Indigenous Populations

In a recent publication entitled "Indigenous Peoples," the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) has brought to public attention the deplorable condition of the indigenous populations throughout the world. At present there are about 30 million American Indians, 19 million indigenous people in India and 16 million aborigines in Indonesia and other countries.

The study describes the primitive conditions in which the indigenous people had to earn their living—the lack of educational stimuli and opportunities and the almost complete absence, in some areas, of welfare services and measures for social and labour protection. It states: "As a rule the living standard of the aboriginal populations in independent countries is extremely low and in the great majority of cases is considerably lower than that of the most needy layers of the non-indigenous population."

"The Indian of the Andes [in America] suffers from lack of vegetables and proteins. Deficiency diseases and stomach disorders are common. Life expectancy ranges from 32 to 40 years and infant mortality is exceptionally high. The diet of the Navajo (United States) is des-

cribed as being deficient and limited in variety, with consequent widespread malnutrition."

The United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance sent to Bolivia in 1950 stated that the indigenous populations remained practically untouched by such organised activities as exists in the field of education, sanitation, public health, labour legislation and social welfare in general.

M. N. Roy

India lost an almost legendary figure in the history of her freedom movement by the death, in the early hours of January 25, of Sri M. N. Roy. Sri Roy was about 66 years of age at the time of his death.

One of the earliest to join the revolutionary movement of Bengal as one of the pioneers in the beginning of the present century, Sri M. N. Roy gave more of his genius and labours to the cause of revolutions in other lands than to that in India.

His name was Sri Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. Sri Bhattacharya came to associate himself with revolutionary activity since as early as 1903.

In 1906, Sri Bhattacharya had to take his trial in connection with a political dacoity case. In 1908, he was involved in what is known as the Howrah Conspiracy Case. In 1914, again, he was arrested and brought to trial in connection with the Garden Reach Dacoity Case.

On the outbreak of World War I, Sri Bhattacharya came to play a vigorous role in the new phase of the revolutionary movement with attempts to organise an Indian armed rising in taking advantage of Britain's preoccupation with war efforts in Europe and with the help of Britain's enemies in the war.

He fled abroad in 1914 and went to China with the newly assumed name Manabendra Nath Roy.

From China he went to the United States and from there to Mexico. Here he showed great activity and revolutionary genius in organising the Mexican Communist Party which was the very first of its kind in the world outside Russia. Comrade M. N. Roy's name now became widely known in circles of the Communist International, especially in the Soviet Union.

Before long, Lenin himself became greatly drawn towards Comrade Roy by reports of his success in organising the Mexican Revolution and the talents he had shown through his activities in that country. Lenin now called Roy to Russia to work for the Communist International there. While in Russia, Roy rapidly rose to a place of great importance in the Communist Party. He soon came to be in the closest confidence of Lenin not only in the administrative affairs of the Soviet Union but also in the matter of carrying Communist propaganda beyond the borders

of Russia and the execution of Communist revolutionary projects on foreign soil.

Thus, when the question of sponsoring a revolution on the soil of disturbed China arose in the early twenties, following the nationalist revolution in that country worked by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Comrade Roy was entrusted with the main responsibility for the job by the great Soviet leader.

China, however, proved to be the grave of Com. Roy as a Communist leader. His efforts here failed and on returning to Russia he ascribed his failure in China to defective guidance of the Chinese Communist movement from leaders in the homeland of Communism. Russia became too hot for him and he left that country for ever. This was some time towards 1930. Shortly afterwards he secretly landed in India. While in Russia, he had been editing two journals from 1922 to 1928—one, the *Vanguard* and the other the *Masses*. He also had been head of the Indian Section of the Eastern University in Moscow from 1927.

Immediately after he set foot on the soil of India, Com. Roy was arrested in connection with what was known as the "Meerut Conspiracy Case," one of the biggest of its kind in the history of India under British rule. He was tried at Kanpur and sentenced to a term of six years' imprisonment.

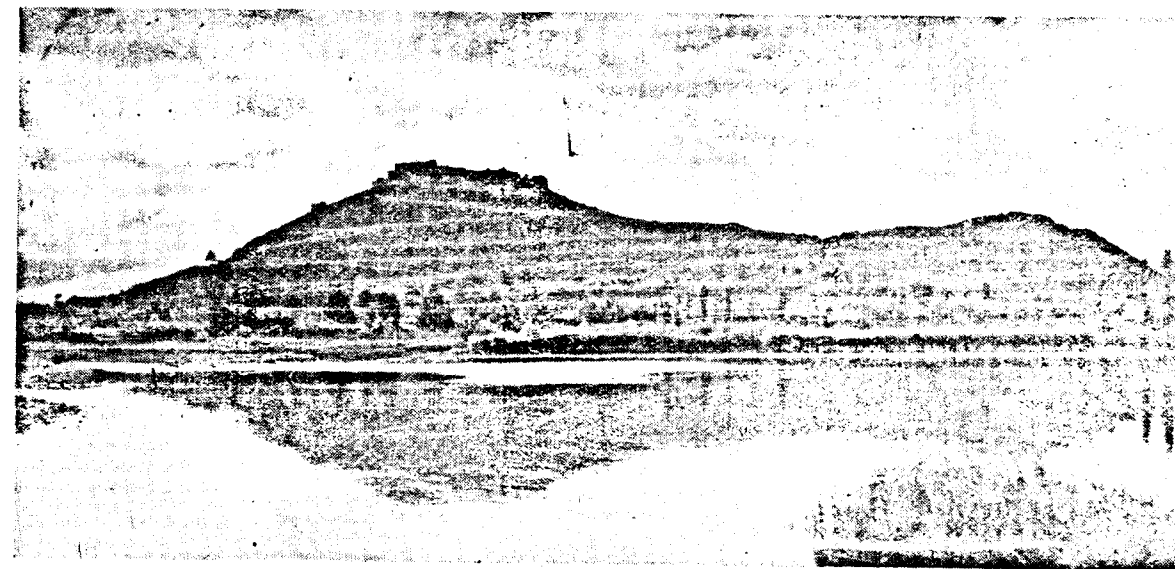
Released in 1936, Com. Roy was hailed as a great leader by the youth and also by other sections of the Indian people. He now joined the Congress. Before long, however, Com. Roy began to show differences with Mahatma Gandhi and the rest of the Congress High Command on vital matters concerning both the Congress constitution and Congress policies regarding various issues before the country. The differences widened rapidly and Com. Roy had eventually to leave the Congress.

Soon afterwards Com. Roy founded a journal as the mouthpiece of his new party under the name *Independent India*. Through its columns he carried on propaganda against Congress and Gandhism. His bitter criticism of the Congress and of Gandhiji particularly helped the thinning down of his following. It ultimately came to be confined to a very meagre section of the Indian intelligentsia.

NOTICE

Articles sent for publication in *The Modern Review* should be accompanied with adequate stamps so that they may be returned if not approved. If replies to letters are expected, reply cards should be sent. Articles sent per Book Post may not always reach our office.

Subscribers and advertisers should write to the Manager. Letters concerning monetary transactions, non-receipt of our magazine and change of address should be addressed to the Manager, *Modern Review*.



All that remains of a stronghold reminiscent of Mughal migns in the Valley that afforded them rest and change from the burning plains of Upper India and no little amusement

ABDULLAH ASKED FOR IT*

A Chronicle of Contemporary Events, Constructed from First-hand Information, Mostly on the Spot

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I
THE rails shone like highly polished silver as the shafts shot down by Surya Bhagwan fell athwart them. In glancing off the surface the rays became drawn into shortish, gossamer-like wires dyed purple and magenta.

They were newly laid rails. The sheen that the friction of fast-whirling wheels imparts was to be theirs in the fulness of time waiting momentarily, to begin operations on them.

I witnessed this spectacle, oft seen in many a country on several continents but ever new and alluring, seated in a bogie. The rear end was glazed, like a huge window, to enable persons accorded the privilege of riding in it to have an unobstructed view of the passing scene. It tailed the train drawn over the freshly ballasted track that had just united in steel wedlock Pathankot and Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab.

Familiar with the region since I had entered my teens, my thoughts wandered to that distant

day. Then the journey was long. Joy that travel imparted was toned down by the tedium.

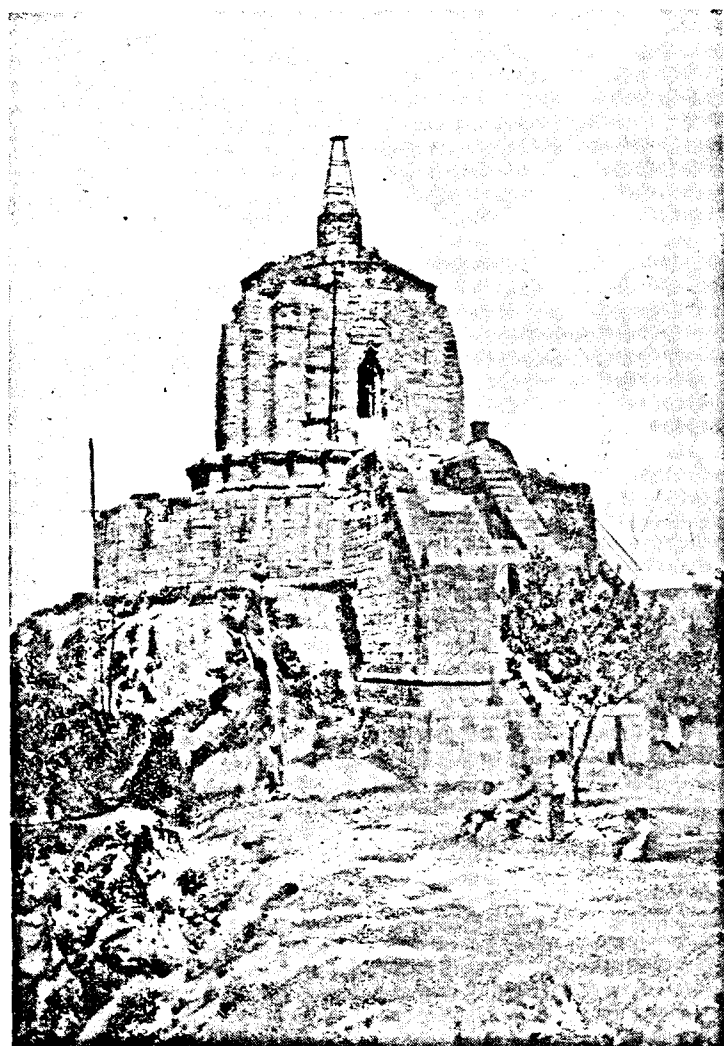
Possibilities hid in the thick coverlet from which Eternity, like a miser, doles out time, likewise passed in a Procrustean procession before my mental eyes. Miles and miles had been hacked away from the journey by our modern Cyclops. So our railway men in reality are. How could any bulge be left in the only route over which defenders and defence materials could, in case of dire emergency, be rushed. Partition had made no pact with the roads passing through Murree and Abbotabad. Calculating Cyclops they were, too. They must justify their projects by proving their commercial soundness.

In this instance strategy, too, must have been in view, though no one talked of it—at least not obtrusively.

* The right of further reproduction in the original or in translation, in the whole or in part, is exclusively and strictly reserved by the author.

II

If reminder were needed, there was present the Hon'ble Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. Very quiet and serious was he. Was it because the whole weight of Kashmir not in the aggressor's occupation rested upon his ever so broad shoulders? Or was he thinking of the kick he contemplated imparting to relationship near and far—proximate and remote?



Sankara's shrine overlooks Srinagar. The northerly centre of Indian culture. We owe it to the spiritual impulse and organizing ability of a poor Brahman lad in Kerala who, by dint of self-endeavour and self-discipline, became the uniter of India in the 8th century and is remembered by us as Sankara the Acharya.

At the right of him in that bogie with the glazed end standing on the freshly laid track at Pathankot, my mind descended the ladder of Time. Not very far down. Just short of two decades, in fact.

He had sought me out, thinking no doubt that I—a world-journalist—might be of use to him. He was in trouble. Sore trouble.

He would have gone into the trade in which his people specialized. They dwelt some twenty miles from Srinagar. The school into which he was put, as Pandit boys were, whetted his appetite for further education. Using money made out of shawl-weaving and shawl-hawking, he went to college. He sniffed at the one that his Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir maintained for the benefit of his subjects. Out into the world beyond the mountains hemming in the exquisite vale, he went. Not far, however. At least to begin with.

He tarried at Lahore. In the capital of the Punjab there were colleges. If my memory does not betray me, he joined the one conducted by Muslims. Strongly separatist were they, even at that period—the end of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps the teaching in this Lahore college did not come up to his expectations. Or was it that he could not resist the call of Aligarh?

That place-name had been so twined that only a believer in old things like myself knows that it existed in times anterior to the Pathan thrust through the north-western passes and is rich in other associations. It was mentioned as the stronghold of the movement which Syed Ahmed, Knight of a British Order of chivalry, began in opposition to the one that, under the banner of the Indian National Congress, was striving to unite all sections of our people. From the Anglo-Mahomedan college Abdullah obtained the degree of M.Sc., and went back home.

He might have endeavoured to use the science that he had learned to crafts that would accelerate and improve productivity in Kashmir.

Instead he tried to batter his way into the educational service. As he himself told me, he found the door shut tight. When, after persistent rapping and hammering, it opened, he squeezed in through the crack. He took the second mas-

ter's job in a school. That school was not even in the heart of the capital.

Ambition received a rude shock. It dug for itself a new channel. It was fashioned, as might well have been expected, from one steeped in Aligarh ideas. Aligarh tools were used.

The Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference that had been founded in 1932, headed straight into collision with the authorities. Riots occurred. They were suppressed.

III

THE enquiry forced on the Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, whom I had met shortly before his accession to his uncle's throne, was conducted by one of the shrewdest men who ever entered the Indian Civil Service. Sir Bertram Glancy came from a part of Ireland where I had found, a few years earlier when I visited it, that the people talked with their mouths shut. A facetious Irishman explained: "It rains so much over here that if you do not speak with your lips tightly closed your mouth would get filled with water." Upon going to Srinagar to probe into the situation Sir Bertram Glancy found mouths tightly shut. Not a word came out of them. Not upon the theme in which he was interested.

This, he knew, must not be allowed to persist if the mission on which the Department that, in the last analysis, controlled affairs in the territories represented in yellow dots and patches on British-India's red map was to succeed. Succeed it must.

He, therefore, used his ingenuity. Also his persuasive faculty—a faculty for which his country-people were famed the world over.

Finally a Kashmiri Pandit—Saraf by name—talked. Through his co-operation the diplomat from Delhi managed to break what he described to me as the "conspiracy of silence."

The report was produced. The Maharaja had no option but to adopt the Glancy Committee recommendations.

Even then the trouble did not end. There were collisions.

IV

IN the autumn of 1934, when I was spending a few weeks in Kashmir, with my headquarters at Nedou's Hotel in Srinagar, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah got in touch with me through the Hotel servants who attended upon Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me and who was one of his henchmen. He came into the sitting room of the cottage we occupied, perhaps a trifle unsure of the welcome he would receive. He, however, found me friendly and eager to give ear to the tale of woe he was anxious to pour into it.

And sad hearing it was. Discrimination—naked and determined—against the majority community by the ruling caste. All places of power monopolized by the Dogras (hill Rajputs) and the Pandits. Attenuated opportunities for education for the children of his people. Difficulties in the way of workshops. And so on and so forth.

Agitation for "a place in the sun" resulted only in lathi charges by the police and showers of bullets. Taking me to a point in the city he asked me to take careful note of the situation. "Where can men suddenly fired upon take cover?" he asked me.



This portrait of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah M.Sc. (Aligarh), was taken by the author in the autumn of 1934, when he called at Nedou's Hotel, Srinagar. It brings back his mentality when his political activities were in a nascent state.

Conducting me to the courtyard of a mosque rising above the placidly flowing Jehlam, he showed me the wounded lying on bare, moon-stringed cots. A divine with a black beard joined us in the tour. Lava poured through the Mir Wair's lips and fire flashed from his eyes.

It was, however, a Pandit who was even more extreme. Not even a single spring could they have for themselves, he informed me. All were appropriated by the Hindus. The pretext was

that water gushing out of Mother Earth's breast was sacred.

This Pandit protagonist had given his name as Saraf. So I asked him if he happened to have helped Sir Bertram Glancy to make a dent in the conspiracy of Pandit silence. He had. At the time he was editing a paper in Hindi for the Sheikh Sahib (Abdullah).

V

ALL this—and more—flitted across my mind as I sat in the aforesaid bogie standing on the newly laid track at Pathankot on the point of being



A co-worker of Abdullah's in the nascent stage of the movement, this Mullah is now on the opposite side

dragged to Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district. The chair to the right was occupied by Gopalji, as I, because of my long and intimate association with his uncle S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of the *Hindu* (Madras), called the Hon'ble N. Gopalaswami Iyengar. As Minister for Communications he, a few months earlier, had formally opened the line and delivered an address that had greatly impressed me.

The sight of the two in juxtaposition sent my mind whirling into that past when Gopalji, after ascending to the top rung of the administrative ladder in his own Presidency and occupying for, I

seem to recall, the full term, was serving the Maharaja Hari Singh as Prime Minister. In that capacity it fell to him to deal with Abdullah, still engaged in sapping the Government, established by right of purchase of the Valley from the "John Company," in urgent need of funds. On occasion he had to send to jail the rebel and fomentor of trouble.

Now all that appeared to be done with. Forgotten. There actually seemed to be friendship—comradeship—between the two.

There were shouts from the crowd. Lusty were the shouts, and prolonged, "Shri Gopalaswami Iyengar Ki Jai!" "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad!"

With these shouts ringing in my ears, the Inspection Special began to move. The engine, I was told, had been gaily decorated for the occasion.

That was to be expected from the fellows who administer our railways. There was young Bhadwar flanking Gopalji and Abdullah. I call him young because I knew and esteemed not only his father but also more than one of his father's uncles. The clan of Bhadwar was strong round about Ferozepur, when, in the early years of this century I, as a young man, lived there. As Chairman of the Railway Board young Bhadwar had moved a vote of thanks to Gopalji in a felicitously phrased speech that, without reference to a note, poured from his lips in English public-school accents.

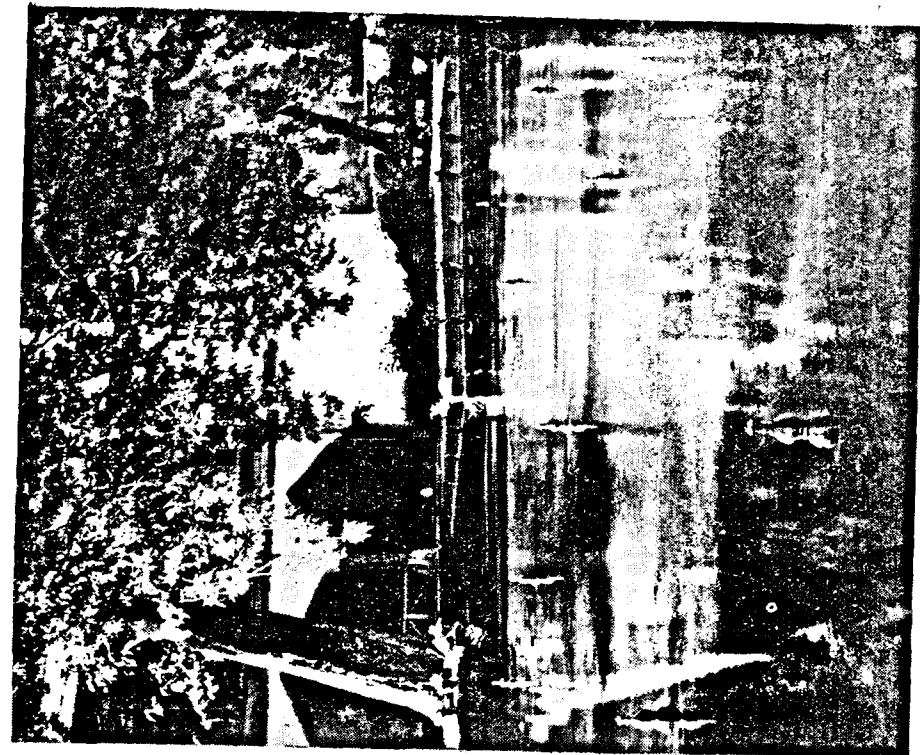
There also was Vashisht, one of the three young Indians who had broken through the barrage behind which Britons and a few Anglo-Indians occupied the superior posts in the multiple railway services. As "M.T."—Transportation Member—he had shouldered a heavy responsibility in the post-partition period. In my 1921-23 Indian tour I had come upon him when he had barely begun to climb up the ladder.

Likewise there were the topmen of the East Indian Railway. To them had fallen the task of running a truncated system right on the frontier, recently bloodied by murders *en masse* following the amputation of the Motherland's left shoulder. Having constructed that Pathankot-Mukerian link, they naturally were with us—and jubilant.

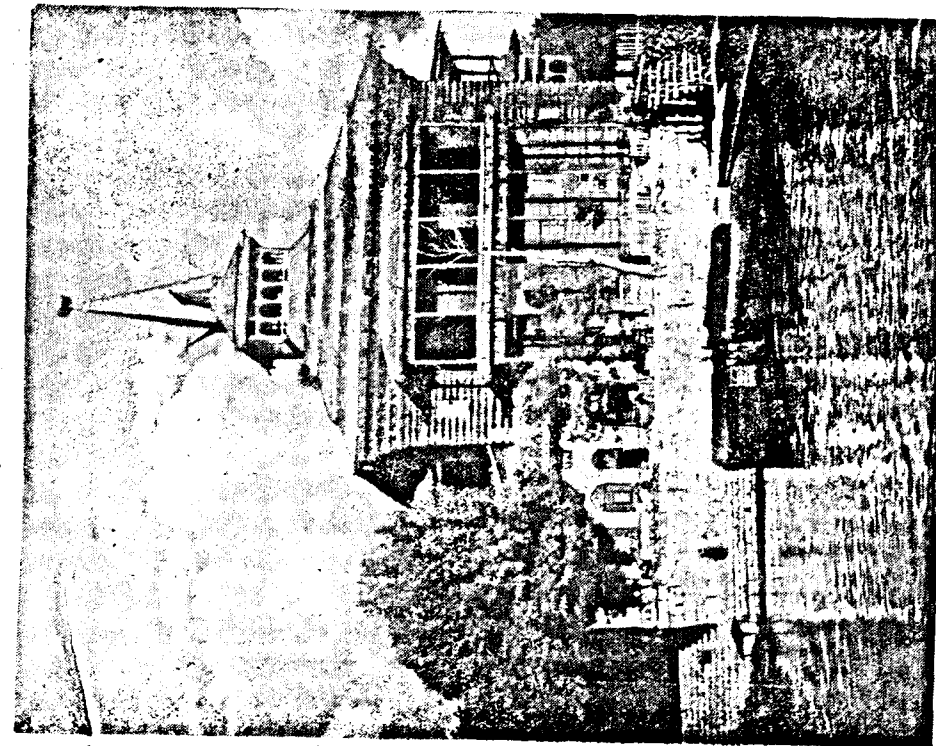
Two great builders were there, too. Brigadier Partap Narain, who had had his training at Woolwich, had rendered yeoman service in helping to design and to carry through the construction of bridges—a task at which he was considered to be a specialist. The other was Karnail Singh, fresh from his labours on the link that has given an all-India railway route to Assam. He astounded me by saying he had met me before.

"Where?" I asked him.

"In Hoshiarpur," he replied. "You must have been a baby."



One of the spots where potentates and purveyors of amusement to them have dallied. By dexterously wedding his art to Nature's, man has here created a vision of delight



To this shrine, dating from the early stages of Islamic penetration, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, M.Sc. (Aligarh) took the author in the autumn of 1934. In its shadow lay, upon cots, persons who had been recently wounded by the authorities, avowedly to restore peace

We all laughed, none more heartily than the Hon'ble Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. Abdullah's Deputy, he sat next to me.



A Hindu priest. Despite the vicissitudes through which the Kates have dragged the mountain-sentinelled Valley through the centuries, the men who have made it their privilege and profession to minister to the soul have somehow survived and remained vital

We had to shout at the top of our voices most of the time to be heard. Crowds lined the

two tongues of land lying at either side of the track. They were ceaselessly Jai-ing Gopalji and Zindabad-ing Abdullah.

The din was deafening when the Inspection Special halted and a ceremony in the nature of a Thanksgiving was held. It was rapid firing—vociferous—joyous.

VI

THERE came over me a strong feeling, despite all that jollity. As, after the delicious luncheon served in the dinner while the train halted at a wayside station, Abdullah slipped away that feeling almost choked me.

"Was all well with our friend?" I asked Gopalji.

"Why?" he asked, seemingly startled by my question.

"He seemed to come alive only when he was being Zindabaded. After the shouts ceased he invariably relapsed into silence. I was seated just behind him and you."

"Oh," Gopalji assured me, "to-day he was much better than usual. Sometimes it is difficult to get a word out of him. He is so moody."

The thought slowly formed in my mind that Abdullah must have cause for moodiness. Was that cause rooted way down in the agitations and aspirations of the early nineteen-thirties, when, upon return from Aligarh, he set up the Muslim Conference?

These thoughts drifted into my mind on April 7, 1952. The date needs to be noted. The crisis came months later. I shall attempt the answer, in the concluding instalment of this article. Only then will the heading of this one, "Abdullah Asked for It," be adequately elucidated.

(Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh)

[St. Nihal Singh's next article in the Kashmir series will be published in the March 1954 issue of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.]



THE PROBLEM OF EARNING AND NON-EARNING DEPENDENTS

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

Six years have elapsed since India attained independence and the carnage of communal riots have ceased. Moreover, the country has enjoyed comparative tranquillity in spite of the disturbances in certain areas like Telangana in the South and North-eastern frontier areas beyond Assam. The greatest headache over shortage of food has abated considerably, thanks to nature's bounty, and India has been saved of a huge sum spent over imports of food even from hard currency areas. Industry has made great efforts with a good deal of success to maintain production and to meet the internal demands that are expanding with a growing population. In the field of exports, achievement is not unencouraging with the usual ups and downs that are common in international commerce.

Great efforts are being made for the "most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources" and to remove all factors which are likely to retard "economic development." It is sincerely hoped that nothing will be left undone to "investigate the possibilities of augmenting so much of the resources that are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements," and to remove shortcomings that have so long operated as clogs to our attempt to "raise the standard of living of the people and to open out to them opportunities for a richer and more varied life." It is the earnest effort of the Government and various legislations have been enacted aiming "at reducing inequalities of income, wealth and opportunity, with a two-fold programme of increasing productivity and reduction of inequality."

In such an atmosphere it is natural that the Government should feel happy and place before the country a hopeful picture not only of the present attainments but also of what is likely to happen. But through all that is visible on the surface there flows an undercurrent of discontent as regards the present order of things which is becoming more and more discernible here and there.

It must be admitted that though the opinion is gathering in volume it has not yet assumed very serious proportions. But, in case, it is allowed to go unchecked by ameliorative measures, at least in a sphere or two, all the efforts made and the money spent will go in vain, leading the country to greater misery and destitution. The one great question that is on every lip is whether the present set-up has been able to meet the worsening financial condition of the masses who had already been groaning, in the pre-independence days, under the burden of multiplying liabilities. It is also pertinent to ask, whether the people are now enjoying more amenities of life or

that they have to deny more and more of the essentials that go to help the common man to attain his fullest stature.

In the various financial categories the group most affected is the middle class, both lower and higher, while with the former, the situation has become simply pitiable. The worst feature of the present debacle is that there is only a vague prospect of improvement either in the immediate future or in what lies ahead. There is very little chance of the avenues of income and field of employment widening any further unless both the public and the Government work hand in hand, each trying to supplement the deficiencies of the other. It is an admitted fact that

"The aggregate livelihood of the people has not kept pace with the increase in population and is lagging far behind." What is extremely depressing is that with every year there is "an increasing contraction in the number of earning units in the average family and its consequent economic fragility or vulnerability, as a result of which if the principal bread-winner dies or is out of employment, the family faces starvation more starkly and certainly today than at any time before."

The Government is sorely concerned over the systematic fall in the number of self-supporting persons and increase in non-earning dependents and earning dependents, i.e., those who earn only a part of their livelihood depending for the rest, oftentimes for the major part, of the cost of their living on those few persons known to be "self-supporting."

It would be interesting to take note of the large number of "non-earning dependents" as also of "earning dependents" in the total population of the country. Separate figures for each category of livelihood-earner together with the total of such persons in the category of agricultural and non-agricultural classes are given below in some detail:

Agricultural Classes (Persons in thousands)

	Self-supporting	Non-earning dependents	Earning dependents	Total
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	45,751	100,117	21,448	167,327
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	8,765	18,896	3,957	31,618
Cultivating labourers and their depdts.	14,881	24,637	5,291	44,709
Non-cultivating owners of land; agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	1,641	3,307	373	5,321
All agricultural classes	71,049	146,957	30,069	249,074

The situation so far as "non-earning dependents" are concerned in the non-agricultural livelihood sector is not so bad as in the agricultural, yet the position does not warrant a very hopeful outlook for the future. The exact position as revealed by the Census of 1951 is given hereunder :

Non-agricultural Classes (Persons in thousands)				
	Self-supporting	Non-earning dependents	Earning dependents	Total
Production other than cultivation	12,136	22,402	3,134	37,672
Commerce	5,903	14,476	933	21,312
Transport	1,734	3,650	237	5,621
Other services and miscellaneous sources	13,577	26,807	2,565	42,949
All non-agricultural classes	33,350	67,335	6,868	107,553

In the ultimate analysis it is found that in India 104,399,803 persons, male and female, bear the burden of no less than 214,291,274 persons who are entirely dependent and 36,937,235 of earning dependents throughout the year. If the earning dependents are assumed to defray half of their expenses of living, then the total figure for entirely dependent persons come to the colossal figure of 232,759,891 !

West Bengal has a total population of 24,810,308 out of which 13,345,441 are males and 11,464,867 females. In the agricultural classes, out of every 1,000 persons (both male and female) 260 are self-supporting, 698 are non-earning dependents and only 42 are earning dependents. In the other sector, i.e., the non-agricultural classes, the figures for self-supporting, non-earning dependents and earning dependents, respectively, are : 388, 593 and 19. When we come to the proportion of earners in agricultural and non-agricultural sources to total population and the proportion of general male and female populations of employable age (15-55) to total male and female population, we get the following figures :

	Per cent of total population
1. Agricultural livelihoods	14.9
2. Non-agricultural livelihoods	16.6
3. Total of 1 and 2	31.5
4. Proportion of general population of employable age (15-55) to general population	57.4
5. Proportion of male population of employable age (15-55) to total male population	59.3
6. Proportion of female population of employable age (15-55) to total female population	55.2

It is indeed depressing to learn that out of a total of 57.4 per cent (both male and female) only 31.5

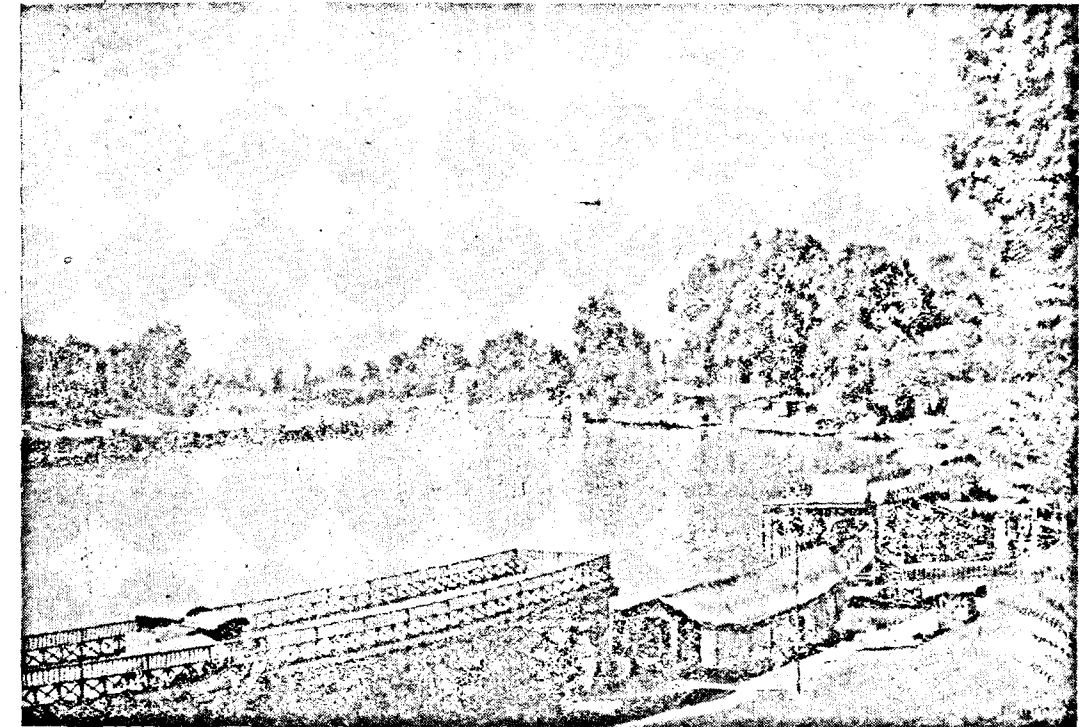
per cent are earners of some sort in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. It should be remembered at the same time that a huge population, because of their tender age (not so tender, in India between the ages 12-14) are absolutely dependent on others. It means that those whom God has ordained to meet the task of maintaining themselves, have been furnished with an additional weight which is simply crushing. It is, therefore, not surprising that the income of an average Indian is Rs. 253 per annum and in this estimate is included the income of the merchant princes, big industrialists, highly paid officials in both government and non-governmental institutions, etc.

A low purchasing power of the common people has come in the train of widespread unemployment and shrinkage of additional income of those who have so far had the opportunity of working in off-hours for profit. If there has been no reduction in staff of big industrial establishments, departments connected with controls and rationing are gradually releasing men from their work. Trade, commerce, small-scale industries and business organisations have been compelled to reduce their staff and it is not unlikely that some other organisations employing a large number of men will have to think of reducing costs by working with a smaller contingent. The big industrialists have been giving expression to their difficulties and they are justified in their complaint if it relates to legislations and rules which tend to raise the cost of production. At a time when persons refuse to buy even the barest necessities of life due to paucity of funds, both the industries and the Government will be affected if the purchases of industrial products go further down. Nobody will deny that evils turn in a vicious circle and with accumulating stocks in mills and factories the future earning of the workers would be very uncertain.

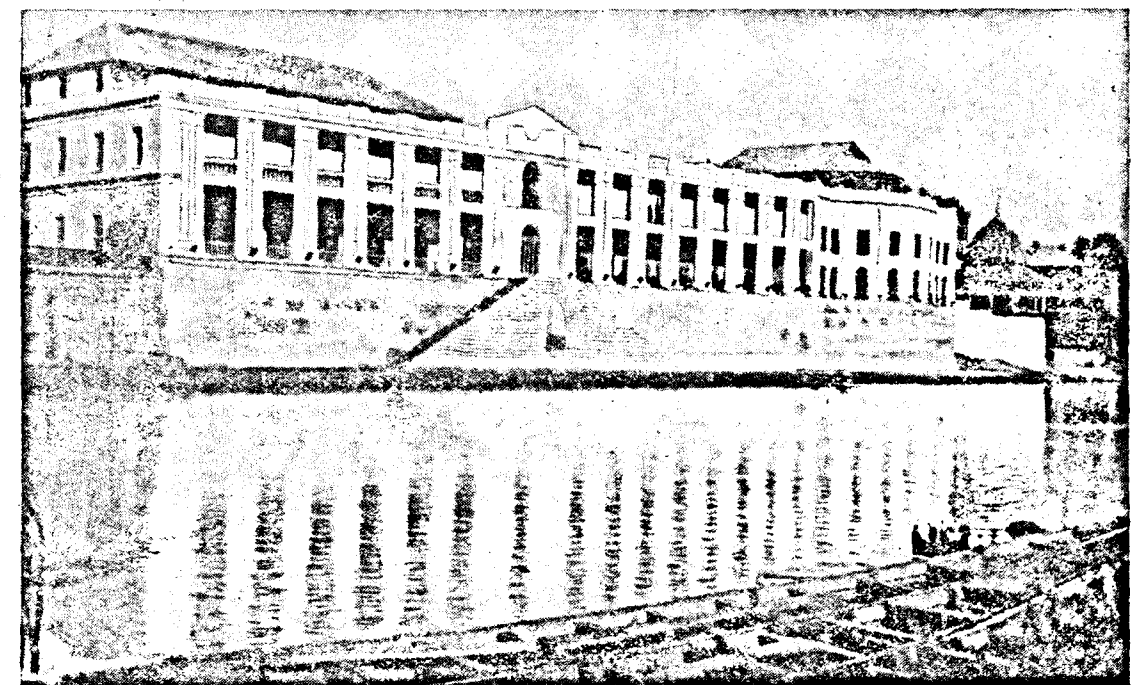
The task of finding profitable work for at least one in a family of four or five persons with sufficient income for the maintenance of all, is the minimum that is necessary in the present state of misery of the masses. What is immediately required to relieve economic tension is the lowering of the cost of living of the poorer class of people. This is only possible by reducing the cost of production both in the agricultural and industrial sectors so that the essential goods will be purchaseable by persons of modest means.

Naturally people look up to the Government and the big industries to try their utmost to release as much of taxes and profits as possible. Instead of waiting for the report of the Mathai and Shroff Commissions the Government would do well to revise the rates of taxes on essential commodities before the respective reports are out and action is taken on their recommendations. Excise duties are realised by the Central Government on several items of daily

KASHMIR



Aggressors turned this exquisite river-scape into a base of operations for their "push" to Srinagar. Round it Aryan fancy brodered, in time out of mind, one of the significant episodes of cosmogony



A Maharaja with fine perception of the beauty of the scenic setting had built this structure of pure white to serve as a palace. In changed times it is being put to the people's service
Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh



Sweet thought (Stone—bas-relief)
Sculptor—D. P. Roy Chowdhury

use which may be exempted or reduced on the distinct understanding from the producers and/or manufacturers that these will go to reduce the ultimate cost of the goods. A list of articles on which excise duties are levied and their total, is given below to allow the readers to judge for themselves the implication of such duties on the price of goods :

	Union Excise Duties (In lakhs of rupees)		
	1951-52	1952-53 (Revised)	1952-53
Motor spirit	2.07	2.00	2.05
Kerosene	26	25	25
Sugar	8.43	9.25	11.55
Matches	8.69	9.00	9.00
Steel ingots	55	60	60
Tyres	6.09	4.80	5.25
Tobacco	35.55	34.00	35.00
Vegetable products	2.45	2.75	2.90
Coffee	77	70	75
Tea	4.31	4.00	4.25
Cotton cloth	16.36	12.00	21.00
Coal cess	1.66	1.70	2.00
Miscellaneous	42	35	40
Total	87.61	81.40	95.00

Detailed analysis is neither possible nor necessary in the present context and it will be sufficient to say that excise duties on such articles as motor spirit and tyres contribute to a large extent in increasing the cost of transport and enhance the price of goods. Cotton cloth is paying an additional three pies per square yard for subsidising handloom products and the little chance of cheaper cotton textiles has thus receded to the background. Leaving other matters relating to taxation aside it may be said that Sales Tax has become too heavy for the poor people to bear with equanimity and ease.

For the proper administration and also for the execution of the several welfare projects a good deal of money is absolutely necessary and heavy and varied taxation may be justified on this score. But how much of this is indispensable for the proper functioning of the State has to be investigated without delay. It has been admitted by the Public Accounts Committee that there is ample scope for economy in the administration and that waste, such as in the Hirakud Project, is causing a grave harm to the public exchequer and producing a serious

demoralising effect on the confidence of the people. Big projects not already taken in hand must wait till the schemes that are in progress should bear fruit and bring the desired relief to the masses. It is for the Government itself to examine whether it should not effect economy without jeopardising the efficiency of the administration. In the industrial sector some sort of relief from "taxation, controls, industrial tribunal awards, demands of labour, increasing State regulation of industry" is necessary if it is possible thereby to reduce the cost of production and the price of manufactured articles.

There is a sense of frustration and apprehension of a more rough weather in the minds of the general public and these have in a degree contributed to make the situation more complex. A spirit of hanging on with the work on hand either in factories or office tables, in the fields or mines, enjoying leisure instead of pleasure emanating from execution of arduous job and many other defects have tended to increase the cost of production a good deal. It is in the hands of every good citizen to exert his utmost to save himself and the country from a disaster. Not that everybody exerting his best and trying to make the best use of his surplus time will be rewarded with an additional work and income but in any way they do not lose anything with the prospect of getting something in his way to enhance his purchasing power by even a little. It is now very difficult to find out avenues for subsidiary work and additional income and the matter properly comes under the scope of finding work for the unemployed and the under-employed.

The case of "earning dependents" numbering 35,937,274, perhaps stands on a different footing. They are conversant with the technique of their work and it is not unlikely that putting in a small additional labour may increase their income. More employment will no doubt increase the purchasing power of the people but so long that is not possible in a very wide scale, it is the duty of every right-thinking man and woman, with the welfare of India in their hearts, to exert and render such services to the community so that those who are in want both of money and services to the family may have the latter from people who have been better placed by Providence.



THE FIRST CENSUS OF FREE INDIA Demographic and Economic Data*

By ASHISH BOSE, M.Com.

In my previous article¹ I gave details about the total population, density, rate of growth, sex ratio, rural-urban ratio, livelihood classes and religious composition as revealed by the Census of 1951—the first in free India. This census has collected very valuable demographic and economic data which will help one in a better understanding of India and Indians and which will prove indispensable for the study and analysis of the social and economic problems facing the country. I give below, very briefly, the most important of such statistics.²

OCCUPIED HOUSES

There are 64.36 million occupied houses in India of which 54.06 million or 84 per cent are in the rural areas and 10.30 million or 16 per cent are in the urban areas. The rural population of India is 295 million or 82.7 per cent of the total population while the urban population is 61.88 million or 17.3 per cent of the total population.

For the total area of India (1.18 million sq. miles) as a whole, there are about 55 houses per sq. mile. On an average, there are 5.54 persons per occupied house in India. (5.45 persons per occupied house in rural areas and 6 persons per occupied house in urban areas).

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are 558,089 villages and 3018 towns (including 73 cities) in India. About 79 per cent of the total population of India lives in villages with population of less than 5,000 persons, a little over 14 per cent in towns with population between 5,000 and 100,000 and about 7 per cent in cities with population of 100,000 and over.

The following table will give an idea of the population of towns and villages of different categories vis-a-vis the total population of India :

With population of	Number	Population in millions	Percentage of population in each category to the total pop. of India
Less than 500	380,020	78.35	21.95
500—1,000	104,268	72.92	20.43
1,000—2,000	51,769	71.16	19.94
2,000—5,000	20,508	59.11	16.56
5,000—10,000	3,101	20.75	5.82
10,000—20,000	856	11.68	3.27
20,000—50,000	401	11.80	3.31
50,000—100,000	111	7.56	2.12
100,000 & over	73	23.55	6.60
	561,107	356.88	100.00

TOWNS CLASSIFIED

Towns with population of 20,000 and over are of three classes: Class I towns comprise those with population of 100,000 and over; Class II towns have population between 50,000 and 100,000, and Class III towns have population between 20,000 and 50,000.

Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of Class I towns (or cities) while Madras has the highest number of Class II and Class III towns. The following table shows the position of States which have more than ten such towns :

State	Location of Towns				Total
	Class I towns	Class II towns	Class III towns		
Madras	13	20	93		126
Uttar Pradesh	14 ³	15	47		76
Bombay	8	17	50		75
West Bengal	7	14	27		48
Bihar	5	6	20		31
Madhya Pradesh	2	6	23		31
Punjab	3	7	20		30
Rajasthan	3	3	19		25
Hyderabad	2	7	13		22
Saurashtra	3	2	13		18
Mysore	3	1	10		14
Madhya Bharat	3	1	8		12
Travancore-Cochin	2	5	4		11

ECONOMIC STATUS

To determine the economic status of the people the total population has been classified into three categories: (1) Self-supporting persons, (2) Earning dependents, and (3) Non-earning dependents. All self-supporting persons can fully support themselves while

3. In my previous article I had stated that U.P. had 16 cities. Here only 14 are mentioned. The difference is due to the fact that in the latest Census Paper cantonments are shown separately and the population of Mathura and Shahajahanpur excluding the population of cantonment areas falls short of 100,000.

all non-earning dependents are totally dependent on others for their livelihood. Earning dependents have regular incomes which, however, cannot fully support themselves. Thus to the first category belongs the economically active population, to the second, the economically semi-active population, and to the third, the economically passive population. The following table shows the economic status of the population of India as a whole :

	Population in millions	Percentage of total population
Self-supporting persons	104.40	29.27
Earning dependents	37.94	10.64
Non-earning dependents	214.29	60.09
	356.63 ⁴	100.00

This shows a high percentage of dependency. 29 per cent of the population supports fully 60 per cent of the population and partially another 11 per cent of the population. The following table gives the percentage of self-supporting persons, earning dependents and non-earning dependents for each of the eight livelihood categories: (The percentages relate to the total population including dependents in each category; e.g., 27 per cent of the population of category I are self-supporting persons, 13 per cent are earning dependents and 60 per cent are non-earning dependents) :

	Economic Status		
	Self-sup- porting persons	Earning depend- ents	Non-earn- ing depen- dents
Owner cultivators ⁵	27	13	60
Tenants	28	12	60
Landless labourers	33	12	55
Landlords, etc.	31	7	62
Those supported by			
Industry	32	8	60
Commerce	28	4	68
Transport	31	4	65
Other services and misc. sources	32	6	62

Dependency is greatest among those supported by commerce and it is the least among the landless labourers. This is because, among the latter category a comparatively large proportion of females are self-supporting and earning dependents, as will be clear from the following table :

4. As slips relating to .25 million persons were burnt in the fire which broke out in the Jullunder Tabulation Office this classified total population differs from the actual total population slightly.

5. The population of each of these livelihood categories is inclusive of dependents.

Economic Status among Females

	Percentage of		
	Self-sup- porting persons	Earning depend- ents	Non-earn- ing depen- dents
Owner cultivators	8	17	75
Tenants	9	17	74
Landless labourers	17	16	67
Landlords, etc.	20	8	72
Those supported by			
Industry	10	11	79
Commerce	5	4	91
Transport	2	5	93
Other services and misc. sources	12	1	81

Thus among the females, dependency is lowest among the landless labourers and highest among those supported by transport.

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES AND INDEPENDENT WORKERS

The self-supporting persons among the non-agricultural population have been classified into three classes: Employers, Employees and Independent workers. A person is an employer only if he employs other persons to carry on the business from which he secures his livelihood. An independent worker is not employed by anyone else and does not also employ anybody in order to earn his livelihood. The following table shows that independent workers outnumber both employers and employees.

	Self-supporting Persons of Non-agricultural Classes	
	Population in millions	Per cent
Employers	1.10	3.4
Employees	14.80	45.7
Independent workers	16.47	50.9
	32.37 ⁶	100.0

INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES

All industries and services have been classified into ten divisions and 88 sub-divisions. The following table gives the percentages of self-supporting persons of non-agricultural classes for the ten main types of industries and services :

Industries and Services	Self-supporting Persons of Non-agricultural Classes	
	Population in millions	Per cent
Primary industries ⁷	2.40	7.4
Mining and Quarrying	0.57	1.8
Processing & manufacture of food-stuffs, textiles and leather products	5.51	17.0
Processing & manufacture of metals, chemicals	1.24	3.8
Manufacturing industries not elsewhere specified	2.43	7.5
Construction and utilities	1.59	4.9
Commerce	5.90	18.2
Transport, storage and communications	1.90	5.9
Health, education and public administration	3.29	10.2
Services not elsewhere specified	7.54	23.3
	32.37	100.0

* See Census of India Paper No. 3 of 1953.

1. This is in continuation of the writer's article on the First Census of India published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1953.

2. All the statistics quoted here are exclusive of those for Jammu and Kashmir and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam where the Census was not taken. In my previous article statistics for Chandernagore were left out as they were not included in the Census Papers published then. In the present article statistics for Chandernagore are included (total population : 49,909). So there is a slight difference in the statistics quoted in the two articles.

Thus manufacturing industries employ only 28 per cent of the self-supporting persons among the non-agricultural population.

RURAL URBAN BREAK-UP OF TWO LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

The total population of India has been classified into two broad classes: agricultural and non-agricultural. The total agricultural population of India is 249.08 million or 69.8 per cent of the total population while the non-agricultural population is 107.55 million or 30.2 per cent of the total population.

The rural agricultural population is 240.41 million or 96.5 per cent of the total agricultural population and the urban agricultural population is 8.67 million or 3.5 per cent of the total agricultural population.

The rural non-agricultural population is 54.40 million or 50.6 per cent of the total non-agricultural population while the urban non-agricultural population is 53.15 million or 49.4 of the total non-agricultural population.

AGE STRUCTURE

In the 1951 Census a ten per cent sample of the population (excluding displaced persons) was taken at the preliminary sorting of the enumeration slips and the age tables are based on the sample population and not on the entire population. The following table will give an idea of the age structure of the Indian population:

Age group	Population in millions	Per cent of total population
0	11.49	3.3
1-4	35.85	10.3
5-14	86.69	24.8
15-24	60.72	17.4
25-34	54.50	15.6
35-44	41.56	11.9
45-54	29.62	8.5
55-64	17.69	5.0
65-74	7.84	2.2
75 and over	3.39	1.0
Not stated	0.23	(0.07)
	359.58*	100.0

Thus we find that a little over 38 per cent of the total population is below 15 years and only a little over 3 per cent of the total population is 65 years. This shows the preponderance of children in our

6. Certain non-productive groups have been excluded from the self-supporting persons classified here, e.g., persons living in jails, asylums, beggars, etc.

7. The primary industries included here are stock raising, rearing of small animals and insects, plantation industries, forestry, wood-cutting, hunting, fishing, etc.

8. There is a slight difference between this population and the total population of India due to the exclusion of displaced persons from this classified population.

population and also a low expectation of life of the people.

Among the male population, 105.36 million are in the age group 15-64 (which is roughly the productive age group) comprising 58.7 per cent of the total male population. But obviously the whole of this does not comprise the actual working male population: there are many who are unemployable or unemployed.

Among the female population 76.21 million are in the age group 15-45 (roughly the reproductive age group) comprising 44.8 per cent of the total female population. Obviously all women in this group do not reproduce: many are unmarried or widowed and some are sterile. The married females in the age group 15-45 number 63.12 million or 37.1 per cent of the total female population of India.

CIVIL CONDITION

The following table shows the civil condition (married, unmarried, divorced or widowed) of the male and female population separately:

Males				
(Males in each category as percentage of the total males in each age group)				
Age group	Unmarried	Married	Widowed or divorced	
5-14	93.5	6.3	0.2	
15-24	54.2	44.5	1.3	
25-34	13.3	82.9	3.8	
35-44	5.2	87.7	7.1	
45-54	3.8	83.2	13.0	
55-64	3.3	74.8	21.9	
65-74	2.8	65.4	31.8	
75 and over	3.0	54.0	43.0	

Females				
(Females in each category as percentage of females in each age group)				
Age group	Unmarried	Married	Widowed or divorced	
5-14	85.1	14.6	0.3	
15-24	17.2	80.0	2.8	
25-34	2.9	89.1	8.0	
35-44	1.5	78.6	19.9	
45-54	1.3	59.8	38.9	
55-64	1.0	38.7	60.3	
65-74	1.0	27.5	71.5	
75 and over	1.1	21.0	77.9	

This table reveals several interesting facts: (1) It shows that marriage is universal in India. In the age group 75 and over only 3 per cent of the males and 1 per cent of the females are unmarried. (2) It shows the prevalence of child marriages. In spite of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 6.3 per cent of the males in the age group 5-14 are married and 14.6 per cent of the females in the same age group are married. (3) It shows the preponderance of early marriages. In the age group 15-24 over 44 per cent of the males and 80 per cent of the

females are married. (4) The rarity of widow remarriages is reflected in the figures. Whereas 43 per cent of the male population above 75 years is widowed, the percentage is as high as 78 among the females of the same age group. (5) From the age group 55-64 onwards widowed females far outnumber married females.

POLYGAMY

Polygamy is very rare in India. While there are 82,253,086 married males in India the married females number 82,387,997 so that married females outnumber married males by 134,911. But some of this difference may be due to the fact that some men who have gone abroad have left their wives behind, so while they were not enumerated their wives were. Not even 0.2 per cent of the females in India are party to polygamous marriages.

CONCLUSION

Today it is a platitude to say that India lives in her villages. But the most important conclusion that emerges from the study of the demographic and economic data revealed by the 1951 Census is that *India lives in her villages*. 83 per cent of the people live in rural areas, half of our non-agricultural population is rural; for every town in India there are 190 villages, for every city in India there are 7,645 villages. 70 per cent of our population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. Not only our economy

but our social customs and mores are rural. 15 per cent of the females in the age group 5-14 are married.

Ours is a predominantly agricultural, rural, under-developed country. Many in India have almost a superstitious faith in large-scale industrialisation and urbanisation on Western lines. They are the people who offer solutions for the problems without knowing what the problems are. No doubt India needs large-scale industrialisation and urbanisation but we have to evolve our own pattern of economic development keeping in view the essential features of Indian economy. We have yet to evolve the concept of economic progress in terms of agricultural progress and rural development which it involves is a much more difficult problem than that of bringing about a shift of population from agriculture to industry. No doubt such shifts of population from primary to secondary industries can bring about an increase in national income but the working of the first Five-Year Plan has brought forward the lesson that the problem of unemployment is no less important than the problem of raising income levels. What we need is a correlation and combination of the primary and secondary sectors of economy, of labour-intensive and capital-intensive methods of production, of rural and urban patterns of living, to bring harmony and cohesion in the social and economic structure of the country.

ECONOMICS OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE recent debate in the Parliament on Foreign Policy was of momentous significance not only to this country but also to other parts of the world. The Prime Minister once again emphatically declared the firm determination of India to steer clear of both the Power Blocs and to follow a policy of peace, mutual goodwill and co-operation. He made a pointed reference to the proposed U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Pact and gave a friendly warning to Pakistan to realise the grave dangers of such an agreement. "The first thought that occurs to me when I think of any military aid freely given from a country of the West to a country of the East," observed the Prime Minister, "is the past history of Asia." "The history of the last two or three hundred years comes up before me, the history of colonial domination gradually creeping in here and establishing itself." The Prime Minister, then, made certain very significant observations regarding the efficacy of mere armed defence in the modern world. The very idea of seeking armed

protection from other nations "makes us weak and feeble." Shri Nehru continued:

"We are not going to ask any country to defend us with their armed forces. Whether we have enough or not if a contingency like that arises, perhaps we have something else which might stand us in good stead, and that is the *Spirit of Man*. It is a dangerous thing if, in relying on others, we lose that spirit. If India loses her Soul, what would it profit her who defends her?"

These words of wisdom that fell from the lips of the Prime Minister deserve serious thought and consideration. They embody a philosophy of life which Gandhiji preached to India and the world. The ultimate strength of a nation does not lie in the numbers of its armed forces but in the strength of its will to resist all unprovoked aggression with the power of its Soul. Interpreted in terms of modern psychology, the problem of National Defence is ultimately the morale of its people. National defences have to be organised not

merely on land, in sea and air but in the minds and hearts of men. This is possible only if the people have faith in their destiny and confidence in the dynamic ideology of their leaders. Such confidence could be inspired among the people only if there is a revolutionary urge in the leaders to effect far-reaching social and economic reforms with a view to bridging the gaping gulf between glaring economic inequalities. In a country where, in the words of Plato, there are two "nations"—the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor—it is impossible to inspire confidence and goodwill among the people. The Spirit of Man can rise to great heights and conquer the force of arms only if it is unfettered by social and economic inequities.

The Prime Minister referred to the proposal for introducing compulsory military training in India. He deprecated the idea of getting alarmed and hysterical in this respect simply because Pakistan was thinking of accepting free military assistance from the United States of America. All the money to be spent on military training "will have to be diverted from somewhere" and inevitably it would have to be diverted from various economic activities that the Government were trying to carry on. "Ultimately the strength of a country," observed Shri Nehru, "would depend more upon economic progress." "If the country was economically weak, a vast number of people walking about in step would do no good." Those who talk so glibly about the desirability of introducing compulsory military training in India would do well to ponder deeply over these words of the Prime Minister. Modern politicians are apt to feed their people on hate and fear and the ultimate choice that they present to the masses is: "Guns or butter?" Modern guns are terribly expensive commodities and they tend to starve almost to death both the body and Soul of a nation. This does not, however, mean that India should dispense with her armed forces altogether. A minimum military strength for national defence is almost inevitable in this imperfect world of ours. But we must realise and understand clearly that mere military strength is not of much avail in the modern Age of Atomic energy. In order to combat effectively the Atom Bomb, we will have to develop the Atomic Man of Gandhiji's conception. The power of the *Atma* is, in fact, the only effective answer to the Atom Bomb. This is not mere philosophy or sentiment. It is the quintessence of modern thought and psychology.

The Prime Minister also made a reference to the use of Atomic energy for civil and industrial purposes. "We are on the eve of a revolution greater than the Industrial Revolution 150 years ago." Within ten or

fifteen years it may be possible to utilise Atomic power for changing the very pattern of industrialisation in the world. The use of coal necessitated a certain amount of concentration of factories in a particular area. The invention of electric power has made decentralisation of industrial units a desirable proposition. But the use of Atomic energy will, undoubtedly, make decentralisation an inevitable pattern of industrial set-up. In this age of science, centralisation is not only proving to be unscientific but also strategically dangerous. Big factories become easy targets of bombing and aerial warfare. Decentralised industrial organisation is, therefore, the only type of planning that can survive the onslaughts of the Atomic Age. It is difficult for the highly centralised and mechanised industries of the Western countries to change their pattern now. But there is absolutely no reason why India should repeat the mistakes of other countries and try to imitate the large-scale and centralised system of industrial organisation. There are many other advantages flowing from small-scale and cottage industries. The problem of unemployment, we are sure, cannot be effectively solved without decentralising the instruments of production in the form of cottage or home factories. But even from the standpoint of National Defence, decentralisation of our industries is not only desirable but also inevitable. In China, the Indusco movement served as a second line of defence; without the network of the Industrial Co-operatives in almost all the Chinese villages, it would have been impossible for the people to resist the attacks of the Japanese. At a time when we are in the midst of the first Five-Year Plan, it is very necessary to grasp fully the implications of a decentralised economy from the point of view of self-defence so that we may not repeat the mistakes committed by other countries in the past.

The possibility of a U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact has caused fear and consternation in some quarters. But the Prime Minister made it very plain in his speeches on Foreign Policy that there is no reason to get nervous or hysterical. Gandhiji won Independence from a mighty Empire through non-violence, strong will and firm faith in the goodness of our cause. Similarly, we must be ready to face all eventualities with a resolute will and deep faith in the ideals that we have set before us in rebuilding New India. These ideals are the ideals that Gandhiji taught us with patience and firmness. If we are able to conquer the twin emotions of fear and hatred, no power in the world can shake our self-confidence and snatch away the freedom that the Father of our Nation gave us with the matchless weapons of Satya and Ahimsa.

INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN INDIA

PROF. A. C. MINOCHA, M.A.

THE problem of incidence of taxation has assumed more importance recently due to two factors: (i) The growing functions of the state and the consequential attempts to increase revenues from taxation; (ii) in a welfare state a sound tax system must be fair in its incidence. Adequate funds are to be raised for the performance of manifold and growing functions, but at the same time a certain degree of caution is necessary for imposing more taxes. In the formulation of a tax policy the main points to be considered are equity in the distribution of the tax burden, the productivity of the tax system and the economic effects thereof. An injury may be done to the economic welfare through a wrong taxation policy.

Every tax produces certain effects. But the effects of a tax are to be distinguished from its incidence. The effects are widespread in space and time, but incidence is the money burden of a tax or who pays it in the last instance. A tax of one rupee entails money burden of one rupee on somebody. In a welfare state the problem of incidence has assumed greater significance as it becomes one of the instruments for ensuring equity in the field of economics. A sound tax system must be fair in its incidence upon the public. The tax system should be broadbased so that the contribution of each individual is to be aligned to his capacity. To spread the field of taxation over the entire community is the main job of those who hold the fiscal trust of the country.

For a long time in the past, studies in incidence of taxation were made without any reference to public expenditure. But studies in incidence are incomplete without a study of the effects of public expenditure. A tax brings redistribution of wealth in the society through public expenditure. The question of incidence of taxation is intimately linked up with the problem of public expenditure. An unwise expenditure policy may neutralise the effects of a good tax system.

INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN INDIA

The problem of tracing the incidence of taxation is very difficult due to the lack of precise statistical data regarding per capita income, consumption of different commodities by different people and per capita expenditure on social services and primary functions of the state. The question of incidence in India was first examined by the Taxation Enquiry Committee in 1924. The Committee opined that while the burden of taxation was not high, its distribution was unequal, as it affected the poor sections proportionately more than the rich classes. Certain classes went untaxed, while the burden on others was very heavy. Sir Walter Stamp in 1930 supported the opinion expressed by the Taxation Enquiry Committee

and Sir James Grigg declared in the Assembly in 1938:

"I have no doubt that taxation in this country lets off the rich too lightly and presses the poor too heavily."

Prof. K. T. Shah also examined the burden of taxation in India in 1924 and concluded that the burden of taxation was unequal. During and after the first war certain changes were introduced in our tax system so as to reduce inequalities. Many progressive taxes were introduced during the last war. Total tax revenue increased from Rs. 72 crores in 1938 to 283 crores in 1945-46. Since 1939 the proportion of direct taxes to total revenue has increased from 24% to nearly 60%. Income tax and corporation tax contribute 35% of the total revenue of the Government of India, while in U.K. income tax contributes 50% of the total income. In India 25 persons out of every 1,000 pay income tax as against 38 per 100 in U.K.; 33 per 100 in U.S.A. and 27 per 100 in Australia. Income tax is being paid by about 7 lakh persons out of a total population of 36 crores in India. This shows that a very small group in the total population contributes to the most important item in the tax system. With regard to rates of income tax India has reached a fairly high level and there is a little scope in raising the rates further. Recently relief has been given to the middle class by raising the limit of exemption from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,200. Income tax is one of the methods of reducing inequalities of wealth in the society and lends a progressive character to the tax system of India.

For a long time death duties were conspicuous by their absence in the tax structure of our country. Almost in all the countries of the world, death duties in one form or another are considered as an instrument for reducing inequalities of wealth in the society. Recently the Indian Parliament has passed the Estate Duty Bill. Explaining the object of such duty in the House of the People Shri C. D. Deshmukh said:

"The object of the Government in introducing the Bill was two-fold: to rectify to some extent the existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth and to assist the states towards financing their development schemes. . . I expect that in the long run the socio-economic consequences will be more important than the financial results. Conspicuous luxury which is the concomitant of inequalities of wealth will, I expect, diminish as a result of this measure."

The argument that death duty will discourage capital formation has lost much of its force. Lord Keynes observed that death duties if properly spent will increase the marginal propensity to consume and the process of capital formation instead of being retarded will be facilitated.



In India the balance between direct and indirect taxes is absent and the range of taxes narrow. Customs form the major part of central revenues but at the same time such duties are regressive in nature. Excise duties are also regressive in nature. There is a limit beyond which indirect taxation cannot be increased without causing hardship to the poor. Exemption of necessities from duties will go a long way in lessening inequalities in the burden of taxation.

Under the present system of taxation, some classes are bearing a much greater burden than they can afford, while others are not paying as much as they could. The blackmarketer and the profiteer escape the payment of taxes. The Income Tax Investigation Commission has estimated that nearly 80 crore rupees have gone untaxed during and after World War II. Hence there is a strong need to strengthen and tighten the income tax machinery of the Government of India. The brunt of taxation is being borne by the middle class which has to forego a big slice—almost 18 to 20% of income to meet the bills of the central and the provincial governments. It has been estimated that the burden of taxation on the urban population is much greater than on the rural population. During recent years the income of the agriculturists has increased and their ability to pay is greater than it was 10 years ago. The imposition of agricultural income tax will lend a progressive character to the Indian tax system.

Recently sales tax has become an important source of income of the state revenues. Sales tax is again regressive if suitable exemptions are not granted in favour of necessities. In India where the majority is precariously poised on the margin of subsistence any further increase in indirect taxation will cause further disequilibrium in the budgets of the people.

The question whether there is a further scope for increasing taxes in India or not has engaged the attention of economists for a long time. According to Mr. Colin Clark, under normal conditions 25% of the national income is the limit of taxable

capacity. In India per capita incidence of taxation bears a low ratio, about 9% to the income per capita. Recently Mr. Deshmukh pointed out that there existed some scope for fresh taxation in India. In support of his contention he adduced certain figures of foreign countries. Proportion of taxation to national income in Ceylon was 21% : in Egypt 16% ; Cuba 15% ; U.S.A. 25.7% ; Canada 24% ; U.K. 41.2%. Per capita tax in different countries is as follows :

India Rs. 22	U.K. 1274	U.S.A. 2272
Canada 1613	Australia 1273	

We should not run away with the idea that the burden of taxation is low in India. A low percentage of a low national income entails a much greater sacrifice than a higher percentage of a higher national income.

The problem of incidence is intimately connected with public expenditure. In advanced countries higher taxation does not produce serious consequences as the state grants poor subsidy, provides insurance against sickness and unemployment, provides old age pensions and provides educational and medical facilities. In India the bulk of the revenue is swallowed up by military expenditure and civil administration. We are spending much more on primary functions than warranted by our income. A prosperous society can manage its governmental work with a small proportion of its national income. In a well-advanced country law and order problems will be very few.

In a welfare state where more revenues are required for the developmental functions, public expenditure if wisely pursued, leads to the raising of the standard of living. The Taxation Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India will break new grounds about the incidence of taxation in India and the report will generally be helpful to the planners who must estimate the nation's resources for development. It is hoped that the Taxation Enquiry Committee will make a more scientific study of the problem of the incidence of taxation and public expenditure in India.



THE EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA

By SARLA DEVI*

THE fulfilment of the thirst for knowledge as such in our country is the privilege of the leisured few who enjoy an apparent certainty of freedom from want, living well above the margin of the minimum necessary for eking out a precarious existence. In our present unequalitarian society, it is one of the many privileges enjoyed by the wealthy few at the expense of the labouring many. One of the greatest tragedies for a nation is the fact that real higher education, i.e., the thirst for knowledge which may advance the happiness and well-being of society in the fullest sense, is confined to the privileged classes, irrespective of ability, and more particularly sensibility. Real higher education should be the privilege of all those who can not only benefit by it themselves, but through it become the benefactors of that society which made this privilege available to them. In a capitalistic society this is unfortunately mainly the privilege of those who from the force of both heredity and environment are least suited to use this privilege for the social utility.

In a backward society, the proportion of the population who fulfil this condition is comparatively few, and therefore the percentage of higher education which can be socially useful to the nation is very low. As the general level of education rises the percentage of higher education to total education which can be socially useful increases rapidly, since the main cost of all education, even higher education, is borne by public funds or government, the acid test of the justification of that education must be its social utility, otherwise that education will remain only one more form of social and economic exploitation of the masses.

In an under-privileged and under-educated society, with an average standard of living below the subsistence level, such as that society which at present exists in our country, the demand for education is the expression neither of a thirst for knowledge nor of a thirst for the betterment of society, but of the wish to lift oneself and one's family above the level of want, at least to a stage at which the primary necessities of life may be reasonably assured.

On the attainment of Swarajya there was a general and loudly voiced demand for more education, which was the expression of this urge. It was found that under British rule the privileged few who had been able to

obtain even only high school education, were reasonably well-assured of jobs which gave them a fair assurance of being able to maintain themselves and their family at a bare subsistence level without manual labour. In a society with an average standard below that subsistence level, and therefore labouring in excess of their physical capacities, it would naturally appear that this type of education would lead them also to a life of comparative comfort and freedom from anxiety.

On achievement of Swarajya there was therefore immediately a popular call for more education of the type which had so far been experienced to mean economic advantage.

Popular governments are naturally there to fulfil the popular demand or need. This popular demand for more education of the current high school type was really a demand for an increased standard of living. Democracy through a popular government does not mean that the government is there to obey blindly the blind urgings of the masses, but is there to fulfil these blind urgings in an enlightened and far-seeing manner. It was the duty of a popular government to supply the masses as soon as possible, on as large a scale as possible, and as economically as possible, with an education which would enable the recipients, breaking off at any stage of that education, to maintain a better, fuller and happier standard of life than his uneducated neighbour.

It is true that an education to fulfil these requirements would not at that time have been immediately popular, since the public would not have understood that this type of education was going to fulfil the actual need which was the basis of their demand for education. Our politicians, who unfortunately themselves are the outcome of that very unpractical education, have in fact been enabled to rise to prominence on its basis, were unfortunately not able to understand the real root of this 'thirst for education' which they proudly get out to fulfil, and they therefore aimed to increase available educational facilities at all levels, not even by arithmetical, but by geometrical progression. The public avidly availed themselves of the facilities thus made available, in fact, the government earned unpopularity because they were not able even at this extravagant rate, to fulfil the growing demand for education. Self-supporting and self-respecting peasants, who had themselves never worn more than a small loin-cloth, not only paid exorbitant fees and book and stationery charges, but even contributed far beyond their means to the building funds of primary, middle and high schools, and subsequently to the growing demands of their offspring for suits, boots, sun-helmets, umbrellas,

* Sarla Devi, a British disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, has been doing remarkable constructive work in the Kumayon hills. She has done wonderful job for women folk in that area and is greatly interested in educational problems of India. She has established an Ashram at Kausani where she practices what she preaches.

etc., in the pitiful belief that their sons would be enabled to initiate a family el dorado of freedom from want.

One could not expect poor benighted peasants to foresee that the number of jobs available to those unpractically educated boys might possibly, with the expansion of social services, expand by arithmetical progression, but certainly not be geometrical. Our politicians, had their education been a little less theoretical, would have been able to see it, and should also have had the acumen to risk temporary unpopularity by providing the type of education which would fulfil the fundamental needs of the masses, rather than the blind demand arising out of these.

Even the sanest critics of the government could not however have imagined that the reaction would set in so rapidly and so thoroughly. We are now indeed being faced with a most sad condition in this country.

At great sacrifice, and with great enthusiasm, peasants have contributed to building primary schools and high schools (frequently in their enthusiasm and simplicity falling a prey to contractors who have unscrupulously put up buildings which have come down in a couple of years), have run into debts far beyond their means, to educate their boys—for what! Either unemployment, inutility, or an ever-increasing and actually aimless higher education, proceeding from stage to stage in the vain hope of finding employment. That unemployment which under British rule was beginning to be experienced by graduates, has now filtered down to undergraduates, matriculates and "middle passes." The problem which is now facing the parent of any educated son, is how to adjust him into society, economically, productively and socially. There is no routine (academic) employment available to him, and as a result of his education he has now become unfitted to adjust himself economically, productively or socially into his hereditary environment. A really dangerous unemployed and unemployable strata of society has been created, which is a fruitful soil for incubating the seeds of communism and all other similar destructive forces.

The government now stands faced with an educational dilemma. Since the public is now realising the utter uselessness of the present type of education, is the government going to close down many of the mushroom post-Swarajya schools? Or do they propose to provide and slowly popularise a type of practical education suited to the economic and productive needs of the country?

Our educational syllabi, with contents copied from Western countries, entirely ignore this necessity. In countries which are more advanced educationally, socially and culturally, even the tiny child comes to school equipped with attitudes, habits and knowledge which we have to instil into an eight-or-nine-year-old child. There, even the toddler, from the very time he begins to toddle, would never dream of relieving himself just wherever he happens to be. He will not spit indiscriminately. Whilst he may at times

snatch at other children's toys and utensils, he will do so knowing that this is not encouraged. He has on the whole far fewer unsocial and anti-social tendencies than our own less fortunate children. Therefore, in Western countries there is no need for inclusion in the syllabus of much of the contents of social education which is absolutely necessary here. If we are to hope for any improved level of society, our school curriculum and syllabus must be a dynamic one, creatively related to our social and economic needs, not just a mere copy of Western education. Our high schools and colleges at present produce graduates who will reel off by rote the sanitary requirements of a healthy society, but have not the sanitary civic sense of a Western toddler.

The funds expended on their higher education might have been more usefully employed on basic education, removing age-old unsuitable prejudices, combined with the institution in our towns of the necessary public sanitation facilities on an adequate scale.

Our educational pandits who have been responsible for bringing the country to this sorry plight, are always only too ready to decry basic education of the Gandhian type as developing mechanical labouring faculties at the expense of the intellectual and emotional. Would it be too much to ask them to stay and ponder over how far their own system fulfils the requirements of fundamental education as experienced by Western educationists, by whom they claim to be so much impressed and influenced?

"Any minimum fundamental education must enable men and women: as workers to control their physical environment, and to conserve and exploit the natural resources of the earth so as to raise their standard of life;

"As citizens—to live together in harmony in their communities—family, group, tribe and nation, and eventually in a world society;

"As individuals—to bring out the best that is in them to achieve physical health, and to develop self-respect through spiritual, moral and mental progress, and the formation and fulfilment of noble aspirations."—T. R. Batten: *Fundamental and Adult Education*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

So far as the first tenet is concerned, its necessity has never even entered into the heads of our theoretical pandits. The utmost which they could concede was the opening in considerable numbers of technical and agricultural colleges to prepare "specialists," "research workers," "inspectors," etc., who know only how to direct but not how to use tools, and who therefore have no real experience or understanding of the problems of production at the producer's level. They also are however now being faced with the universal problem of unemployment, since they too have been produced in numbers far in excess of the country's ability to absorb them.

So far as the second postulate is concerned we have only to glance at the present state of

society to realise how ineffectual have been the efforts of our educational institutions to fulfil this requisite. The rapid deterioration of the general moral fibre of society since the attainment of Swarajya is the greatest indictment of the inability and inefficiency of our educational system. After all there are practically no communities so remote as to remain unaffected by educational influence at least at the primary stage. A considerable proportion of children from all our villages attend primary schools for five or six hours of the day, and spend the rest of the day in their family and society. In a suitable school atmosphere how could it happen that they should not bring a healthy civic and moral atmosphere into village society? And why do they fail to do this?

1. Their teachers are paid a pittance which is not always capable of eking out the deficiencies of their family budget from other private sources. Therefore, naturally the teacher's attention goes more to his home and other problems, agricultural, etc., which are the main source of family support, than to his school work. He is always anxious to get away as soon as possible to attend to these.

2. The actual needs of fundamental education are absolutely absent from the training, and therefore beyond the conception, of the average village teacher.

3. Inspection of schools consists not, as it should do, of friendly and efficient guidance of the teacher in the matter of shortcomings and in the daily problems of school work. The inspector, instead of being a guide and helper, becomes in practice a spy into the shortcomings. That means, that the teacher feels a necessity of showing an efficiency which is non-existent, and of keeping the inspector pleased by all legitimate and illegitimate means. I well remember the exclamation of a small pupil when a worker of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust gave me some money to buy sweets for the children, "In our old school, when the sub-deputy came, the teacher made us bring milk, curds, vegetables and fruit for him, but here our sub-deputy gives us sweets."

4. How can one hope that children who in their school life witness and become victims of this corruption, should have an effect on village life? They will only too naturally understand adult subservience and flattery to the lower levels of official life, which encourages lower officials to resort to dishonesty and malpractices in all forms of bribery and corruption. An effective educational system should in a few years make these forms of petty dishonesty impossible and untenable within the framework of village social organisation. But with the spread of primary education in the rural districts we find them increasing due to the subservience within the school, which is strong enough to counteract efficiently anything to the contrary which may be written in the "civics" text-books. These should really openly subscribe to the famous curate's tenet of "Do as I say, don't do as I do," and confess in a preamble

that they are written to enable the pupil to pass an examination, but not on any account to be used in actual practice.

The independent-minded teacher who does not indulge in the practices of flattery and corruption, who does not dance attendance on the "sahebs" in the form of an additional servant, will soon be in the bad books of the authorities, and forced to surrender either his self-respect or his job. Very few are in a position to afford the latter.

On the contrary, if the inspector became a respected guide and friend, not only to the teacher, but through him and the children to the village community in general, what a valuable contribution he could make to village social life! He could thus sow the germs of fundamental adult education during the course of his routine visits for school inspection! For we have to go back one step beyond the postulates of T. R. Batten, to the minimum requirements of a self-respecting society. Only when once these have been achieved, can we hope for a further step forward towards harmony in family, group, tribal and national life.

So far as the third postulate is concerned, until our training schools aim at a minimum standard of self-respecting education, the question simply does not arise.

We are, in fact, at present at such a low level that we have to go back beyond the postulates of Western fundamental education, and build up the very foundation necessary to make these postulates a possible proposition.

II

On the contrary, if we examine the principles and tenets of basic education as propounded by Gandhiji, we find them to be in complete accord with the requirements of fundamental education as postulated above:

1. The whole purpose of craft in basic education is to enable the children to control their physical environment and thus raise their standard of life. This craft is neither a separate subject of the curriculum, nor engaged in merely for the purpose of learning as a vocation, thus making practical craft merely a theoretical appendage of practical life, but is the centre round which both education and through it life, revolve.

The practical aspect of efficiency in method and product must always be kept to the fore, i.e., the productive aspect and sound economic basis of the craft is the acid test of basic education. Yet that craft education must also cover all the theoretical aspects of production, mechanical, scientific, economic, historical, geographical, civic, social, etc. Craft, combined with the physical and social environment, must form the centre and medium of education, i.e., from the very beginning, whatever the child learns must arise out of connection with actual experience and therefore meaningful.

His counting work should begin with the counting of the class tools and appliances, when he takes them

out, distributes, or returns them. Simple additions and subtractions will begin in the same way from practical necessity. This process should become so natural that it is a life process and not an educational one specifically. Children joining at a later stage will automatically pick up their elementary arithmetic without any actual teaching.

In the same way, much elementary language training will be gained practically in connection with craft work. The elements of history will be learnt in relation to method and product of craft, e.g., if the craft is spinning and weaving, emphasis will be on the clothing, methods of cloth production, tools used, organisation of the craft, leading to the question of the social and economic structure of society, its development and changes, and the factors affecting these. The history of "dates and reigns" will come in only later as an adjunct affecting these changes, performing where necessary more or less the function of signposts or milestones on the historical road.

The basis of geography is natural science—the child's physical environment. He will first learn to understand the geographical, natural and seasonal factors affecting his environment. Hills, rivers, plains, rain, heat, cold, their causes and effects on human adjustment and agricultural production. When these are taught naturally to the children in connection with the prevailing conditions of the day, the process becomes real education (i.e., the drawing out of the inner urge for knowledge) rather than instruction (the ramming in of knowledge). Out of this experience the beginnings of natural, chemical and physical science automatically spring, the child begins to enquire and understand forces and surroundings which he had previously either not noticed or taken for granted.

It is an interesting experience in teaching these subjects that facts of physical science which the first classes understood and remembered with difficulty, are knowledge of every-day life for succeeding classes, i.e., the children are so fascinated and interested that they disseminate this knowledge themselves.

This will be the real factor working for social education. This is the reason why in our backward country it is necessary to include in the syllabus in the early stages such simple matters as when and where to ease oneself, how to clean the utensils, etc. In a few years newcomers have themselves automatically learnt this from the environment created by their elder brothers and sisters and friends. Thus slowly, with the rising social standard, the standards and requirements of basic education will automatically rise.

The further roots of geography spring from the factors affecting agricultural production, more particularly with reference to the craft materials and products. Taking again as hypothesis the cloth industry, the child will understand the qualities of the different types of cotton used, the physical factors affecting their growth; where these prevail, first in his own province, then in his country, then in the world. He will also in this connection be given knowledge not only of the natural and

geographic conditions, but also of the historical, social and economic conditions, thus gaining simultaneously a knowledge of the modern world and its development from the days of primitive man. In connection with teachers or visitors from other parts of the country or the world, the children automatically enquire about the conditions prevailing in their countries.

I well remember the contrast between a basic school, in which the teachers were at most matriculates and a "modern" school in which the teachers were mostly post-graduates in teaching. The children of the basic school pestered one at every opportunity with questions about the physical and social environments of the visitor's homes, whilst with the greatest difficulty the children of the "modern school" could produce only two banal questions, "Where are you staying?" and "Where will you go on leaving here?" This means that the children of the basic school had grown to seek for knowledge and information in a natural way, whereas the children of the "modern" school could only absorb what was put before them, i.e., "modern" education produces a supine recipient, whereas basic education produces a dynamic enquirer.

Add to this the fact that "modern" education is divorced from any basic life activity. Those activities which are integrated, in order to be "educational," must be devoid of any practical utility. For instance, it is a universally accepted fact that many traditional household activities, such as grinding corn at the hand-mill, or churning curds to extract butter, are sound healthy exercises which kept our women healthy within the confines of the purdah. But a "modern" school recognising the utility of these exercises may instal a dummy grinding-mill for the exercise of its students. A basic school installing a grinding mill which provides this same exercise through production is accused of exploiting the child for productive purposes!

Montessori and orthodox nursery school apparatus is unfortunately most unnatural and artificial. The child is taught to button and unbutton on a frame prepared for the purpose—the teacher buttons and unbuttons the children's clothes! If the children helped each other to dress and undress, they would gain not only sense training, but also social training in mutual aid and independence, which is an equal, if not more, important social and educational factor. Moreover, that sense training is an integrated part of the life process. The pre-basic child receives sense training through practical life activities—washing, bathing, drawing and carrying water, digging, weeding, watering, sweeping, even preparing and cleaning his own latrine and urinal, preparing and serving *nashta*, washing the utensils, etc., naturally all with equipment and materials suited to his physical development.

The value of imitative play is a mutually accepted psychological factor. The difference lies in whether that play should be artificial or natural? Observation of both types leaves no room for doubt in the mind of the observer—the child indulging in natural imitation, i.e.,

fulfilment, is happy and satisfied because he is really creative, he actually *does* what his parents do, while the child provided with artificial imitation is frustrated—in his sub-conscious mind he knows that he has been deceived, and there is one more hidden grudge against the superiorly equipped adult society, those hidden grudges and complexes which form the basis of conflict in our present society. In later stages, the child who has been thus deprived of the productive play he craved for, will revolt against the real work which his parents may then wish to impose upon him for their own selfish purposes, whereas to the naturally educated child it is at this stage a natural and accepted form of life—an integrated part of the daily routine. In this way also, the child naturally conforms to the inevitable discipline of life, self-discipline as opposed to external discipline. This is an essential postulate of a free society, and means that from the very beginning the child grows in an atmosphere of self-reliance, free from exploitation, which will later form the basis of life for him. This will automatically sow the seeds of a society free from social and economic exploitation.

It was the suggestion of the Zakir Hussain Committee that the work of basic education should be organised in compact areas, with a training school in the centre. The principal of the training school and his staff would also act as the inspectors of the schools in the compact area.

Where this method has been honestly tried out with sincere workers, it has proved extremely successful. On taking up their practical work the students have still been in close touch with their training institution, and have therefore not only retained the spirit and efficiency which they imbibed there, but also improved it considerably. By remaining within the confines of their student group they retain the group spirit and experimental attitude, and their first few years of practical teaching in this atmosphere not only function as an extension course but also lay a foundation on which to build brick by brick a life of efficient, sincere and satisfying teaching practice. As one group completes a course of primary teaching the best are selected to serve on the staff of similar training schools, others are sent out to start primary schools further afield, or called back for a refresher course for middle school teaching. This is a simple, systematic, economic and efficient way of spreading not only the letter, but also the spirit of basic education.

This method has proved not only efficient and economical, but owing to the pervading atmosphere of the training school, there has been a most appreciative response from the villagers in places where it has been tried out. This educational organisation has enabled efficient and effective relief work in times of flood, pestilence or famine, and intensive and practical

propaganda for health, sanitation, improved methods of agriculture, etc. It has also been effective in reviving village culture through folk-songs and dances and thus producing a spirit of tolerance and unity. It has thus acted also as the instrument for constructive adult education in the real sense of the word (not merely literacy).

In the course of his primary school work the teacher has automatically functioned not merely as a children's teacher, but also as a general village worker, including the aspects of health, culture and agriculture. In these days of specialised departments without co-ordination, this is an effective and economic solution of the problem of village uplift, which has been appreciated by the villagers, who find their children useful and productive citizens on the fulfilment of their education at any stage.

These results have been achieved not through the help or specially selected students but simply through selecting annually the best of current applicants for primary school teachers' training.

So far as the productive aspect of the work is concerned, it has been found that the children are able to produce to a considerable extent the cost of their education. The corollary is of course that where the scheme is applied on a large scale, the government accepts the responsibility for the marketing of the produce. Government departments can themselves absorb a large proportion, in the form of cloth for uniforms, office furniture, stationery requisites, agricultural implements, school tools, furniture and equipment, etc. This annual saving in the course of a few years more offsets the initial cost of school equipment and tools. Even now, there is usually a compound attached to primary schools which is lying waste and can be used for productive gardening. Many government schools are situated on land adjoining dak bangalows or similar institutions whose waste land the children can conveniently cultivate.

The saving in salaries and touring charges effected by having the inspection work co-ordinated with the training school is also considerable.

Thus the efficient reform of our educational system is more a question of the will than the means. If our educational officials once understand that they have to mould their education and their lives on a different pattern, or get out, very few of them will get out. They will submit with varying degrees of grace, and gradually readjust themselves, if the leadership from above is of the right type. So far as means are concerned, it is comparatively easy to enthuse even our disillusioned youths with a practical and effective ideal, if we ourselves have the right attitude. So far as expense is concerned, not only in efficiency of national return, but also in economy of running methods, this is far more economical than the present useless and wasteful system.

MAN COMES

By PROF. AMIYA KUMAR DATTA, M.Sc., F.G.M.S.

THE appearance of man upon the surface of the earth is a mysterious affair. It is all the more unexpected because, according to Jeans, if we consider the vastness of the universe and the proportion of man in it, we can well understand that Nature perhaps had no intention of turning out man as the main product of creation. Man seems to be a bye-product in the process of creation. But the position held by man in the living world is supreme. Endowed with the power of reasoning, he is ruling the three domains of land, sea and air.

Mythologies of different countries try in their own way to explain the evolution of man. Ancient philosophers also tried to solve the mystery. Dependable assumptions have come and are still coming from the diligent researches of the biologists of the different parts of the world. Through their cumulative efforts many unknown facts about the subject have come to light although the whole subject cannot be said to be crystal-clear even now.

The scope of this article cannot be widened indefinitely so as to include the discussion on the evolution of life. It can only be stated that life was at first very simple and was composed of one cell. It was in other words unicellular. Later in the course of evolution complexities arose and multicellular forms evolved, of which man is one. To begin with the subject proper we must start with a background in which mammals are evolved and dominating the animal world. These mammals are creatures with some special characteristics, notable of which are their warm-blooded body, the presence of a clothing of hair upon their body and their nourishment of young ones by the milk from the mammary glands. We must also envisage a background in which the primates have come into existence and are gaining importance in the animal world. The primates are an order of the mammal type of animals, possessing all the mammalian characters and being plantigrade, i.e., walking on the sole of the foot and having a somewhat flat nose and a peculiar dentition. Their eyes are in bony sockets and they take a herbivorous diet (excepting man who is omnivorous).

There prevailed an assumption among the biologists for some time, after Darwin, that man has evolved from monkey. This "monkey damnification" seems to be a degrading idea. A furious controversy arose after this assumption was put forward. At the present time this idea has been modified by the assumption that man and monkeys are like cousins,

i.e., they have evolved from the same parent stock. This common parent stock is yet a subject of controversial discussion.

About the parent stock the following words of Gregory are highly interesting :

"In Palaeocene time, some sixty million years ago, there lived arboreal insectivores, relatives of the existing tree shrews, while in Eocene time are found the ancient relatives of the Lemnoids and Tarsoids. The Lower Oligocene rocks of Egypt have given us two jaws of supreme importance, one Parapithecus, being annectant in character between the Tarsoids and the Anthropoids and the other Propithecus, representing a form leading to the gibbons and perhaps to the higher apes and man and probably represent the common ancestral stage."

Eocene, Oligocene, etc., are different epochs of the history of the earth. The following table will illustrate them :

Eras	Epochs	Age in years
Quaternary	Holocene	15,000
	Pleistocene	1,500,000
Tertiary	Pliocene	15,000,000
	Miocene	30,000,000
	Oligocene	40,000,000
	Eocene	60,000,000

Palaeocene is the beginning of Eocene. Eras are broad divisions of earth's history and epochs are smaller subdivisions of them.

The background with which we have started was at a time 15,000,000 years back. The period has been named Pliocene in the stratigraphical literature of the earth. With the end of Pliocene, Pleistocene set in. That was a time nearly 1,500,000 years back. This Pleistocene time was marked by glacial climates separated by some interglacial warm periods. According to geologists, there were four glacial periods separated by three interglacial periods. After the Pleistocene periods came the Holocene or the recent period in which we get things as they are now. This period began 15,000 years ago. These climatic changes have to be borne in mind as we shall come back to it in later pages of this article.

Through the Palaeontological evidence (the evidence furnished by fossils which are remains of ancient animals and plants) we are pretty safe in our assumption that true man was on the earth at a time 2,000,000 years back and that in the Pleistocene period true man was more or less established on the earth.

It is a matter of great controversy whether true man existed earlier than this, i.e., in the Tertiary period, although later findings and researches thereon

are pointing towards a possibility of it. One of the uncertainty about this is that here we have to depend more on the so-called human implements as no fossil remains have yet been discovered along with these implements, and similar implements may also be produced by natural agencies like temperature changes, frost action, running water, etc. Fortunately sometimes mammalian fossils are associated with these human artifacts and they help in correlating them and in ascertaining their antiquity.

The precursor of true man, whether a man-like ape or an ape-like man, was arboreal or living on the trees. Gradually they descended on the land. Probable cause for the descent from the trees might have been the increasing dryness of climate due to continental uplift. This dry climate thus caused, cast an influence on the vegetation resulting in their stunted growth, as a result of which, it was difficult for the arboreal creatures to live on the trees and hence they descended on the ground. During this momentous change some of the older, bigger as well as conservative forms died out, while the more adaptive ones survived in the struggle for existence through natural selection. That was a time nearly 1,500,000 years ago.

As a result of the descent from the trees some noted changes were effected upon the body structure of those types of creatures. The body structure assumed a more or less erect position. So long the hands were the only means of locomotion. This function was gradually taken by feet after the descent from the trees. The hands also became shorter. In the evolutionary course the size of the teeth was reduced and the jaws became less powerful. This was an effect of dietary change. Leaving a herbivorous diet man took omnivorous diet. In the arboreal stage food was easily procurable from the forests but once on land the conditions were changed. This new terrestrial environment seemed to be singularly indifferent to these poor creatures. They had to search for food and as a result they became hunters. This also resulted in a gregarious habit and clan-feeling at a later stage. To guard against rigorous winter days and other enemies a communal life developed with mutual aid to fight against these common enemies. Among other changes the thumbs became opposable; the chin became prominent; brow-ridges became diminished and the brain increased in capacity and above all there developed an articulated speech.

The place of this important turnover was Central Asia because it was central for dispersion. Indirect evidence like evolution of the oldest civilisation near about it and the source of domestic animals also bear testimony to the assumption. The climatic condition in Pliocene was also inclement to compel the descent.

In the evolution of human civilization several

cultural stages have been recognised. The earliest stage is known as the Stone Age. Then came the Copper and Bronze Ages and then the Iron Age. The present may be called the Coal Electricity Age and a future Atomic Age is in view. In the Stone Age or Lithic period several sub-stages can be recognised. The earliest sub-stage has been named Eolithic period or the Dawn of Stone Age. The Stone implements used by ancient man have been named Eoliths. These artifacts are said to have been made by early man to be used in drilling, boring, etc. The Eolithic period is assigned to a Tertiary Age, i.e., Pre-Pleistocene.

According to Rutot of Belgium, the Eolithic culture can be divided into three sub-stages, namely: (i) Reutetian, (ii) Mesvinian, and (iii) Mafflian. This Eolithic industry of stone implements has been named Fagnian by Rutot. Some authorities think that the eoliths have been formed by natural agencies while some think these to have been made by semi-human creatures.

We owe to Sir Ray Lankester for creating another field of discussion and an approach to this point. He has proposed certain stone objects to represent human craftsmanship and has named them Rostrocarinates. These have been found from beds as early as Upper Miocene. According to Sollas, these simple laterally compressed implements "may be produced by chance blow." It arises whenever an elongated mass of flint, a nodule or a fragment already blocked out by joints is traversed by two surfaces of fracture which are inclined in opposite directions and converge so as to intersect along a line (carina). Hence, the name rostro-carinate for the objects. This industry has been named Icenian Industry. The preparation of such stone implements demands much intelligence and it is a question whether the Heidelberg man which we get in the next sub-stage, i.e., lower Palaeolithic period can show so much intelligence. Therefore, the eolithic evidence is vague and stands doubtful and with it the existence of Tertiary man is also vague. This much can be said that the existence of man in early Tertiary, i.e., in Eocene and in Oligocene is rather impossible, whereas in Miocene, it is doubtful and in Pliocene it is probable. The Tertiary creatures seem to be semi-human instead of being true-human.

I beg to be excused for a little digression which I propose to make for the semi-human creatures, without an account of which, I am afraid the subject will remain incomplete.

In the lower Oligocene rocks of Egypt the remains of an animal have been found which has been named Propithecus. This is believed to represent the ancestral stock of the gibbon, gorilla, chimpanzee and the man. This ape-like creature spread to Europe and in early Miocene gave rise to

Pliopithecus which is considered to be the ancestor of the gibbon. The *Pliopithecus* led to *Dryopithecus* in upper Miocene and lower Pliocene which represent the ancestral stage of chimpanzee, gorilla and man. It may be stated here that the Siwalik rocks in the foothill regions of the Himalayas have presented to the Palaeontologists a rich store of mammalian fossils including some interesting primates.

Remains of *Dryopithecus* have been found from the rocks of Lower and Middle Siwalik Age (Mid to Upper Miocene). Remains of some other specimens are there which include *Palaeosimia* (believed to be the ancestor of the gorilla). One interesting find is the *Sivapithecus* which is believed to be a marginal adaptation of the precursor of man. The recent finds, such as *Ramapithecus*, *Ravanapithecus*, *Sugriva-pithecus*, etc., add much to our knowledge. The teeth suggest a very close approach to human character. All these, however, are to be regarded as rather members of *Simiidae* (family of apes) than those of *Hominidae* (family of man).

In 1891, Eugene Dubois discovered from Trinil in Java, some remains of a creature, which has been named *Pithecanthropus erectus*. The name *Pithecanthropus* now was however proposed by Haeckel before its actual discovery. Hence the name *Pithecanthropus erectus*. It shows greater resemblance to man than to the ape. Its brain capacity was 850 cubic centimeter whereas it is 600 cubic centimeter in higher apes and 1,000 cubic centimeter in the case of primitive man. Its height was 5 ft. 6 inches. It is, however, regarded as an ape-man, an ape-like creature with some proximity towards some man-like characters.

Sinanthropus pekinensis is another similar find found at Chou-kou-tien near Peking in China. These two *Pithecanthropus erectus* and *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* flourished and died between Upper Pliocene and Lower Pleistocene.

Nearer approach to man is made by next finds. They include the remains from Heidelberg in Germany.

In 1911-12, Dawson discovered from Piltdown at Sussex in England some interesting remains which were later considered to be belonging to an oldest man like creature in Europe. It has been named *Eoanthropus* was estimated to be 1300 cubic centimeters. The jaw, however, shows some chimpanzee characters.

In 1908 at Mauer, near Heidelberg in Germany, Otto Shotensack found out a complete jaw which when restored by craniometric measurements led to the discovery of a nearer approach to man-like creatures. It has been named *Paleanthropus heidelbergensis*.

These two semi-human creatures—*Eoanthropus dawsoni* and *Paleanthropus heidelbergensis* were

living mostly on the river banks. Their artifacts are scattered in the gravel on river beds. These artifacts have been termed palaeoliths. The whole of the Pleistocene civilization has been called Palaeolithic culture. The Stone implements found in this period were mostly crude and there was very little craftsmanship in the earlier specimens. The culture of the *Paleanthropus heidelbergensis* and *Eoanthropus dawsoni* was of a lower palaeolithic age. This was river drift culture and the climate then was quite warm in interglacial period. The earliest culture is called Chellean from Chelles on the Somme in France. After that came the Acheulian Culture from St. Acheul in France. The Acheulian culture marked a positive advance towards better civilisation. The artifacts of this period were also finer.

The Narmada and the Godavari finds are associated with early Pliocene fauna. They are hand axes of undoubted vestiges of earliest Pliocene man in India.

The stone finds in the Kashmir region and in the N.-E. India by the Survey of DeTerra and Patterson of the Yale-Cambridge expedition in 1934-35 prove the existence of man from early Palaeolithic to late Neolithic times. Various types of hand axes were discovered by them in the Soan Valley area, so they have termed it as "Soan Culture" like the Chellean and the Acheulian cultures of Europe.

In 1940, Profs. N. K. Bose and D. Sen discovered over one thousand hand-axes from Kuliana in Mayurbhanj after excavating two pits. Celts are also found in the Ranchi district and one was also found in N.-E. Assam. In Karnul district in Madras one cave was excavated with Pliocene animal remains and possible traces of human habitation. Many stone implements, cave paintings, etc., are found in different parts of India, specially in Mirzapur, U.P. and in Singanpur, C.P. These prove ample evidence of human occupation in India from the Palaeolithic times. But unfortunately as no skeletal remains of man associated with these finds have so far been discovered, we are not in a position to form an idea of what type of man lived during this period.

Next stage in the evolutionary line of man was shown by the Neanderthal man, the remains of which was found at Dusseldorf in Germany in 1856. Similar remains have also been found from Gibraltar, France, Belgium and Austria on different occasions. They dwelt in caves as the climate was very cold at that time. They were savage-like people with a short stature and with a large brain cavity (1408 C. C. Cranial capacity). Their cultural stage has been named Mousterian from Le Moustier cave in the Vézère valley in France. The implements of the Mousterian culture showed greater craftsmanship. Neanderthal man was more intelligent. Ceremonial burial is betrayed from their remains. The Australian

type of head is like the Neanderthal in the region of forehead and nose.

After this, human remains in the form of a skull and other parts of the body were found at Broken Hill in Northern Rhodesia of South Africa, in 1921. This type has been named *Homo rhodesiensis* or Rhodesian man. They are nearer to the human ancestor than the Neanderthal man. They were more advanced in evolutionary line and had straight legs as in modern man instead of bent legs as in the Neanderthal type.

All along, these man-like creatures lived a savage life. They were naked. They had no domesticated animal. The later types especially the Neanderthal man knew how to kindle a fire, burnt charcoal has been found associated with their remains. This they did by striking flint pieces against each other. The stone elements were used mostly as scrapers, handaxes called *coup-de-poing*. These people were mostly hunters and they lived on the flesh of the animals which they killed. At first they ate raw flesh. Then they used fire for roasting flesh. Their hunting was also peculiar. They would drive a herd of wild animals from three sides and leave one precipitous side open. The animals would be compelled to jump from this steep side and would perish below. Then the primitive hunters would go there and would use their hand-made scrapers to scrape out the skin and cut flesh from the body.

After this came the Upper Palaeolithic age corresponding to the Upper Pleistocene. The early people who used to dwell in caves for the rigorous cold climate came out in the open air with the close of the Glacial climate. We are now approaching more and more to the true man. The Upper Palaeolithic culture is represented by three types, Cro-Magnon, Grimaldi and Chancelade.

The Cro-Magnon people were tall with a height of 6 ft. They had long arms and large brain capacity (cranial capacity 1800 C. C.) The modern Caucasian people are their descendants. The Grimaldi people were comparatively of lesser height 5 feet 4 inches. They had flat nose and out of them emerged the Negro type. Out of the Chancelade the Mongolians evolved or in other words it can be said that the Upper Palaeolithic, Cro-Magnon, Grimaldi and Chancelade races have definite affinities with the

three living varieties of mankind, viz., the Caucasian, the Negro and the Mongol and are termed *Homo*.

Culturally speaking the Mousterian culture was followed by the Aurignacian culture some 20,000 years ago. This culture was built up by the Cro-Magnon and Grimaldi people. The stone implements were finer and showed better craftsmanship. Ornaments in the form of beads and marine shells were used. Ornamentation, painting and sculpture had also been seen in some caves of France and Spain. Earlier paintings were made by charcoal whereas in later stages colouring matter, in the form of mineral pigments, was used.

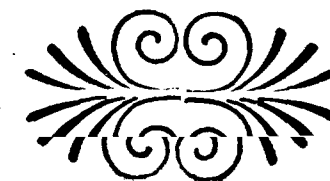
The Aurignacian culture was followed by Solutrean and Magdalenian cultures. In these cultures evidence of better craftsmanship, art, painting and sculpture are obtainable. Cattle, sheep and goats have been domesticated. Farming has also begun to be practised. This was a time nearly 10,000 years ago.

The *Homo sapiens* or the modern man has become established in the Upper Palaeolithic period. After this man has become acquainted with the use of metals and its alloys. The Stone Age is followed by a Copper Age. After this came the Bronze Age. This is followed by the Iron Age. At present we are living in an age of coal and electricity and a future atomic age can be seen in the horizon.

The cultural stages can be correlated to the standard stratigraphical scale like this :

Period	Culture	Years
Holocene	Iron Age	3,000 years ago
	Bronze Age	5,000 years ago
	Copper age	6,000 years ago
	Neolithic Age	10,000 years ago
Pleistocene	Mesolithic Age	15,000 years ago
	Palaeolithic	Upper.....
		Middle.....
		Lower.....

Period	PALAEOLITHIC PERIOD Human type	Years
Upper Palaeolithic	Cromagnon & Grimaldi Chancelade	20,000 years ago
Middle Palaeolithic	Neanderthal	60,000 to 150,000 years ago.
Lower Palaeolithic	Heidelberg	400,000 to 1,500,000 years ago





The two old buildings in which the work of the K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital was first started

K. S. RAY TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL, JADAVPUR

By CHINTAMONI BOSE

A life a minute! How appalling! Yet that is the heavy toll that tuberculosis takes in India. Right from the big cities like Calcutta and Bombay down to the remotest village, there is hardly any place which can be called immune from the clutches of this disease. The incalculable suffering it inflicts on individuals, their families and the nation as a whole demands that an all-out effort not merely of experts and social organisations but of the entire community should be made to successfully fight and eradicate this pestilence from the country.

The incidence of tuberculosis is alarmingly on the increase in West Bengal, more so in the city of Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial areas. It is said that there are 2,50,000 known cases of tuberculosis in West Bengal. The unknown cases must be surely ten times more. The mortality rate of this disease is also very high specially between the age group of 15 to 45. It takes away the youth during the best creative years of their lives, and makes the nation poorer day by day. The tragedy of the situation is more apparent, when it is known that tuberculosis is entirely a preventable disease, and in the continents of America and Europe the spread of the disease has been successfully checked with modern scientific developments in treatment.

In India, on the contrary, this disease is spreading more and more and though the people are gradually waking up to the realities of the situation,

and are at last realizing that the building up of a united tuberculosis front is as much the concern of the people as that of their government, the progress in this direction has been painfully slow. It is gratifying to note, however, that the life-long services of a few pioneers in the field have at last been appreciated and the people are coming forward to fulfil the mission left unfinished by them.

One of the few pioneers in the field who dedicated the whole of his life, for eradicating this curse from Bengal, was the late Dr. Kumud Sankar Ray, one of the founders of the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital (re-named as the K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital after his death in 1950).

Born with a silver spoon in his mouth in a highly enlightened zeminder family of Calcutta and East Bengal, young Kumud Sankar received his early education in Calcutta and proceeded to Europe for higher education. He joined the University of Edinburgh and took his B.Sc. and M.A. and began studying medicine. He passed the M.B. from the same University and having obtained the M.B., C.H.B. degree qualified himself as a surgeon. A very bright career lay open before him. He could come back to Calcutta and easily build up a roaring practice and in a few years roll in wealth and occupy the foremost position among the elites of the city. But Providence had shaped him for higher purposes and instead of coming back to Calcutta, armed with

K. S. RAY TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL, JADAVPUR

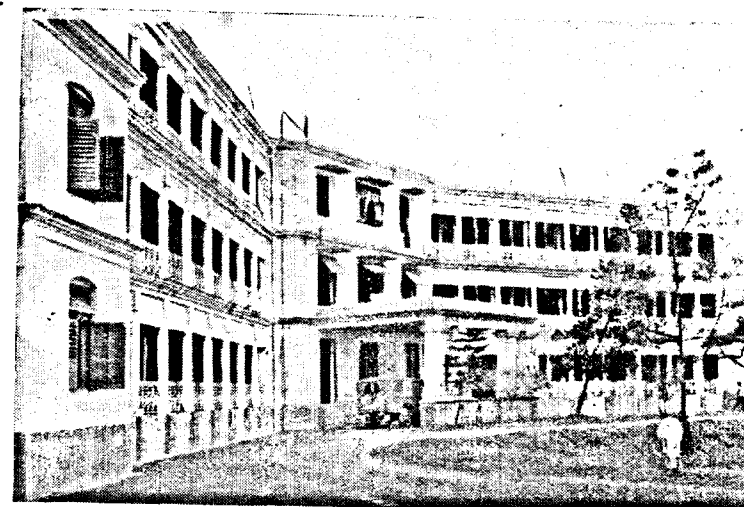
131

a high foreign degree, with the sole object of earning money, he took a course of action which determined the future course of his life. With the prophetic vision of a seer, he saw the imminent danger of tuberculosis that the country was faced with and

even his near and dear ones neglected him and shunned his company, and this cut him to the very depth of his young and sensitive heart. Throughout his long and acute suffering, he deeply felt of this cruel injustice meted out to an unfortunate tuber-

cular patient and determined to root it out. But it was not for him to see his long-cherished wish fulfilled. With all their efforts the physicians could not save this precious life and he succumbed to this disease, but before his death he bequeathed by will, all his property, nearly two lakhs of rupees, and some land to a Board of Trustees, consisting of Acharya P. C. Ray, Dr. B. C. Roy and Sri B. K. Ghosh, Bar-at-Law, to start a Tuberculosis Hospital in Bengal.

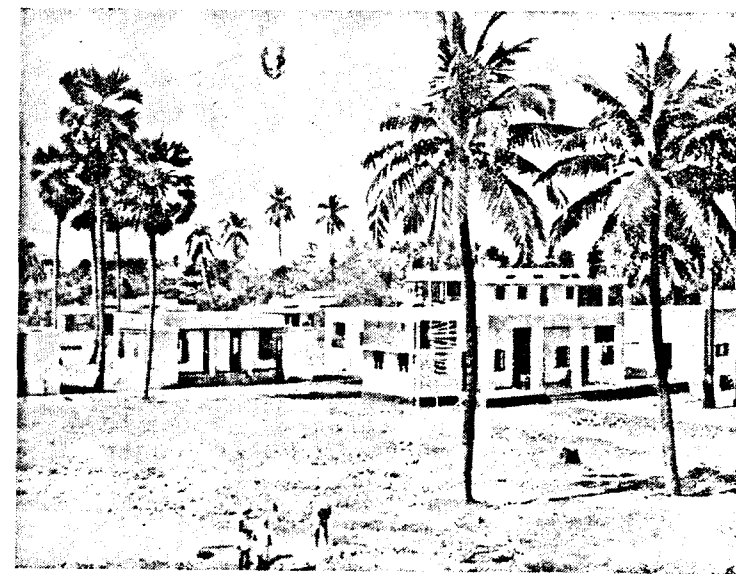
Provas Chandra had entrusted his property in worthy hands and the trustees did not neglect the sacred trust laid upon them. In the year 1923, the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital was started with only four beds and young Dr. K. S. Ray was placed



K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital Building, Jadavpur

determined to fight it out. To equip himself in this struggle he joined the Ochilhill Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Scotland as the Resident Medical Officer and after a few years, during the World War I, became its Superintendent.

After the war, Kumud Sankar returned to Calcutta. The idea of starting a Tuberculosis Sanatorium and through it to launch an attack against tuberculosis was foremost in his mind. But it was difficult to begin work, particularly in a society ignorant and apathetic and the most serious obstacle was the necessary funds. But he had not to wait for long. A heaven-born opportunity came of itself. Provas Chandra Ghosh, a young medical student and son of a well-known rich medical man of Calcutta, had been suffering from tuberculosis and young Kumud Sankar, along with Dr. B. C. Roy, was entrusted with his treatment. Tuberculosis was at that time, and to a certain extent still is, considered a social stigma in our country and the patient along with his family is subjected to social boycott. Though rich, young Provas Chandra was no exception to this social injustice. Friends left him, relations avoided him,



A view of the K. S. Ray T. B. Hospital, Jadavpur

in charge of it, as Hony. Secretary and Superintendent.

Bengal had no tuberculosis hospital at that time and there was hardly any provision for the admission and treatment of tubercular patients in the few general hospitals. As a result the poor victims to this disease had no other alternative but to suffer

and wait, neglected by society and deserted by friends and family, till death relieved them of all their sufferings and sorrows. Proper treatment was not available and as society was hopelessly ignorant about the very a, b, c of nursing, the disease rapidly spread among the rich and the poor alike and in a few years created an alarming situation in the country. Just at this time the hospital was started.



Dr. Kumudsankar Ray

The trustees and the hospital authorities very soon realized what a difficult task they had undertaken, for though tuberculosis was dreaded more than death, there was hardly any sympathetic response from the people. Instead of coming forward to help this infant institution, people stood against it. This was evident when the trustees after examining many different places, selected the present site, a large section of the people, educated and influential, vehemently opposed the scheme.

Jadavpur at that time was not what it is today. It was a low marshy land, full of jungles and filthy ponds and was an ideal breeding ground for

mosquitoes. The ignorant public had an idea, long since exploded, that tuberculosis cannot be cured except in a healthy climate, a so-called Sanatorium or health resort. Bengal is particularly unfortunate in having very few such healthy places and it was not also possible for thousands of Bengali patients to travel to a healthy distant province for their treatment. The establishment of the hospital within the province itself, had made it convenient particularly for patients from the poor and middle class community to avail themselves of the opportunity of coming under modern scientific hospital treatment.

The hospital was started and a small building was constructed but the difficulties did not end there. Tuberculosis was at that time looked upon as a social stigma and not only lay men but even physicians had an unreasonable dread of it. So at the beginning the authorities experienced great difficulties in running the hospital for want of doctors and attendants. Doctors came and went and as trained nurses were not available, untrained people had to be engaged for attending upon the patients. These people dreaded the disease so much that many of them often fled from their jobs for fear of infection. Amidst all these initial difficulties, Kumud Sankar stood unmoved. His courage, sincerity of purpose and selfless devotion to the cause slowly influenced a small group of physicians and nurses, who now gathered round him and decided to stick to their posts. The problem of suitable staff for efficiently running the hospital was thus gradually solved.

But there were other difficulties. The hospital was started with a very small beginning as the money available did not permit of a bigger enterprise. But soon the trustees felt the need of enlarging the hospital and shortly afterwards another small building was added. But for want of lands the hospital could not be enlarged and lands could not be acquired except without government help. But the foreign bureaucratic government of that time was quite indifferent and apathetic and there was hardly any public agitation to force the government undertake the work. The Calcutta Medical Aid and Research Society which had been formed by the trustees a few months after the hospital had been started, tried to attract public sympathy and support towards this humanitarian work through various ways, till their efforts attracted some amount of public attention and sympathy and the matter could no longer be ignored by the government. The government at last had to come forward and it was in the year 1929, six long years after the hospital had been started, that the Government of Bengal sanctioned a capital grant of rupees one lakh for the construction of the hospital building and for acquisition of land. The Corporation of Calcutta was the next to come forward with a substantial help. Encouraged by the grants

from the Government and the Corporation, several public bodies like the Calcutta Port Trust, the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, the I.F.A. and

deplorable. Due to non-availability of seats, thousands of applicants are forced to remain on the waiting list for years, thus minimizing the chances



A lady patient, Sm. Ashalata Das

many other organisations contributed substantially towards the development of the institution. Apart from these, many benevolent rich people made individual donations and a considerable amount of public subscriptions was collected by the society, and in this way the 32 wards, cottages, temporary sheds, amounting to 527 beds, grew up making the hospital the biggest and one of the best tuberculosis hospitals in the East. Of these 527 beds, more than 300 are free beds and the rest are paying. The majority of the free beds are maintained by the Government of Bengal, the Calcutta Corporation, the Port Commissioners, the Indian Red Cross and the Railways. The Government of India has also made provision for 50 refugee beds.

West Bengal has 2,000 beds for tuberculosis patients whereas the number of known cases of the disease exceeds 250,000. The situation is really



Laboratory. Microscopical examination

of their recovery and with the full danger of infecting others at home and outside.

Tuberculosis is altogether a preventable disease and though prevention is always better than cure, it is certainly curable under favourable circumstances. With the wonderful modern developments in surgery and the application of anti-biotics like Streptomycin and the recently discovered drugs like P.A.S., Iso-Niazod, etc., the disease now can be easily



Operation Theatre with up-to-date Operation Table

checked and cured and the percentage of cure in this hospital can favourably be compared with other hospitals in India and abroad.

The K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital is one of the oldest and one of the best hospitals in India. Unlike many hospitals in India there is no provincial or other discrimination and, patients suffering from

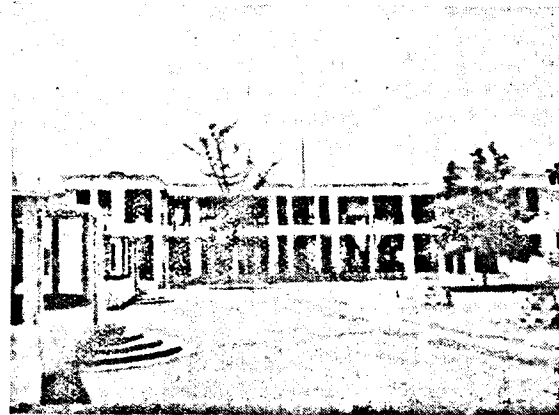
tuberculosis of any race, community, age or sex are eligible for admission.

The hospital has its own laboratory, X-ray plant, and a well-equipped operation theatre where all modern operations for the disease are done by



In the Operation Theatre a lady patient is being chloroformed before operation

experts. Lobectomy or the complete or partial removal of the affected part of the lung had not so far been attempted here. It is to learn this new method of operation so as to apply it to the benefit of patients here, that the late Dr. K. S. Ray himself went to Vellore and met an untimely death. The death of this noble soul has been an irreparable loss to the hospital and for a few years this operation

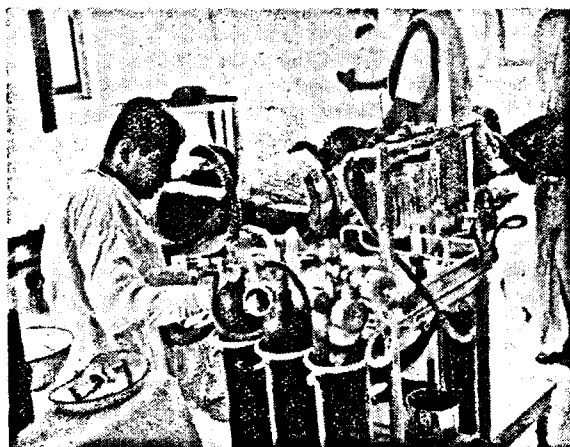


K. P. M. Ward, Tuberculosis Hospital

could not be attempted here. But the trusted followers, that the late Dr. K. S. Ray left, have fulfilled their leader's unfinished work and this operation has recently been carried out here, the first successful operation of this type by an Indian surgeon in Bengal.

The hospital has its own underground drainage, sewage pumping and purification plants, and other necessary sanitary arrangements. The new water supply arrangement with a central water-tower, 73 ft. high with a capacity of 40,000 gallons with water pipe connections to the various wards, has removed a long-standing want of the inmates. The hospital has its own steam laundry, where bleaching and washing of the clothes of the patients and the staff are done.

Thus from a very small beginning consisting only of four beds the hospital has, within the last thirty years, developed into the biggest hospital of its kind. But the authorities are still finding it impossible to meet the growing demands from the people. To cope with this, a small out-door department was opened in 1950 in a room attached to one of the wards. As the number of patients seeking treatment rapidly increased, the out-door department was shifted to a portion of



A patient is under operation. Blood is being infused into the patient's body through a tube

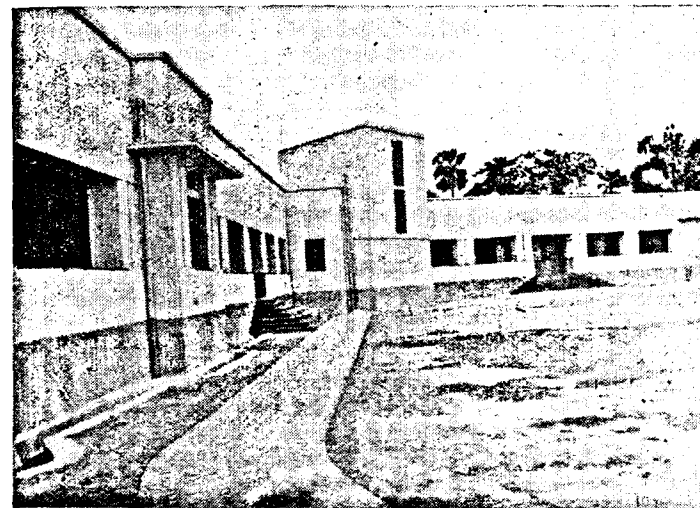
the new building with an improved accommodation of two rooms. But this also falls far short of the requirement of the huge number of patients. A new separate building, with necessary equipments and appliances is urgently needed for this department. This will approximately cost a lakh of rupees and the hospital is waiting for a generous donation from a philanthropist, after whom the out-door department may fitly be named.

The problem of accommodation is still far from being solved. Though quarters have been built for the resident staff, nurses and ward-workers including the sweepers and the medical staff, these are quite inadequate and require immediate additions and improvements. Another most urgent requirement for the hospital is a suitable hall for the recreation of the patients. In the modern treatment of tuberculosis much importance is given to Diversional Therapy.

Physical rest and mental recreation are indispensable be procured to sufficiently meet the demands of such for the successful treatment of tuberculosis and to a large number of patients. Several public bodies and provide some recreation for the ailing patients a hall libraries have from time to time contributed books

and magazines to the library but it is still insufficient to meet the demands. The patients expect that sympathetic authors and publishers all over Calcutta would not lag behind and help making the library rich with their works and publication, and thus help the patients to enliven the dull dreary days of their suffering.

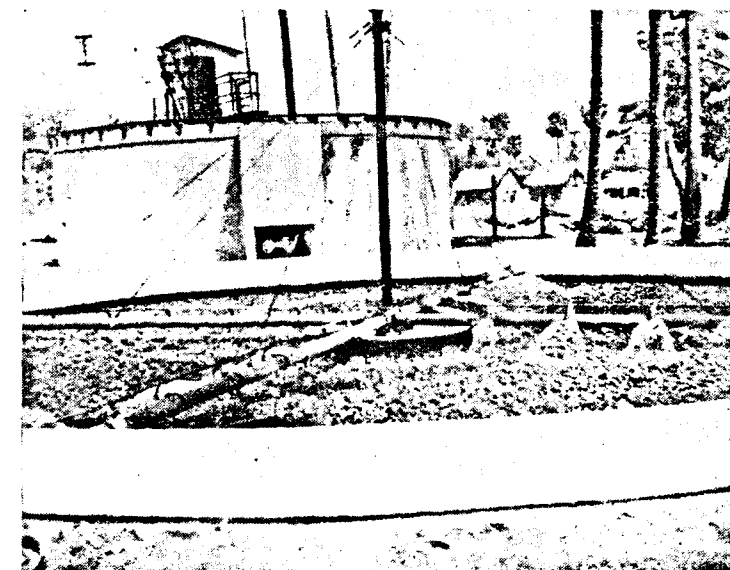
Thus much has been done, yet many things remain undone. The hospital has a vast area and there is ample land in the premises of the hospital for addition of further blocks of wards if necessary funds are available from the sympathetic public. A thousand-bedded modern hospital with all latest scientific arrangements for the treatment of tuberculosis and all amenities for the patients was the dream of the



Kamala Nehru Block. Built in 1951. T. B. Hospital, Jadavpur

where arrangement for light indoor games, cinema shows, socials, lectures and other functions for the benefit and recreation of the patients, can be made, is a long-standing need for the hospital. The hospital authorities and the suffering patients are eagerly looking forward for the day when some generous philanthropist would come forward and help the hospital in erecting a suitable hall for this purpose.

Though proper arrangement for the recreation of the patients is not possible without suitable accommodation, the authorities are somehow doing their best in this direction. There is a patients' recreation club in the hospital maintained and managed by the patients themselves, and to provide recreation for the patients arrangements have been made for indoor games like cards, carrom, chess, ludo, etc., in the various wards. There are a few radios to provide enjoyment for the patients. There is a small library which is entirely managed by the patients, but for want of funds an adequate number of books could not



Sewage purification plant. From here the purified liquid passes into a large protected jheel

late Dr. K. S. Ray, and if Bengal has to successfully fight out one of the greatest menaces that is eating into the vitals of the people, the public must come forward and help fulfilling the dream.



A super Piper-Cub spraying Aldrin over an infested area somewhere in Rajasthan

WIDESPREAD LOCUST BREEDING

London Centre Surveys Position in India and Middle East

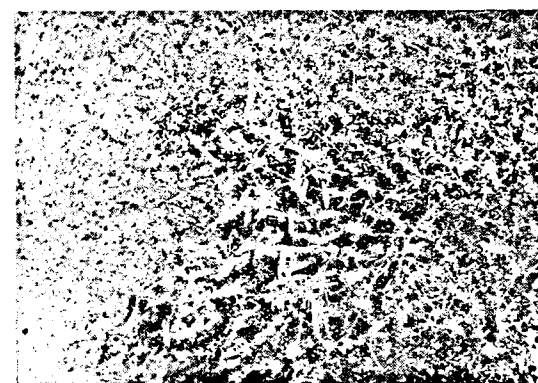
BREEDING by desert locusts, which has recently been on a considerable scale in India and Pakistan, is likely to continue for another two months, says the latest situation summary issued by the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London.



A sandy hill, which is an ideal place for locusts to lay eggs on

In July, the summary notes, the movement of swarms in Pakistan was mainly eastwards towards the rainfall areas in Sind, Bahawalpur, Punjab (Pakistan), and India. These swarms were maturing or mature, and egg-laying took place in the Las Bela and Karachi areas and in Sind, where hoppers began to appear in the first half of the month.

In India, swarms were reported in Rajasthan, Punjab, PEPSU, Ajmer, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and north-eastern Madhya Pradesh. In the desert and cultivated areas of Rajasthan, in Punjab (India), PEPSU, Ajmer, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh there was egg-laying on



During early morning and late evening hours, locusts on the ground—hoppers, adults with freshly-acquired wings or fliers—become inactive and retire in thick clusters in bushes and wild grasses

an extensive scale, and the hatching that began in Jaisalmer in mid-July soon spread through all the infested areas. "Further layings and hatchings are likely to take place in the next two months in Pakistan and India," says the summary.

Forecasting further breeding in the summer-rains belt

of French Equatorial and West Africa, the summary says that more hatchings and layings are likely in northern and eastern Ethiopia, western British Somaliland and South-western Arabia.

According to late reports, mature swarms from the south reached south-east Turkey early in May; and by June 8 there was fairly widespread egg-laying along the Euphrates. Hatchings began in mid-May, and control

operations were continued until early July. Iraq's control campaign ended on July 28; earlier in the month, hatchings were reported in northern Mosul. In Afghanistan, egg deposits in some parts of the country were destroyed in June, and a mature swarm was seen in Kandahar in late June and some immature swarms in early July. In Persia, swarms were seen in June and July.

Numerous maturing and mature swarms were reported in Western Aden Protectorate throughout July. In the second half of the month, hoppers were seen west of Aden, and in early August there were heavy hatchings in some areas. In Eastern Aden Protectorate some swarms were reported in July, and at the end of the month and early in August there was heavy hopper infestation.—BIS

September 1953.

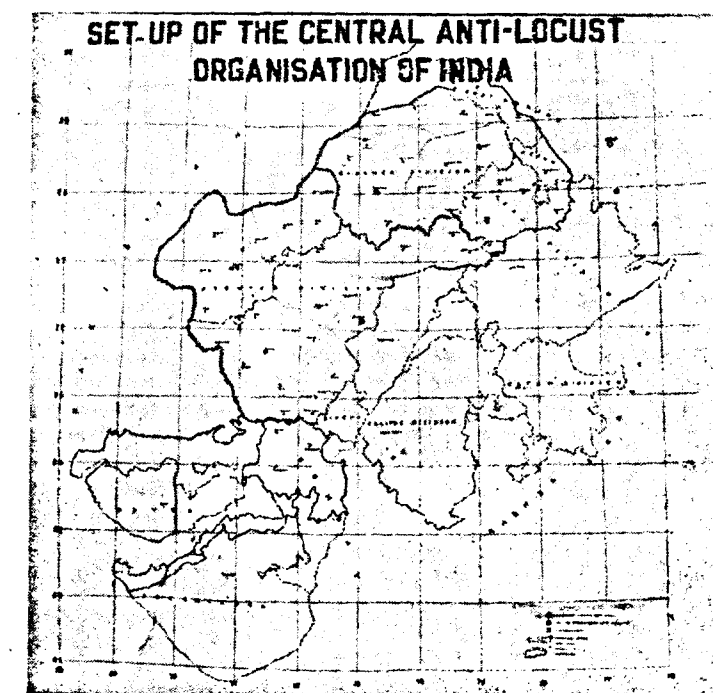


(Left) A winged adult, soon after shedding its skin in the last hopper stage. (Right) A hopper in one of its molting stages

SITUATION REVIEWED

Surveying the situation in various countries, the Research Centre reports that in Western Africa desert locust swarms have spread westwards to Mauritania, French West Africa; and, breeding, whose full extent is not known, is taking place in the territory of Chad, French Equatorial Africa. Nigeria was reported clear, as were Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Egypt. With the exception of immature swarms near Dier ez Zor, the whole of Syria was free in July, while Jordan and Israel were presumed clear. Kuwait and Oman were free in July, but in the latter country a thin swarm was seen on August 2.

Following the heavy rains of July, there were numerous reports of immature and mature swarms in some areas of Ethiopia, and there was extensive laying in late-July/early-August in these areas and in the sub-coastal and coastal areas of Eritrea. Layings were also reported in north-east Eritrea near the Sudan boundary and in some parts of the Sudan.



The map shows the division of the Desert-breeding areas into Eastern, Central and Western Circles

ART AS A MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

By DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

I

EVERY variety of earned livelihood is the reward of a struggle which ends in the pursuit of self-preservation. The process involved in this regard is that of a business, pure and simple. The artist cannot escape from this necessity if he were to live by his own earnings. Therefore he has to sell his pictures for a return to keep going.

The usual practice with the purchaser of our concern, leaving out a few exceptions, is to set mind on maximum gain at minimum cost. This is successfully effected by the gentle art of pitying the needy. The procedure in vogue is very simple and well-considered. The paymaster pats the artists with a patronizing spirit and gets him round to accept a sensible advice. The sympathy broadly hints at lowering the figure of the price to suit the convenience of the buyer. The adviser is privileged to make such reasonable adjustment because he solemnly believes that he is the sole custodian of high principles that protect people from going wrong; as such he is obliged to implement the guiding points to prevent others from being imposed upon by the artist. The responsibility thus discouraged incidentally serves as a lesson to the artist also to realise his own worth. The knowledge had to be thrust upon the artist to get rid of the conceit, otherwise a promising career would be ruined. This is how the conscience of the adviser is kept clear, and the artist is saved from a ruinous end.

The amazing effect of the performance is that good counsel prevails without encountering any disagreement. The artist readily yields to the generous offer by presenting a very happy appearance as a result of the bargain. But one who is in the know of things will say, what is observed on the surface is not true. The expression worn is a mask. It is used to hide a stream of tears which has been drawn out by the current of many a disappointment. In short, the self-deception is a desperate challenge to his own lot.

Despite the presence of all these depressing factors the artist has one consolation to his credit and that is, he does not feel the pangs of hunger as much as an average man with good appetite does, since the ailment of the stomach has gone chronic and the pain has become quite bearable due to his accommodating habits.

The business as I have described is dependent on a demand created by the needs of interested parties, namely, the buyer and the seller. But in the present case the need is confined to one side. It is that of the artist, who keeps himself occupied without having a prospective buyer in view. He cannot help painting because he is practically haunted by an irresistible force to give vent to an expression which demands an immediate release. It is all due to the fits of inspiration which, some wise men think, is a disorder of the mental faculty.

Placed as he is, he cannot afford to look for security, that would provide him with an appropriate return as

any other businessman does, to safeguard his interest. So the assessment of the monetary value of his words is left to the mercy of those who evade proper payment but yet they are recognised as connoisseurs, patrons and so on. It is needless to add that the connoisseur, endowed with the essential quality to support the cause of art, is a rare being in our country. Those, we are familiar with, are in most cases made to order by force of circumstances as distinct from products of true culture or inner consciousness. Hence it is evident that the motivating element behind the patronage is vanity and not appreciation as it should be. Eventually the acquisition of an object of art serves as a symbol of status rather than as evidence of the owner's taste. It is a thing possessed under obligation to follow a cultural drive, rather an indispensable fashion of the time.

One may be curious to inquire, has the artist not a sense of honour to rise against the treatment he receives for no fault of his own? Of course, he has. In fact he is no less sensitive when hurt than any other honourable being. But how to drive the fact home and claim a recognition in society where everybody seems to be wiser than the artist and each individual is too keen to maintain his dignity that stands for domination? Considering the queer position, can the artist dare to reveal his bleeding heart for justice, and even if he were bold enough to take a risk would one care to listen to the most formidable enemy of simple life? Is he not regarded as the accomplished seducer of innocent victims who succumb to the glamour of his art that produces nothing else but accessories of luxury? Does he not freely use these objects for a propaganda to excite sensuous inclinations? The success in this direction is so wide that even holy places have not been spared from his unabashed assaults. Quite a number of temple sculptures in stone bear the records of such awful deeds. The serene atmosphere of the holy places has been subjected to pollution by the erotic message of the artist. The creations which convey the message, though old in age, yet are uncomfortably fresh and virile. The qualities had been preconceived with a deliberate motive to defy the onslaughts of time and destroy all the principles of high ethics.

The pious naturally get perturbed when they come in direct contact with these hard rocks transformed into soft human flesh and that too of the full-fledged youth of the fair sex. The attraction behind the enchanting contours of their shapely figures is so great that even the pious find it difficult to resist the desire to throw a fleeting glance at the unholy sight, but to their surprise and misfortune the glance soon gets riveted on the spot to make them realise that they are no less susceptible to the reaction of the forbidden acts than any common man. So the holy men get themselves entrapped into confession that a sincere message of the artist tells nothing else but truth, which must be acknowledged. Having the sanction from the saintly persons we may safely proceed

ART AS A MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

139

to confirm that the response is neither a sin nor a crime but an obedience to the law of nature.

This is one aspect of human emotion. Similarly there are other emotions and the devotional is one of them. We shall do well to make a note that all different emotions function under certain provocations and the effect in each case is conditioned by environmental influences in keeping with the temperament and sensitive quality of the individual. Therefore, however powerful a man-made religion or code of morals might be, it would be powerless against a greater force to which the individual is apt to surrender on account of his susceptible temperament. Let us conclude from this, that the values of all emotions are just the same in the realm of art because they only serve to be the means and not the end. The end is the consolidation of the total effect, that is to say how the goal is achieved, a form of beauty made.

Now let us come back to the business side and see how the artist fares in his profession to meet the demands of modern times and solves his problems of a steady income. The only place that offers prospect of entertaining such a hope is a commercial firm which utilises the services of the artist for a lucrative return.

II

To fit in with the objective of the business, the artist has to go through a rigid course of discipline which ultimately makes him a mere machine. The arrangement in this direction places the employer in a position of vantage to secure a calculated profit because the machine does not feel but it works in obedience without exhaustion or protest. Thus volumes of popular art are reproduced in no time and at a very low cost. This is manipulated by the skill of the artist in co-operation with the business brain of one who knows how to exploit. In the circumstances the expectation of profit would have been a failure if the artist were allowed a freedom of thought or permitted to wait for the mood which never comes unless he is kicked. The artist can take the kick and rise equal to the occasion, by setting an exemplary power of self-control. He simply refuses to violate the conditions of his contract which gave him a chance to linger and bear the burden of life. So art is made to cater to popular taste at the cost of the artist's soul. Here I must add that all tastes are created and then they are acquired either by close association or by the pressure of fashion or exploitation. So one can see what this popular taste means, and where it may lead to.

This is not the full story of the artist's plight. There again is the ill-informed critic who is gifted with strong likes and dislikes and they function extraordinarily well when the critic attends to the call of vindication. The weapons used for this noble cause are his own convictions which are based on fancies simulated by some prevailing fashion. The convictions are driven home to make the innocent believe that the critic can do no wrong once his views have

been recorded in print, so his verdict stands for ever, though the assets which make bold for such assertion might verge on profound ignorance. However, this little drawback does not undermine the position of his authority, since his articles are in demand to fill up special columns, strictly reserved for cultural issues. The editors do not as a rule interfere with the contents so long as they have the quality of abstruseness and the same is veiled in obscurity of language, with the result, indiscriminate comments are invited either to boost one artist to dizzy heights or condemn the other to humility for the simple reason that the latter would not surrender to the views of the critic.



Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

One can well imagine the consequences of such attitude when vindictive comments are made effective. It may be disastrous enough to lead a really good artist to frustration from which he might never recover. The inclination in favour of reckless comment therefore defeats the purpose of honest criticism, which stands for constructive work and not destruction as is often practised to settle differences of personal opinions in private life.

Summing up the whole situation, we may conclude that the life of an artist is not always that of a dreamer as is assumed. On the contrary, he is as much under the crushing wheels of stern realities as any common man is. The only difference between the commoner and the creative artist is that no amount of good lessons can persuade the latter to give up struggle in pursuit of art

and take up another profession as a commoner would.

He is indeed a strange phenomenon because to him there is no such thing as a lasting satisfaction which comes as a result of an achievement. By temperament he simply cannot dwell on one success, he is ever restless, ever searching for new forms of beauty to interpret their aesthetic appeals through an approach different from what has already been done. In short, struggle itself fights shy to test his patience which happens to be the main reservoir of his energy, the capital which helps him to work against odds. But every capital is liable to exhaustion if it is drained without recouping the loss.

Patience too has its limits, and the limit is reached when the artist fails to compromise with the physical hunger that renders him helpless to fight against his own will, with the result that he succumbs to the strain and resigns from his mission. So one artist is lost, likewise it is quite possible that full many a talent of great promise must have perished on account of the oppression enforced by wrong ideas of values.

The only remedy to save the situation from further deterioration lies in the liberation of the mind which has been frozen by don'ts of rigid conventions. The convention might have served some good purposes in the remote past, but they have ceased to function today since there is a world of difference between that life and the life we live in our present environment.

The process of evolution or the warmth of life that seeks harmony through toleration and adjustments means nothing to the followers of the convention, for the simple reason that their blood has become cold, as cold as fossils buried for ages under masses of ice. Therefore they can be classed as mobile carcasses who exist for life negation only by preaching the ideals of self-denial, simplicity and so on, of course without knowing the commitments involved in these great pursuits.

Self-denial might have a lofty ideal as its basis but in practical use it betrays its own cause for the simple reason that the dead associated with the denial has no negative function to its credit. This could be substantiated by the fact that every deed has an objective to fulfil and the fulfilment awards a satisfaction which is nothing else but a return of the dividend. This is a contradiction to the meaning of denial which is an act of negation, therefore it must be devoid of any return. In the circumstances we shall have to be content with such consolation as a self-betrayal can give.

Similarly the idea of simplicity is enwrapped by illusion. It must have been gathered to distract people from indulging in extravagance; but to our misfortune the misinterpretation of the meaning has gradually settled to the belief that discouragements of all physical comforts satisfied the end of the ideal. It is a wrong conclusion because comfort is as much relative in its

practical application as is the varying quality of simplicity which is determined by an individual according to his leaning and upbringing. The standard of comfort also differs according to different stations of life. If it did not, then a beggar in torn rags would have been acclaimed as the simplest man living on earth. But we do not draw attention of the people to behold the beggar and make a hero out of him, because he wears minimum of clothes, and is unmindful of their rotten condition. But the fact is the poor man had no choice to seek better clothes than what he had on, though he had all the desire to do so if that were possible. So it is a case of utter poverty and not simplicity.

Simplicity in its true form is the result of overcoming great complications. It is an adjustment of a situation that eliminates the discord created by a crowd of jarring elements. This cannot be achieved unless the heart echoes to the call of a higher existence which does not necessarily mean discarding physical comforts.

In the circumstances, it would not be a folly to live for a fuller life by having the benefit of the best that the good earth can give and the man can achieve by his intelligence which helps to interpret human emotions that vitally concern you and me.

That is our wishful thinking. But it may not be feasible because the misused ideals have developed into a mental disease. It is infested with contagious elements. It is ever alert to spread like wild fire. It is an undesirable current no doubt, but it can be checked before it assumes an alarming stage. The only check that can render a reliable service is the right type of education, particularly at home.

I am glad to say that the thinkers are not behind the needs of the time. The Government and a few lovers of art are doing their best to help the artist in every way they can. But it is not possible for any Government or a few lovers of art to pay all their attention to one particular faculty only or relieve each and every individual of his struggle by a regular supply of commissions.

Therefore it is the duty of the public to see that the contributions to art which add to the national cultural wealth do not fade away for reasons I have already mentioned.

I have tried to survey in my talk the problems, the artist has to face for a means of livelihood. I must admit, I have failed miserably to find a way out under the present conditions, but I shall feel happy if I have succeeded in drawing enough attention of my listeners to think for a while about what I have said after my voice is heard no more. *

Courtesy : All India Radio

* Broadcast from the Vijayawada Station of All-India Radio on December 14 and 23, 1953.

THE CITY OF CALCUTTA AND THE NEW ALIGNMENT

By PROF. P. C. CHAKRAVERTY, M.Sc., F.R.G.S. (Lond.)

IN 1690, Job Charnock and his men selected the present Dalhousie area for their residence. This selection was based on several factors. Of those factors sanitation, hygienic condition and the strategic position of the place might have been first considered. Englishmen were at that time almost strangers in the land. Besides, they had to face other peoples of Europe in this Hooghly basin.

The place so selected turned in course of time into an important residential quarter of the Europeans. It should be remembered that the then Dalhousie tank was the only source for the supply of drinking water to the settlers of that area.

As years rolled by, the whole area was turned into a commercial centre having residential quarters only here and there. The development of commerce and industry in the suburbs demanded an expansion of the city. Residential quarters gradually shifted to the periphery. At that time the people of Britain and of other European countries used to settle in spacious areas having better amenities of life. But they would always put up in areas which were not far from the places of defence, i.e., Fort William and the Police Headquarters. It is for this reason that the best part of the city is now occupied by buildings meant for commercial activities. For thousands of people the Dalhousie area is at present the vital region for earning their bread and butter. This also explains how in week days during office-hours there is a great pressure of traffic on the various means of communication. This is why all routes converge to the Dalhousie area.

With India's attainment of independence the situation has changed. In an independent State of the Indian Union, foreign principles must not be rigidly followed in determining the alignment and the settlement pattern of a metropolis. It is high time that the old views are changed and new ideas and features are introduced for the prosperity and health of the people of the country.

At present population in the city of Calcutta has tremendously increased and this has caused an enormous pressure on the city life. The spectacular feature is that thoroughfares of all types remain greatly congested during office-hours especially at the time of opening and closing of offices. Besides, the population which is ever on the increase demands occupations of various types. The people are housed in ill-ventilated shelters. Commercial activities have also increased in volume and multiplied. All these

have become a great problem for the maintenance of a healthy atmosphere in the daily life of the city.

The Government is conscious of the present drawbacks in the city and is eager to find out ways and means in order to relieve the pressure on various activities of the city life. At present the Government intends to solve the housing problem by increasing the total area of the city. This will become effective by reclaiming the area of the salt lake which lies in the eastern part of the city.

It may be remarked here that the circular canal which lies to the east of Manicktola and Shambazar and to the north of Baghbazar may be improved first. It may be recalled that one end of this canal is linked to the Hooghly river while the other end reaches the Vidyadhari river in the east. This canal is also navigable.

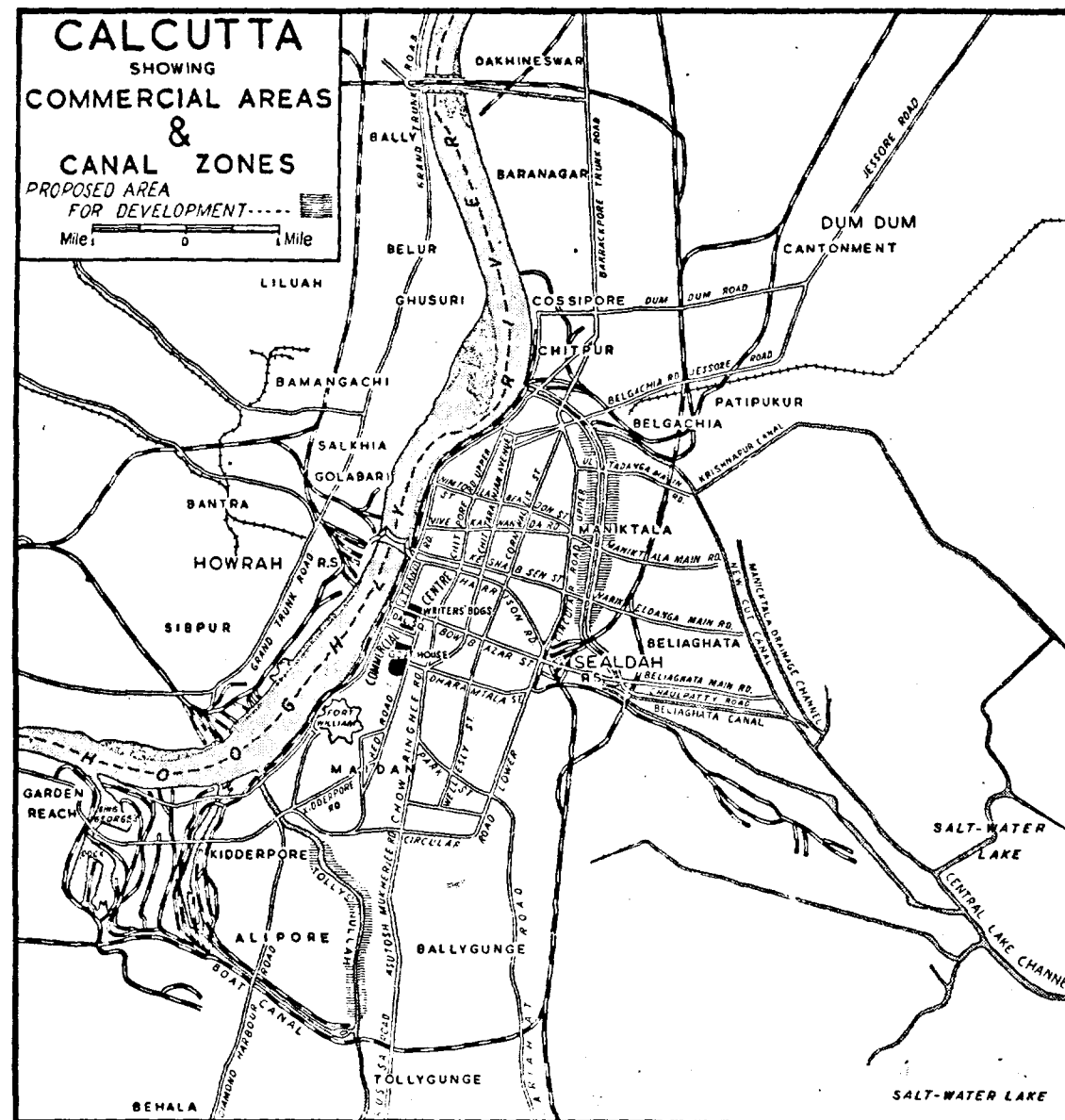
At present the two banks of the canal are occupied mainly by godowns for merchandise and jute and warehouses for timber. It may be suggested here that both the banks of the canal may be easily utilised for the construction of buildings in order to accommodate mercantile firms and the Government offices which are today occupying the healthy area of the city. The facilities to be derived for this change of site are many.

Firstly, the canal area is more spacious and the offices of all categories may be housed with their necessary requirements.

Secondly, the alignment of the buildings along the two banks of the canal will create a beautiful scene.

Thirdly, this area will then enjoy better facilities for transport. Inland waterways and the overland routes will carry passengers as well as the goods traffic. Railways can easily reach the commercial centres and this area, as the railway lines may proceed from the Sealdah station along the canal to the Chitpur yard. On the two banks of the canal omnibuses and automobiles will ply up and down. This will surely relieve the pressure of traffic by roadways.

Fourthly, the traffic routes in the city area may altogether be changed. There may be two Trunk routes linking the extreme ends of the city. Those routes may be maintained along the present Circular and the Strand roads. It may be incidentally mentioned here that these two Trunk roads will surely cause a decrease in the number of road-accidents. Again, both banks of the canal may be utilised for the betterment of transport. In short, the pre-



sent Dalhousie Square will then be the nodal point wherefrom routes will rather diverge to the Trunk roads lying at the extreme ends of the city and also to roads in the canal zone. The present Dalhousie area with the adjacent Chowringhee and the maidan regions will be converted into a healthy place where residential quarters, recreation grounds, swimming pools, play-grounds, educational institutions and hospitals will bring in a new atmosphere and change the face of the area. It may further be added that under the present political condition there is very little reason to have the fort in the neighbourhood of the Hooghly basin. This fort may be shifted to

any other suitable area in the east, which is strategically more important for the maintenance of law and order on the border. In that case, the whole area lying west of the Red Road and the Kidderpore Road may be converted into an important residential centre in the midst of which the Governor's house will diffuse moral inspiration to the neighbouring quarters. It will then be clear how this newly developed residential quarter of the city will be well communicated by the Port Trust Railway on a slight modification of the canal zone where industry and commerce will progress simultaneously.

Fifthly, the new commercially developed area in

the Circular Canal Zone will stimulate the development of the eastern part of the city.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that this sort of new adjustment in the settlement pattern in the city of Calcutta will give ample scope for the housing of the increasing population on modern lines. There the greater part of the site for habitation will be provided with better sanitation and hygienic conditions. In addition, the entire canal area will assume a better aspect for the architectural development. It will establish better transport communication with the inland areas. It may be further stated that in commercial centres people stay in the daytime while they pass the night in their houses. It becomes obvious that people must be housed at night in a more healthy area for the harmonious develop-

ment of their body and mind. It may be said that the people of Britain also selected the healthiest part of the city for their own habitation. There is no reason why the people of the country would not strive for gaining the same benefit by changing the present pattern of accommodation. In this respect it may be added that the cost for this change of pattern will be less than that which would be invested on the reclamation of the salt lake, for the improvement of the traffic or for the increase of the total area of the city. The city of Calcutta under the present circumstances requires no doubt a healthy accommodation for the people and the commercial institutions. But this accommodation must be achieved on planned principles based on geographical and economic facilities.

—:O:—

THE POLITICAL NOVEL IN ENGLAND

A Study in Fantasy

By DARSHAN SINGH MAINI, M.A.

THE history of the Political Novel in England is brief indeed. Although it has now come to be recognised as a distinct genre of fiction, it has yet not crystallised into a defined school. In Continental countries where there is a keener awareness of the political problems than in England, the political novel has come to its own, but its votaries in England are not many at the moment. In the long history of the novel in England, one can hardly think of any political novel, unless of course, the novels of such minor and unimportant novelists as Godwin, Holcroft, Disraeli and Rutherford were to be classified in this category. Since the First World War, however, political rumblings have given a pronounced undertone to nearly all the important works of fiction even in England. This was inevitable, following the success of the Russian Revolution and the resultant consolidation of the forces of the Right in fascist countries like Italy, Germany and Spain. The cleavage between the two worlds became so marked that writers and artists, who record the pulse-beat of society, could no longer nurse themselves in the sheltered grooves of pure Art. They had perforce to take cognizance of this marshalling of forces, which caused spiritual upheavals of cataclysmic nature. On the continent, the writers shook off their veils; stood naked and committed. They testified by open alignments; by signatures in blood. Koestler, Gide, Malraux, Silone and Sartre passed through the various stages of social and political awareness, and returned home to scoff at the god that had failed. Gorki, Alexi Tolstoy, Ehrenburg, Sholokhov

and Aragon on the other hand, not only remained to pray, but sang riotously the paeans of this new creed of Marxism, which was perhaps the greatest ideological explosion since the Renaissance. The die was cast, for the conflict on the continent had penetrated to the bone. Dramas of personal spiritual struggles could only be played and imagined against the background of monster political forces which dwarfed the individual egos and psyches. Politics was no longer the hobby-horse of ambitious politicians; its action had been transferred from the legislatures and assemblies to the souls of men and women. The political storms produced violent reverberations in the depths of sensitive minds.

In England at the same time, this political consciousness never assumed vast dimensions except in the case of a few writers. The reasons for this aloofness are partly geographical and partly historical, though in the final analysis, all such reasons are at bottom purely economic. Living in a quiet, snug island, ideally situated, the English people maintained their insular and parochial attitude towards contemporary politics. They never lived the political and ghastly reality of a revolution or a civil war, and they had reached a fairly high standard of living, thanks to the colonies in the Empire. Thus the global conflict between communism and fascism never became sharp in Great Britain and the writers had mostly an academic interest in it. The Spanish Civil War created a new and sharp awareness but the English people as a whole never felt the political reality on their pulses, except in a limited degree at the time of

blitzkrieg during the Second World War. This explains partly the comparative thinness of the political novel in England and also the form that it has adopted. For the form it has adopted is mostly that of fantasy and of allegory—a device which subverts and suppresses contemporary political reality and transfers to the vague and 'unborn tomorrows' the conflict which needs, nay demands immediate solution and fulfilment. Fantasy and allegory are time-honoured forms of fiction and some of the well-known novels like *Don Quixote*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Moby Dick*, *Zuleika Dobson*, even Joyce's *Ulysses* have been cast in these forms, but fantasy in such cases is the very element of their being; it informs them and seeps through the pores of their texture. For often when the all-seeing eye of the naturalist fails, the penetrating, hypersensitive eye of the allegorist can pluck that mystery which lies muffled and cloaked. In Dickens, in Dostoevsky, in Emily Brontë, in Thomas Mann, even in Proust, we see a display of these chiaroscuro effects—the fantastic lights which glitter and fade away leaving sparks in their wake. By combining mystery with reality, dream with matter, poetry with prose, they have created works of art which have a disturbing beauty, a haunting effect. But it is another world which they create, a world that compels 'a willing suspension of disbelief' and demands that extra penny from the reader, to use E. M. Forster's words, which if he grudges, he cannot enjoy the show. A political situation, however is important because of its immediacy and insistence; it cannot brook delay. It cries for solution, for fulfilment. When a novelist, therefore, sidetracks the issue or abridges it by casting the story in the form of a fantasy, or of an allegory, he is indirectly trying to escape from contemporary reality. This however is a common practice amongst the romantics of all ages.

The Political novel, especially the Proletarian novel, has had a rather brief and flat innings in England. We have a distinct political ring in the works of Lionel Britton, Walter Greenwood, John Sommerfield, Ralph Bates, James Hanley, Ethel Mannin, Storm Jameson, etc., but their achievements, though significant, are limited in their scope. Amongst the more prominent novelists who have sincerely grappled with the political problems of their times are H. G. Wells, Aldous Huxley, Rex Warner, and George Orwell. Wells and Huxley are primarily novelists of ideas dealing more with social than with political problems, but their novels contain a political climate, a recurrent washback of the political tides which direct the life of a nation. However, in those novels which are avowedly political in aim and tone, both Wells and Huxley have also taken recourse to fantasy and wishful thinking. *The World of William Clissold* and *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham* seek to convey in terms of the future, Wells's reactions to totalitarianism. Similarly Huxley's *Brave New World*, and to some extent *Ape and Essence* are political satires on communism and totalitarianism, but the action in either

case is laid in the distant future. Rex Warner and George Orwell stand in a different category, for they have written nothing which is free from politics. In the case of Warner, who incidentally is a student and lover of Greek classicism and humanism, we can at once see the influence of Kafka so far as the allegorical form of his novels is concerned. Both *The Professor* and *The Aerodrome* are located in places which have no 'habitation and a name,' although the veiled references to Austria in the former and to England in the latter are clear enough. *The Wild Goose Chase* is also an allegory so styled by Warner himself. An atmosphere of unreality, an aura of dream clings to each novel and gives it a peculiar charm. The two most important novels of Orwell, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four* are again an allegory and a fantasy respectively. *Animal Farm* is a political satire on Stalinist Communism and the influence of Swift is clearly perceptible in the texture of the allegory. *Nineteen Eighty Four* is a much more ambitious work and as the title suggests, the story is a vision of the future—an ugly forecast of life in Great Britain about the year 1984. It is a political phantasmagoria outlining the shape of things to come under Red totalitarianism. More than Rex Warner or any other contemporary novelist in England, Orwell seems to be haunted by the imagined eclipse of human liberties, so dear to bourgeois anarchists.

Why do these novelists have recourse to fantasy and allegory? The question has already been answered, though there are other reasons as well. It may be suggested that Swift and Samuel Butler had already trailed the path of political satire in fantasy and allegory, and the English novelists found it convenient to carry on the tradition. In yet another way, Plato's *Republic*, More's *Utopia*, Morris's *The Dream of John Ball* and *News From Nowhere*, etc., had exercised a great influence on the minds of novelists who had a turn for idealism and fantasy. Even in America, the pioneer of the political novel, Jack London gave to his revolutionary novel *The Iron Heel* the shape of a fantasy. It is a novel which breathes political air in every line; it is a cross between More and Marx. But this in itself does not explain adequately the problem of form in the political novel, even though it establishes the importance of tradition in English letters. There are however some other reasons as well.

Political reality of the hour is hard, bitter and unpalatable. It requires bold and courageous thinking. It means the unmasking of national shams and hypocritical facades. It leads inevitably to the recognition of class war in modern bourgeois society and eventually to unclassification of the writer from below. Most of the writers, however belong to the petit bourgeoisie and as such unconsciously stultify this process of unclassification, for in spite of their apparent sincerity, their vision is warped by the 'weltanschauung' of their class. Thus the recognition of their hopelessness to deal with

contemporary politics drives most of these novelists to fantasy, allegory and wishful day-dreaming. Reality of the hour asserts itself; it bobs its uncomfortable head in spite of the novelist and he cannot falsify or exaggerate it except at the expense of ridicule. The past is immutably fixed and cannot be wiped out for all your sophistry; the present defies treatment. For unless you are prepared to unclass yourself and ridicule the class in which you are born and which supports you in your profession of the writer, you cannot treat the present adequately. Thus to most of the English writers, fantasy and allegory offer a way of escape. This wishful butterfly hunt can safely be indulged in only in a nebulous future, which as yet presents little challenge. It will be noticed that fantasy and allegory are usually adopted by two types of novelists: the socialist idealists like Morris or Jack London, or the ex-communists and fellow-travellers. The former because of their Fabianism and the latter because of their intellectual cussedness are unable to hit straight in the eye and hence seek safety-valves in fantasy and allegory. The novelists who profess socialist realism, and they are not many in England, refuse to have any truck with this device.

Again most of the political novels are satirical in aim, and fantasy as well as allegory prove an effective medium for such satire. Satire whips up ridicule and ridicule is more telling when as in the cartoons, it is stretched to absurdity. Fantasy contains a hard core of reality and yet moves all the time in the medium of exaggeration. That indeed is the very condition of its enjoyment. The readers are blissfully wrapped up in a dream of the future, which reads like a fairy story and admits no awkward question. Political propaganda could hardly wish for more ideal conditions. *Nineteen Eighty Four* by Orwell, *Comrade O Comrade* by Ethel Mannin and such other novels do the trick, for the satire here is so naked and telling.

Since it is difficult and unprofitable to spin out long political fantasies and allegories, the length of the story is bound to be short. It will certainly lack that epic grandeur which makes a novel great, yet what it may lose in length and breadth, it will gain in depth, for the concentration required in the telling of a dream or an allegory lends it a pointedness, a focus, which it may otherwise lack. Acres of desultory essays have been written on the dangers of Leftist totalitarianism, yet in their effectiveness they cannot match a thin novelette like Orwell's *Animal Farm*, which because it is an animal fable, scores its point. Moreover, a fantasy or a fable has a superficial aura of prophecy and demolishes the critical values of unwary readers. It speaks in tones of Biblical simplicity and dramatises the human scene in terms of either super-human robots

or sub-human animals. All this cuts the present out of existence and though the hiatus may be felt by a few critical intelligences, the majority of readers will bask in the snug arms of a myth which contains a false prophetic ring.

Again both fantasy and allegory depend on symbolism for their poetic effects. A novel which substitutes symbols for the political realities registers emotional effects and creates a myth-world of its own. Thus the burning political problems of the hour, which require an intellectual and a philosophical treatment, are received on an emotional plane by the vast multitude of apolitical readers, who are completely bedevilled and bemused. This symbolism in the novel will also have mnemonic value, for symbols tend to linger on in memory like the poetic effects, even when the actual words are forgotten. This device will thus be a powerful weapon in the hands of indoctrinated novelists.

A fantasy will undoubtedly have that strange conjunction of 'dream-work and brain-work' which we find in the poetry of Coleridge and in the novels of Dostoevsky. It will indeed have its own logic, the logic of the dream. Its pattern of thought will be independent of objective reality; it will be absolved from the obligation of approximation to historical truth. In this idiom the writer may even coin his own personal and private language as does Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty Four*. Words have a social significance and are chained to their emotional roots, but here new words are coined at the behest of a committed intelligence rather than on the basis of concrete experience. They leave a sense of trickery, unreality and emptiness in the minds of critical readers. Indeed this sense of trickery adheres to all these pseudo-fantasy political novels.

Finally, we may sum up by saying that politics is as yet congealed in Great Britain; it does not ignite the spark which should set the action ablaze in a novel. Contemporary reality has yet to be chewed and digested before it can form part of the political novel. Unable to solve the contradictions in bourgeois society and unable to understand the true nature of the historical conflict between the two dominant ideologies of our times, the writers of these political novels in England have flown into the arms of fantasy and allegory. This is not so in America where the conflict is more pronounced and sharp. Except for Howard Fast, who writes historical novels based on a dialectical interpretation of history, other American novelists like Upton Sinclair, Hemingway, Drieser, Irwin Shaw, Dos Passos, Erskin Caldwell, etc., deal with political and social reality as it is lived from moment to moment. There is no retreat to a world of fantasy; on the contrary they are in the thick of it.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND HIS IMPACT ON WESTERN SAVANTS

By RAMANI KUMAR DATTA GUPTA, B.L., Sahityaratna

"Give and take is the law," says Swami Vivekananda, "and if India wants to raise herself once more, it is absolutely necessary that she brings out her treasures and throws them broadcast among the nations of the world and in return be ready to receive what others have to give her." It was Swamiji's mission to preach Indian religion, philosophy and culture to the Westerners and he did it with admirable success. Profound was the influence of Vivekananda's spiritual realisation, seraphic personality and wide scholarship in Indian religion and philosophy on many Western savants. How great scholars of the West were drawn to the illustrious Swami is really an astonishing tale to tell. Here are three prominent instances.

The name of Max Muller, the great German savant, as a prominent orientalist is well-known. Since the establishment of the first professorship of Indology in 1818, Sanskrit was being taught in almost all of the German Universities existing at that time. So great was the number of scholars, who had devoted their life to this study, that some of them were called to foreign countries requiring the services of Sanskritists. The most prominent of these was F. Max Muller. Born in 1825 in Dessau as the son of the poet Wilhelm Muller, he was a pupil of the French savant Burnouf. Still a youth he began his edition of the *Rig Veda*, with the help of a subsidy by the East India Company, which was published from 1848 to 1875. In 1850 he became a Professor in Oxford where he lived until his death in 1900. Besides his monumental work, namely, the edition of the *Rig Veda*, he wrote many books on Comparative Religion, the *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, the *Sayings of Ramakrishna*, etc. He also edited the fifty volumes of the great collections, *Sacred Books of the East*. Max Muller opened a long line of German scholars in British service employed either in Great Britain (Theodore Goldstucker, Theodore Aufrecht, Eggeling) or in India (Kielhorn, Buhler, Hoernle and Thibaut). Since the time of Max Muller the study of the Vedas has always been a chief object of German Indologists. It is, therefore, not astonishing that all the four *Vedic Samhitas* have been critically edited for the first time by the Germans: the *Rig Veda* by Max Muller and Th. Aufrecht, the *Sama Veda* by Th. Benfey (1848), *Yajur Veda* by Albrecht Weber (1852, 1871.) and Leopold Von Schroeder (1881, 1900) and the *Atharva Veda* by Rudolph Roth (1856).

When Swami Vivekananda was preaching Vedanta in America, he was specially invited by Max Muller to visit Oxford. In May of 1896 Swamiji left New York and met Professor Max Muller. The great Swami had read

an interesting article on Sri Ramakrishna by Max Muller entitled 'Real Mahatma' in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* and was looking forward to meeting the renowned professor. In course of conversation the professor remarked that Keshab Sen's contact with Sri Ramakrishna was instrumental in bringing about a change in the former's religious views, and this fact first attracted his attention. From that time he had been studying with utmost earnestness and reverence every available material about the life and sayings of Sri Ramakrishna. Hearing all about Ramakrishna from Swamiji, Max Muller told him that he was ready to write a book on the life and teachings of Ramakrishna, if necessary materials could be supplied with. Needless to say, Swamiji gladly agreed to do that. After a few days Max Muller's renowned book *Ramakrishna—His Life and Sayings* was published. In the preface of this book the professor has written:

"The name of Ramakrishna has lately been so often mentioned in Indian, American and English newspapers that a fuller account of his life and doctrine seemed to me likely to be welcome not only to the many who take an interest in the intellectual and moral state of India, but to the few also to whom the growth of Philosophy and Religion, whether at home or abroad, can never be a matter of indifference. I have therefore tried to collect as much information as I could about this lately-deceased Indian Saint (died in 1886), partly from his own devoted disciples, partly from Indian Newspapers, Journals and books in which the principal events of his life were chronicled, and his moral and religious teachings described and discussed, whether in a friendly or unfriendly spirit. A country permeated by such thoughts as were uttered by Ramakrishna cannot possibly be looked upon as a country of ignorant idolaters. From the sayings of Ramakrishna we learn that the real presence of the Divine in nature and in the human soul was nowhere felt so strongly and universally as in India, and the fervent love of God, nay the sense of complete absorption in the Godhead, has nowhere found a stronger or more eloquent expression than in the utterances of Ramakrishna."

A very interesting conversation took place between Vivekananda and Max Muller at Oxford:

Vivekananda—Sri Ramakrishna is revered now-days by thousands of people.

Max Muller—If this seraphic soul is not revered, who else will be? What are you doing to make him known to the World?

Vivekananda—I am preaching Vedanta and Ramakrishna's teachings in my humble way.

Max Muller—I quite encourage your preaching.

After dinner Max Muller showed Swamiji round Oxford University and Bodleian Library. Vivekananda was surprised with the professor's wide range of know-

ledge about and love for India and her culture. The patriot-saint asked Max Muller:

"When will you visit India? All will rejoicingly welcome him, who has studied with so much devotion the sublime thoughts of our forefathers."

Professor's face was aglow and he replied with tearful eyes:

"Perhaps I would not then return. My body would be interred in India, the land of my adoration."

At night when Swamiji was waiting for train at the railway station, the old professor appeared there to give the Swami a hearty send-off in spite of rain and storm. Swamiji felt very delicate at this and said:

"You might not have taken so much trouble to come here to see me off."

Professor lovingly replied:

"An opportunity of seeing a worthy disciple of Ramakrishna does not present itself every day."

This very interview deepened Swamiji's friendship with the professor. Both had profound regard for each other and maintained regular correspondence.

The interest in philosophy being very keen in Germany at all times, there have always been many scholars working in this field. There are several translations of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. The greatest achievements in this field are due to a man, who was no Indologist proper but a Philosopher—to Paul Deussen, who from 1889 till his death in 1919 occupied the chair of Philosophy at the University of Kiel. Deeply influenced by Schopenhauer's teachings he took up the study of Sanskrit and became an enthusiastic follower of Advaita Vedanta. To his German renderings of the Sutras of Vedanta with Sankar's Commentary, Deussen added a translation of Sixty Upanishads and of the philosophical texts of the Mahabharata. Of the six Volumes of the *History of Philosophy*, the first three dealt with Indian Philosophy. Among German philosophers of his time there was no one who so thoroughly understood the importance of the Vedanta for the West.

Deussen's interview with Swami Vivekananda was an interesting episode. While Swamiji was enjoying his continental tour, Paul Deussen invited him to visit Kiel in Germany. Deussen and his wife warmly welcomed Vivekananda in their Kiel residence. After having asked a few questions about Swamiji's preaching and its object, Deussen recited some pages from his own book on Vedas and Upanishads and said:

"The fascinating power of Vedanta makes one forget the outward world in a moment and its study elevates one's mind to the highest pitch of spirituality. Upanishads, Vedanta Philosophy and Sankar's Commentary are the noblest representations of human quest for truth. My sole passion is the study of Vedanta."

Vivekananda was much pleased with the professor's keen interest in Vedanta and Upanishads. Eulogising Vedanta, Deussen said:

"So the Vedanta in its unfalsified form is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest

consolation in the sufferings of life and death. Indians, keep to it."

Swamiji explained lucidly a few intricate and difficult Slokas of the Upanishads in the light of his own spiritual realisation. The professor was enlightened. In a few hours Swamiji won the heart of Deussen by his illuminating exposition of the Vedanta and seraphic personality. Deussen was also astonished beyond measure to see Swami Vivekananda turning over the four hundred pages of a volume of poems, mastering its contents in half an hour and repeating them without a falter. To the amazement of the German professor, the Indian monk said smilingly:

"It is not impossible for a Yogi to master such a big volume in a short time. Everyone can do that. You know I am a Sannyasi and have renounced lust and gold. I am in possession of this wonderful memory by dint of my life-long vow of unsullied continence. Many a Westerner may not believe in it but the possessor of such a tenacious memory in consequence of Brahmacharya are not altogether scarce in India."

Deussen was convinced and overjoyed.

The name of the Scottish Professor Patrick Geddes is not unfamiliar to Indian intellectuals. Not a few owe to him the inspiration for their words, which have since made them famous in India and abroad as scholars and writers of renown. He visited India twice, once in 1914 and the next time in 1923, and spent a decade of his life in this country travelling widely and rousing young minds to original ventures in different fields of study. His scholarship, insight, sympathy, deep understanding of the spirit of India and devotion to truth enabled him to gather round him enthusiastic pupils and admirers. But the world is not aware of the chain of events that led to his appreciation of Hindu culture and civilisation. Geddes' first direct contact with the Hindu view of life and its appreciation came via the New World: for it was in Chicago that he met the Young Swami Vivekananda in 1893. The meeting of the Swami and Geddes had interesting consequences. The Eastern discipline of body and mind made such an impression on both Patrick and his wife Anna that they later handed on to their young children the simple 'Raja Yoga' exercises as taught and lectured by Vivekananda, for control of the inner nature, as a valuable part of childhood experience. In the spring of 1898 Miss Josephine MacLeod of New York met in Calcutta the English disciple of Vivekananda, Margaret Noble, better known as Sister Nivedita, who said to the American lady:

"If you ever hear of a man called Patrick Geddes, follow him up. He is the type of man to make disciples."

Accordingly, Miss MacLeod who was a great admirer and follower of Vivekananda, met face to face Patrick Geddes in New York, where he was lecturing. It was the beginning of a long friendship between both the Scottish professor and the American lady.

Patrick Geddes met Vivekananda again at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, where Swami himself and many eminent representative personalities delivered lectures. In the spring of 1900, Sister Nivedita went to Paris and spent several months with Geddes trying to learn his method of sociological investigation and his philosophy. Sister's famous book, *The Web of Indian Life*, was dedicated to Geddes. The meeting of Swami Vivekananda and Geddes in the summer of 1900 in Paris further deepened the latter's interest in the land and soul of India. Ten years later Geddes wrote in the preface to a French edition of the Swami's philosophy of *Raja Yoga* and four years after that he was himself embarking on a mission to India that was to occupy nearly a decade of his life. Speaking of Nivedita, Professor Geddes said:

"She would sit with children upon the floor into the fire-light and tell them her *Cradle Tales of Hinduism* with a power and charm even excelling her written version of them, and thus touch this or that ardent young soul to dream of following her to the utmost East."

—:O:—

OUR HOLY MOTHER

(1853—1920)

By DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, PH.D. (London), Kavyatirtha, F.R.A.S.

Our Holy Mother, the bride of Thakur Ramakrishna's own choice, was the perfect emblem of Indian daughterhood, wife-hood and mother-hood, the culmination of the penances of Maitreyi, Arundhati, Sita, Gandhari, Yasoda and Sachimata. On the one hand, her life was one perpetual stillness of silent prayers; on the other, she was the one divine voice leading to their most desired goal hundreds of perfect devotees headed by Swami Yogananda and Swami Saradananda.

The mother was an unforgettable child of Jayarambati, most dutiful to her father's family, bestowing most felicitous care upon all the members of her father's family. As the most perfect daughter, she could rivet the heart of even a dacoit in the jungles of Telovelo to eternal fatherhood in man when she desired her daughterhood to claim supreme upon him as father. The dacoit came as far as Dakshineswar to have a sight of his son-in-law Thakur Ramakrishna with an ever-grateful joy for his glorious dispensation.

The Holy Mother was purity incarnate. The Master Sri Sri Ramakrishna himself worshipped her as he considered her to be Goddess Kali incarnate

What the professor wrote about Nivedita's influence over children seems to have been true of Geddes' own contact with her guru Vivekananda.

In Vivekananda's biography, letters and reminiscences, we come across references to the contacts which the great Swami had during his travels with the famous figures of the West, men and women, great in every walk of life and action. Many of them felt deeply interested in the Swami's ideas and exposition of the Vedanta and were drawn closely to his magnetic personality. Many were converted to new ways of life. And what a variety of artists and scientists, scholars and theologians, philosophers and psychologists the Swami met! We read of Sarah Bernhardt and Madame Calve, Tesla and Maxim, Max Muller and Deussen, P. Geddes and William James, Catholic fathers and Church historians. Many of these great minds were fascinated by something strangely novel and wonderful in the great Swami for Vivekananda was truly great. A person like Vivekananda rules the thought-cycle of an age. Blessed is the country and blessed the century in which he appears.

—:O:—

which itself testifies to her divinity. She was as it were his *Ista Devata* incarnate as he always used to say, "I see Her through you." Very quiet was indeed the life of our Mother, constantly engaged in multifarious daily duties, covered in veil and seldom coming into personal contact with the outside world except when desired by her Lord Sri Sri Thakur Ramakrishna: but she was energy conserved, the Shakti, just like Uma to Lord Shiva.

Our Mother was a mother in the truest sense of the term. She could not but listen to the solicitations of her devotee children, nay, even of outsiders who used to call her as "Mother." Her life's joy—foremost duty in life was to feed Sri Sri Thakur in her presence most reverentially. Once she handed over the dish she was carrying for Thakur to a lady visitor, because she addressed her as "Mother" and prayed for carrying the dish herself to Sri Ramakrishna. When admonished by Sri Sri Thakur, she plainly admitted, and in a determined voice, that she was an eternal mother and it was impossible for her to ignore the cravings and prayers of her children. Sri Sri Thakur was pleased. She became the spiritual mother of Swami Yogananda and many

others and initiated them to the Holy Order, simply because she could not ignore the solicitous prayers of her children to do so and in this too, she was ordained by Her Lord Sri Sri Thakur who had appeared before her in his own majestic personal form when she piteously prayed for his ordination. On account of the innate motherhood in her, she cared just the same for Hindus, Muslims, all alike. Amjat (a Muslim) was, she once emphatically said, just the same to her as Sarat (Swami Saradananda of hallowed memory); no distinction between the two, she declared outright. To Girish Chandra she said, I am the mother, the real mother—not a foster mother, not the wife of Guru, but the Real Mother (*Ami Ma . . . Satya Janani*). The perfect indiscriminating motherhood in her induced Sadhu Nag Mahasaya once to declare, "Mother is kinder than Father" (*Baper cheye Ma dayal*). She herself used to say, "I am the mother of all, both honest and dishonest" (*Ami Sater o Ma, Asater o Ma*). she once further added, "All care for the good, then who

would care for the bad ones?" The bad ones called for greater attention from her as it were.

The Mother was as soft as a flower, at the time as strong as adamant when necessary. Such an attitude she once exhibited to her Master when her motherhood was once put to test by the lord of her heart. Nobody could ever dissuade her from the path she chose for herself. The divinity in her was ever so resplendent and even outstanding personalities like Sister Nivedita and others, used to revere her as the highest emblem of divinity on earth.

The Mother, the Shakti herself, came in a human garb, to preach her eternal message of love for humanity and service for them. Her message was that of pure life and incessant action for the good of humanity without caring for the fruits of the same. She survived her divine consort for many years for imparting this message rightly to the whole world. She is an undiminishing light, an eternal light that will shine resplendent for ever and evermore.

—:O:—

A STUDY OF SURNAMES

By SUDHIR BRAHMA

To those who have had their interest in library science quickened by a love of books or to those who have a desire to know books better and make them known to others, there is no more satisfying work than the handling of books as they come into a library.

"The poets sing, the philosophers discourse, the historians unfold the wonderful march of life, and the searchers of Nature reveal the secrets and mysteries of creation . . . The only true equalizers in the world are books; the only treasure-house open to all comers is a library; the only wealth which will not decay is knowledge . . . To live in this equality, to share in these treasures, to possess this wealth and to secure this jewel may be the happy lot of everyone."—Temple Scott: *The Friendship of Books*, 1911, Macmillan, p. 155.

To pass from a private library to a large collection of books brought together for public use carries one across a very broad and full flowing stream. Here one turns his attention not to gratifying his own hunger for literature, but to the far broader task of studying books and recording them so that they may reach the thousands of readers who are in search of literature to satisfy some needs. Catalogue is a record of books in a library. Modest men and women make up the galaxy of wisdom which confronts the cataloguer as he daily works with books. Cataloguers therefore find through their work a realm as large as the universe. Offhand it seems simple to make entry in catalogue cards for books and it is not difficult if one knows how to meet the problems which are presented. Personal names fall into groups like: Simple surnames, compound surnames, surnames

with prefixes, noblemen with family name and title, married women's name and so on. An investigation of any miscellaneous group of books shows quite a variety of kinds of names, thus indicating the possibility of introducing a system. The names may be complicated, but librarians have sought to simplify the task of locating the names in the catalogue by framing rules to cover the points most often met. One of the general rules about personal names of authors is to list a person under the best known form of his name, putting the surname first, then the forename. There are various rules for names followed for entry, as heading in cataloguing books of libraries but the main purpose of this article is limited to the interesting aspect of that feature which deals with the study of surnames only.

It is the proud claim of several families in Britain that they alone hold a certain surname. There are the Ratnetts, for instance, and the Parodies, the Goshawks, the Styerings and the Langdells. It is by no means the case that the queerer the surname the rarer it is likely to be. There are numbers of Quicks, Kisses, Twentymans, Gingers, Mustards, Muttons, Earlyrises and even Whalebellys and Hair-nakes. I do not think there can be many Taratootys, Arblas-ters, Potticargs, Basingthwaites or Baragvanaths, however (writes a *Manchester Guardian contributor*). Of Gotobeds there are about 450 and of Beetles 150 in Britain.

HEREDITARY SURNAMES

Hereditary surnames did not come into use in England until about 1450. Previously the population

was so thin that the people had merely a Christian name and a nickname, which only gradually began to be borne hereditarily. Grandpapa, for instance, would be known as Thomas of Graystones (were Graystones the village in which he lived). One son would be Thomas the Little if he were short of stature. Another would be John the Potter, and his son would perhaps be Henry John's or Henry Fleetfoot. Gradually, as property ownership became less communal and more individual in the peasant communities the advantage of maintaining the same family surname became apparent.

Every surname in the directory was acquired in one of five ways, irrespective of whether, it was first borne by Saxon or Norman. Either it was a nickname like Short or the name of a place, like Hadley, or the name of an occupation like Baker, or official, like Chamberlain or Baptismal (ending in "Son," for instance). It is baptismal and place names that are most plentiful.

GENEALOGIST'S DISCOVERY

A patient genealogist who classified the first 30,000 or so names in the *London Directory* found that 11,360 of them were place names or corruption of place names. Of baptismal names, there were 8203 and of occupational names 2,651. Official and vocational names, such as Priest, Steward, Judge, Cook, Lord, Downman (keeper of dovecots), Clark, Spenser, and so forth, numbered, 1,737 and nicknames 3,096. Fifteen hundred of the names were foreign and 1,700 so corrupted that it was impossible to place them in any category. A great tribe of modern surnames, including all the Ellises, Elliots, Elkinsons, and Elcocks derive from Elias, a name very popular at the time of the Crusades.

To record the woes of authors, it is surprising how many of this illustrious family have peopled the world, and they can boast of many authors' names which figure on this genealogical tree. Those authors who work and toil by light of midnight lamp, weaving from their brains page upon page of lore and learning, weaving their lives out, all for the sake of an ungrateful public, which cares little for their labour and scarcely stops to think the toiler for his pains—if there be any of you who read these pages, it will be as pleasant to you to feel safe and free from the stern critics' modes of former days. To record all the races of fools who have made themselves uncomfortable through their insane love of writing, nor count all the books which have become instruments of accusations against their authors. That library would be a large one which contained all such volumes. Perhaps in a corner of the book-shelves there would be a collection of Fatal Books many of which are rare and hard to find.

Practically all names beginning with "De" are of Italian or French origin. The grim Deaths and Dearths are descendants of mediæval immigrants

from the Flemish village of D' Aeth. Several races have names relatively much more numerous than only Smith and German Schmidt, which among the world's whites, at any rate, are the most often encountered. I should guess that something like 10 per cent of the people of Sweden are Anderssons and that, with slight variations of spelling, about half the population of Scandinavia is comprised of Anderssons, Jonssons, Johanssons, Perssons, Karlssons, Lundborgs and Lindbergs.

The telephone-book of New York city makes a very interesting study of surnames. An easy first in surnames is scored by the Cohens and Cohns—34 columns of them. There are only 26 columns of Smiths and Smyths. Not many decades ago Kellys far outnumbered Cohens in New York, but now, though the most plentiful tribe of Irish, they occupy only eight and a half columns in the phone-book, closely followed by the Murphys, with their eight. The first growing preponderance of Jews in New York is further exemplified by the fact that there are 22 columns of names beginning with "Wein."

BETLES AND COWARDS

The surname "Dawman" is vocational and derives from the man whose job it was to look after the often very extensive dovecotes of the feudal castles of mediæval England. The oft-derided Beetles may take heart from my assurance that they are descendants of dignified parish beadies—the policeman of olden times: Cowards are not descendants of timorous forbears. It is quite the contrary. Their ancestors were cowherds, to whom phlegmatic defiance of the snorting and champing bull was all in the day's work. The Calverts were calf-herds.

The Challoners are an interesting case. They sound quite "Serciety," as Daisy Ashford used to say, but their ancestors were a sort of mediæval equivalent of the Breton Onion-boys of these days. They came over from Chalons, selling blankets which were called "Chalons" or Challons by the English populace. The Pointers and Poynters originally were the makers of the poynts (tags) by which hose were fastened to the doublet—Elizabethan suspender-fakers, in fact.

In the present age of mass awakening, when on the one hand all alike are becoming more and more curious to know and learn about the progress of the world and on the other the life of man is getting busy and more crowded, some time-saving devices to give direct access to the realm of knowledge is becoming a pressing necessity. These tools are the books and books make a library. They are the springs from which knowledge flows out to irrigate the wide field of education and culture. Catalogue is a systematic record of the resources of the library that helps the reader for a comprehensive survey of the collection written under various forms of authors' names and thereby enable to satisfy the demand of readers in that respect.

WILLIAM TAYLOR—A COLOURFUL PERSONALITY

An Administrator Who Became a Vakil

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., B.L.

WILLIAM TAYLOR came to India in 1829 as a Civil servant. He was a colourful personality and had a chequered career. He held various offices and ultimately rose to be the Commissioner of Patna Division. He played a very important part as the Commissioner, Patna Division in the Sepoy mutiny days of 1857. He was dismissed from his service because of certain alleged omissions and commissions as the Commissioner. He was reinstated but he was reduced in position. Ultimately he resigned Government service and settled down in Patna to practise as a Vakil. He took the matter of his dismissal to the Parliament. He amassed a fortune in the course of 10 years that he practised as a Vakil. He used to appear not only in different Courts in Bihar but also appeared in Bengal and U.P. He left India in 1869. His wife was a wonderful hostess. Taylor took great interest in Agriculture and brought in a breed of cows in Bihar still known as Taylor Cows.

HIS OFFICIAL CAREER

Taylor loved his span of 38 years' life in India. As a Bengal Civilian he was posted as a Magistrate in various districts of Orissa and Bengal. As the Post-Master-General of Bengal he travelled with his wife in bullock-carts, tandems and has left memoirs full of humour, pen-pictures and caricatures. He visited Bihar for the first time in 1848 when he was a guest at the famous Sonepur Fair in Bihar. He has left a faithful story of the Sonepur Fair, which is still substantially true. When he was Judge in Arrah in 1854 Halliday was made the Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal and he paid an official visit to Arrah. Just before Halliday's visit a letter had appeared in the *Calcutta Englishman* under the signature of F. Courtenay, the Private Secretary of the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie marking grave accusations against Halliday. There was a great sensation over this and an embarrassing position was created. Taylor took an active part in ironing out the compromising position when Halliday came to Arrah and a successful civic reception was given by Taylor. Taylor made a brilliant speech in Urdu at this reception.

In 1858 after 5 years' stay in Arrah Taylor joined as the Commissioner of Patna and threw himself into his work with an extra zeal which caused him a good deal of trouble later on. While he was in Arrah there was a revolt in Arrah jail and Dr. Harrison, Medical Officer, narrowly escaped an assault. A few prisoners got out of jail and started marching on the street. Taylor put them back in jail with the help of Kuar Singh of Jagdispur in Shahabad district. Taylor describes Kuar

Singh as "a powerful landholder who was afterwards driven into the rebellion by the shortsightedness of the Bengal Government."

AS COMMISSIONER

As the Commissioner Taylor took steps for working out a scheme of Industrial Education and took steps for improving the breed of bullocks, the skill of the ploughmen and soil improvement. But he came to grief for realising subscriptions for giving a concrete shape to his scheme which was publicly applauded by Sri F. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in August 1856. Sometime after there was an official proclamation deprecating the realisations of the subscriptions.

SEPOY MUTINY DAYS

When the Sepoy mutiny broke out Patna was the nerve-centre of the malcontents. From the days of Mir Kasim Ali Patna has been a rebellious city. The Wahabis formed a strong community among the Moslems in Patna who counted more at that time. Taylor smelt the spirit of indiscipline and informed the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary to the Supreme Government about his study of the situation. He was however treated as an alarmist by Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor. On the 7th June, 1857, Taylor was informed by the military authorities in Dinapore that there was excitement in the military lines. With the help of the military he quickly took action against some of the Wahabi fanatics in Patna. Again Taylor's report was treated with a certain amount of indifference and want of confidence by the Lieutenant-Governor. But Taylor disarmed Patna city as far as possible and promulgated curfew order and placed some of the Wahabi leaders in his own words, "in precautionary confinement in a bungalow not far from my house."

MUTINY IN PATNA AND ARRAH

Taylor was fully prepared when shortly after an English Officer was murdered and riot broke out in Patna city. With the help of the Sikh soldiers under Captain Ratteray the riot was stopped. There was no time to take orders from the Lieutenant-Governor nor did Taylor think it was necessary. In his own words,

"On the following day, the principal actors in the Movement were traced and arrested by the native Deputy Magistrate, Dewan Maula Bax, and when the preliminary proceedings had been completed under his direction, the leading rebels were sentenced, some to death, and others to imprisonment. One other trial was held after this. A Trooper of Captain Ratteray's regiment was convicted for the escape of a notorious rebel and was sentenced to death."

Shortly after the headquarters of Sahabad district fell and the civilians were confined in a house which is still standing.

A few days after Taylor persuaded the General at Dinapore and sent an English regiment to Dinapore to relieve the garrison at Arrah. This detachment was overpowered with fearful results. Major Vincent Eyre who was then at Buxar proposed to march down to Arrah and Mr. Baxe, a Civil officer with Eyre, asked Taylor's advice. Taylor advised that it would be indiscreet for Eyre to go to Arrah with only 150 men of his detachment and so he should come by boat to Patna and from there he should march to Arrah with a reinforcement. This letter from a civilian to a civilian was sent to the General at Dinapore that he might pass his orders.

REMOVAL OF THE TREASURY FROM OUTSTATIONS

In the meanwhile Taylor thought that the small number of European residents and the treasure from Gaya and Muzaffarpur which were under his control should be shifted to Patna. He summoned them to Patna as a precautionary measure. A few days after Eyre relieved the garrison in Arrah. From this point the events took a different turn.

TAYLOR VICTIMISED

Taylor had created some enemies in his service as well as among the people by his measures. There was a movement led against him by another retired European officer who had taken the daughter of the Wahabi leader in Bihar as his wife and had settled down in Patna. The opposition was crystallised as Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor, had already formed bad opinion about Taylor.

Taylor was indicted on the ground of panic by removing the Europeans and the treasure from Gaya and Muzaffarpur to Patna, by unnecessarily interfering with the military, by giving them advice which reflected on their capability, and particularly the way he persecuted some of the Wahabis. It may be recalled that in the big Patna Maidan Taylor had a few of the Wahabi leaders executed publicly to make an example and this was made much of. Halliday reported Taylor to the Supreme Government and Taylor was suspended and put on to proceedings. According to Halliday, the danger of Patna was caused by Taylor's "violent and unwise proceedings" and that by his quibble and his disgraceful orders he had created, "universal scandal."

TAYLOR'S DEFENCE

A long controversy followed. Taylor's memorandum vindicating his position showed how he had been victimised and that while two of his Deputy Collectors had been presented by the Star of India and the "Order of the Indian Empire" he had been disgraced.

The two great historians of the time, Kaye and Mallison, have warmly applauded Taylor. In his *Sepoy War* Kaye had referred to Taylor as a man of varied accomplishments and of independent tone of thought and speech. Mallison in his *Indian Mutiny* wrote, "Taylor

stood prominently among his compeers. He hid nothing from his superiors." The details of the crisis through which his Division was passing were very well-known in Calcutta and after when there were riots at Banaras, Central India and North-Western Provinces, the question rose naturally, "How is it that Patna is quiescent? Patna was quiet because one man, Taylor, the Commissioner of the Division, was a brave and a determined man, ready to strike without hesitation or fear." Taylor was however first discharged and then reinstated on a lower salary as the District Judge of Mymensingh. He resigned the job and settled down in Patna.

TAYLOR'S CASE IN PARLIAMENT

Taylor sent up a memorandum to the Parliament and went on with his fight against the injustice done. Fifty eight members of the Parliament in 1879 had presented a petition to the Prime Minister Beaconsfield. It was mentioned in the petition:

"Time has brought truth to light. History records his name among the brightest in the role of men who so nobly did their duty, but the country has had no opportunity of recognising his merits. We wish therefore to urge upon you the desire we naturally feel that the gratitude of the nation for services nobly rendered may be shown to him, although too late to retain those services for public employment."

The *Statesman* of Calcutta in its issue on the 20th February 1879 wrote:

"Mr. Taylor suffered for his vigour, candour and efficiency. Mr. Halliday who was made 'Sir Fredrick' for his wretched subserviency was the main actor in this affair, but poor Lord Canning knew nothing more than people about him chose to tell."

The *Times* wrote:

"All the facts of the case have been laid before successive Secretaries of India. Yet Mr. Taylor still remains without redress. Mr. Halliday is Sir F. Halliday, a member of the Secretary of State for India but Mr. Taylor is plain persecuted Mr. Taylor still."

But the Prime Minister ordered that the case cannot be re-opened particularly because of the lapse of time. So like, Duplex, this administrator Taylor sacrificed himself after giving his best.

AS A LAWYER

Taylor however did not know what frustration was. He obtained permission from Calcutta and he practised as a Vakil. Within a very short time he was appearing for the big Zamindars like the Raja of Hatwah, Tikari and others.

Taylor's wife played a very important part in his life. She stood by him in his joys and misfortunes. She adjusted herself to the life of a Lawyer and a farmer and took great pleasure in looking after the cows the Taylor had. Her kitchen was her pride. Taylor wrote a few dramas and left the arrangements for their performances to his wife. When Taylor left India with family he had no regret either for himself or for the country which he had served for thirty-eight years.



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 STATE: By Krishna Prasanna Mukerji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Professor of Civics and Politics, University of Bombay. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1952. pp. 382. Price Rs. 7-8.

In this learned and well-written work the author who has already a number of scholarly works to his credit attempts to formulate "an integral theory of the State" based on his researches in "the social and mental sciences intimately connected with political philosophy, such as sociology, economics, jurisprudence, psychology and ethics." (Preface p. vii). All the Western schools of Political Philosophy in the recent past, the author explains (*ibid* p. viii), such as Hegelian idealism, political liberalism, or Marxian socialism "suffered from a lopsidedness resulting from over-emphasis or wrong emphasis of one of the social factors (such as morality, personality, or sociality) at the expense of others and a complete lack of integration." Indeed "apart from the *varnashramic* philosophy of ancient India the only socio-political philosophy which has attempted the synthetic method is the neo-liberal philosophy of which T. H. Green, L. T. Hobhouse, and H. J. Laski are some of the best representatives" (*ibid* p. ix). Both these systems, however, suffer from characteristic defects. In the case of the ancients, while agreeing with "their synthetic view of life and their emphasis on the need of a moral and spiritual basis of political philosophy," the author adjudges their treatment of individual rights as well as of "the international order (or of a world-State established on a consensual basis)" to be inadequate. In the case of the moderns while appreciating "their effort to vindicate the individual as the ultimate of social values," he condemns "their onesided approach to human problems" tending to create "a deplorable lack of integration among the economic, political, ethical and spiritual interests of man which taken together constitute the total human being" (*ibid* pp. xx-xxi).

The work consists of nine chapters. In the first chapter entitled *The Background of the Historical State* the author concludes (p. 19) after an exhaustive analysis of the philosophical and historical concepts of the State in post-feudal (modern) European history that two fundamental misconceptions have been ultimately responsible for the mistakes of statesmen and political theorists. These are, firstly, "the assumption of an antagonism between the interests of the individual and those of society" and, secondly, "the assumption of an identity between the State and society." In the second chapter bearing the title *The Philosophy of the State* the author develops step by step his remarkable "ethico-evolutionary definition of the State" which

may best be quoted in his own words. "The State," he says, (p. 42) "is an association of human beings which is brought into existence by a morally self-possessed society to serve as its impartial agent for making its sense of justice prevail in the justiciable sphere of the social life, and with that end in view endowed with supreme legal authority (including the monopoly of legal force) on condition of exercising it in strict conformity with the moral standards of the society which is to be ensured by satisfactory consultation of public opinion." The five following chapters (Chapters III-VII) bearing the titles *The State and the Social Order*, *The State and the Legal Order*, *The State and the Economic Order*, *The State and the Individual* and *The State and the International Order*, have been devoted to the development section by section of "the ethico-evolutionary relation-structure represented by the individual, society and the State" (p. 47). The next and the longest chapter (Chapter VIII) shows "the relationship between State-al philosophy and philosophy in general through political philosophy which links them together," while the final chapter (Chapter IX) consists of the summary and conclusions. The work concludes with two Appendices on the Hindu conception of *dharma* and the Hindu view of the State which "serve the double purpose of indicating the basic similarity between the Hindu political theory and the modern western trends and incidentally of removing the prejudice against Indian political literature."

It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to notice the author's illuminating comments on numerous concepts of political thinkers of the past. Special mention may, however, be made of the author's criticism of the schools advocating the social contract theory, the idealistic theory, the legalist theory, the organismic theory, the Marxist State theory and the utilitarian theory (pp. 10-15), his detailed analysis of the four fallacies involved in the Hobbesian theory (pp. 32-37), his reference to "the State of the *dharma-sastras* and the *nitisastras*" as embodying "for the first time in history" the conception of "a limited-purpose agent of society endowed with the conditional monopoly of legal power" in contrast with the imperfect ideas of the State represented by the Greek polis, the Roman polity and the feudal polity (pp. 65-69), his examination of Dicey's famous doctrine of the Rule of Law (pp. 83-98), his criticism of the Marxist doctrine of economic determinism (pp. 116-20), and his plan of "a World-State based on the principle of democratic communism" combining the good points of the democratic and the communistic positions contending for mastery at present (pp. 190-97).

It will appear from the foregoing brief survey that the present work is a valuable contribution to the modern idea of the State, while it involves an interesting

rehabilitation of the ancient Indian conception of the State and society. The present reviewer agrees with the author in so far as the general trend of his arguments and conclusions is concerned. On some points, however, and notably in the chapters on the Hindu conceptions of *dharma* and the State he thinks that the author's views require considerable modification. Witness, for example, the large assumptions involved in the author's defence of the Varnashramic system, where we are told that *varna* means "what is chosen by a person for his (means of) living and which describes him best and most fully by showing his position in society" (p. 332), that the Vaisyas who outnumbered the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas "naturally formed the majority in councils and assemblies and thus exerted the greatest influence in politics" (p. 335), and that the Kshatriyas were "politically made to act on the advice of democratically chosen councillors and in accordance with public opinion" (p. 339). Witness again, his sweeping interpretation of the well-known Indian category of the seven limbs of the State to the effect that it involved "a constitutional system of government or government run on the advice of ministers" and that it implied governmental systems providing the society with organismic unity and correlationship (p. 350). The author's list of limitations on the ruler's authority in the Hindu State is open to the charge of misinterpretation of the relevant texts or quotation of obsolete views, as when he understands *Aitareya Brahmana* XXXIX 1. and Kautilya's *Arthashastra* 1. 13. to refer to the king's coronation-oath or the royal vow (p. 353) or describes the Indian village communities as "miniature States" (p. 356), or observes that "even under the the monarchical system the king was obliged to consult the *paura* and the *janapada* in all important matters of State" (*ibid*) and that "Manu and his school" granted to the people "the right to dismiss and even to kill an *adharmic* or tyrant king" (pp. 360-61).

U. N. GHOSHAL

VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL: By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall. General Printers and Publishers, 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.

The Victoria Memorial Hall, in spite of its vast dimensions, prominent position and striking exterior, is still somewhat of *terra incognita* to all but plain sight-seeing tourists. Indeed, this massive structure is known to most persons more for its exterior form or beautiful grounds than for its interior design or for the exhibits it contains. The reason for this curious anomaly is plain, it is because of the absence of any attempt to acquaint the scholar or the connoisseur with the historical and artistic material housed in the Memorial buildings, in any detail. All that had been done so far was in the shape of a descriptive catalogue of the exhibits that was published by the trustees in 1925.

The book under review is an attempt to remedy that defect. It has been compiled and printed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, the present Secretary and Curator in his personal capacity. It is a handy volume, sumptuously got-up and illustrated with ten plates, and we believe it will fill a long-felt want.

Dr. Ganguly has dealt with the history of the Memorial and its structural details at length. The latter, in particular gives a lot of information, both regarding the capacity of the building and the restricted use to which it has been put. In going through the chapter on the building one is constrained to think as to how such expenses of perfectly designed

and constructed galleries and halls could have been put to use to far greater utility. Indeed one can imagine how it could house valuable collections of art and industry—particularly fast-disappearing cottage industry—and exhibits of great historical value. It might be said that the objective of the Trust was different. But so it was in the case of the Louvre. And there could be no question regarding the setting or security for such exhibits.

Regarding the exhibits, limitation of space, dictated by the question of personal expense, has evidently constrained the author into giving very short descriptions in most cases, and to limit the number of expensive plates. All the same, a mass of information is placed at the disposal of the scholar and the art-lover, for which Dr. Ganguly deserves our thanks.

K. N. C.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA: Edited by Swami Madavananda and Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumder. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. 1953. Rs. 20 only.

The Advaita Ashrama has to its credit many valuable publications and the volume under review is an outstanding one. The valued letter-press running to over 550 pages with forty illustrations combine to make the book really a rare production. The volume commemorates "the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman (Sarada Devi) of our time," writes Prof. S. Radhakrishnan who in his learned *Introduction* observes: This book "is an attempt—the first of its kind—to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last 5000 years" and "hence this book is a worthy memorial to Shri Sarada Devi the Holy Mother in whom Indian womanhood fulfils, nay, transcends its purely Indian character and assumes world significance."

Swami Nirvedananda has given an inspiring commentary to the life of Sarada Devi and Swami Tejasananda has ably characterized the "women devotees of Sri Ramakrishna."

The position of women in the Vedic, the Epic and the Pauranic ages has been surveyed by eminent Indian scholars and thus not only the general readers but also the University students would get plenty of materials for advanced studies. Women in Buddhism and Jainism have been ably discussed by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt and Prof. U. P. Shah. Life of women, as depicted in classical Sanskrit and Prakrit literature has been treated somewhat summarily but would provoke some research workers to prepare special monographs of the vast subject. Women in Mediaeval India (1200-1800) and in the modern period (1800-1950) have naturally taken over 200 pages and would we hope, stimulate workers to write books, on the subject, based on the major living languages of North and South India.

Thus this Centenary volume fully justifies its title as homage to a saintly woman of modern India and at the same time as a spring-board of further researches into the much-neglected sphere of women's role in the development of the family and the nation. Though the women contributors to this volume are very few yet Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, Mrs. Lila Majumdar, Prof. Suniti Bala Gupta and Mrs. Kamalabai Deshpande have made valuable contributions to this noble symposium. Silpacharya Nandalal Bose's hand is perceptible in many 'beauty-spots' of this beautiful Book of Grace and Spirituality and we recommended it to be a worthy addition to the Libraries of our schools and colleges.

KALIDAS NAG

MESSAGE OF THE UPANISADS: By Sain Das. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1-8.

The author and the publishers were well-known names in Lahore in pre-partition days, and it is happy to think that their association has not been broken by migration to India.

The book under review contains eight chapters and traverses the fields in which a layman is interested—God, rituals, outlook on life, salvation, the way to find reality, and devotion. The author disarms opposition in the Preface by the remark that "the message of the Upanisads, as given in this book, is meant neither for scholars nor for philosophers" and that "it is a book written by a layman for laymen." In presenting the contents of the Upanisads the author has, in keeping with his personal religious creed, preferred Ramanuja's interpretation of the nature of Brahman to Sankara's. Naturally, he lays great emphasis on devotion (*bhakti*) and maintains all through a reverent attitude towards the Upanisads.

The value of the book has been materially enhanced, not only by quotations from different Upanisads but also by extracts from the works of many eminent writers in different fields of knowledge. In fact, sometimes the impression becomes irresistible that the Upanisads have been used not as texts but as pretexts, as Aldous Huxley would say, for utilising the mass of materials which the writer had been collecting in a commonplace book during a life-time of wide and varied study, judging by the proportion that these extracts bear to the Upanisadic texts themselves. Rabindranath and Dilip Kumar seem to be his favourite authors in this respect. But the book as a whole breathes an air of lofty idealism and one perusing it will rise from his study with chastened feelings and ennobled thoughts.

It is a matter of the deepest regret, however, that a book of less than a hundred pages should contain about a hundred mistakes in printing, punctuation, spelling, syntax, etc. For some of these, the Punjabi pronunciation of the author, and perhaps of the proof-reader also, is responsible. Upanisads (on the cover), Brahmacharya, Anand, Mundak, Narad, Nar. Svetasvatra, Taittiriya, etc., are not Sanskrit but Punjabi. Again, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is not Ramakrishna Gobind but Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and Eckhart is not an English but a German mystic. These mistakes disfigure an otherwise readable book and should be carefully removed by expert proof-reading if and when a second edition is called for in future.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYA

SRI AUROBINDO: THE PROPHET OF LIFE DIVINE: By Dr. Haridas Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil. Published by Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, 15, College Sq., Calcutta. Pages 265+xi, double crown 1/16. Price Rs. 3 paper-bound and Rs. 4 cloth-bound.

The book is complete in eleven chapters with a Preface by the author and a Foreword from the pen of Sri Dilip Kumar Roy and dedicated to the Mother. Sri Dilip Roy writes about the author in the Foreword: "When he was barely twenty-five, his mental clarity, power of exposition and spiritual receptivity struck us all as remarkable." and again, he was "invited by the Stanford University of America as a nominee of Sri Aurobindo to lecture on his philosophy." The present work has developed out of a number of articles which were contributed by the author to various journals and magazines; the last

two chapters were written especially for this book. It deals with the Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo's Life Divine, its pattern, its way, i.e., the Integral Yoga or as he puts it as "the revolutionary march to capture the Kingdom of Heaven by conscious co-operation with power of the Spirit Himself."

Sri Aurobindo interpreted human evolution in the light of "The Divine Will to Self-manifestation" and focussed attention upon the "Supra-human possibility of human progress" and upon the fact that "Evolutionary Nature was assisted by Genuinely Spiritually-minded people the world over." Sri Aurobindo realised that India's political freedom was at bottom Spiritual reawakening and God himself was the true leader of India's political movement. So he set himself and devoted his whole life to giving such "a dynamic and integralising form to the mighty current of India's spiritual *sadhana*, that India might show to the world the true path of a unique world-order broad-based upon an uplifting of human consciousness to a higher level—a complete transfiguration of man by shifting the centre of gravity from the Ego to the Spirit."

The author in the last two chapters has nicely touched upon the main schools of metaphysical thoughts in India and different Spiritual disciplines and shown how these currents have in the 20th century united into a harmonious whole in Sri Aurobindo's *sadhana* and philosophy. In the last chapter he has brought out the salient points in some of the outstanding figures of India in the synthesising and revitalising movement in India's Renaissance, namely, Rammohun, Rabindranath, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhi and Radhakrishnan. He has however missed a very important link from this chain by omitting Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, the Prophet of New Dispensation or the Religion of Harmony, from this list, whose "True Faith," "Yoga—Objective and Subjective" and "*Sadhu-Samagam*" are fulfilled in the "Integral Yoga" and the grand synthesis envisaged in the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SRI AUROBINDO: Eight Upanishads. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondichery. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 4 cloth-bound and Rs. 3 paper-bound.

This neat volume containing the text and translation of the Isha, Kena, Katha, Mundaka, Mandukya, Prashna, Taittiriya and Aitareya Upanishads was published, we find, on the last birth anniversary of the great savant. The translation in the inimitable 'simple and rhythmic English' of the author attempts to convey what the Upanishads really mean and not what philosophic Hinduism took them to mean. Though primarily meant for presentation as the message of India to England and Europe the book will, we doubt not, commend itself to all Indian students and scholars alike. In a brilliant note 'on translating the Upanishads' forming a preface to the volume the underlying spirit of the venture has been explained. Nobody, we believe, can afford to miss the great sentiments expressed in this note—the author's bold assertion about Max Muller's performance should be read by all self-respecting Indians. We only wish the text in Sanskrit were printed, as it could have been, in a bolder type.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA

SANSKRIT

THE JAMAVIJAYA-KAVYA: By Poet Vani-natha. Critically edited for the first time by Dr. J.

B. Chaudhuri. Vol. 18 of the *Prachyavani Sanskrit Text Series*. Calcutta, 1953. English Introduction pp. 1-8 and Sanskrit Introduction pp. 1-8 and Text pp. 1-36, with Index of verses and a General Index. Price Rs. 5.

The Prachyavani Mandir already published three other important historical Kavyas dealing with the biographies of princes and ministers belonging to the period of Muslim rule in India. The Jamavijaya-kavya, here under review, is the fourth work of the same variety. Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, the able editor of this and other works, is a very well-known scholar who has for a long time been carrying on valuable researches on the contributions to Sanskrit literature by authors during the Muslim period of Indian history. He deserves encouraging congratulations from all lovers of Sanskrit literature throughout the country and abroad for this excellent edition and publication for the first time of this Sanskrit poem. The Kavya consists of seven cantos containing altogether 520 verses composed in different kinds of meters. It is quite true to say that old Manuscripts of Sanskrit works of such value have in recent years been tackled only by learned editor—the field hitherto remaining untrodden. In preparing the text of the edition Dr. Chaudhuri took the help of the only two available MSS. of the work—one lying in the India Office Library (London) and the other in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona) written in 1749 A.D. and 1809 A.D. respectively.

The historical value of this Kavya is great, as it deals with historical figures of the family of the Jama kings of Kaccha and Navanagara belonging to the periods of Muslim and British rule in India. It treats of the career of a series of 33 Jama kings, the last of them being Satrusalya, the patron of the author-poet Vaninatha. At first the Jama kings had their capital at Kutch, but king Ravala built the new capital at Navanagara in Saurashtra after having defeated the king of the latter place in battle. Students of Indian history will do well to collect historical materials from their study of such a work.

The poetical value of the Kavya is equally great. The Court-poet Vaninatha deserves a high place amongst the luminaries in the firmament of Sanskrit literature. He may be regarded as a master of Indian poetic style. Such is the great merit of Vaninatha that during perusal of certain descriptions in the work one is sure to be reminded of the lucidity of Kalidasa's style. The poet has added grace to the composition by a charming use of poetic embellishments and sentiments.

The printing and get-up of the edition are quite good. Such a book ought to find a place in each library in the country and the publication deserves well to be patronised by all Indian people, specially the people of Jamnagar in Saurashtra State.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

BENGALI

BHUTER PANCHALI: By Inanendranath Chaudhuri. Illustrated by Sm. Madhuri Devi, M.A. Messrs. Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.

In agreeable easily flowing verse the author has narrated several ghost-stories for children. One of the stories is taken from the famous poem 'Tam O' Shanter'.

ADDENDUM

The photographs which illustrate in this issue the article, "K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur," are taken by Sri Jatindranath Das.

and the author has acknowledged his debt. He shows considerable skill in the art of story-telling.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AKARSHAN SHAKTI: By Gulabratna Bajpeyi. Published by K. P. Sharma, Vignam Mandir, 6, Brahmopara Lane, Calcutta-6. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 3.

The author has dealt with the problem of "Magnetism" of personality in a simple, easily understandable manner so that the reader may practise the cultivation of those "tricks" of the eyes and the ears, of the attitudes and inclinations of the tastes and temperament which will help him to keep fit physically, calm mentally and happy "interiorally" in a world of matter and materialism. The present is the fifth edition of the book, which proves its great popularity.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW BY THE KAZIS: By Kazi Sayyad Nurudin Husain. Paper cover. Pp. 149. Price unstated.

(2) MAHABHARAT (Part 7): By K. K. Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 123. Price Rs. 2.

(3) BHUVIDYANAN MULTATWA: By Dr. R. N. Sukhishwala, B.Sc., Ph.D. Paper cover. Pp. 203. Price Rs. 2-8.

Published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay-4. 1949.

The first book is an offprint of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha by the learned Kazi Saheb of Broach and printed in the Sabha's quarterly magazine. As the result of his research into 45 sources, Persian, Arabic and English, the Kazi Saheb has been able to present a picture of how the officers of the Judicial Department dispensed justice during Muslim Rule (A.H. 697-1273: A.D. 1297-1857). Persian Sanads of the appointments of these officers from the Capital city and the judgments they delivered, in the original Persian with translation into Gujarati, enhance the value of the work, which on the whole is a substantial contribution to the past history of Gujarat. The Kazi Saheb is a descendant of the Kazi family of Broach and can thus speak from first-hand information. He has a rich library of Persian MSS. bearing on the subject.

The second book is the seventh of its kind and contains three verse-parvas, Moushal, Prasthan and Swargarohan, by four old Gujarati poets; Shivdas, Vishnudas, Ramkrishna and Ratneshwar. They have been edited by Mr. Shastri with his usual ability. Prof. Dr. Ralavi Nadirshah Sukhishwala is lecturing on Geology at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and is therefore qualified to write on his pet subject of Geology. He has examined the geological crust of the soil of Gujarat and referred to the various substances hidden underneath it: ruby, manganese, bauxite, gypsum, ochre, and hot-springs. Gujarati, like many other languages of India, lacks equivalents of English scientific terms. A Glossary of such terms as an Appendix makes up for the defect. For a Parsi, it is very unusual to produce such a scientific work in very good Gujarati, and writing about it as if he were at home in it. It is a remarkable feat.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Is Reading Ability Essential?

The question raised in an article in *The Aryan Path* by Elizabeth Cross challenges established attitudes, including the common "deference for the literate." Literacy is not properly an end in itself; it may serve the purposes of the propagandist as readily as those of the educator; and there are other ways, as India has known for centuries, in which cultural values can be handed down:

Is reading ability essential? Essential to what? Essential to salvation, one would presume, judging by the spasmodic outcries in the Western press. Nearly all good citizens are of the opinion that education begins and may well end with reading, and that once a child can read he will be "all right" (whatever that may mean). At the same time they make a great fuss over immoral "comics" and trashy literature, classing the influence of these with the worst products of the cinema.

Surely there is some slight conflict here. First, it is essential for the child to learn to read, then all will be well. Secondly, we discover that many children read all the wrong things, and, judging by the sales of sex and crime novels, so do their elders and betters.

As a teacher, and as a writer, I am professionally interested in this ability to read. In fact I take a somewhat sinful pride in the fact that no child has escaped from my class without being able to read a simple story happily. At the same time I think the whole subject is a vastly inflated balloon about which more nonsense has been talked and written than on almost any other, save perhaps psychology!

I am sure that children can learn easily when they are ready, but I am equally sure that some children will never be ready until they are almost adult—some not even then. I believe that this very late maturing is the reason why so many recruits learn to read and write fairly well when they enter the army. One factor is that they have developed; another is that they have every reason to want to learn—they feel it is their last chance, perhaps, and they want to write home, to read their letters, orders of the day and so on.

We in the schools do everything in our power to make the children want to learn, and in the majority of efficient schools we are successful, in the primary stages. Later, however, the slow and backward reader finds life more difficult, because in the senior schools his reading is truly a tool subject. He is reading more and more difficult material in order to learn definite subjects, and his slowness hampers him terribly. He begins to feel really inferior.

This feeling of inferiority is my main theme and it is a subject on which I feel most deeply. The whole system of English education today is lined up against the backward and poor reader. Sometimes the backward ones are left to wallow in their confusion, more often they are worked on, drilled, patiently trained, until some success is shown. In every case the result

is the same—a general atmosphere throughout every school that *Reading is Important*. If you can read well you are Good and Clever and you will Do Well and go to the High School. If you can't read well, you are Lazy, or Stupid, or both, and will end up as a Juvenile Delinquent and spend all your time in prison or at the cinema.

But, you may say, wasn't reading always considered important in the schools? Yes, but in the old-fashioned village school many other things were important too. Learning by heart took a very big place, and many a child shone by knowing his tables, by learning long hymns and extracts from the Bible. Many a child was happy reciting definitions and descriptions of geographical facts, whether he knew what he was talking about or not. He was approved of and that is the most important thing in the life of any child.

The child can feel if he is doing what is expected of him, whether he is told explicitly or not. Today the poor reader can feel this atmosphere of disapproval, even despair, from his well-meaning teachers and in many cases this feeling is the true beginning of general naughtiness and delinquency.

Another reason why this emphasis on reading is more dangerous today than it was in the past is the gradual raising of the school-leaving age. In the bad old days many a strong useful boy left school at 12, even 11 (with the authorities showing a blind eye) and became a successful helper in farm or shop. It didn't matter to the shepherd whether the boy could read or not, and a country boy knew this almost from babyhood. He was a useful boy, out of school, and he just took from school what he could, in the way of learning to count and add up, may be helping teacher with the garden, carrying water and so on, and looked forward to his emancipation. Often his teacher would do his best, but not worry unduly over the illiterate, respecting the boy's worth as a country worker and making sure he was obedient, honest and helpful.

Today no one can leave school until he is 15—a dreary time to be doing what you do not appreciate, even in the best of schools!

The lack of reading ability too often cramps the particular type of child I am considering, in many another subject, even in drama or handwork, where there may be written instructions.

The final problem which confronts the teacher of reading today is one which is too seldom admitted. That is the problem of low intelligence. The practical teacher, over the past 20 years, has had ample opportunity of observing that the general level of intelligence in general classes is getting lower. Those of us who have come back to teaching after a break notice it even more. The explanation seems simple enough: all our stupidest pupils, boys and girls, have grown up, married and had large families of stupid children, dear little souls most of them, and lovable and valuable, but just plain stupid. Our clever boys and girls have often not married at all or, if they have, they have one child, two at the most. Take any low-grade child in any school and you are

PRABUDDHA BHARATA HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The ensuing March issue of the PRABUDDHA BHARATA, will be a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It will contain a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number: Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukharji; Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A.; Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Mojumdar; Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C. T. K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C. C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A. and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

Printed on Imitation Art Paper
Profusely Illustrated Price Re. 3
Pages 160
Will be sent to subscribers of PRABUDDHA BHARATA without extra charge
Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00
(Only Annual Subscriptions Accepted)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.
JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kaviraj, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothachild Talisman:—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha:—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4. Mohini Kavacha:—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14. Nrisingha Kavacha:—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. Saraswati Kavacha:—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9 Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN" by Jyotish Samrat:—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence: 50/2, Dharamtola Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhavan" (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours: 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.
Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 8-30—11 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3685.
Central Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M.
LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Clash Of Languages

P. S. Nair observes in *The Indian Review*:

The moot educational problem today is the oft repeated complaint of the fallen academic standards. Does this mean that the standard of English in our schools and colleges has fallen low? Or the standard of education itself, that is, the level of the intellectual accomplishments of the students has gone down? The former is undoubtedly true; but the latter accords to the facts only partially. Now more subjects are taught in schools and colleges than quarter of a century ago. There are newspapers, periodicals, Cinema and Radio, all sources of knowledge available to an extent unimaginable before. The present-day student is more fortunately placed in many respects than his friends of the past. The cause of the malady lies elsewhere.

The standard of the English language has fallen and will go down further. It is a historical necessity that with the exit of the Britishers the inflated importance of their language is also withdrawn. Has not the supremacy of the Persian language vanished with the decline and fall of the Muslim Empire leaving behind only the Indianised Urdu? With the political supremacy also went the innumerable foreign teachers and professors who used to control our educational institutions. Now English can establish itself on our educational system only on its own merits, on the score of its beauty and utility. Nobody need be apprehensive of the future of English, the language of modern science and philosophy, the medium of world intercourse. This language which was the inspiration for the great movements of the 19th century, through which Tagore interpreted India to the West and Sarojini sung her sweet songs, can never die in India.

English has become a part of Indian culture and life and in course of time it may even be accepted as an Indian language in a new garb.

India's yearning for a common language has been consistent through the ages. As early as the days of Imperial Mauryas, there was Pali, the language of Asokan edicts. Even during the disunited days of decadent India, Sanskrit had a common appeal and it helped the dissemination of our culture in and outside the country. Republican India has accepted Hindi in Devanagari script as the State language. Notwithstanding the sporadic opposition to Hindi, nobody can seriously question its claim as our national language. A country without a common language is like a man without a soul. The country may pull on, but without any individuality or full flowering of its genius. English cannot be our national language, because that language can represent only the European culture and Western way of life. As early as 1823 Elphinstone feared that English would destroy the genius of the Indian tongue. William Temple and Wilson in 1880 held the view that "encouragement of English is unjust to the native literary classes and is no use to the bulk of the population." We can of course maintain our intercourse with Europe or America through English but we require an Indian medium to maintain our connection with the Northern or Eastern India. The Founding Fathers of our Republic thought Hindi can do the work and recommended its acceptance as our State language within 15 years. Still Hindi cannot replace English because its literature is not sufficiently developed for the purposes now served by the latter. Hindi is like our sacred river Ganga, deep, transparent and calm enriched by the great tributaries from the Himalayan peaks. Indian nationalism can be cemented and the present-day warring cultures brought into harmony only under the in-

pretty sure to find that he has a fine set of brothers and sisters and some babies at home ready to come along to school and drive the teacher to distraction! Take any clever child and you find he is from a very small family. It seems to me such simple biology that I can't imagine why the Ministry of Education ignores the matter. The lower grades increase enormously, the more intellectual don't reproduce.

Now, as it appears that we in England, at any rate, are carefully breeding an unintelligent population which will find more and more difficulty in learning to read, it is high time that we abandoned this excessive dependence on reading. Modern life is not so intellectual as people like to make out. Factory work needs little intelligence and a fairly small number of clever technicians are quite sufficient to run the show. Why not admit that there is plenty of value in other activities: in general service, in moral qualities, in watching birds, in feeding animals, in art, simple music and on? We pay lip service to all these things, but we don't really admire a child who paints a lively picture half as much as one who writes a perfect essay. We are still weighed down with deference for the literate.

After all, for hundreds of years hundreds of people could neither read nor write, but lived valuable and moral lives by other means. We need not re-enter the dark ages if we acknowledge that today, too, some people benefit truly by literacy, while others find the task beyond them. In the past the story-teller, the ballad singer, the preacher and the wandering friar passed on much knowledge and literature. Today we have the wireless, the cinema and television, all means by which the truly literate could educate and entertain those who need their help.

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

piring influence of Tulsidas, Kabir and the other great luminaries of the Hindi literature. Neither Shakespeare nor Milton can do it. Hindi's hand is further strengthened by its close connection with Sanskrit. We can call it even simplified or basic Sanskrit.

The overzealous partisans of Hindi from the North should realise that it must take root and flourish in the south, not as a graft but as one born and growing in the love of the masses.

The cry of purism must give way to the ideal of synthesis and assimilation with the regional language.

Finally there comes before our view that procession of 15 regional languages followed by a long line of about 179 dialects. In India regional patriotism has been very strong throughout history. We glory at the great feats of the Rajputs, Mahrattas and the Sikhs; but it must not be forgotten that these famous men of Indian History fought and held sway not as Indians but as Rajputs, Mahrattas and Sikhs. Even during the golden days of our struggle for liberation, the bait of linguistic provinces had been extended to the people to gird up their loins for the fight. What would Gandhiji have thought of one of his disciples fasting and dying for the Andhra province or whole masses of misled people devastating their own country in the name of their language? The struggle for linguistic provinces will torpedo the Five-Year Plan and endanger Indian unity.

Regional languages cannot be suppressed, as the Dravida Kazhakam thinks, through a domineering Hindi or eclipsed by the glittering English. However, Indian languages are growing in competition and not complementary to each other. There is so much language controversy in Madras and Bihar that people in bi-lingual areas suspect each other as plotting against one another. The pandemoniums that are created in some of the State assemblies will be a sight which will disappoint any Indian nationalist. Scratch any body in these parts and it will be found that he is at heart suspicious of the Central Government considering it as an evil and rival of his State. Growth of these hostile languages without any harmonious influence to reconcile them is dangerous to the growth of a common culture in India. The popularity of Sanskrit is confined to the higher strata of intellectuals and religious leaders and its influence is insufficient for producing harmony among the masses. Real and tangible harmony can come only through regional languages alone. U.S.S.R. solved a similar problem by adopting Russian alphabet for all the languages within her borders excepting the Armenian, Georgian and the Baltic languages. As Prof. G. Serdyuchenko puts it: "The adoption of the Russian graphic symbols as a basis for creating written languages for nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union also had a number of purely practical advantages. It did away with the diversity of alphabets making it easier for pupils to learn their native language and Russian as well. Exceptional attention was paid to the specific features of these languages, in particular, the feature of their sound system. At the present time the Soviet Union counts 60 odd national written languages or 10 times more than what existed before the Revolution."

India can copy this reform with greater success as we have already a common script in Devanagari for all regional languages excepting Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kanarese. Mere political union will not be lasting without linguistic harmony and concord. If the vernaculars are able to develop to their present stage through their contact with English, what

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

BIOSIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, discoloration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

"HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH MARRIED": 312 pages. Daringly illustrated, the most talked about practical book in the world. "HOLD NOT TO BE OBSCENE" in the Bombay Court. Copies requisitioned for India Office (London) and British Museum Libraries. Available in English, Gujarati and Hindi for married persons only. Price Rs. 15 BEFORE ORDERING SEND FOR FULL PARTICULARS.

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.), Opp. Lloyds Bank
281/283, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

will be their glory if they are watered by the currents of Indian thought and ideas flowing throughout the land. Overnight the bi-lingual areas will turn into an oasis of harmony and tolerance rather than the breeding ground of clashing interests and ill-will. This will pluck the poisonous tooth of linguistic provinces and will reduce that issue into mere provincial delimitation.

These are revolutionary days when ideals are in a state of constant change. Stability is unthinkable in the present state of fluidity or ideas. In the educational field students are subject to various sorts of pressure and loyalties. They want to tap the unquestioned commercial and scientific importance of English, to be loyal to the national aspirations of Hindi and to maintain the prestige and importance of their mother-tongue. This clash of languages is wholly responsible for the low academic standard of students. In Hyderabad the attempt to make Urdu the medium of instruction in the Osmania University was a complete failure because of the trouble to find suitable text-books and coin scientific terms. By the time a scientific work is translated, a more up-to-date publication comes out making the old one out-of-date. Translation of scientific and technical works can be done by experts and not by literary men as is the case with fiction or general books. So University education in the vernaculars or in Hindi is out of question in the near future. English is the only medium which we can adopt without doing harm to efficiency. One cannot jump into University course in English from a secondary education in vernaculars because education is a progressive course of evolutionary training.

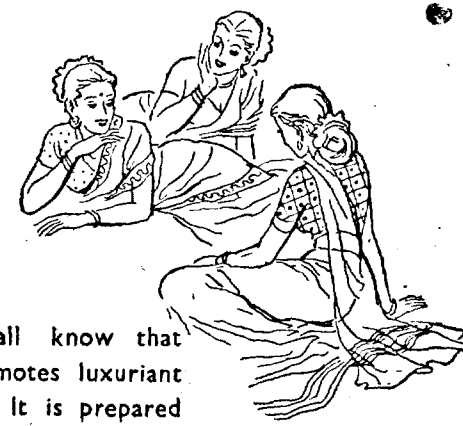
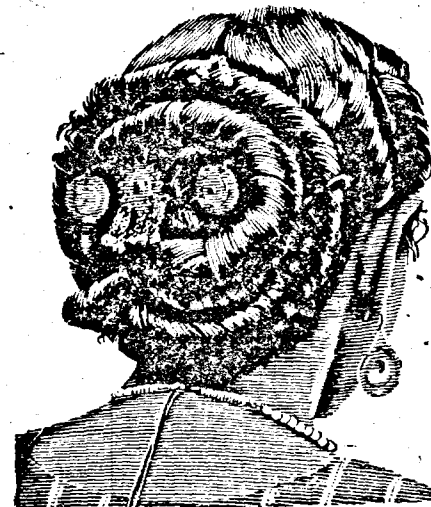
The only stage of education when English can be eliminated is the primary stage when the infants can be taught best in their home tongue.

If the script of the Regional languages as well as Hindi is Devanagari, due justice is given to both in the primary stage by one stroke. English can be taught two or three hours a week which will not tax the infant energies dangerously.

In the secondary stage English will gain greater importance and pure scientific subjects are to be taught, with the help of that language. Subjects like History and Geography can be taught through mother-tongue. Hindi at this stage will gather importance and separate from the mother-tongue. In the order of importance the mother-tongue will come first, then English and then will be Hindi. In the University stage English will be media for all scientific subjects leaving easier ones to be tackled through the mother-tongue. At this stage English and the mother-tongue will be equal in importance while Hindi becomes an optional subject. Thus language should be considered not as an end in itself but a vehicle for the communication of ideas and emotions. Our mother-tongue and Hindi are to be encouraged but not at the expense of efficiency. Wastage of time and energy is unpardonable. We can survive as a nation only if we are more economic in the expenditure of our assets. As Clifton Fadiman writes: "It's fun to play with words—but not at the cost of clear communication."

Wherever they meet...

They discuss about Calchemico's **CASTOROL**,
the delicately perfumed Castor Oil.



Because, they all know that
CASTOROL promotes luxuriant
tresses of hair. It is prepared
from refined castor oil. Its sweet
fragrance imparts delightfulness.

Put up in 5 and 10 oz phial



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LD.

CALCUTTA-29

The Glory That was Andhra

Dr. O. Ramachandraiya writes in the first issue of *The Andhra Standard* :

As old as the Aiteraya Brahmana, the Andhras have an unbroken history from the early thirties of the third century B. C. to this day. Divided into a large number of families and dominating the many-cited Dakhan, with a lakh of army which they could collectively put into the field, they were united in subjection to Bindusara, the son of Chandragupta Maurya. But under Asoka, they enjoyed an autonomy which they soon changed into independence after Asoka. Srimukha Satavahana, their first ruler, was the founder of a dynasty of proud achievement. Hindustan was over-run by the Greeks under Demetrius and his generals. Under Sri Satakarni of the Andhra dynasty, the Dakhan was secure while Kharavela of Kalinga successfully opposed the Greek in battle. The Saka Parthava invasions soon followed. The last of the Kanwa rulers, Susarma, was in no wise capable of saving himself or the country from the foreigners. India discovered its saviour in the Andhra King Puloma who in killing Susarma Kanwa and annexing Magadha to his Andhra Kingdom proved too strong for the enemy to encounter. Again when Andhra Desa got reduced in extent consequent on the aggression by Saka Nabapana and Kardamaka Castana, another Andhra King, Gautami Putra Satakarni, restored the Satavahana house and the glory of freedom from foreign rule by destroying the Saka-Yavana Pallavas. His kingdom reached the Aravallis in Rajputana and included Gujrat, Kutch and Malwa. Small wonder that the Chinese should regard the Andhras next only to Mauryas as kings of India.

The next great invasion of India by the Muslims saw them found permanent rule with Delhi as capital. Aibek sketched the outline of Islamic dominion and Ilutmish rendered it dejure and there was no reviving the Hindu Hindustan. After 1296 A. D. the Dekhan and the South were overrun for money by Khalji General Kafur and for dominion by the Tuglak Prince, the later King Monam-mad. The Yadavas of Deogiri kept the Muslim armies well provisioned during their attack against the Kakatiyas of Warangal. Of all the Indian powers, south of the Vindhya, that of the Kakatiyas under Prataparudra II alone fought the invaders more than seven times. The Visalandhra, which our leaders today envisage, is what Pratapa Rudra II ruled over, not an inch more. The never-ending Muslim attacks had their inevitable result. Made weak by time and fate, Prataparudra found his heroic temper and strength of will quite inadequate and the kingdom of Warangal lost its independence.

Then Andhra Desa witnessed a national upsurge, the like of which had never been seen in India of old. The seventy-two Nayaka feudatories of Warangal, who now became independent, forgot their mutual rivalry and conflict of interests. They elected Musunuru Prolaya of Nellore District for their leader and individually and collectively they undertook to drive the invader away from their lands. A twelve year struggle, incessant and intense, found in 1336 A. D. the Vijayanagara Kingdom arising on the banks of the Tungabhadra and the coastal Andhra attaining freedom under the Musunuru chiefs and the Reddi kings. "Everything seemed to be leading up to but one inevitable end, the ruin and devastation of the Hindu provinces, the annihilation of the old royal houses, the destruction of their religion, their temples, their cities. All that the dwellers in the South held most dear seemed tottering to its fall, when suddenly there was a check to this destructive foreign invasion, a halt—then a solid war

of opposition and for 250 years Southern India was saved." Will our Tamil friends who are proud of the preservation of the Hindu culture and its symbols in their land remember those Andhras and Andhra Kannadigas but for whom what they have now would never have survived?

The kingdom of Vijayanagara was of great and additional significance. By the middle of the fifteenth century the political forces in India were distributed among two great groups of Moslem powers, each group abutting on South a formidable Hindu polity. The Andhra Kannadiga empire of Vijayanagara distracted and menaced the southern Muslim belt of the states of Gujrat, Malwa, Khandesh and Bahmuni and disabled them from joining hands with their northern co-religionist powers of Sind, Multan, the Punjab, Delhi and Bengal, to throttle the deathless and indomitable States of Rajputana.

Statistics and Public Health

Economic Review writes editorially :

"Vital and health statistics are essential tools for the formulation and administration of public health programmes." This basic principle was re-affirmed at the first International Conference of National Committees on Vital and Health Statistics, held in London from 12 to 17 October under the auspices of the World Health Organisation and the United Nations, and attended by 28 delegates from WHO Member and Associate Member States, and representatives of the International Labour Office and International Statistical Institute. The National Committees on Vital and Health Statistics exist in 30 countries and one of their objectives is "to relate the activities and functions of diverse agencies or organisations that produce statistics, so that they work as a co-ordinated whole, avoiding both wasteful overlapping of effort and important gaps in essential parts of statistical data." These Committees are doing valuable work.

The Conference examined the advantages of modern sampling techniques in collecting and compiling health statistics. These techniques only supplement and not substitute the traditional ones and can help in collecting statistics more cheaply and quickly, at least in some cases. They would be particularly helpful in under-developed countries as they can be applied to a wide range of enquiries over vast areas.

The Conference recommended that the medical practitioners should be accurate in their diagnosis given in medical certificates and certificates of cause of death. Medical students should be trained in elementary statistical methods, in the value of health statistics and in the principles and purposes of medical certification of causes of death. Professional medical secrecy can be safeguarded by satisfying various secrecy requirements.

The Conference requested the WHO Expert Committee on Health Statistics to lay down practical measures and procedures which would satisfy the ethics of medical practice and the essential needs of scientific research and medical planning. The WHO and the United Nations were urged to continue and expand their co-operative training programmes in health and vital statistics.

We in India and our friends in other under-developed countries stand in dire need of accurate vital statistics, so that a fuller utilization could be made of our limited resources. We would do well by extending sampling techniques in our vast country and paying urgent heed to the recommendations of the Conference.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.,

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Education For Living

Wilfred Wellock expounds the true significance of education and champions the cause of Gandhiji's Basic Education as the best system of modern education in the *Indian Opinion*, Natal, November 1953 :

Education is one of the most ill-used words in our language. On no subject is the public so badly informed as on the basic function and purpose of education. It now means "know-how" of everything under the sun, and is equated with a science which increases our speed, our material abundance and our military power, but overlooks the meaning and purpose of living.

The major demands of our time are for more and better scientists, technicians, managerial experts, to produce whom is the primary purpose of education.

To parents this boils down to a keen struggle for the capture of the good, that is, the well-paid jobs by their children. Those who succeed pass automatically into the upper reaches of society, while below, in the vast arena of the industrial robots, education has little or no significance. In other words, the main values of modern education are cash and social status; and the sign and symbol of their sway is a parallel growth of fear and military power.

In consequence, our age is in the throes of a rhythmic insanity. The dark shadow of nihilism is steadily creeping upon us. Human liquidations, social purges, mass expulsions, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, atomic, napalm and hydrogen bombs and guided missiles with a speed of 20,000 miles an hour, are indications of the spiritual bankruptcy of our culture.

The decay of culture has been proceeding for several centuries. In my youth, even amidst the sordid conditions of a Lancashire cotton town, young working men and women were conscious of many vital spiritual values which have no significance today, and which they esteemed more highly than money values. They were familiar with the works of Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Emerson, Darwin, etc., half a score of great novelists and as many poets. That period witnessed the last struggle of the human spirit for the survival of spiritual values before the final onrush of the materialism which now engulfs the West.

I recall a very interesting discussion which took place in the Master's House of a Cambridge College in the early days of the second world war. Our theme was youth in the post-war world, and in the discussion the question arose of the changes that had taken place in the habits, interests and outlook of University students in the previous thirty or forty years. We were told of great discussions which used to take place in the rooms of dons and senior students night after night, on vital problems in philosophy, religion, science, humanism—indeed everything which had to do with the meaning and purpose of life. It was generally agreed that these "outside" events were the salt of university life, and were remembered above everything else. In these

discussions the mind reached its highest pinnacles of thought and received its greatest illuminations and inspirations. One man related how quite recently his son, who had gone to his father's old college, had thrown up his university career in disgust, on the ground that the life he had heard his father describe no longer existed, and that he felt spiritually forlorn. Sport and jobs were now the dominant subjects of discussion.

Within the last fifty years something extraordinary has happened to our civilisation. The habits and aims of the people generally have changed. This is because their values have changed. Two world wars, major conflicts between capital and labour, a gigantic exodus of the people from the churches, greatly increased spending power among the workers supplemented by the benefits of the Welfare State, a gradual weakening of spiritual ties and values and of fundamental honesty in business practices, have combined to revolutionise conduct, the attitudes, habits and values of most Western peoples. This social revolution started in the big industrial towns, passed to the smaller towns and finally penetrated the countryside.

The two institutions which ought to have prevented this decline—the church and the centres of learning—were themselves drawn into the whirlpool of materialism by many hidden currents. The full consequences of this failure have not yet been grasped.

What status has culture in Britain today? At present most of our children leave school at fifteen, and only a dwindling minority ever attend a Sunday School, while most of these cease to do so before they are 16. Whence, therefore, in these go-as-you-please days do our young folk, supplied with ample cash, derive the ideas, concepts and values which determine their conduct? None of the institutions which cater for youth, such as youth clubs, Scouts and Guides, seem able to hold them for long, and even then only by means of entertainment and sport. There are exceptions, of course, but taken by and large our youth, unless they happen to come under powerful home or personal influences, rarely receive in their vital formative years moral and spiritual

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | Advocate |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| Sri B. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

165

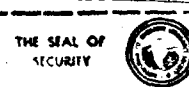
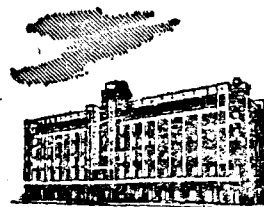
guidance, instruction in the art of discerning relative human values in conduct, in human relations, and thus in the deeper significance of good and evil. In consequence they mostly pick up their morals where they pick up their songs, their clichés and their habits—in the factory, at the cinema, and on the street.

And what of their parents? It is now generally agreed that fewer than 14 per cent. of our adult population attend church with any degree of regularity, and so far no institution has arisen to take the place of

the church. Hence we live in an age that is devoid of spiritual oases, retreats for meditation, spiritual guidance and inquiry when people may come face to face with their inner being and probe its foundations. That is why our age is restless, ill at ease, and why so many find it intolerable to be alone. In our midst are thousands of churches which are almost empty. Something is lacking in their message. Yet the people hunger. Our spiritual bankruptcy is revealed in the fact that 10,000,000 adults find their major leisure occupation for



Life Insurance is not a fair-weather friend, but a friend in need. It is a protection against the rainy day—a safe and sure coverage for future eventualities. It guarantees security to those who avail themselves of its benefits. And you can as well enjoy these benefits by placing YOUR INSURANCE with the HINDUSTHAN which is your own Company. It has a tradition of 46 years' dependable service to the nation.



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA-63.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs. aa.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 1 (No. 1, to 9 out of Stock each No. at Rs. 4 82 0	
History of Orissa Vols. I & II—R. D. Banerji (Each) 25 0	
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu 12 0	
Dynasties of Medieval Orissa—Pt. Binayak Misra 5 0	
The Knight Errant (Novel)—Sita Devi 8 8	
The Garden Creeper (Illust. Novel)—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 8	
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 0	
India And A New Civilization—Dr. R. K. Das 4 0	
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (Illust.)—P. N. Roy 4 8	
Story of Satara (Illust. History)—Major B. D. Basu 10 0	
My Sojourn In England—ditto 2 0	
History of the British Occupation, In India—[An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.]—N. Kasturi 8 0	
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism In Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee 6 0	
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy 1 0	
Protection of Minorities—Radha Kumud Mukherji 0 4	
Postage Extra.	

The Modern Review Office
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

eight months of the year in filling up football coupons in the hope of a financial scoop! What inspiration and guidance is to come out of that for the next generation? And youth does still aspire! Something deep down in their souls tells them that life holds out a promise to which there appear to be no guides.

Our age takes life and living for granted, and finds no place for teaching the art of living in its educational institutions. Whereas every student in the course of his training should be invited to face the problem of human life itself, and how it should be lived in order to realise what Plato called the "Good," Jesus the "Abundant Life" of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Gandhi "Truth." He should be taught the art of discerning and estimating human values, and of formulating a system of values and an order of conduct whereby he may achieve abundant life.

Centuries ago the youth of our land were thus taught. That was an era of creative art, whose magnificent works put us to shame. Today, for the most part, art is without a mission, and wanders aimlessly in a spiritual wilderness. Lacking vision and purpose in a materialistic age, many artists have switched over to advertising pills, soaps, cigarettes and other merchandise, while artists in every sphere are displaying in inexplicable extravaganzas the bewilderment of their minds.

Life is illimitable both in quantity and quality. Man may live like a worm, at a low ebb, or at the flood like a god, a creator. The art of living is the art of discerning the relative values of the ends and means which men adopt and then formulating a way of life which enlarges heart and mind, advances the social good, develops satisfying social relationships and all one's finest powers. Life may be lived in a hundred ways and each will have its relative worth, but of them all one will be best, because life is a unity and is bounded by law, natural and moral. Natural law is concerned with what is, the moral law with what ought to be, the "good life." The former states a fact, the latter a judgment of value the aim of which is to discover the conduct, or "way of life" which increases wellbeing, or Life, and is thus evil.

The externals of life change violently and rapidly, so that in every age there is need of the seer and the prophet to guide the people, and especially youth into the way of the good life. That knowledge will be the "pearl of greatest price" in their time. How magnificently the ancients described it: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom and that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold . . . Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace . . . She is the tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is everyone that retaineth her."

It follows that education should be a perennial process. Our knowledge and attainments can never be complete, no matter how hard we strive. In the realm of the spirit there is always another peak to be climbed, a better self to be evolved.

The social and political consequences of living on this plane of constant searching and striving are beyond calculation. It would, e.g., keep the body in bounds and in good health, check self-indulgence and the manifold wastefulness of false pride, and so modify our demands upon the earth's resources and thereby greatly reduce the tensions which lead to war.

Education for living leads to human wholeness through self-expression, self-discovery and self-development. It teaches that life is gained or lost in and by everything we do; that man is a social being whose wholeness and wellbeing depend upon his going all out to fulfil the demands of a worthy vocation. By means of creative self-giving he is perpetually becoming what he was not, a new and better person. Life is becoming, and man is forever being made. Vocational living is creative in a two-fold sense: it adds value to something in the external world and stature to the doer, widens his horizon and refines his spirit. In other words, it is culture of the highest order.

Book learning is of value because it interprets human experience throughout the ages, but if it ends in learning without changing conduct it ceases to be true culture. The purpose of studying history is to learn wisdom that we may walk in its ways. To find that wisdom meditation is necessary; and today meditation is a lost art. But meditation is not enough; it is he who "doeth the word" who attains the Kingdom of Heaven.

Children learn by observation and imitation. Everything they do is an act of learning, of self-expression and self-realisation from making rag dolls and mud pies to building houses and playing at school and hospital.

Why does this habit so suddenly terminate in modern civilisation? In the old days it was perpetuated in apprenticeship, and the habit continued to old age. The craftsman, no matter what his trade, used his brains all the time, for all his joys were individual and unique. He was never satisfied unless he was working out some problem or other, or fashioning something in accordance with a new idea or inspiration.

I first became conscious of this cultural way of living by observing my grandfather, who was a village blacksmith in the heart of agricultural Norfolk. Something of his soul was in nearly every home in the village. In his spare time he cultivated a large garden, also a field in which he rotated various crops, and so provided the bulk of the family's food. He instituted the family's orchestra, which each child as it grew up was asked to join, also to choose its instrument, and then, with the aid of the entire family, to make it. They thus made a harmonium, a violin, a double bass fiddle, a piccolo and a flute. All this activity was culture of the highest order.

We do not want to return to these days, but we do need to bring back into daily service the tremendous reservoir of creative power which has been obliterated by supermechanised mass production and giant industrial units which dehumanise men by a process of fragmentation called specialisation.

It cannot be too strongly stressed that the artist, as Coomaraswamy contended, is not a special kind of person, but every man should be a special kind of artist. To make a useful thing excellently, is to be an artist. The phrase "art for art's sake" belittles human functioning, as art, like every skill and faculty, is for life's sake to increase and ennoble it. We must repudiate the ivory tower conception of art and call upon the would-be artist to help transform our sordid, ersatz civilisation into a thing of beauty and inspiration. The culture of the spade, the hammer and the adze is as valid as that of the pen and the palette. A society that is nurtured in a true culture and is certain of its ends, will not be concerned about which vocations are higher or lower. They are all for life, and, as Ruskin said, "There is no wealth but life."

Creative handwork makes the whole world kin, and everyone should render his mead of it as a duty to himself and to his kind. With a spade or other tool in his hand

a man steps out of the prison-house of caste and class and becomes a member of the human race. And I discovered many years ago that a garden may become a gymnasium, a university, a sanctuary for meditation, a haven of beauty and inspiration and a storehouse of food. What more can one ask of anything? But is gardening economic? I reply: is falling in love? Is marriage and bringing up a family? Is poetry, or music? All these things are bought at a price, a high price, which we pay gladly because it is the way of the good life.

These observations call for comment on Gandhi's last discovery Basic Education. It sprang largely from the recognition that children learn chiefly through creative play, and that this work-play has a high cultural value. Then why not systematise it and make it the foundation of children's education—and indeed, of all education? Basic Education is an attempt to do precisely that. But if children are to be taught to work play constructively, why not do something which has a utility value, especially in a poor country like India which can afford little money for education? So why not spin cotton, which every Indian uses and which can be grown in almost every part of India?

The outcome is a system of primary education based on cotton spinning. Today the system is operating in thousands of Indian villages, and State after State is adopting the system officially. The children take to it like ducks to water, as I have witnessed in many village schools. At one school I was presented with a hand-spun-and-woven shirt, the yarn having been spun by children of six years. The first spelling lessons are of the names of things connected with spinning things in which the children are most interested. Their first songs are spinning songs; they sing as they spin. Other questions arise—Whence comes the raw cotton? It grows! Then let us grow some! So cotton seeds are procured, a school garden is made and in it the cotton seeds are sown. That introduces the problem and the conditions of growth: soil and plant feeding, the marvellous cycle of life and the need to return all vegetable, animal and human wastes to the soil. This links up garden growth with sanitation, the collecting of the wastes, including night soil, and compost making. In due course comes the complete cycle of sowing, soil feeding, growth, crops, spinning, weaving. Then comes—trade, e.g., so many pounds of yarn purchase so many yards of cloth. This introduces accountancy and the economics of exchange. And so it goes on until every field of knowledge is traversed.

The principle of Basic Education is now being carried into adult education. Recently the foundations were laid of the first Basic Education Agricultural College. Also recently, the Basic Education Teachers

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. Sirkar & Sons
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

Dhole & Co. RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT
BARNAGORE-CALCUTTA

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1954

VOL. LXXXV, No. 3

Whole No. 567

NOTES

U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan

All speculation regarding the arms-aid to Pakistan is over, with the publication of President Eisenhower's letter to our Prime Minister. Details about the quantities and descriptions of the equipment will come out in due course. Needless to say, both of that would depend on the decisions of the American committee of experts which is charged with that.

In any case, we should now make up our minds as to the course of action open to us. For there can be no question to the fact that this arms-aid arrangement has brought us very near the battle line of the future. There should not be any further evasion of the primary questions regarding the Defence of the Union. Nor should the Nation be further doped with talk about *ahimsa*.

Let us hasten to add that we are not challenging either the basic truths or the supreme moral values of *ahimsa*. Our faith in that we have stated in these columns times without number before and we reiterate that again. We do so because our public forum is infested with hordes of fanatics and sycophants, who would start screaming "heresy" directly their dogma is questioned in any way. Nevertheless we do question the efficiency of *ahimsa* as a weapon of defence against armed aggression. Our history is full of evidence to the contrary as would be admitted by all except the densest ignoramus.

Ahimsa was adopted not only as a creed but also as the keystone of State policy by Emperor Asoka, the Beloved of Gods. And who can challenge that man's piety or sincerity or his full-hearted and powerful support to the cause of *ahimsa*? We have the testimony of his edicts and the texts of the books of that day, on the basis of which H. G. Wells pronounced him to be the greatest of all monarchs that the world has seen.

But what happened to the subjects of Asoka, the nationals of his realms, and to his own children after his passing? As yet history is not quite clear about

that period excepting on one point and that is that catastrophe overtook his lineage and his empire fell to pieces under the aggressive action of enemies, internal and external.

That is not all. What happened to the great Viharas, those vast shrines of learning, every stone and brick of which were cemented with *ahimsa*? Did they survive aggression? There is no need to give the answer in detail. The pages of the history of India are filled with it.

There is no room in the free world, nor has there ever been any, for a nation that refuses to be prepared to meet aggression by any means save and except that of *ahimsa*. Eternal Vigilance is truly the price of Liberty, and Vigilance means Preparedness, in the military sense of the word.

Defence of the Union must, therefore, be given serious consideration henceforward, and it should be clearly understood that *Defence* in modern warfare cannot be exactly called a *cottage industry*. We have now to decide how we are going to set about it in all seriousness.

First of all we shall have to decide whether we shall rely entirely or partially on outside aid, or whether we shall aim at self-sufficiency to a major degree. There are nations like Sweden whose resources are far smaller than ours, and whose record in the past century or more has been that of *ahimsa*, who have attained a fair degree of self-sufficiency in defence. We have to cut out all empty talk about arms races, etc., and decide on a Five-Year Plan of preparedness.

Pakistan's intentions are clear to all but the wilfully blind. We have the following bit of news for further clarification:

"Lahore, Feb. 26: Pakistan's defence budget for the next year is likely to be increased by about Rs. 20 crores, according to a report from Rawalpindi published here today. Most of this amount, the report said, was expected to be spent on capital works and industries for producing defence equipment."



THE HOLI FESTIVAL
By Niharanjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Training College at Sevagram sent out all its students for a year's constructive work in villages.

This system tends to produce whole minds and whole persons. Builders become their own architects; carvers, potters, weavers, etc., their own designers, while all become artists, scientists, creators. Every new subject emerges naturally and organically, and thus pulsates with significance and stimulates a lively interest.

The supreme task is to start the transition from a mechanistic and fragmented, to a human and whole, society, from a materialistic and quantitative, to a spiritual and qualitative, civilisation, in the school, the university, the church, and the workshop.

Antioch College Welds Thought and Action

Yellow Springs (Ohio) : Antioch College is a small co-educational institution in a quiet Mid-western town—outwardly undistinguished from hundreds of other similar American colleges. But Antioch is famous throughout America and the world for the way it combines academic study with practical experience in the working world. At Antioch, students develop their individual potentialities to the fullest.

A privately endowed institution, the college is exceptional in U.S. educational history for its pioneering leadership in the training of youth. Antioch has stood through the years as a symbol of progressive thought and action in education. Undergraduate students are welcomed without regard to sex, creed, or colour.

Antioch's reputation rests chiefly on its application of the "work-study" plan, and on its effective student-faculty "community government."

THE ANTIOCH PLAN

Theory and practice, thought and action, are complementary courses of the curriculum. The 1,000 students at Antioch split their time between studies of art, sciences, and humanities in the classroom, and active participation in the working world off the campus. In five years of concentrated and integrated learning, students spend 90 weeks at jobs away from the college. More than 500 employers annually co-operate with the college by offering jobs to students.

While one half of the student body is in the classrooms, the other half is at work in the professions, business, industries, and government. The jobs these students fill are of infinite variety: they teach at kindergartens, act as guides in museums, assist nurses, work in government bureaus, sell in department stores. The students work in full-time jobs on the same terms as their fellow employees: they receive the same pay, are praised or blamed, advanced or discharged by their supervisors.

At the end of an 8-or 12-week period, the "working" students change places with those who have been attending college.

Again, a few months later, they return to their jobs or take up new ones.

SUCCESS OF PLAN

The Antioch student who has decided on his vocation gains much from the work-study plan, but it is even more valuable for the boy or girl who has not yet chosen a life's work. If a girl wavers between medical and teaching careers, she can try both. She may serve as a nurse's aide in a hospital or a clerk in a surgeon's office. Although probably too young to try teaching, she can assist in a school library or help supervise a children's playground. What she learns about these jobs and what her supervisors learn about her are an excellent guide to the career she should follow.

The effectiveness of the method is demonstrated by the fact that 95 out of every 100 Antioch graduates already have determined what their life work is to be.

"COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT"

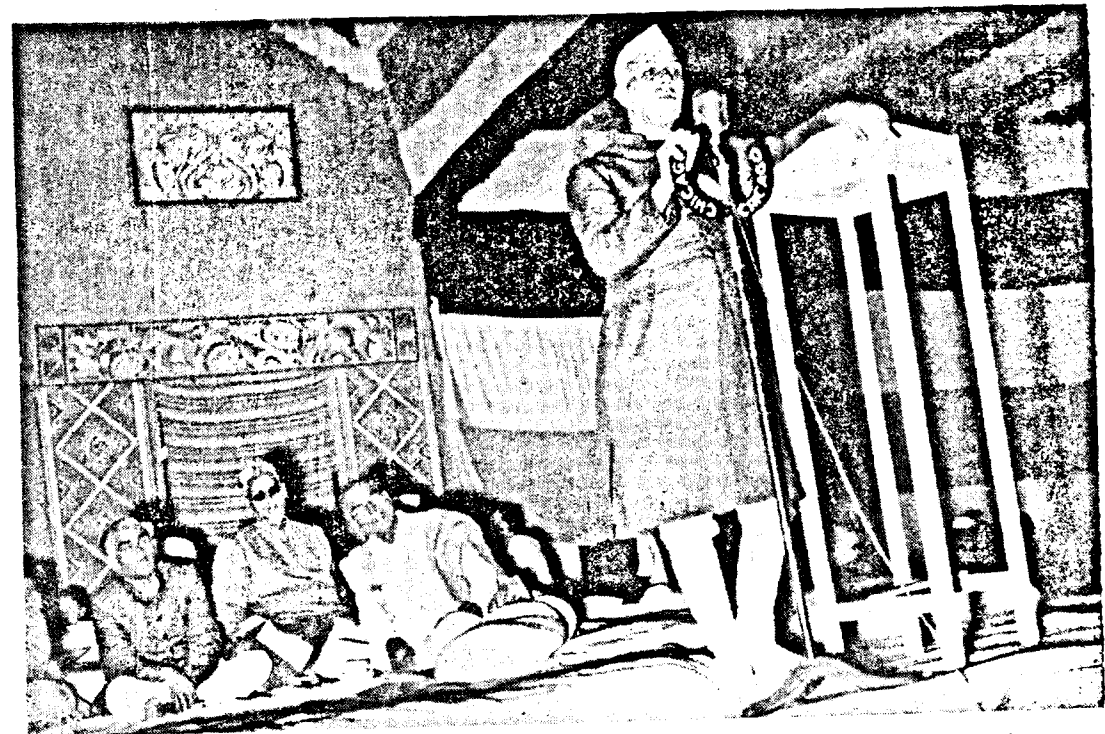
An additional element in Antioch's programme is its "Community Government." Every one connected with the college, student or faculty, is considered a citizen of the Antioch community and entitled to a vote. The Community Government owns the college bookstore, gives each person a subscription to student publications, and, in general, governs all those aspects of college life not directly related to academic study. Similar organizations are found in many other colleges, but that at Antioch is one of the most fully developed.

Antioch—founded in 1853 by the famous pioneer educator Horace Mann—celebrates its centenary this year 1953. The work-study plan was inaugurated in 1921 under the administration of Arthur E. Morgan, distinguished engineer who later became the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Dr. Morgan recently spent almost a year in India as a member of the Indian Universities Commission.

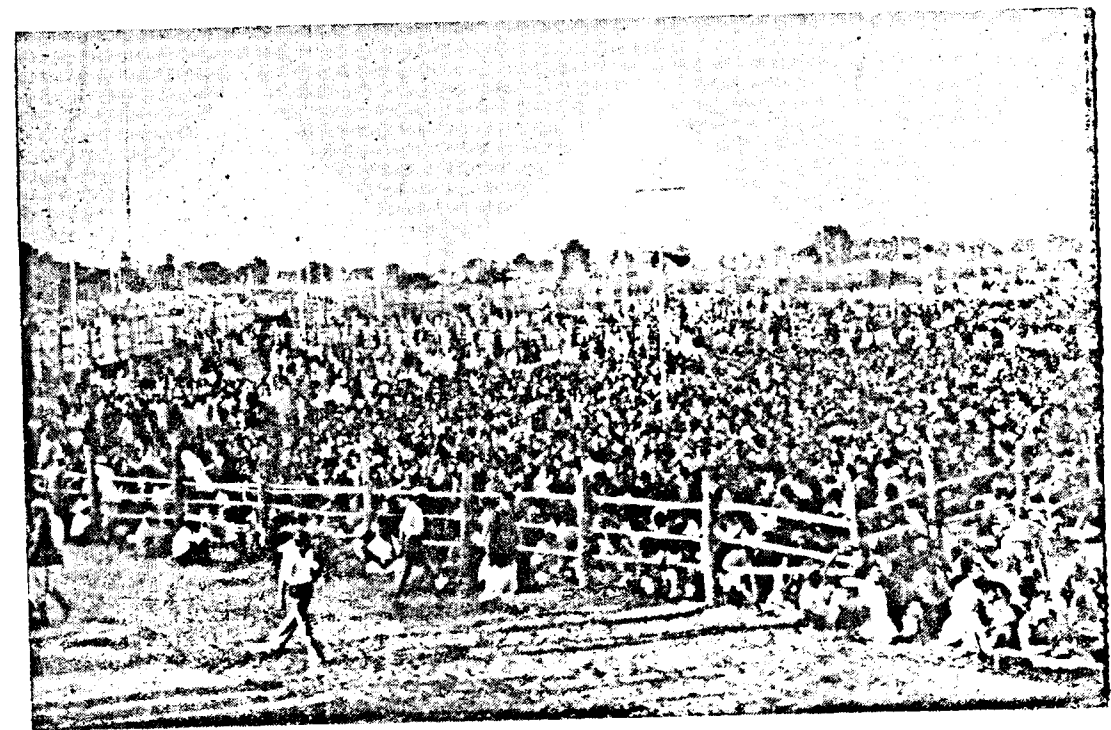
PLAN ADOPTED BY OTHERS

U.S. educators and businessmen have acclaimed the Antioch plan in which studying, working and living become exciting adventures. The work-study idea has been adopted by other American colleges.

Horace Mann's little one-building college was erected in 1853 from materials quarried and cut from the ground it stood on. Antioch Hall, still standing, was then the largest building west of the Allegheny Mountains. For the past century, Antioch College has carried forth Mann's counsel to his sixth graduating class: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."—*American Reporter*.



Pandit Nehru addressing the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Kalyani



The Open Session of the Congress, 1954, at Kalyani

Photographs by Jatin Das



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM /

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Persian Daily on Kashmir's Accession

One of the first reactions in Pakistan when the arms-aid pact was made public, was that of jubilation because this Pact "will help to solve the Kashmir problem." The inference being obvious.

In the meanwhile the legislature in Kashmir decided on accession and integration with India. Immediately came the demand from Pakistan that this be officially repudiated by India.

The UPI-AFP reports from Teheran as follows: "Commenting on the Kashmir Constituent Assembly recommendation for the State's irrevocable accession to India, the Teheran daily *Firman* said in an editorial that 'the noteworthy point in this connection is that the representatives of the same Kashmiri people have declared their desire for association with India as are claimed by Pakistan to be in favour of the State's integration with Pakistan.'

"The paper added: Pakistan's sole stand regarding the Kashmir issue is that the State's overwhelming majority being Muslims, the territory should accede to Pakistan. But the argument is not convincing since 40 million Muslims reside in India and they have no desire to leave India and go over to Pakistan."

The Industrialization of Pakistan

Regarding the industrial development of Pakistan, the *Asian Review*, for January, 1954, contains two excellent articles which are very informative. The first is the report of a lecture by Mr. Fergus Innes, C.I.E., and the second is a contributed one. We append extracts culled from both below. Mr. Innes stated apropos of industrialization:

"Government follows the plan of industrializing the country to reduce dependence on imports. The country is already self-sufficient in jute manufactures and will be in cotton goods by the end of 1954. Soon after, cement, paper, sugar and fertilizers will be produced in sufficient quantities. It must be remembered that these new industries will consume a good deal of foreign exchange for their requirements of machinery spare parts, raw materials, fuel oil, lubricating oil, etc. Later on Pakistan will begin to think of exporting manufactured goods. Token exports of cotton goods are now being considered, in order to make the country export-minded. Can the rupee be kept at 2½? Pakistan will not have a chance in the export market with cotton, and perhaps even with jute, unless the rupee is brought down to parity with India. By 1954-5 the Minister of Economic Affairs will probably be thinking of devaluing, and the non-devaluation policy will have served its purpose."

"The mentality of the Pakistan investor has, fortunately, changed at this juncture. In the first five years there was no interest in industrial investment because there was easier money to be made in imports and exports. Now the position is reversed and money

is flowing into industry. This is a good thing as it will help to bring self-sufficiency. Is the industrialization programme proceeding on the right lines? I think it is. There have been mistakes, but the programme has been well designed. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation is extremely efficient. It stepped in to fill the gap when money was not coming into industry. Some of its ventures may be optimistic, shipbuilding for instance, but most businessmen have great confidence in the P.I.D.C. The enormous natural gas field at Sui will provide cheap fuel for power development and for industrial power and domestic purposes, and will transform the economy of West Pakistan; it is one of the big landmarks in the development of the country.

"There is an enormous reservoir of untrained labour. The self-employed work hard, but in industrial concerns the men are got at by professional labour leaders and encouraged to demand high wages, and excessive holidays with pay. A recent demand was 28 days holiday with pay annually, plus 14 days casual leave, plus 12 days sick leave, plus 14 festival holidays. Think of the tremendous addition to the cost of production! The employer is also expected to provide housing for workers and medical needs—a contrast to the practice in the West. All this is a millstone round the neck of Pakistan industry."

The contributed article goes more explicitly into details about the various industrial ventures. We give the most important hereunder:

"Jute, which is called the Golden Fibre of Pakistan, enjoys almost a 90 per cent monopoly of fibre varieties. In the Six-Year Development Programme, the Government Programme, the Government set a target of 15,000 looms to be achieved during a period of 10 years—but with 6,000 looms to be achieved by 1957. Towards the close of 1949, the Government therefore decided to participate with a private firm in setting up three mills of 1,000 looms each at Narayanganj. The installation of the first mill of 1,000 looms was completed by the end of October, 1952, the second mill of 1,000 looms was completed by the end of June, 1953. Besides these the Government also agreed to the setting up of another jute mill with 500 looms at Khulna with an authorized capital of Rs. 20 million. This mill is expected to go into production in early 1954. Another mill of 750 looms at Khulna is being set up by the PIDC."

"The progress in the sphere of cotton in the textile industry has been remarkable. If the current rate of expansion is maintained, Pakistan may reach its goal of self-sufficiency in cotton cloth by 1956.

"Production of cotton yarn for sale increased from 13.4 million lbs. in 1950 to 20.2 million lbs. in 1952. Domestic cotton consumed by Cotton Textile Plants rose from 40.2 million lbs. in 1950 to 73.5 million lbs. in 1952.

"Spindle and loom capacity has risen sharply since

partition from 177,400 spindles in 1947 to 390,800 spindles in 1952. An additional 200,000 spindles are in the process of being installed. The number of looms in the industry rose from about 5,000 in 1947 to 8,556 in 1952. The PIDC is setting up, in co-operation with the Provincial Government, a textile mill in East Pakistan with 50,000 spindles, for the manufacture of yarn.

"Two Japanese cotton interests, holding 49 per cent of the share capital of Rs. 6 million will, with other Pakistani industrialists, set up a cotton mill in Karachi. Japanese technicians will run the concern and will train Pakistanis in modern textile mill operation. The Government of Pakistan has also given permission for the setting up of two cotton mills in the N.-W.F.P. with 500 looms and 25,000 spindles."

"The engineering industries range from the manufacture of machine tools, lathes (light and heavy), fairly large rolling and re-rolling mills, precision instruments, diesel oil engines, electric lamps, etc.

"The possibility of starting an iron ore smelting factory is being surveyed by the PIDC in co-operation with a German firm. The PIDC are also preparing a scheme for starting a welding electrodes factory in co-operation with private industrialists at an estimated cost of approximately Rs. 800,000.

"A scheme for the erection of a Ship-repairs and Ship-building Yard at Karachi at an estimated cost of Rs. 42 million is under consideration by the Government."

"There are two large cement factories in Pakistan in addition to two smaller ones at Wah and Rohri. The Government contemplates enlarging these smaller ones at an estimated cost of Rs. 20 million.

"The PIDC have been entrusted with the setting up of a cement plant provided by the Government of Canada at Thai. This plant is scheduled to come into production within two years. Another plant to be set up in Hyderabad under the Colombo Plan at an estimated cost of Rs. 18 million is under the consideration of the Government of Sind. The Government of New Zealand has contributed £500,000 towards the cost of this plant."

"Two Sulphuric Acid Plants of 20 tons and 10 tons a day capacity are at present functioning at Lyallpur and Karachi, and a third is being set up at Rawalpindi. In East Pakistan, a plant with a capacity of 10 tons daily has been set up at Rangpur.

"A Superphosphate Plant to produce 6,000 tons of superphosphate per annum is being set up by the PIDC in co-operation with private industrialists at a cost of Rs. 2½ million.

"A scheme for setting up a 50,000 tons per annum Ammonium Sulphate Plant is being worked out by the PIDC. The total cost of the scheme is estimated to be Rs. 63 million and the plant is scheduled to be completed by 1956. The TCA of the Government of

the United States of America have agreed to contribute 7 million dollars towards the cost of this plant.

"The PIDC is also setting up a Caustic Soda Plant at Nowshera in partnership with Messrs. M. M. Ispahani Ltd., with a capacity to produce 10 tons of caustic soda per day at an estimated cost of Rs. 2.6 million. The project is scheduled to be completed by the middle of 1954."

"A survey of industries in Pakistan is incomplete without a note on the Development of Power Projects. At the time of partition the total power capacity in Pakistan was only 76,000 k.w. On the completion of all the projects at hand, Pakistan will be producing nearly 600,000 k.w. of electricity (hydel).

"The largest projects are the Mianwali Scheme in West Pakistan which will produce 125,000 k.w. and the Karnafulli Project in East Pakistan which will produce approximately 160,000 k.w. of electricity. Apart from these the capacity of Malakand Hydro-Electric project has been increased from 10,000 to 20,000 k.w. and the Dargai Project which has been recently completed will produce 20,000 k.w. Other important projects are the Rasul Project producing 22,000 k.w. and the Warsak Dam Project in the N.-W.F.P. which when completed will generate 150,000 k.w. of electricity."

"N. Y. Times" on Travancore-Cochin

The *New York Times* in an editorial on February 15 entitled "A Test for Nehru" writes that the results of the elections in Travancore-Cochin, with the highest population density, the highest literary rate, the largest proportion of Christians among the Indian States and prior to independence one of the stable and best-governed areas in India, one of its most prosperous regions which the Communists had made their most important target, "would be watched with the closest attention because of their bearing on the question of the Communist position in India."

The Congress, united for a period of years by opposition to Great Britain, was now in a centrifugal phase with splinter groups being thrown off, the Communists taking advantage of the situation. The Communists, recognising their inability to win an outright majority of their own, were not even contesting half the seats in the Legislature.

Pak-Turkish Pact and U.S. Aid

Writing on the agreement between Pakistan and Turkey announced on February 19, *The Times* says: "Apart from the statement issued simultaneously in Ankara and Karachi that the Governments of Turkey and Pakistan have agreed to study methods for achieving close collaboration in the political, economic and cultural spheres and for strengthening peace and security, no details have yet been published of the treaty which, it is understood, will be signed in a few days' time. The clearest possible indication of its aims has been given, however, by the Foreign Ministers of both countries.

"Mr. Koprulu has said it is not exclusive and all peace-loving countries can join it because it is directed against no one. Sir Zafrullah Khan said it entails close co-operation between the two interested parties not only for their own benefit but for the benefit of the Middle East region and that it may or may not lead, among other consequences, to a regional defence agreement."

Proceeding, *The Times* says: "Both in this country and in the United States the agreement has been warmly welcomed as a practical step towards stabilizing the Middle East by providing the kind of nucleus round which regional efforts for co-ordination may usefully range themselves in their own time and by their own volition. It is, however, unfortunate that acute Western realization of the dangers of the present power vacuum in the Middle East should have led some commentators to concentrate unduly upon possible future implications of the pact for regional defence..."

"A closer study of the foreign policy both of Turkey and of Pakistan should convince critics that their suspicions are unfounded. While both countries look for Western help in building up strong and stable politics able to defend their vital interests, neither is a pawn in Western hands. Each realizes the importance of regional security but each knows that the only sure road to it lies through effective co-operation, particularly in the economic and cultural fields, with all other countries which inhabit the Middle East. It is against this background that the pact should be judged."

On the heels of the news of the pact between Turkey and Pakistan came the following announcement:

Karachi, Feb. 22. Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan announced at a crowded press conference this afternoon that his Government had requested the United States for "military assistance within the scope of the United States Mutual Security Legislation."

He said that no reply had yet been received from the United States to the request sent yesterday. Competent sources however said that the United States' "O.K." to Pakistan's request was now a mere matter of routine.

Mr. Mohammed Ali said he wished to make it clear that this request did not envisage the creation of American or foreign bases in Pakistan or the stationing of foreign troops. He said details like what aid exactly America should render had yet to be worked out.

He said he "wished to make it clear" that the assistance asked for from United States "will be utilised for the purpose of maintaining and promoting stability and not for aggression against anybody."

And lastly came the release to the press of the personal letter from President Eisenhower to Pandit Nehru.

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's letter to Prime Minister Nehru:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I send you this personal message because I want you

to know about my decision to extend military aid to Pakistan before it is public knowledge and also because I want you to know directly from me that this step does not in any way affect the friendship we feel for India. Quite the contrary, we will continually strive to strengthen the warm and enduring friendship between our two countries.

Our two Governments have agreed that our desires for peace are in accord. It has also been understood that if our interpretation of existing circumstances and our belief in how to achieve our goals differ, it is the right and duty of sovereign nations to make their own decisions. Having studied long and carefully the problem of opposing possible aggression in the Middle East, I believe that consultation between Pakistan and Turkey about security problems will serve the interests not only of Pakistan and Turkey, but also of the whole free world. Improvement in Pakistan's defensive capabilities will also serve these interests and it is for this reason that our aid will be given. This Government's views on this subject are elaborated in a public statement I will release, a copy of which Ambassador Allen will give you.

What we are proposing to do, and what Pakistan is agreeing to, is not directed in any way against India. And I am confirming publicly that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan, is misused and directed against another in aggression, I will undertake immediately, in accordance with my constitutional authority, appropriate action, both within and without the United Nations to thwart such aggression. I believe the Pakistan-Turkey collaboration agreement which is being discussed is sound evidence of the defensive purposes which both countries have in mind.

I know that you and your Government are keenly aware of the need for economic progress as a prime requisite for stability and strength. This Government has extended assistance to India in recognition of this fact, and I am recommending to Congress a continuation of substantial economic and technical aid for this reason. We also believe it in the interest of the free world that India have a strong military defense capability and have admired the effective way your Government has administered your military establishment. If your Government should conclude that circumstances require military aid of a type contemplated by our mutual security legislation, please be assured that your request would receive my most sympathetic consideration.

I regret that there has been such widespread and unfounded speculation on this subject. Now that the facts are known, I hope that the real import of our decision will be understood.

I am, my dear Mr. Prime Minister,
Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower.

We reserve comments until such time as the official reaction to these becomes clear.

The Near East and the U.S.A.

For quite a considerable time now the United States has been trying to weld together the States of the Near East into one integrated system of defence aligned with the "democratic" Bloc. The Turco-Pakistan treaty and the arms-aid programme to Pakistan are but facets of the main scheme.

In connection with the aid-to-Pakistan proposals the *Christian Science Monitor* remarked sometime back that Pakistan cannot be said to be mature—politically speaking—in the same way as Turkey. There were reasons behind that statement.

Pakistan has had three major changes of Government within the first six years of its existence. The first was after the death of Mr. Jinnah, when Liaquat Ali Khan won in the scramble for power, Khwaja Nazimuddin being made into a dummy as the Governor-General, and Sir Zafrullah Khan being pushed back into the Foreign office chair. The second change was through the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, which act of violence still remains a mystery as regards its causation, as the relict of the late Prime Minister keeps on saying every now and then. In the scramble for power that followed Khwaja Nazimuddin won, Sir Zafrullah Khan again losing the race. Khwaja Nazimuddin put his most astute rival out of the running—at least so he thought—by putting him in the honoured but ineffective seat of the Governor-General, and proceeded to mould his ministry in the shape after his heart.

He further tried to strengthen his grip on the Punjab (P) and on East Pakistan by pulling strings and pulling out props everywhere. Sir Feroze Khan Noon was thus taken out of Punjab—where he had a following and considerable strength as a power-politician—and put as Governor in East Pakistan, which was *terra incognita* to him.

Then followed a *coup d'état*, of course, quite peaceful. This time the Khwaja was thrown out of power, and far-reaching changes were made in the political set-up, all over Pakistan. And thus the present regime came into power. It should be remembered that all these changes, excepting the first one to a certain extent, did not come through the democratic processes of elections or party-campaigns in the legislatures.

Thus far Pakistan, which is to be Easternmost "Pillar of Strength" in the Near-Eastern scheme. Now let us turn to the States that lie between it and Turkey, the Westernmost Pillar.

Afghanistan is not by any means friendly, as yet, either to Pakistan. She is maintaining an attitude of aloofness, both for safety's sake as also because of her resentment over the Pakistani measures against her kinsmen, the Pakhtoons. Thus far there is no indication, either way, as to how she views the new arrangement.

Next is Iran. Need there be any detailed exposition of the mercurial instability of the political set-up of that very much disturbed land? Fanatic Mullahs, Military Juntas, Tribals and the Communist Tudeh party, all are very much in the picture there. Stabilisation there is as yet a herculean task, not even fully attempted.

Next comes the Arab State of Iraq, with its primary and secondary political alignments. There is undoubtedly a more stable government there than in Iran, but the implications of the Arab League, with its internal jealousies and animosity towards Israel, are fully present there. Along that alignment Iraq cannot be considered without giving full weight to her ties with the League; until such time as the entire group of the Arab League is stabilised politically.

Then come the minor principalities and puppet States around the Persian Gulf and on the Arabian Sea. They are all as the sands of their deserts. And then comes Saudi Arabia, with its wealth of petroleum, its mediaeval monarchy and its legions of intractable nomad Arabs. Under Ibn Saud's patriarchal autocracy, there has been peace, and there has been some amount of raising of standards of living, thanks to the flow of dollars consequent on the exploitation of the oil resources. But that flow was in the main a personal asset of King Ibn Saud and as such cannot be said to have stabilized the State. To all practical purposes, the State of Saudi Arabia turns on a single pivot, the will of its King—and his feudatories. And all history bears witness as to how stable such a State could be.

Further ahead there is the State of Transjordan, which has not yet fully recovered from the repercussions following the assassination of its King. It is a minor unit, but of vital weight where peace in Palestine is considered.

Then comes Israel. Its position *vis à vis* the Arab League needs no detailed explanation. What would happen to it if the Arab League is reinforced by the supply of modern weapons and equipment from the U.S.A.?

Last of all there are Syria and Lebanon. Let the following news-items tell their story:

ARMED REBELLION IN SYRIA

"Damascus, Feb. 26: Brigadier General Adib Shishakly, banished President of Syria, declared in a message to the Syrian people that he could have crushed the 'rebellious movement' but had resigned to avert bloodshed.

"The message was read in the Syrian Parliament by Dr. M. Kosbari, the Speaker, who then announced that he himself had assumed the President's office according to the constitution pending election of a new President within two months. Spokesmen of the army revolt had declared yesterday that 79-year old

elder statesman ex-President Hashem el Attasi would succeed Gen. Shishakly, the man who overthrew him three years ago.

"The Damascus Radio announced this morning that the 12-hour armed rebellion yesterday in Syria has succeeded in forcing President Shishakly to resign who fled his country too last night.

"Brigadier Shawqat Shugair, Chief of Staff of the Syrian army, today ordered the release of all political prisoners in Damascus detained on the orders of former President Adib Shishakly. Brigadier Shugair gave the order after he and other officers from the Damascus garrison had accompanied Shishakly and his wife to the airport to catch a plane for Saudi Arabia.

"Brigadier Shugair is expected to head the transitional Government set up—under President Hashem el Attasi—while political leaders discuss constitutional reforms demanded by the army. Brigadier Shugair was appointed Chief of Staff when Shishakly became President."

LEBANESE CABINET RESIGNS

"Beirut, Feb. 27: The Lebanese Cabinet headed by Abdalla el Yafi resigned today after less than 24 hours in office. Disagreement among its ten members about ministerial posts caused the resignation, it was stated."

"Beirut, Feb. 27: A state of emergency was proclaimed in Damascus tonight after day-long demonstrations.

Military police opened fire on rioters in Damascus several times, according to telephon messages from the Syrian capital.

A broadcast announcement over Damascus Radio imposed a curfew and blackout for 8 p.m. until 5 a.m."

What a picture of stability! Need we expand the theme further?

On the other side of Israel there is Egypt with its foothold on Sinai. And beyond Syria and Lebanon there is Turkey with its tested stable government. We need not give the picture of either here.

Naguib Displaced—and Replaced

The political picture in Egypt, the main bastion of the Arab League is that of a puzzling drama, with a very considerable amount of uncertainty for the future. The drama opened with the eviction from the throne of King Farouq. Then came a period of more or less stable government, which had considerable success in administration. The Sudan election was also a feather in its cap.

Then like a bolt from the blue came the following pieces of news, the first on February 25:

General Neguib, 53-year old President of Egypt, has fallen and is reported to be under house arrest. He has resigned all official posts including the leadership of the Revolutionary Council. Soldiers are

reported to be guarding his residence with Sten-guns and his portraits and photographs were being removed from offices and public buildings in Cairo.

Lt.-Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, 36-year old "back-room boy" of the Egyptian revolution, took over charge as Prime Minister. The post of the President was to remain vacant until Egypt returned to full parliamentary life. A state of emergency has also been declared.

Col. Nasser, born of a peasant family, had been a revolutionary for ten years. During the war he had been attached to British forces in the western desert.

Reuter reports that Major Salah Salem, Minister of National Guidance, had told pressmen on February 25 that General Neguib had "tried to face members of the Revolutionary Council with a *fait accompli*" by tendering his resignation three days ago and insisting on the following rights:

1. To veto any decision by the Revolutionary Council command, despite the military junta's rule by a majority vote (with Gen. Neguib having one vote in a junta of 13 members);
2. To appoint and dismiss Cabinet Ministers; and
3. To promote, dismiss and transfer members of the armed forces.

General Neguib is reported to have threatened to resign several times during the past ten months.

The change of control in Egypt, adds *Reuter*, was not expected to affect country's internal and external policy.

The *Statesman* reports that diplomatic quarters in London were surprised at the news of Neguib's fall though differences between General Neguib and Col. Nasser had become apparent in London earlier in the week.

Unconfirmed reports speak of the fall of the Syrian President, 45-year old Brigadier General Shishakly who had seized power in 1951. The rebel controlled Aleppo Radio had announced the election of ex-President Hashem el Attasi as Syria's new President.

"Cairo, Feb. 27: General Mohammed Naguib is again President of Egypt, it was announced by Cairo Radio to-day.

Lt.-Col. Abdel Nasser, the man who appointed himself Prime Minister, on the fall of General Naguib, will remain Prime Minister, the announcement said.

The Revolutionary Command Council told General Naguib of his reinstatement—only two days after he resigned office—after 40 army officers have plotted to restore him to power.

The Council took the decision at a meeting to-day which lasted more than 8 hours.

Forty army officers are under arrest at Abbasia barracks here to-day after an unsuccessful dawn attempt to restore General Naguib to power.

The revolt—48 hours after Lt. Colonel Camel Nasser

ousted Naguib from the Presidency—was led by one of the 11 members of the Revolution Council, Major Khaled Mohieddin, 32, brother of the Minister of Interior, Lt. Colonel Zakaria Mohieddin.

Most of the officers were arrested after some of them had visited the deposed General Naguib's home and called on him to return to power as President.

Abbasia Barracks, former British army camp in the suburb of Cairo, have been turned into an armed camp with machine-guns on rooftops and anti-aircraft guns ready for instant action.

Most of the officers who are now under arrest are of the rank of Captain or below.

When they called at General Neguib's heavily-guarded family home the officers in charge of the guard saluted and knowing Major Khaled, allowed him to enter the house accompanied by two or three of his fellow conspirators.

The Major asked General Naguib in the name of the group of officers he headed to return to power as President. General Naguib accepted this proposal and suggested that Khaled who is 32 should be his Premier.

News of Khaled's visit was telephoned to Colonel Abdel Nasser who was in bed.

His colleagues of the Revolution Command were also roused from sleep and hurried to a meeting of the command at Abbasia Barracks.

Khaled Mohieddin attended the meeting of the Revolutionary Command, presumably as a prisoner, to explain his action.

The U.S. Brand of Militarism

The *Hitavada* writes: "American militarism has spread its tentacles all the world over. The United States has become the self-appointed guardian of Europe and Asia." "But," says the paper, "the time is not far off when it will find its grave. The countries which receive American military aid would be the first to turn against her, as China did."

But this lesson seems to be lost upon those who rule America today and this is what makes American militarism all the more dangerous. Ignoring all protests at home and abroad the U.S. rulers have decided to proceed on with their projected military aid to Pakistan. *Reuter's* dispatch from Washington stated quoting diplomatic officials that an American military survey mission would go to Pakistan to inspect its armed forces and determine the amount and type of military equipment. A formal announcement regarding the matter would be made after the conclusion of a Joint Defence Agreement between Turkey and Pakistan, the report added. That the American Press, with a few exceptions, were also playing up this theme was reported by D. P. Wagle, *PTI* special correspondent in New York.

Meanwhile a joint Turco-Pakistan communique was released simultaneously in Karachi and Ankara which stated that the Governments of Pakistan and

Turkey had "agreed to study methods of achieving closer friendly collaboration in political, economic and cultural spheres, as well as of strengthening peace and security in their own interest as also in that of all peace-loving nations."

Press reports indicated that the two countries would shortly conclude a pact on the lines of last year's Balkan Pact between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia.

Commenting on the joint communique Mr. Mohammed Ali said: "Thus has the first concrete major step been taken towards strengthening the Muslim world." The decision would take further the desire of widening the friendship and co-operation between the two countries, which had been embodied in the Treaty of friendship between Pakistan and Turkey signed on July 26, 1951, "with the intention of investing the treaty with a spirit of animation and greater substance," he said.

PTI reports that competent sources interpreted the word 'political' used in the communique as embracing "defence" also and that the announcement of the communique was a 'signal' for the flow of military aid to Pakistan. They also believed that it might eventually pave the way for a U.S.-sponsored Defence Organisation in the Middle East.

A spokesman of the Foreign Office in London welcomed the announcement of the communique stating that they had been kept informed of the discussions leading to the announcement. The initial British hesitation about the desirability of a Commonwealth country relying on support from Washington appeared to have given way before U.S. insistence ostensibly on account of Britain's weakening position in the Middle East. The *Times'* diplomatic correspondent admits this fact as he writes that the "Commonwealth could no longer provide the sole leadership" there. He welcomes the news of the proposed Turco-Pakistan pact in the expectation that it would still require active co-operation of the Commonwealth. The correspondent notes, however, that this co-operation "the British Commonwealth, for political reasons, is not in a position to give at the present stage because of the situation in Egypt and Iran and misgivings in India."

The USA welcomed the news of the announcement of the communique as a "forward looking step" and said that it was a "constructive step towards broadening the base of the collective strength of the free world."

The Government of Pakistan on their part appeared to be oblivious of the realities of the world situation today. The tragedy of China, Indo-China and the travails of the West European countries receiving U.S. military aid have apparently failed to impress the rulers of Pakistan who are obsessed with anti-Indianism. Even warnings of General Neguib also proved ineffective and latest reports bring the news of Pakistan's formal request to the USA for "military

assistance within the scope of the US Security Legislation," thus bringing the cold war right into the heart of Asia.

Saudi Arabia had in the meantime turned down an American offer to provide weapons to expand and modernise its armed forces. Egypt's powerful daily newspaper *Al Misir* in an editorial had "warned that should the war break out, 'Pakistan will be the first to feel the flames.' Pakistan must think twice and reconsider her plans before succumbing to American temptations, the *Al Misir* said," reports the *Hitavada*, February 19.

The Berlin Four-Power Conference

The Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA, UK and France met in Berlin from January 25 to February 18. They discussed the German question, problems of European security, and the Austrian question as well as the situation in Far East and the question of disarmament.

They could not reach agreement on any problem except on a proposal for a conference in Geneva on April 26 to discuss the settlement of the Korean question where, in addition to the representatives of these four countries, representatives from the Chinese People's Republic and the two Koreas and other countries which had fought in Korea would also participate. It was further agreed to discuss the problem of restoring peace to Indo-China to be discussed at that conference to which the representatives of these four countries, China and other interested States would be invited, clearly on the understanding that "neither the invitation to, nor the holding of, the above-mentioned conference shall be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case where it has not already been accorded."

The final communique of the conference further stated that the Government of the four countries would hold an exchange of views at a later date to promote a successful solution of the problem of disarmament inasmuch as it would considerably help the solution of international controversies necessary for the establishment of a lasting peace.

Mr. Eden's final speech in Berlin on February 18, contained the following statements:

"We came to Berlin with the hope that it would be possible to make progress with the reunification of Germany and to conclude a state treaty with Austria. Certainly, it is our belief that these two questions lie at the centre of any permanent solution of European problems. We do not see how it is possible for any permanent system of security to be established for Europe, or on a wider basis, so long as these two problems remain unsolved. That is why the failure of our conference to reach agreement on items 2 and 3 of this agenda is an acute disappointment.

"Equally, in the case of Austria, failure has been a greater disappointment to the Austrian

people and to their friends elsewhere.

"On the other side of the balance sheet we can set our agreed resolution on disarmament and the decision to call a conference on the Far East.

"None of us could claim that the resolution on disarmament marks any substantial advance but it does register the importance which we all attach to this question. We hope that the talks now to be held in New York will prove successful.

"The decision to call a conference on the Far East is in a different category. It breaks the deadlock that has existed for so many months at Panmunjon and opens the way for a settlement in Korea. This is an important advance. We also welcome the prospect which this agreement holds out for an eventual settlement in Indo-China."

Wondering why M. Molotov let the conference end without any attempt to delay the European Defence Community, the *Manchester Guardian* suggests that perhaps "either EDC does not really matter to him very much or he is fairly sure it would never be ratified anyway."

The newspaper adds: "Clearly, however, he came to Berlin with reluctance and with rather rigid instructions. It looks, indeed, as if his brief was to attend for the sake of appearances, to test the Western alliance for any sign of weakness in it, and to take care not to jeopardise the Russian military position in Europe by agreeing to any withdrawal of troops. His diplomacy has left the great weight of Russian land armies and tactical air forces looming over Western Europe, and Russia retains her tight grip on the Governments of Eastern and Central Europe. Many of their people must at least have been hoping that the Berlin conference might lead to a loosening of Russia's grip and that they might once again have their own countries to themselves.

"M. Molotov however has taken care that that shall not happen—not yet at any rate. The conference has brought to gain on that account either to Western Europe or to those people in Eastern Europe who want to be free."

Armed Strength of Communist States

In answer to a question in the House of Commons on February 16, by Mr. Emrys Hughes (Labour) asking for an estimate of the approximate size of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and the other Communist countries, Mr. Nigel Birch, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministry of Defence, said (according to agency reports):

"Since 1951, the combined strength of the armed forces of the Soviet Union has increased by 150,000 to 4,750,000; and that of the East European satellites by nearly 12,000 to 1,190,000. The Soviet increase is mainly due to the growth of the Soviet Navy. China has armed forces totalling over 4,000,000; in addition, there are 6,000,000 to 10,000,000 men in the militia."

Mr. Hughes asked: "As a result of all our rearmament during the last three years, are we relatively stronger?"

Mr. Birch replied: "Yes. We have now something approaching a realistic defence, which we had not got before."

This estimate explains the haste with which the patchy defence organisation is being put up in the Near East and the Middle East.

Russian Trade Offer

Simultaneously with the warlike preparations we have the picture of peaceful trade—between Britain and Russia. It is clear that Russia at least has enough time to think of trade and commerce with the capitalistic States.

In the House of Commons on February 16, Mr. Harold Wilson (Labour) referred to the recent official pronouncement of the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade about the proposals to import 4,000 million roubles' worth of equipment from the United Kingdom, and asked if the President of the British Board of Trade was in a position to make any estimate of the proportion of this figure represented by items controlled on strategic grounds.

Mr. D. Heathcoat-Amory, Minister of State at the Board of Trade, replied (according to agency reports) that the President of the Board of Trade had studied the Soviet Minister's pronouncement with much interest. As a very rough estimate, he would think that rather less than half of the business proposed would be free from strategic controls. At the official rate of exchange, this would amount to some £175 or £180 million.

In reply to another question, the Minister of State said: "We are very much looking forward to meeting these business men (who have been to Moscow) on their return and discussing their experiences with them. It seems to have been a most useful visit."

The West German Dilemma

Germany—at least West Germany—is rising again like the phoenix from the ashes of the Reich, according to the following report in the *Worldover Press*.

Highly efficient and intensely patriotic labour and the world's best technicians are again working a miracle as the report says:

"You just can't keep E.P.U. happy," the business editor of a leading West German newspaper sighed in his column the other day. "No matter what you do, you're always wrong."

West Germany, in particular, this writer pointed out, was being regarded by its partners in the 15-nation clearing group as a real "enfant terrible," always committing deplorable excesses.

"Not so long ago we Germans were in debt up to our ears with the Union. In all the capitals of Europe they said we were going bankrupt, that we were threaten-

ing to wreck the organization. Finally they allowed us an extra credit of \$180,000,000 to tide us over. With that, we got a bundle of good advice on how to mend our ways. We were told to cut our imports down—or else."

"This we did with our traditional thoroughness. Having paid our debts in no time at all, we kept going in the same direction until we became the biggest creditor in the Union. Now we've put our foot in it again. They say we're wrecking the organization. We are told to jack up our imports—or else."

So far the German commentator. I have freely translated his remarks, which were larded with a few technicalities, but in substance this is exactly what he had to say. And this is exactly what happened. Germany, in the space of two and a half years, has moved from one extreme to the other, each time putting E.P.U. in jeopardy with its economic weight.

France and Great Britain are the biggest deficit countries and at this time they are deeper in the red than ever. Turkey is another heavy debtor as are Greece (whose position has recently improved, though), Italy, Denmark, Norway and Iceland in varying degrees.

On the opposite side of the ledger, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden have maintained moderate but steady surpluses, while the Netherlands, like Germany, has worked its way up from the bottom to a comfortable credit position.

But there has been nothing to match the spectacular ride the Germans have taken on the economic roller-coaster called E.P.U. In the spring of 1951, at a time when Belgium was running away with its credit quota, Germany was heavily in the red. In retrospect, it is clear why that was so. As a result of Korea, West German industry was swamped with orders as never before. In order to manufacture these goods, the Ruhr industrialists had to lay in supplies of raw materials from abroad. That's what they did in the fall of 1950 and spring of 1951. Accordingly, at that time, Germany's imports ran far ahead of her exports and her E.P.U. deficit grew by leaps and bounds.

Then the finished products began pouring off the assembly lines, while the Korean buying boom ebbed. As a result, Bonn's balance of payments quickly reversed itself, and so did the country's position in the E.P.U. By the end of 1951, Germany had wiped out her large deficit and entered the creditors' group. Since then she has been building surplus on surplus, making necessary several readjustments of her credit quota.

Early this year, Germany achieved what is called an "extreme creditor position" within the Union and a number of steps were taken to balance the books. But in spite of a 90 per cent liberalization of German imports, and substantial payments in gold already effected by the other member nations, Bonn's surplus kept rising month after month. It reached \$620,000,000 at the end of August, \$660,000,000 at the end of September, and has lately passed the \$700 million mark.

As Germany's credit quota is fully exhausted, in spite of three successive extensions, she now is entitled to a 60 per cent settlement in gold of any further surpluses. When this point is reached, the other members of the payments club usually start to grumble, and Bonn has heard plenty of late.

The problem, however, is not easily solved. It was a simple enough matter for the West German government to cut down on imports in 1951, as requested; all it had to do was to issue a few decrees restricting further importations of this item or that. But you can't boost imports by government edict, at least not in a democratic country. Even if the last few import controls are lifted, as they undoubtedly will be, no power on earth can force the German importers to buy more than they want, or can expect to sell.

The only way out would seem to be a restriction of exports, but few governments are willing to take such a step. And indeed, wouldn't the Bonn regime look rather silly, in the eyes of the Germans, if it now clamped down on exports after launching an all-out "export-or-die" drive less than three years ago?

Ethiopia Marches Ahead

Although the programme will have to develop stage by stage, and at first will include sick benefits and old age pensions for civil service workers only, Ethiopia is aiming at a social security system which will equal that of any other country in the world.

In the same scheme, provision has been made for grants of government land for all unemployed, and for certain other classes. The small-holders, who will be considerably increased in number, will be exempt from taxation for the first five years, and will receive technical aid from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Development Bank, the Point Four program, and the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

Burma Returns to Normalcy

Burma is going in for a national health service very much like that of Great Britain, with free medicines included. Not satisfied with importing the necessary drugs, but finding it difficult to organize drug manufacture itself on a sufficiently large scale, the Burmese government has signed a contract with a British pharmaceutical firm, Evans Medical Supplies, Ltd. The British concern will erect and run a factory at Rangoon, but the capital is to be put up by Burma and paid in advance out of government balances at London. A Burmese staff will be trained slowly and carefully, with the aim of having the entire enterprise eventually run by Burmese nationals.

It seems that our neighbour has at last got a breathing space after years of a struggle with turbulent rebels, some foreign-inspired.

This is good news for all Asiatics.

The Portuguese in Goa

Of the festering sores in the peninsula, the Portuguese excrescences are flaring as the following news-item shows:

"New Delhi, Feb. 23: The Deputy External Affairs Minister, Shri A. K. Chanda, said in the Council of States today that the Portuguese authorities had recently been increasing their armed forces and military equipment in Goa. The Government will take such steps as are necessary if the peace of the border areas is threatened, Shri Chanda added.

"Replying to Moulana M. Faruqi, Shri Chanda said that the military authorities in Goa had been authorised to requisition premises, vehicles and the services of certain categories of persons.

"Asked whether Government of India were aware of reports published in the papers in the last two days about lathi-charges and throwing of crackers on demonstrators by the police, Shri Nehru said that he had seen some reports to that effect."

The Indian Custodian Force

"Seoul, Feb. 23: The last remaining members of the Indian Custodian Force left Korea by *Jaladurga* without incident this morning.

"During their journey by train from the demilitarised zone to Inchon where they boarded a ship to take them home, they were closely guarded by heavily armed United States military police.

"Police in armoured cars and jeeps and carrying machine-guns patrolled all railway bridges and culverts and followed the train wherever possible alongside the railway line."

And thus ends a troublesome chapter, which might have had serious consequences but for the courage and steadfastness of our troops and the limitless patience of its officers.

The Djilas Controversy in Yugoslavia

Milovan Djilas was Secretary of the Central Committee of the "League of Communists of Yugoslavia." Chairman of the Skupstina (Yugoslav Parliament) and Vice-President of Yugoslavia. He wrote a series of articles in the *Borba*, organ of the League of Communists and the *Nova Misao* (New Thought) during the period from October, 1953 to January, 1954. In these articles he had criticised various aspects of Yugoslav political life and had attacked bureaucratism in the League of Communists. He had suggested the abandonment of the prevailing one-party system, and the adoption of multi-party system on the pattern of West European countries, as, in his view. "Today, no party or group, not even the class himself can be the exclusive expression of objective needs of the whole society, it cannot assume the exclusive right to direct the moving forward of the productive forces without stiffening and enslaving them, including the most important part in them, the men."

His views were opposed by the Central Committee of the League and Djilas was asked to stop publication of his articles in January last. The Central Committee at its third plenary session on January 16th and 17th, 1954, discussed the ideological-political views of Djilas and held that his conceptions were "fundamentally contrary to the political line" of the League, causing confusion among the public. The Central Committee declared that Djilas had "isolated himself from political work and provided the political basis for breaking ideological and organisational unity of the League of Communists and for its liquidation" and had therefore decided to exclude him from the Central Committee and remove him from all offices in the League of Communists and had reprimanded him with a final party warning.

Speaking at the plenary session Marshal Tito, Secretary-General of the League, stated that the articles had put forward for public discussion important internal questions of the League, which only a new Congress of the League could decide.

Tito said that Djilas had advocated abstract democracy, a democracy sufficient unto itself, democracy which really represented anarchy. But to Tito democracy was only a means for achieving socialism. In his words, "There is no genuine democracy without Socialism, and no Socialism without democracy. To preach and write about democracy for democracy's sake, and that of a Western type, is a reversion to the past, to an old form of social system." Djilas had only repeated the reformist and revisionist arguments of Bernstein and others of the past.

Djilas had not consulted his party colleagues about the questions raised in the articles, continued Tito. Djilas failed to grasp the essence of the development of Socialism and in his articles "there was not a single word about the working class," the "main force of all our pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary struggle." He pointed out that Yugoslavia had suffered much from the confusion prevailing among a section of the party members and hoped that those discussions should help them to clear themselves. However, Tito did not like to suggest that Djilas had consciously tried to disrupt the solidarity of the country.

Discussing Djilas' reference to bureaucracy as a 'closed circle' and as a formed caste which was the defender of a formed system, of the bureaucratism in Yugoslavia, Edward Kardelj admitted that bureaucratism did exist in Yugoslavia but added: "However, we do not have and never had bureaucratism as a system, at least, not in the reactionary form, because the bureaucratic forms which we used to apply in the first years of the struggle for the Five-Year Plan, were progressive and the only possible ones." Moreover, they had gradually shattered by a number of measures of decentralisation that bureaucratic system. "The

basic idea of Djilas' concept of struggle against bureaucratism is," Kardelj said, "that more democratic Socialist forces should constantly squeeze out the less democratic Socialist forces." He also criticised Djilas' assertion that the League of Communists as it was—was the principal obstacle of democracy in Yugoslavia and said that acceptance of the contention of Djilas would lead them "backwards to the positions of bourgeois democracy." The fact that a number of people had been influenced by the articles of Djilas was primarily due to their "tendency towards anarchist spontaneous development, what has been and will always remain a fertile ground for those people who would like to leap over overnight the present stage of efforts which we have to make to create the material conditions for a more rapid progress of Socialism and Socialist democracy and to find ourselves overnight in a land of plenty." Henceforward, said Kardelj, they must fight against tendencies of bureaucratism and against tendencies allowing spontaneous anarchist development.

Replying Djilas said that all his conceptions were based on the views of Marx and that he considered that the new progressive social and cultural development of Yugoslavia required in many aspects essential changes in the earlier ideological views, including those of Lenin. He was not opposed to the system as a whole obtaining in Yugoslavia but still maintained that the League of Communists as it was now could not make further progress unless it was substantially changed. He urged for a reorganisation of the League including the various committees. At the end of the discussion, however, he accepted completely the criticisms "in essence and in details" and expressed his confidence in the League of Communists "as the main anti-bureaucratic force in our country. Obviously, nothing can remain of my theory, when it is confronted with the facts, with what I have heard as to how it looked in practice."

Referring to this controversy the organ of the Cominform *For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy* writes that the events connected with the Djilas case was indicative of the grave internal crisis of Yugoslavia. Djilas' repeated reference to bureaucratism also indicated the discontent of a section of the League against the leadership. However, the newspaper criticizes the formulations of Djilas and writes that the only way to the solution of Yugoslavia's problems lay in "restoring the ancient bonds" with the Soviet Union.

The *London Times*' special correspondent interprets this remark as an "open invitation to Yugoslavia to rejoin the Cominform." The correspondent writes:

"The Cominform, having lost much of its strength and significance since Yugoslavia's departure, feels that if it could persuade her to return the organization would regain its original importance and vitality. It

would, perhaps, also gain more favour in the eyes of M. Malenkov, who, although he was one of its founders, has, in fact, never attached any great significance to it."

Brutality in Kenya

Six members of the British Parliament, three Labours and three Conservatives, had recently gone to Kenya to investigate the emergency there. According to their findings, "brutalities and malpractices constitute a threat to public confidence." The delegation reported of deteriorating situation in Kenya.

The report called for the "reorganization of the police from the highest level downwards," accompanied by "stern action to enforce proper discipline and a right approach to the general public."

The report said that the general public could hardly be expected to respect and collaborate with the police if the police force was "gravely implicated in brutality and corruption."

Reuter reports: "In their reference to the Kenya police force, the M.P.s. say that according to official records there have been 130 prosecutions for brutality among the police force, ending in 73 convictions. Forty cases are pending. There were 'disturbing signs' of bribery and corruption in the lower levels of the police."

The report also called for more energetic measures for the abolition of colour bar. Unless colour bar was eliminated there could be no prospect of developing a harmonious multi-racial society. It was an opportune moment for the Government to examine the relative laws with a view to eliminating discrimination.

Teachers and Politics

Referring to the view of the Central Advisory Board of Education that teachers should not take part in politics and the Board's reported recommendation to the Government for the abolition of the Teacher's Constituencies as a first step in this direction, the *Hitavada* writes: "We are afraid the CEA Board is throwing its weight on the side of those who are encroaching on a normal right which every citizen has, namely, holding and expressing views on political matters."

Further elucidating its stand on the question the newspaper in a leader on February 18 writes that the Government's keenness on keeping teachers free from the taint of politics "almost looks like a conspiracy to use this excuse to prevent teachers from organising themselves. Politics might mean anything and everything. A teacher who tries to rally his colleagues for a cause connected with the system of education or on account of the treatment accorded to the staff might soon find himself being accused of dabbling in politics."

On the other hand, the Government while recognising that the efficiency of a teacher depended on his conditions of living, had done nothing to better their lot. "The old state of affairs drags on: graded scales exist in name only, increments in many a school depend on the whims of managing committees, salaries vary with the personal influence of the teachers, the maximum amount of work is extracted for a mere pittance and, not uncommonly teachers sign the acquittance roll for a higher sum than is actually paid. . . . conditions in West Bengal are, perhaps, even worse and it is therefore not surprising to find that 25,000 of them have resorted to a strike as the only means of redress. A strike may be an undignified weapon for a teacher to use; but can any one blame him for resorting to such remedies, driven as he is to the verge of despair?" writes the *Hitavada*.

We, ourselves, have always advocated the cause of poor teachers. But teachers must be qualified and also they must be in a position to command and control those that are supposed to be taught by them.

If the *Hitavada* had gone behind the scenes, it would have found that the West Bengal teachers, who went on an organized strike, had lost far more, in the terms of those qualifications, than they could ever recover along the path they had chosen.

Indeed the West Bengal case has proved beyond all doubt that teachers who fall in with disruptive politics lose most of their claims to be termed as teachers, since they lose all the control and the respect of their students.

In these days one has to consider what is meant by politics before venturing to comment in general terms.

Recommendations of the C.A.B.E.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (C.A.B.E.) met in New Delhi from February 7 to February 9. The meeting was attended by Education Ministers from States, Vice-Chancellors of Universities and others interested in the promotion of education. The Union Minister for Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, could not be present owing to illness.

The Board had approved with certain modifications, the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission to overhaul the secondary education in the country. The Board also had commended the modified elementary education scheme introduced by Sri Rajagopalachariar in Madras and had recommended other State Governments "to conduct similar experiments under controlled conditions."

PTI reports: "The Board recommended that the eventual pattern of education should be 8 years of integrated elementary (Basic) education and three or four years of secondary education where there would

be diversification of courses, providing training in humanities, sciences, technical, commercial and agricultural subjects, fine arts and home science. In the case of the State where most of the schools are Government schools, the programme should envisage their conversion into multi-purpose schools in the course of the next seven years. Special attention is to be given under this programme to agricultural education in rural schools." It had also been recommended to provide an initial grant of Rs. 5,000 to each school to equip its library, to be shared in the ratio of 1:2 by the Central Government and the State Governments. A remodelling of the existing examination system and the shifting of the emphasis from the annual examinations to periodical tests had been recommended. The Board had also recommended an increment in the pay of the secondary school teachers. The Board had accepted the recommendations of the University Grant Commission regarding the improvement of the conditions of service of University teachers. In endorsing the recommendation of the University Education Commission for freeing the controlling bodies of the universities from undesirable influences, the Board had recommended that two-thirds of the members of the Senate or Court should be teachers and one-third might be outsiders. The membership of the Syndicate or the Executive Council of the Universities had been suggested to be restricted to seventeen. Election should be avoided and persons should be appointed by method of rotation in the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council. The Chancellor might be elected by the Senate or the Court. The practice of heads of States being ex-officio Chancellors should be done away with. The Vice-Chancellor should be appointed following the procedure now in vogue in the Delhi University.

Each University should have at least one hundred scholarships of Rs. 100 each per month for poor but meritorious students. It had also been recommended that Government might accept a long-term programme of giving an interest-free loan of Rs. 2 lakhs a year to each University for the next five years for the construction of the student hostels and Rs. 1 lakh a year for the construction of quarters for essential staff.

India Cross over Cross-Word Puzzles

The following note appears in the *Worldover Press* bulletin:

"An announcement in the Indian Parliament says that the government is contemplating a crackdown on cross-word puzzle competitions. Promoters of this pastime, among whom are newspaper tycoons, are being chased from pillar to post in their search for a safe place from which to operate. Bombay had been their favorite center for decades, until last year, when Bombay State made things difficult for them, whereupon they moved activities

to Calcutta. Finding things not a whit easier there, the industry migrated to Delhi and Madras."

Public-spirited people have become annoyed at the way the cross-word craze has been exploited by newspaper owners, who have seized upon it as a means of increasing their circulations by offering large sums in competitions. Although the word "gambling" has hardly entered the discussions, contestants put up sums of money they often can ill afford and advertisers who take space in the belief they are reaching a big public are finding that readers who buy the papers solely for the competitions scarcely glance at either the advertising or the reading matter.

Deterrent steps considered by the government range all the way from a levy of 20 per cent on the industry's gross income, to an utter ban. Vested interests are putting up a hard fight against the intended legislation."

Crossword Puzzles are certainly not a form of journalism. Its use for the increment of circulation is questionable beyond doubt.

A Second Four-Year Plan for France

Increase of 25 per cent in production and 17 per cent in the standard of living and a 40 per cent expansion of exports, which should restore the equilibrium of the balance of payments, are the main targets of France's second Four-Year Plan—for 1953-57—now in an advanced state of preparation. In contrast with the Monnet Plan, the first modernisation plan, which was based on the development of basic industries, the main emphasis will be laid on the expansion of the manufacturing industries. Thus production is contemplated to rise by between 25 to 30 per cent and agricultural output by 20 per cent. The second Four-Year Plan is carefully designed so as to avoid the main defect of the first Four-Year Plan, namely, insufficient attention to the need for sound methods of financing. To this end the Plan's General Commission proposes:

1. Cuts in non-productive expenditure, whether the expenditure originates in the management of Government services or from unjustified protection enjoyed by the private sections;
2. The fixing every year—with due regard to the general economic and monetary situation—of the level of possible investment, so as to avoid both inflation and deflation;
3. Apportionment of the available financial means so as to guarantee realisation of the most productive investments.

In the opinion of the Commission, the major obstacle to sound economic expansion is excessive public expenditure of an unproductive character, together with the inability of the French economy to adapt itself, insufficient savings and the reluctance of those who save to place their capital in productive investment. The report similarly singles out the low productivity of French enterprises, due to structural reasons, and the lack of competition resulting from

various protective devices. Tax reform and the abolition of such protectionist devices as cartels, etc., are suggested as a remedy. The Commission also thinks as indispensable the establishment of a yearly "economic budget." The investment plan for 1954 thus provides for expenditure in the main activities of Frs. 1,805,000 million (£1,841 million)—as compared with Frs. 1,644,000 million in the current year—of which Frs. 675,000 million will be financed by the State. The Commissariat originally planned on a prospective increase in the gross national product, from Frs. 12,920,000 million in 1953, to Frs. 13,650,000 million (£13,922 million) in 1954. It expects an increase in the current deficit of the balance of payments from Frs. 140,000 million to Frs. 240,000 million (£245 million).

Recession in the USA

Mr. Colin Clark, the noted economist, in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* drew attention to the impending recession in the USA. His prophecy seems to be true to a certain extent as a mild recession has already set in the US production. A reduced output of steel and motor-cars brought a further decline in the American industrial production in November, 1953. November was the third successive month which recorded a declining output. The Federal Reserve Board estimates that production was 228 per cent of the pre-war average, the lowest it has been since September, 1952. Output reached an all-time high level of 243 in March, easing to 240 in each of the following two months. It fell to 232 in July, recovered to 235 in August and then declined to 232 and 231 in September and October, respectively. Production of durable goods was almost 2 per cent lower between October and November, while minerals output eased about 1 per cent. Motor-car output was cut back sharply by 30 per cent in November, chiefly because of changing over to new models. Steel production dropped from 95 per cent of rated capacity in October to 90 per cent in November. Comparisons with the March peak indicate that production of durable goods has receded from 328 to 299, while non-durable articles have gone down from 201 to 194. Minerals have fallen from 162 to 159.

On 5th February, the US discount rate was reduced from 2 per cent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The last change in the US Bank rate was in the middle of January, 1953, when it was raised from $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 2 per cent. Thus the present cut of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent restores the rate to its former position a little over a year ago. Fall in industrial output and increase in unemployment have necessitated this reduction in the discount rate. The U.S.A. has resorted to the Bank rate as a weapon to initiate changes in credit policy.

This reduction of the discount rate is the continuation of the cheap money policy adopted by the

Federal Reserve Bank system last year. Since May last year, the "Fed" has been providing as much credit as the commercial banks needed by means of purchasing Government securities in the open market. Money therefore became more plentiful with the commercial banks. Demand for advances from private enterprises, however, not only failed to expand but actually suffered a decline during the past few months. The result has been a drop in the Treasury Bill rate to as low as 1 per cent followed by a corresponding fall in other short-term interest rates. In order to bring the discount rate in line with the short-term rates the US discount rate has now been reduced. Commercial banks need not resort now to sales of Treasury Bills to obtain funds, as they can now get accommodation straight from the "Fed."

Although the US business is slowly gliding into a mild recession, there is nothing to be alarmed at. The Census Bureau reported recently that the US had a trade surplus of \$431 million (£154 million) in October, 1953. This compares with a September surplus of \$311.7 million (£111.3 million). Exports advanced from \$1,237.2 million in September to \$1,244.6 million in October, while imports declined from \$925.5 million to \$813.6 million.

The new easing of rates and of screening requirements does not, of course, mean that many private businesses will desire to borrow if they fear that production may be unprofitable—nor does it mean that the banks will necessarily be willing to lend to the few that might like to try. There is, however, some confidence that lower interest rates might help to revive housing expenditure. The figures for mortgage loans suggest they may already be doing so. The fact that America's dearer money policy after March 1951 proved much more effective than even its strongest advocates had forecast, led some people to believe that monetary policy might prove no less surprisingly effective now than it is operating with arms reversed.

By June 1953, the "Fed" was back into the market in real earnest and pumped out some \$1,000 million in new security purchases in the course of a few weeks. Then, on June 25th, it announced a relaxation in member banks reserve requirements that released another \$1,100 million in cash. But it is true that since the transformation to the easy money policy, the "Fed's" purchases of securities have not been heavy, but this has been because seasonal demands upon money market have been much lower than usual. The Treasury has been borrowing less, partly because of its approach to budgetary balance and partly because the unfortunate Congressional decision to maintain the ceiling on the national debt has forced the Treasury to run down its cash balances rather than resort to borrowing operations. The seasonal expansion in commercial

bank loans since the mid-summer low point has ranged only between a half and two-thirds as much as last year—a sign partly of the decline in stock building, but partly also of the fact that a change in the system of anticipatory tax payments has led some businesses to switch their peak borrowing from the autumn to the spring. The decline in stock building is now being interpreted outside that the recession has already begun. But now that the "Fed" stands ready to pump in any money that is demanded has done much to steady nerves, in Wall Street as well as in banking circles. Although it may be assumed that the "Fed" will not do anything to intensify any incipient deflation, can it also be assumed that it will be able to do anything to alleviate it? So far, the effect on the interest rates has been diverse.

Bengal Budget

The Budget estimates of the West Bengal Government for 1954-55 disclose a deficit of Rs. 13.38 crores. In recent years, budget deficits of many of the States in India have become chronic. West Bengal deserves special consideration—partition has deprived her of a large percentage in her income-tax share; influx of evacuees have thrown her limited resources out of gear; development projects, not often well chosen, have become constant drains on her resources, and the recommendations of the Finance Commission have made the case worse for her. The Chief Minister of West Bengal has rightly observed: "This Government is expected to live by taxing agricultural wealth of which it has very little but cannot tax industrial wealth which it has got in plenty. This is a serious problem in public finance. The problem has become more serious and urgent after Partition and after the recommendation of the Finance Commission. This unique basic economic structure of West Bengal is hardly appreciated either in the Centre or in any other part of the country."

In this country the yield of Central and State taxes is only about 7 per cent of national income. The source of land revenue has lagged conspicuously behind other major taxes and behind the rise in money incomes and prices. Since 1937-38 it has fallen from second to fourth place among tax sources. Before the war, land revenue accounted for almost one third of the revenue that the provinces of undivided India raised from their own sources (i.e. total Provincial revenue minus devolution of revenue and grants from the Centre.). Land revenue now represents less than one-sixth of State revenue from own sources.

This trend is the continuation of a long-term downward movement in the proportion of receipts from land revenue. The trend is partly attributable to the rise of new sources of revenue; but the change is also attributable to the failure to adjust land revenue to the rising price level. Although land revenue has increased in money amount, it represents less buying power and a

smaller proportion of agricultural output than before the war. The most consistent statistical series on Provincial State finances is that for the seven Part A States that were not partitioned. In 1951-52 these States collected about 50 per cent more land revenue than in 1938-39, whereas the index of wholesale prices of major agricultural commodities averaged more than five and one-half times the 1938-39 average. Since 1951-52 land revenue has increased to some extent and agricultural prices have receded. Nevertheless, a great discrepancy persists between the rise in prices and the yield of land revenue.

The rise in prices of both agricultural and other commodities and the consequent reduction in the real yield and real burden create a strong presumption in favour of a substantial increase in land revenue. The case for increased land revenue does not rest on any assumption that farmers' real incomes have increased proportionately to agricultural prices. Clearly they have not. Nevertheless, regardless of the size of the producers' marketable surplus or the development of other prices and costs, the rise in agricultural prices has lightened the real burden of land revenue simply because the payment now represents a much smaller amount of agricultural produce and a smaller proportion of the gross yield of land. Furthermore, the decrease in real yield of land revenue has come about by default rather than by deliberate decisions.

It may not be desirable to attempt to raise land revenue proportionately to the increase in agricultural prices, as the levy may have been unduly burdensome in the late 1930's and prices of agricultural commodities may fall somewhat below the present level. Even so, it should be possible to raise significantly more from land revenue than the Rs. 34 crores which the Five-Year Plan calls on the States to raise over the whole period of the Plan from taxation on land, that is, land revenue and agricultural income tax. Since 1951-52, the States have increased land revenue appreciably, by more than Rs. 10 crores in 1952-53 (revised estimates) and by a further Rs. 7 crores according to the 1953-54 budgets. A considerable fraction of this increase, however, has been realized in connection with the abolition of intermediaries (zamindars) and is earmarked for their compensation. This part of the land revenue represents neither an increase in the burden on cultivators nor an addition to the net receipts of the States.

It probably will not be feasible to restore the real yield of land revenue immediately. But it is desirable to act as promptly as possible to obtain more from this source, both because of the urgent financial needs of the States and because further delay will strengthen economic and political objections to the adjustment. A systematic reassessment of land is a time-consuming process. It may be feasible, however, to adopt a system of surcharge to existing land revenue pending completion of new assessment.

In Bengal the rates of agricultural income taxes are generally lower than those of the Central Government tax on non-agricultural income, especially in the higher ranges of income. The failure to make full use of agricultural income taxes seems anomalous in view of the dominant role of agriculture in the economy. Land revenue, which is in the nature of a fixed charge, does not seem to be an adequate substitute for a graduated tax on net income. If land revenue and other expenses are deductible, there is a strong case for taxing net agricultural income at the same rates as income from other sources. With the present exemptions, the tax would apply mainly to the diminishing group of landlords and to plantations. Although the yield would probably be small, the tax appears to be justifiable in principle.

Betterment levies and irrigation and power charges, as recognised by the Planning Commission, are among the most desirable means of capturing for the Government a part of the additional income directly attributable to the Five-Year Plan. Betterment levies are intended to absorb part of the "unearned increment" in the value of the land served by a new irrigation project. It seems reasonable that the State should appropriate part of the rise in value which reflects the expected additional agricultural yield attributable to the project. A betterment levy can be assessed at the inception of a project, but beneficiaries must be allowed to pay their assessments over a period of years as they actually experience an increase in income. The immediate effect of betterment levies in providing additional resources for development would not be large, but the resources would facilitate the maintenance or expansion of the development programme in the future.

The appropriate policy with respect to water rates, electric power charges, railway rates and prices charged by other government enterprises is not always easy to determine. Although there are valid reasons for offering some services of public enterprises at prices below their full cost, the general policy should be an attempt to cover in the price all operating expenses and capital costs. Capital costs consist of interest on the investment and adequate depreciation allowances. Special justification should be required for departures from the policy of full cost pricing.

Charges below full costs inevitably imply subsidies for users of the service which must be paid for by taxpayers. It is by no means clear that this combination of subsidies and taxes will necessarily improve the distribution of income or perform any other desirable function. Furthermore, the capacity of the State Government to raise revenue is limited. If enterprises that could be self-supporting require a subsidy out of general revenues, other desirable public services will have to be curtailed because of inadequate financial resources. Finally, if the demand for the service is such that the full capacity of the enterprise would be used when charges cover all operating and

capital costs, a lower charge is likely to result in an economically less efficient use of the service.

As regards West Bengal's share of the income tax, the recommendations of the Finance Commission have definitely done her an injustice. Of course, the Commission have laid down the principle that the share of each State in the divisible pool of the income tax shall be determined by 20 per cent on collection basis and the balance 80 per cent on population basis. The quota is fixed rather on *ad hoc* basis and then the above principle is made applicable. As for example, of the West Bengal's share of 11.25, she would receive 20 per cent on collection basis and 80 per cent on population basis. But it may be asked how West Bengal's quota of 11.25 was reached?

Some of the State concerns are running on deficits. In this connection one point should be noted, and it is that State concerns and enterprises differ fundamentally from private enterprises. Whereas private enterprises are run primarily for the purpose of earning profits, State concerns are run not to earn profit, but to provide employment and to meet pressing public requirements. The Opposition in the West Bengal Legislature failed to appreciate this point. In a welfare state, it is of little importance whether State enterprises are making profits or not though they should not run at a loss. But it is essential that employment must be provided by introducing new schemes which would enrich the real capital of the country. If the State Transport in West Bengal has provided employment to many thousands, and alleviated the transport problem of Unions then the primary function of the enterprise is satisfied: The pity is that even members who profess to be socialists, criticise the Government for failure to earn profits on these State concerns. And they forget that socialist economy is a cost economy—profit being an unrecognised factor. It is nowadays the primary duty of the Government of a country to provide employment to the unemployed and amenities to the public in general and for that purpose large-scale expenditure has got to be involved and profit is an insignificant factor here. If the capital is maintained intact, that is sufficient. The Government should, however, be careful while selecting schemes. Speculative schemes are to be discarded. The deep-sea fishing scheme of West Bengal appears to be "fishy" from the beginning. Such unplanned schemes are wasteful.

International Monetary Fund Report

Early last year four experts of the International Monetary Fund under the leadership of the distinguished economist Mr. E. M. Bernstein, visited this country on a fact-finding tour. At that time the Government of India invited them to express their views on the Five-Year Plan, although a section among the people was sceptical about the utility of such an examination. In their view the Plan had already been sufficiently examined by economic

experts and further analysis would be useless. Some even felt that by inviting the IMF Mission to examine the Plan, the Government of India were showing a lack of confidence on their own conviction. The report, submitted by the Mission to the Government of India early February, conclusively proves that these critics were wrong. The report of the IMF experts, however, does not say anything sensational or anything new which others in this country had not observed before. But the report makes more convincing and forceful reflection on a number of issues than any critic in this country has made. The views of the Mission extend support to that minority opinion in India which has been pleading for a saner and practical approach to such controversial issues as deficit financing, controls, foreign investment and incentives to production.

Generally speaking, the IMF Mission have approved of the fundamental objectives of the Five-Year Plan, of the approach made in it, and of its priorities and basic assumptions. The experts have placed more emphasis than even the Planning Commission on the imperative need for India for the speedier implementation of the Plan, so that the economic structure can be transformed from a stagnant to a progressive one. The experts have, however, uttered a note of warning against resorting to investment through inflationary methods. The keynote of their advice is: "economic development with stability." In their opinion, the Government of India's view should be "bold, without being reckless."

The analysis made by the IMF experts of the financial estimates of the Plan has confirmed the opinion in this country that the investment target contemplated in it are beyond the available resources of the country. In view of the low per capita income prevailing in India and the modest increases that may occur, it is difficult to believe that the desired savings will come about automatically. Net savings investment, which has hitherto been of the order of 4 to 5 per cent, is hardly sufficient to meet the growing needs of the population expanding at 1.25 per cent. Aggregate production has to rise more rapidly than population. The Plan envisages a rise in the level of investment to a little over 7 per cent. The experts observe that domestic savings, private and public, cannot be expected to reach the estimates and that a large part of the foreign resources required is not assured. Active measures will, therefore, have to be followed to raise the total resources available to carry out the Plan. In the absence of additional resources, the experts hold, the implementation of the Plan will result in inflation.

The alternative is to reduce the contemplated level of investment—but this is quite out of the question. Plainly speaking, that would lead to stagnation in our economy which is unthinkable. Failure

to give a forward momentum to the economy of India will be as disastrous as inflation itself. The problem for India is not to secure a short spurt of a relatively large amount of investment. That has been the problem for certain industrial countries at a time when a once-for-all rapid expansion in particular types of production was necessary. For India, however, as for other underdeveloped countries, the basic problem is to secure a steady rise in investment in many sectors of the economy and over a long period, in fact, until the momentum of the economy and the growth in its capacity to save will make such a level of investment normal. It would be shortsighted to jeopardize the structure of the economy and its growth in the directions suited to the needs of the people for the sake of a temporary spurt in investment induced by inflationary means.

Inflation is a socially costly and economically wasteful means of increasing investment. It encourages excessive investment in inventories, real estate, and foreign balances; and it discourages investment in agriculture and certain fields of industry, particularly if controls hold down prices while costs rise. Thus, inflation diverts the limited resources available for development to sectors where their effect on production is negligible. For these reasons, the Government of India should regard development with stability as its basic economic policy. However, economic policy must not be confused with price rigidity. A growing economy must have sufficient flexibility in its price structure to induce the movement of real resources into those sectors which experience the greatest growth.

The major part of the experts' report is devoted to a discussion of deficit financing and physical controls, as opposed to controls through the monetary mechanism. Their views on these two subjects are well-balanced, in refreshing contrast to the extreme opinions expressed by some in this country. The experts hold that deficit financing by itself is not bad, but, of course, its excessiveness is undesirable. Deficit financing which is used to secure an appropriate money supply and to direct real resources to the Government for its investment is clearly essential to the success of the Plan. The experts do not say that deficit financing is inconsistent with a sound credit policy. If deficit financing is undertaken without regard to its effect on the money supply and the availability of resources, it will inevitably lead to inflation and hamper the achievement of the Plan. Whether deficit financing is desirable or not depends fundamentally on the amount, the environment in which it is undertaken, and the policies that go along with it.

Clearly, some deficit financing is consistent with a sound credit policy designed to avoid inflation and to facilitate economic development with stability. Clearly, too, excessive deficit financing is not con-

sistent with a sound credit policy and can lead to inflation even if it is for the purpose of undertaking development. Deficit financing is but one aspect of credit policy, and it is only on the whole range of credit policy that a judgment can be made. The experts hold that the practical problem for the monetary authorities is to determine how much is proper and how much is excessive deficit financing within the framework of a sound credit policy. Deficit financing should be integrated with general credit policy. This means that deficit financing, operating within the proper money supply, must not deprive the private sector of resources for which its need may be financially no less urgent and economically no less justified than that of the Government.

It is not possible to say precisely how much deficit financing can be undertaken without risking inflation. As a minimum, it would be as much as the drawing down of sterling balances. Beyond that, an uncertain fraction, perhaps, about one half, of the net increase in the money supply could be used for deficit financing without serious risk of inflation. This proportion is high because a large part of the money supply of India consists of bank notes, so that the expansibility of bank credit on the basis of additional reserves is limited. Even if deficit financing could be safely undertaken to an amount equal to the drawing down of the sterling reserves plus some fraction of the net increase in the money supply, it would not follow that this is a desirable policy.

The chapter on "Price Controls, Rationing and Allocations" makes some excellent observations. It should be read by all those who blindly urge that a rigid system of physical controls is a prerequisite for the success of any planned economic development. On this point the firm conclusion of the experts is that

"Price controls and rationing, in conjunction with credit expansion, do not offer a solution to the problem of inadequate resources. The controls are difficult and costly to administer. Their successful enforcement on a comprehensive scale and for a long period of time cannot be taken for granted and might prove impossible."

The controls involve economic costs in the form of rigidities, waste, and disrupted production. If long continued, they weaken incentives to work and to supply goods in exchange for money. In the long run, the resources for development—and development is a long run problem—must come from taxes or savings out of the current income of the people, or they must come from resources provided from abroad. The problem of inadequate resources must be faced and met. It cannot be hidden by the excessive creation of credit reinforced by controls to avoid an obvious and active inflation.

Element 99 Discovered

U.S. Atomic Energy Commission reports the discovery of a new element, No. 99 in the periodic table. Element 99 had been produced by bombarding uranium with nitrogen atoms in the radiation laboratory cyclotron where particles were whirled at high speeds. Only a tiny quantity of the new element had been produced and it had decayed within a short time.

Element 99 was the seventh heavy substance beyond uranium which was No. 92. The element was highly unstable, lasting but seven minutes before disintegration. It is yet to be given a name.

Five Nations Want Bilingualism

A sample survey by the French Institute of Public Opinion in the U.K., U.S.A., Canada, Holland and Norway revealed that an overwhelming majority in those countries were in favour of bilingualism, particularly with English or French as the second language.

To the question whether the school-going children should learn one universally understood language in addition to their national language, 77 per cent in Great Britain, 78 per cent in the U.S.A., 84 per cent in Canada and 82 per cent in Holland and Norway had given a favourable reply.

The Dutch and the Norwegians were in favour of English while the British, Canadians and the Americans were in favour of French as the second language. 25 per cent American wished to have Spanish and 14 per cent German.

Here in India, we have the question of Rastrabhasa. As it stands at present, this would mean bilingualism for all States excepting U.P. and Bihar and some areas of Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh. This would constitute an unfair handicap on all whose mother tongue is not Hindi. Bilingualism is the only remedy.

Bombay Government Order on Schools

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports: "The order issued by the State of Bombay on January 6, 1954 prohibiting English medium schools from admitting pupils of non-Anglo-Indian communities and of Asiatic descent was held to be invalid by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Dixit, at the Bombay High Court." Their Lordships held that the order of the State Government contravened Articles 29(2) and 337 of the Constitution. A writ was issued against the Government restraining it from enforcing the order.

In an elaborate judgement delivered by the Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla, their Lordships said that a parent had a prior right over the State to decide what education his children would have. Such an important right would be found in the declaration of human rights to which India was a party. Their Lordships were of the opinion that "Article 29(2) embodied two important principles: firstly, the right of a citizen to

select any educational institution maintained by the State, or receiving aid from the State fund; and secondly, that an educational institution which the State had recognised could not restrict its admission to members of a particular religion, race, caste or language."

The Government of Bombay would appeal to the Supreme Court against the decision, disclosed the Advocate-General.

In an editorial the newspaper writes that, "The question arises whether the State can compel a parent to give his child the education the State thinks proper. The Bombay High Court denies this right. The danger inherent in such State compulsion must be admitted."

Continuing the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that the Bombay Government order on educational institutions had another serious implication. The High Court had drawn attention to the constitutional provision that no educational institution was entitled to receive any grant under the relevant Article unless at least 40 per cent of the annual admissions were made available to members of communities other than the Anglo-Indian community. The order of the Government, the Judges concluded, asked Anglo-Indian schools in the face of the proviso not to make available the 40 per cent of their places. They added that if any such school continued to receive the grant in contravention of the appropriate Article in the Constitution, any tax-payer could have the Government restrained from giving the grant if 40 per cent of the receipts of the school was not made available to non-Anglo-Indians. The newspaper urges the Government to "think again on these matters which are raised by its order, although it is now too much to hope that it will immediately retreat gracefully. A final decision, however, should not be unduly delayed."

We hope this judgement will have salutary effect on those that are becoming over-enthusiastic in the matter of Rastrabhasa.

Racialism in Western Films

In an article entitled "Racialism in Western Films," Mr. John Alexander writes in the *Hindu*, February 21, that since 1951 British films had shown a racial bias and a number of British feature films appearing over the past two years tended "to show colonial peoples as inclined to rioting and arson." American films were no better. In the American films, like "Calcutta," "Saigon" and "Thunder in the East," writes Mr. Alexander, "Indian people are shown as no more than gangsters, petty thieves, and beggars against the leading roles played by the hero." Some American films like "Bwana Devil" and "Men against the Sun" having been set against the background of 19th century cunningly evaded the present issues and presented African people as, in fact, more backward than they were today. Others portrayed peoples of the Pacific Islands as "living under conditions of 'idyllic' back-

wardness with no aspirations to a more modern life."

The author writes that though attempts were being made to portray the realities of British character and British life in British films, even now "the same cannot be said about the films dealing with the colonial countries."

"In 1953, the Film Panel of the Authors World Peace Appeal held a conference in London at which a member of film experts and others spoke on the subject of films which serve the cause of peace. An Indian speaker received warm applause for her trenchant attack on the trends in British and American films outlined above. It is a feeling which is gaining ground in this country, as the movement is gaining ground against racial discrimination in all its forms," he adds.

This is an age-old characteristic of Western books of fiction—indeed of all books excepting those that deal with science or technology.

It is about time that East expressed its displeasure in concrete terms, terms that would hit at the pockets of Western producers.

Extension of Press Act Ordinance

The Government of India has extended the life of the Press (objectionable matters) Act, 1951, by two years through an ordinance issued by the President. The ordinance extending the life of the Act made substantial amendments to the original Act, which was never liked by the Press and the public.

Critical of the ordinance the *Hindu* editorially writes that the promulgation of the Ordinance showed that the Government of India had "once again comfortably slid into the bureaucratic habit of treating as routine what was at the beginning, and can never cease to be, an abnormal and unwarranted infraction of a fundamental right." The Government had made no attempts to show whether the original Act had been justified. On the other hand, it could not be denied that the Act had "powerfully re-inforced the natural timorousness of the weaker sections of the Press which, however, anxious to expose evil wherever it might be found, have not the resources to face the terrors of a Government prosecution."

The newspaper particularly criticizes the significant amendments to the original Act that had been made in the ordinance. One of the amendments had sought to curtail the powers of the special jury under the Act and another gave the Government as well as the prosecuted journal the right to appeal to the High Court, "The demand for security and the provision for forfeiture are restrictions on the freedoms of the Press which have not only no precedents in democratic countries, but the Act throws upon the Press an onus which is not thrown on the private individual in countries under the rule of law," writes the newspaper. It hopes that Parliament would "incontinently throw out these uncalled-for and reactionary measures."

In the absence of any suggestions, regarding the question of curbing the activities of disruptive and anti-social forces through the medium of yellow journalism, we must say that the remarks of the *Hindu* lead us nowhere.

Begging as a Profession

A sociological survey of beggars in Jabalpur undertaken by the Social Service League of the Govindram Sakseria College revealed that about a third of 152 beggars surveyed had expressed their desire to abandon their profession, while a few of the able-bodied among them had evinced 'devotion' to begging as being their 'hereditary' profession. An earlier survey of beggars at the Nagpur Railway Station had also revealed the attitude of a section of the beggars to look upon begging as an easy, money-yielding profession. Inviting the attention of the City Fathers and Governments to make a resolute attempt for doing away with this state of utter degradation of human beings the *Hitavada* writes: "Apart from the physical suffering, begging exerts a castrating effect on the minds of the beggars with the result that once a beggar, a person is always a beggar and in course of time he becomes the head of a teeming family of beggars. Thus with the passage of time the problem assumes larger and larger dimensions."

We agree with the *Hitavada* in this view. Able-bodied vagrants infest the streets and public places of Calcutta, and the large majority are not of the soil. Some measures are urgently called for to combat this evil.

Criminal Law Reform in India

Mr. B. N. Datar, Union Deputy Home Minister, in an address before the Poona Bar Association, had regretted what he had called the attitude of apathy among many Indians to criminals and their non-cooperation with the Government and the Courts in bringing such people to book. Commenting on this speech the *Bombay Chronicle*, in an editorial on February 9, writes that the "wrong need not always be with the public." The relationship between the police and the public was not fully cordial and in this respect the police might be held responsible to an extent. The proportion of undetected crimes to registered officers was high in many areas and detection seemed so uncertain that it had hardly any deterrent effect.

"For this reason," writes the newspaper, "any proposal to extend police powers will have to be examined carefully. Mr. Datar refers to the proposal to permit the admission, as evidence in court, of statements on confessions made to the police. The idea has been suggested before, particularly by spokesmen of the Executive. But what is admitted facility for strengthening the hands of police need not neces-

sarily be sound from the point of view of criminal justice."

Proceeding further the newspaper writes that administrative or police convenience was not the ground on which reforms of criminal law were primarily sought. There was need to speed trials and simplify procedures, "for smoothing laws present rough edges but changes should not be made lightly. In criminal law this precaution is all the more important." In this connection it reminds the maxims on which the British system of justice was modelled. One was that justice should not only be done but that it should demonstrably and indubitably appear to have been done. It was better that three guilty persons should escape than one innocent person should suffer. "Reforms attempted for administering criminal justice in this country must ensure these essential principles," the paper concludes.

We cannot say that we fully agree with this *laissez-faire* attitude. There is need of reform, indubitably, as can be seen from the attitude of all miscreants and corrupt elements. Law is futile unless the lawless are penalised. It is about time we thought of the innocent masses that are suffering because of the ineffective processes of the law against those that prey on the helpless.

Pencil-making as a Cottage Industry

The *A. I. C. C. Economic Review* reports on February 15 that the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, had evolved a method of treatment of indigenous *deodar* timber by which it could be made suitable for the pencil-making industry. On trial the treated timber had been found to be an excellent substitute for *Juniper* slats imported from East Africa for the manufacture of pencils.

Along with the gradual adoption of this treated indigenous *deodar* timber an effort was also on foot to develop pencil-making as a cottage industry. The Institute had devised a set of simple pencil-making tools costing Rs. 75 which even the unskilled people could handle after a little training. Three things would be required for making a complete pencil, namely, (a) a set of tools, (b) pencil slats, indigenously produced in large quantities and (c) pencil leads which were produced in Calcutta and Madras. Three tools, namely, grooving plane, round-cutting plane and a round-smoothing plane would be required for pencil-making by hand.

NOTICE

Articles sent for publication in *The Modern Review* should be accompanied with adequate stamps so that they may be returned if not approved. If replies to letters are expected, reply cards should be sent. Articles sent per Book Post may not always reach our office.

Subscribers and advertisers should write to the Manager. Letters concerning monetary transactions, non-receipt of our magazine and change of address should be addressed to the Manager, *Modern Review*.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

By Dr. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.
Head of the Department of Pol. Science, Barahseni College, Aligarh

ON no aspect of Indian administration is opinion so sharply divided as on the problem of Indian foreign policy. This policy has met with the approval as well as the disapproval of the people in almost equal measure. In fact, a large section of the people is of opinion that our foreign policy is a total failure and it should be discarded. It will, therefore, be worthwhile to inquire into the essential features of that policy and to examine dispassionately whether it is based on sound lines or not. But in any discussion of the problem we cannot overlook the fact that our foreign policy is still in a formative or emerging stage. It is over six years ago, that our country attained full power to order its own foreign policy. Before that both the internal and the external policy of our country was formulated by our alien rulers. In fact, India became free to outline her foreign policy after August 15, 1947, although the rudiments of this policy had already been laid down by Pt. Nehru, the first Minister for External Affairs after he formed the interim government on September 2, 1946.

But it should not be supposed that we are starting with a clean slate. Pandit Nehru himself admitted this in his foreign policy statement in the Parliament on March 11, 1950. He remarked:

"It is a policy which flowed from our past, from recent history and from our national movement and its development and from various ideals we have proclaimed..."

In fact, every party, when it is formed, enunciates its own internal as well as external policy and puts it into practice when it is returned to power. The Indian National Congress which was formed in 1885 was not a political party in the strict sense of the term but it was a gigantic anti-imperialist front. It was, therefore, natural for it to align itself with similar forces in other parts of the world. In this way, from the very inception of the Congress that organisation stood as the rallying point of all anti-imperialistic forces.

It is generally forgotten that the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress was outlined by Tilak in a letter to Clemenceau, the President of the Peace Conference of 1919, in these words:

"India is self-contained, harbours no design upon the integrity of other states and has no ambition outside. With her vast area, enormous resources and prodigious population she may well aspire to be a leading power in Asia. She could therefore be a powerful steward of the League of

Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world."

In 1921 the Congress expressed its disapproval of the British Policy of using India as a base for launching an attack on the freedom of other peoples. In February 1927, Pt. Nehru represented the Indian National Congress at the Conference of the Anti-imperialist League at Brussels and in that Conference he affirmed India's alignment with all anti-imperialist forces of the world. The Madras Congress of the same year condemned the use of military troops in China in furtherance of imperialistic designs.¹ It also expressed its views against an imperialist war for which preparations were going on in Europe and warned Great Britain that India would not participate in such a war. When fascist aggression took place in China, Abyssinia and Spain in the thirties of this century, the Congress rendered aid to its victims.

From the above we notice that the two cardinal features of Congress policy were anti-imperialism and opposition to war. This shows that the external policy was an extension of the internal policy. In fact, there was complete consistency between the two. The second feature was due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's 'Doctrine of Non-violence,' which, again, was only a reiteration of the teachings of Buddha and Emperor Asoka. India was waging a righteous war of independence based on the moral teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. A logical corollary of this was a righteous foreign policy. India could not speak with two tongues, one with regard to internal affairs and the other with regard to external affairs.

These ideas were reiterated at subsequent sessions of the Congress. In his presidential address at the Lucknow Congress Session of 1936 Pt. Nehru remarked:

"We take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against fascism and imperialism..."

At the Haripura Session of 1938, the Congress adopted a comprehensive resolution on foreign policy. But when the Second World War broke out the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on September 14, 1939 demanding a declaration of the war aims of the British Government. In that resolution the Congress took the stand that:

1. Quoted in Iqbal Singh: *Indian Foreign Policy*, p. 10.

2. See the resolution quoted by K. P. Karunakaran in *India in World Affairs*, p. 10.

"A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity."

As already mentioned, the foreign policy of India was first outlined by Pt. Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, in a press conference on September 26, 1946 in which he announced that India would evolve a suitable mechanism for the conduct of her foreign policy by organising an Indian Foreign Service and by opening a large number of embassies abroad. He defined the attitude of India towards her neighbours like Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon as that of friendliness based on the recognition of national governments in those countries. Moreover, he announced that India stood for ending colonialism in all parts of the world. But the cardinal principle of Indian Foreign Policy was that "in the sphere of foreign affairs, India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power-politics of groups aligned one against another". Furthermore, she would uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and would oppose racial discrimination in any shape and form. She would also co-operate with other countries in the achievement of international co-operation and peace. Defining her attitude towards the U.N.O. he remarked that

"India's attitude is that of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the charter governing it."

An analysis of the policy outlined above shows that almost all its ideas were based on what the Congress had preached since its inception. Even the idea of non-alignment with power blocs was not new as the foregoing pages have already shown. This policy has been described as that of neutrality in world politics but Pandit Nehru, once described it as "dynamic neutrality." Initiating the debate on external affairs in Parliament on March 17, 1950, he remarked that India "wanted to follow not a negative or merely a neutral policy but a positive policy of helping those forces which she considered right, disapproving things which she did not like but fundamentally keeping apart from alignment of powers which lead to conflict." Speaking at Bombay on December 6, 1952, he remarked:

"We will not join any bloc. Western or Eastern. In this process we might find ourselves sometimes in difficult position and may have to face accusations."

This policy was approved by the 58th session of the Indian National Congress held at Nanalnagar

on January 17, 1953. The resolution of the Congress on Foreign Policy appreciates and supports "the policy of peace and international co-operation and non-alignment with power blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contribution towards international understanding and world peace." Pandit Nehru reiterated this policy in a speech at Calcutta on December 13, 1953, but he made it clear that it did not mean that India would live in isolation. Moreover, she 'knew that in the event of a war she could not escape its effects.'

In fact, India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and also the U.N.O. shows that she is not neutral. She has thrown her lot with other democratic nations of the world. To say that India is neutral in international politics is not to speak the truth because membership of the Commonwealth implies that she owes allegiance to a group of powers led by Great Britain. In the U.N.O. of which India is an active member she participates in debates involving various countries and also exercises her right of vote on the questions discussed in its meetings. Replying to a letter from an American Liberal organisation, Pandit Nehru remarked:

"Our policy is not neutralist but is one of active endeavour to preserve and if possible to establish peace on a firm foundation."

He also stated:

"With the governments and peoples of the Western democracies we sincerely desire to ceaselessly work for co-operation in the cause of goodwill and peace."

India's record in the U.N.O. and the conferences of allied world organisations where she has stood as the champion of the subject and 'down-trodden peoples and races has won admiration in many quarters. During July-August, 1947, she espoused the cause of Indonesia in the U.N.O. In fact, she called an Indonesian Conference to focus the attention of world opinion on the question of her freedom from Dutch control. She also called an Inter-Asian Relations Conference which was held in Delhi from March 23 to April 2, 1947, and attended by a large number of representatives of Asiatic countries to develop inter-Asian solidarity. She has been a stout champion of the cause of South-West Africa against the grabbing policy of the Union of South Africa. Moreover, she was one of the sponsors of a resolution passed by the General Assembly of the U.N.O. On January 16, 1952, at Paris calling upon the Trusteeship Committee to set up a sub-committee to study the problem of trust territories alleged to be annexed by the administering powers under the guise of customs, fiscal or administrative Unions. She evinced keen interest in the question of the freedom

of Libya. In fact, such instances could be multiplied. She recognised the Communist regime of China on December 30, 1949, before the United Kingdom did so and she has been an ardent advocate of the entry of Red China in the U.N.O. for which she incurred the intense displeasure of the American Government.

When North Korea invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950, India lost no time in joining the democratic nations in condemning North Korea as an aggressor country. But she stopped then and there and did not want to be used as a pawn in the international game of power-politics. Before the Security Council authorised General MacArthur to cross the 38th Parallel in Korea, India counselled the power-intoxicated nations not to do so as in that case China could not be expected to take it lying down but the words of wisdom were not heeded to.

India also refused to be a party to the unequal peace treaty signed between the U.S.A. and Japan and forty-seven other nations at San Francisco on September 8, 1951. She did not even attend that conference because the retention of American bases in Ryuku and Bonin Islands provided in the peace treaty could not be morally justified. Even in the seventh session of the General Session, the Indian delegation moved a resolution for the settlement of the Korean question. No doubt, it was carried by overwhelming majority but the U.S.S.R. and China refused to accept it. Rich tributes have recently been paid to Pandit Nehru for his efforts to bring about a truce in Korea. Moreover, India has been appointed a member of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission to supervise the exchange of prisoners and she has been asked to send her troops to safeguard the arrangements. She is performing her duties with great patience and impartiality, although the South Korean Government has tried to put several obstacles in her way.

Although India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, her relations with two of its members are far from cordial. With South Africa she has a long-standing dispute over the status of Indians in that country. But her relations with the dominion of Pakistan which was created on August 15, 1947 as a result of the partition of India are also far from satisfactory. There are various reasons for this. Perhaps, one of them is that Pakistan itself is based on the philosophy of hate. Moreover, there are the problems of evacuee property, riparian disputes, treatment of minorities and the dispute over the accession of Kashmir. Although at present the problem of Kashmir has overshadowed other problems, the problem really most difficult of solution is that of non-Muslim minorities in Eastern Pakistan as the minorities in the Western Pakistan have been almost exterminated. In February, 1950, an attempt was made by the militant Muslim organisations like the

Ansars with the help or connivance of the Government to exterminate the Hindu minority in Eastern Pakistan. The nationals of any other country provoked by the loss of life and honour of their co-religionists would have gone to war but our Prime Minister maintained the coolness of his mind in such grave and provocative circumstances at the risk of being dubbed as a pacifist. Once lifting the curtain off his mind he told us that he even thought of resigning but did not do so because of his interest in foreign affairs. In the teeth of opposition of the majority of his cabinet he entered into the Indo-Pakistan Pact of April 8, 1950, by which both countries pledged to protect their minorities and a machinery to implement this pledge was also devised. This pact was far from a solution, although it did postpone the evil day. In fact, there is reason to show that the Indian Government have not done all that they could or should to protect the Hindu minorities in Pakistan. No sane man would advocate war with Pakistan on this issue but every step short of war should be taken. Due to this reason a new political party, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh has been organised which advocates a policy of reciprocity towards Pakistan.

Due to her independent line of policy India has sometimes had to plough her lonely furrow in the international field. In November 1947, the Indian delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations failed to secure the passage of its resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa. She has also felt that the various powers have shown partiality to Pakistan in the matter of Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. The attitude of the two important members of the U.N.O. who have a majority on their side, viz., the U.S.A. and Great Britain with the latter of whom India still has many ties, has been far from that of neutrality in the Kashmir dispute. That political considerations have played a greater part in the determination of their attitude towards this problem than considerations of justice and fairplay was made amply clear by the Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir sponsored by the two powers in the Security Council in February, 1950. The Anglo-American resolution passed in the next session confirms that belief. In fact, it is rather strange that the Security Council which went out of its way to declare China an aggressor nation in Korea did not recognise the justice of the Indian case by declaring Pakistan an aggressor in Kashmir. No doubt, the reference to the U.N.O. has done one good, i.e., it has prevented further bloodshed in Kashmir. The armistice was signed on January 1, 1949, at the instance of the Security Council and since then there has been no major clash between the two sides, although the U.N. representative on Kashmir, Dr. Graham, who was entrusted with the

3. Mitra: *The Indian Annual Register*, 1939, Vol. II, p. 227.

4. *Ibid.*, 1946, Vol. II, p. 251.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

6. *Vide Leader*, dated November 5, 1951.

task of starting negotiations between the two parties with a view to effecting demilitarization as the first step to plebiscite, did not succeed in his task and the problem is as far from solution as it was when India referred it to the U.N.O.

The policy outlined above has been subjected to vehement criticism by individuals as well as groups. There are five main points of view from which this policy can be criticised.

Firstly, it is concerned with long-range objectives. Speaking before the A.I. C. C. at Bombay, Pandit Nehru remarked on April 24, 1948 that India would not align herself with any group "for temporary gains." In fact, Pandit Nehru is anything but an opportunist and, therefore, he does not want to exploit the tactical position of India in the ideological war between the two power blocs. As for example, when China was lost to the Western democracies and a Red regime was set up there, many people thought that the U.S.A. would have supported India to supplant China as one of the big five and she would also have rendered considerable financial help to the infant democracy if she had shown any desire to walk into the American Camp. In fact, it was on the basis of this expectation that she supported the election of India to the Security Council and President Truman invited Pandit Nehru to visit the U.S.A. but the latter's speeches there disappointed the Americans. The result was that when India approached the U.S.A. for food it was with much reluctance that she agreed to help her in tiding over the food crisis.

After the last General Elections, the United States began to take a very keen interest in India which, perhaps, was due to the victory of Communists in the South in the elections. The American Government thinks that India is a bastion against the rising tide of Communism in the East and if this outpost falls, everything is lost. There is no doubt that this reorientation in the attitude of the U.S.A. was due to the influence of the ex-American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles. It was due to his influence that an Indo-American agreement was signed at New Delhi on January 5, 1952 under the terms of which the U.S.A. undertook to provide financial assistance to India to the tune of 20 million dollars to speed up her development project. Although some people in this country are of opinion that increasing dependence on American dollars would ultimately lead to the political enslavement of this country by America, Pandit Nehru answering this criticism stated at Lucknow on November 22, 1952 that he would not take help from any country with political strings attached to it.

But the interesting side of the story is that the U.S.S.R. also suddenly developed great sympathy and affection for India. Some time ago speaking at

Bombay a Russian spokesman remarked that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to supply India with the goods needed by her in return for Indian exports. A five-year Indo-Soviet Trade Pact was signed at New Delhi on December 2, 1953, and it may, if the much talked of U.S.-Pakistan military pact materialises, open a new chapter in the history of Indo-Soviet relations. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. flung a surprise on the entire Western world when M. Jacob Malik participated in the discussion in the Security Council on the Graham Report on January 17, 1952 for the first time since the Indo-Pakistan dispute on Kashmir was brought before it. In this way India was wooed by both the power blocs in the beginning of 1952. But Pandit Nehru is not a man to be lured by any bait that may be thrown before him. In fact, speaking at Bombay on November 23, 1951 he remarked :

"People may criticise and parties may abuse me but as long as I am the Prime Minister of this country there shall be no deviation in the foreign policy, left or right. I know for certain that any deviation will mean ruination of the country."

He further remarked that

Although this policy may not have been liked by some countries, "it was a paractical policy, both politically and economically and would pay a rich dividend in the future."

Secondly, it is open to the charge of short-sighted realism and perfectionist idealism. That this is so is amply borne out by the actual conduct of our foreign policy. We try to import the notions of individual morality in the field of international relations but the formulators of our foreign policy should not forget that the laws of individual morality do not apply to States and State morality is something different from individual morality. As, for example, take our relations with Pakistan. In relation to this unscrupulous neighbour our Government has adopted a moralist and virtuous attitude with the result that, that country has scored many diplomatic victories over India. When the Maharaja of Kashmir which is at present a bone of contention between India and Pakistan acceded to India on October 26, 1947, India would have been perfectly entitled in law to grant her request unconditionally but the Indian Government decided to accept the accession of the State subject to its final approval by the people of Kashmir through a plebiscite.⁷ Due to this reason Pakistan argues that the accession of Kashmir to India is illegal because it was a conditional accession for which there is no provision in the constitution of India. In this way the Government of India is caught within the meshes of its own cobweb. If space permitted, such instances could be multiplied.

7. This decision of the Government of India is justifiable on grounds of expediency also as it was on the basis of the verdict of the people that she could claim Junagadh and Hyderabad.

Thirdly, according to Water Lippman, "A foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation's commitments and the nation's power."⁸ We should, therefore, have a clear idea of our commitments and objectives in foreign policy. Two of our objectives in foreign policy are the successful termination of the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir and the satisfactory settlement of the problem of Indians in South Africa. Moreover, we need foreign capital and, above all, food for feeding our hungry millions, although recently the Food Minister of the Union Government has announced that India has turned the corner in this matter. Therefore, our foreign policy should be such as is likely to help our country in the attainment of these objects. But, however, "the elementary means by which all foreign policy must be conducted are the armed forces of the nation, the arrangement of its strategic position and the choice of its alliances."⁹ So far as the last means is concerned the conduct of our foreign policy has left much to be desired. The result is that in spite of inherent justice of our case we fail to get any support in the Security Council on the Kashmir question because we belong to neither of the two power blocs.

Fourthly, however, satisfactory on the plane of the ideal our foreign policy has been subjected to serious criticism on the plane of the actual. This criticism has come from many quarters. Two such critics are Dr. Ambedkar, Ex-Law Minister of the Government of India, and Sir Jagdish Prasad, a former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In his statement on his resignation from the Government Dr. Ambedkar remarked that on August 15, 1947 when India began her life as an independent country, "there was no country which wished us ill. Today, after four years all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left." No doubt, applying this test our foreign policy has been a dismal failure. A similar opinion has been expressed by Sir Jagdish Prasad. In an article published on January 26, 1950, he wrote :

"If our foreign policy is based on the assumption that we are a sort of international court of justice giving our decisions on the merits of each dispute as it arises we may soon find ourselves without friends among the more powerful states."

This prophecy has come true but he also remarked :

"No one wants the Indian Republic to be dragged into war. But any government which bases its policy on the assumption that wars have been completely banished or that in a world conflict the Indian Republic can remain neutral will be hazarding the very safety of the state."

8. *U. S. Foreign Policy*, p. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

To suppose that Pandit Nehru has based his foreign policy on this assumption is to underrate his political sagacity and foresight. In a letter to the editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad published on December 2, 1951, Sir Jagdish wrote :

"Congress foreign policy, which in reality is the Prime Minister's monopoly, has recently been trumpeted as superior to that of all other powers because it is claimed to be based on truth and non-violence. It is not surprising that such self-praise and arrogant self-conceit have left us with no friends. The great powers do not wish to be told by implication that in contrast to our foreign policy theirs is based on trickery and violence; that we are the only people in the world to handle international affairs on a moral basis, and that our superiority on this score is now universally recognised and receives world-wide homage. But what has been the outcome of this ethereal policy? We have no friends left among the great powers."

Although this view represents the opinion of a definite school of politicians in this country, it should not be forgotten that it was expressed on the eve of elections which had generated much heat of controversy. Pandit Nehru admitted the force of these arguments in a speech delivered at the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India on December 4, 1947 in these words :

"We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other. The natural result has been that neither of these big blocs looks on us with favour. They think that we are undependable, because we cannot be made to vote this way or that way."¹⁰

But he believes that this policy will ultimately lead to good results.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that foreign policy is only a means and not an end. As our foreign policy is based on justice and righteousness which are ends in themselves, it often confuses the two and it becomes impossible to distinguish the means from the end. That Pandit Nehru is conscious of this separation cannot be denied, for in the above referred-to speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India he remarked :

"Whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no Government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country."¹¹

Pandit Nehru makes two claims in regard to his foreign policy. Firstly, he claims that he knows foreign affairs better than anybody else in this

10. *Independence and After*, p. 201.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

country. Speaking at a public meeting in Lucknow on September 3, 1950 Pandit Nehru remarked :

"Prime Ministership is not my profession and I would have resigned but for one thing, and that is my interest in the Foreign Affairs Portfolio. In this field I claim to know much more than any body else in the country. And it is because I feel that by running the External Affairs Ministry, I may do something good and useful for the country, that I have not resigned my office."¹²

Secondly, he claims that this policy is the best policy and although its full benefit could not be derived at present, even now it has borne some fruits. In a speech at Bombay on November 23, 1951 he remarked that the foreign policy of his government was the most successful of all policies in the country since independence. He added :

"Even at the risk of praising myself, I will say that our foreign policy is the greatest factor for raising the prestige of India in the world councils."

Let us see what is the truth in these two claims. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru is one of the most competent men in India in the field of foreign affairs. Moreover, he had selected two of the ablest public servants to assist him in the formulation of this policy. The first one Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai was till recently the Secretary General, and the second was Mr. K. P. S. Menon, who was the Secretary of the External Affairs Department. Above all, till recently, India was very ably represented in the United Nations Organisation by Sir B. N. Rao who set up a very high standard of diplomacy and statesmanship. In fact, so far as the topmost personnel of the External Affairs Department is concerned, it is of the best quality. But this is not true of the lower rungs of the foreign service and one of the most important causes of our poor publicity abroad in spite of huge cost is said to be the incompetence of the personnel entrusted with this work. There is reason to think that the lower staff is selected on other than merit basis which is bound to tell on efficiency.

So far as the second claim is concerned it has already been mentioned that it is stoutly denied by a large section of people. In the foregoing pages we have examined the view of two important critics of the rightist group. Let us, therefore, study the views of a leftist. Dr. Lohia,¹³ the Socialist leader, is of the opinion that Pandit Nehru's claim that his foreign policy has enhanced the prestige of India in foreign countries does not stand scrutiny. He does not regard Pandit Nehru as an idealist blind to realities, but his policies are affected with incompleteness with the result that his foreign policy is not independent but is deviating between right and left. According to him, Nehru's foreign policy has been a "colossal failure" on the basis of three tests. Firstly, the independence of

India has led to no change in the status of Indians overseas. Secondly, foreign capital and publicists do not regard this policy as satisfactory. Thirdly, the freedom of India had made no difference to the armaments race or the consequent threat to world peace.

But in spite of all this criticism it remains true that our foreign policy is very satisfactory on the plane of the ideal. During the election campaign Pandit Nehru claimed that the Congress Government had laid very sound foundations for building an enduring political edifice in the country. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru has laid the foundations of a sound foreign policy. That this policy is not based on the whims of one individual howsoever great, is borne out by a study of the foreign policies of other countries. The same policy of non-alignment with power blocs was pursued for a long time by the United States of America when she secured her Independence from the mother country. This policy was formulated by Washington, the first President of the United States of America, in his farewell message. He advised the young republic 'to steer clear of permanent alliances.' Jefferson, the first Secretary of State and the third President of the U.S.A., fully endorsed this policy. In his inaugural address he emphasized that America should have entangling alliances with none. No doubt the Americans carried the ideas of Washington and Jefferson rather too far. Now, of course, the policy of neutrality has been totally given up by the U.S.A. because the circumstances during which it was evolved no longer exist. The policy of neutrality suits a weak and poor state which the U.S.A. undoubtedly was when she secured her political freedom. But India is in the same position in which the United States of America was in the third quarter of the 18th century, although the world is much more interdependent, the power blocs are much more compact, ideological differences are much more pronounced and the threat of a devastating global war is much more real today than it was in the days of Washington and Jefferson. In any such comparison the history, traditions and the moral prestige of India cannot be left out of account. But in spite of changed circumstances, the policy of non-alignment, because neutrality it is most certainly not, is the only sane policy for India to follow at present.¹⁴ It is, therefore, heartening to note that during the last election campaign Pandit Nehru remarked that if he remained in power, his foreign

14. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India on March 8, 1948, Pandit Nehru remarked : "If I may say so, I have come more and more to the conclusion that the less we interfere in international conflicts the better, unless, of course, our own interest is involved, for the simple reason that it is not in consonance with our dignity just to interfere without producing any effect. We should either be strong enough to produce some effect or should not interfere at all."—*Independence and After*, p. 215.

12. Reported in the *National Herald*, dated September 4, 1950.
13. Speech at Calcutta on November 23, 1951.

policy would not budge an inch from its earlier position. In a speech at Calcutta on November 28, 1951 Dr. Lohia suggested an alternative policy consisting of five points : Firstly, the expulsion of foreign and imperialist interests wherever they exist and their replacement by native will and organisation. Secondly, acceptance of existing frontiers and efforts at confederal solution wherever conflict exists between two Asian nations. Thirdly, guaranteed neutrality for disarmed areas like Japan. Fourthly, abstention from war. Finally, a series of mutual assistance pacts in the region which is still unaligned with either camp. But lest we take a false step in hurry, it is advisable not to follow such a forward policy.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that our

foreign policy often appears to be much too virtuous. Moreover, some people have even gone to the length of characterising it as emotional and unsteady. No doubt, truth and honesty pay in the long run but they should not become an obsession with us. In foreign affairs honesty can at best be regarded as a policy and not a creed. In the words of Hupe and Possony, "Foreign policy aims at the acquisition of optimum—and sometimes of maximum—power. The attainment of power is the supreme political goal."¹⁵ In such a world it does not pay to be virtuous. But if the proposed military pact between the U.S.A. and Pakistan materialises, our foreign policy will be put to a severe test. In fact, it will become quite untenable.

15. *International Relations*, p. 2.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE spirit of complacency arising out of a sense of India's sufficiency in meeting all earthly needs of a growing population for many decades to come is fast giving place to a rather contrary view. It is not without reason that the confidence so far firmly held is vanishing fast and the reasons are not far behind to seek.

The question that looms large before India is whether she has sufficient land for her 365 million souls with ever-expanding needs for food and for purposes other than food.

An analysis of the land area and the proportion of various categories of land to the total area will be available from the following table :

	Acres	Per cent of Total area
Land area (for which village papers are available : ..	623,477,114	
Area under forests ..	93,384,959	15.0
Area not available for cultivation ..	99,571,778	16.0
Other cultivated land excluding fallow land ..	102,664,651	16.5
Fallow land ..	59,365,197	9.5
Net area sown ..	268,438,964	43.0

It may be noted here that per capita distribution of land for which village papers are available is only a little over an acre and a half, 1.7 acres to be precise, and the net area sown for each person is only three quarters of an acre in all. If we take in to account an additional 35,949,938 acres sown more than once in the total area sown, we get 304,378,902 acres or .857 acres per head.

It is contended that the shortage of food can be easily met by bringing more lands under the plough and by increasing the yield per acre of land. While there is possibility of increasing the yield, all round, to two, or assuming for convenience's sake, to three times the present rate, one may seriously question the chances of bringing more land under food and other crops in the present state of distribution of cultivable land. There is one serious problem in the shape of forests only occupying 15 per cent of the total area of the country while all scientists in the line will insist on expanding it to at least to 25 per cent, i.e., nearly doubling of the present area of forests. It will take many decades before we can plant trees and turn barren lands into green tracts while denudation of forest and erosion of land advance at a rapid stride.

It will take long long years, before we can make use of any considerable part of the area not available for cultivation. While the current fallow is only 59.4 million acres, a not very impressive figure, we very much bank upon the 102.7 million acres of uncultivated land excluding fallow land overlooking that even if it were possible to utilise every but of it, we could thereby increase the per capita distribution by as much as .3 acres only, that is just about a bigha. Fallows are bound to remain as such due to natural and other causes, the area of land lying temporarily idle changing location from year to year.

When considered on the background of world picture regarding land and the number of people, the position becomes more clear and the gravity of situation realised more readily. The following table

gives the relative position of India and the world so far as the problem of land and population is concerned :

	India	World
Population (in crores)	36	240
Land area (crore acres)	81	3,251
Area per capita (in acres)		
All Land	2.25	13.54
Agricultural area	.97	3.51
Arable land	.97	1.26

It means that while India holds 15 per cent of the total world population she has 2.5 per cent of the total land area of the world. Indians have 2.25 acres (and that also of the land area according to the Surveyor General) while the population inhabiting other parts of the world possess as much as a little over six times of their Indian counterpart. It is also to be noted that Indians are using the whole of the arable land where others have a decent reserve to their credit.

In the last census the whole of India has been divided into six zones, viz., North India comprising Uttar Pradesh only; East: Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam and Manipur; South: Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, and Coorg; West: Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch; Central: Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh; and North-West India comprising Rajasthan, Punjab, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Jammu and Kashmir, Ajmer, Delhi, Bilaspur and Himachal Pradesh. Central India has the largest area per capita of its population, viz., 3.54 acres and North India, the lowest, i.e., 1.15 acres only. The following table shows the respective population and distribution of land in the six zones of India :

Zone	Land area Lakh acres	Population lakhs	Area per capita-acres
North India	726	632	1.15
East "	1,675	901	1.86
South "	1,075	756	1.42
West "	957	407	2.35
Central "	1,852	523	3.54
N.-West "	1,226	350	3.51
India (ex. Jammu and Kashmir)	7,532	3,569	2.11
India (including Jammu & Kashmir)	8,126	3,613	2.25

When we come to the 'usable land' the position becomes somewhat different. Plains are only to be taken into account so far as agriculture is concerned and in spite of having a bigger area in other respects, it is quite likely that a particular State is deficient in its 'usable' area. The respective position of the different zones regarding total land area, the several topographical factors, and the total 'unusable' and 'usable' land in such areas are given below:

	Total land area	Moun- tainous	Hills	Plateaus	Plains	Un- usable	Usable
North India	726	79	41	34	572	143	583
East "	1,675	145	521	204	804	620	1,055
South "	1,075	4	278	236	506	310	765
West "	957	..	198	284	476	314	643
Central "	1,852	..	333	1,125	395	550	1,302
N.-W. "	1,226	97	88	300	742	583	643

It is thus evident that East India has the largest area of plains, while Central India, mainly because of its size, possesses the largest 'usable' area of all the different zones in India. But a bigger area does not warrant a bigger supply of food because facilities for irrigation, fertility and climatic conditions together with the knack and capacity for hard work of the agriculturist count for much. That is the reason why we find certain "surplus areas" regarding food in India. And when nutritional standards are brought into consideration, India as a whole is known to be deadly deficient in food. India's population is increasing very fast. The average birth and death rate is 40 and 27 per thousand respectively, and the normal increase is 13 per thousand. The highest rate of birth i.e., 44 is in Central India and the lowest in South India, 36 or 37 per thousand. To add to this trouble there are cases of prolific mothers who have given birth to 22 or more children between, say, the ages of 13 and 45 and the following table relating to Madhya Pradesh mothers will give an idea of the enormity of the problem :

There are
56 mothers with 22 or more childbirth,
53 mothers with 20 or 21 childbirth,
6,000 mothers with 15 to 19 childbirth.
There are 40 to 45 per cent of cases in India where a mother has given birth to three or more children of whom one at least is alive, which are cited as instances of 'Improvident Maternity.' Almost all the civilised nations of the world have realised the implication of improvident maternity to the society and the state and they are taking measures to combat the evil.

The following table will give an idea of such cases in a few civilised countries of the world :

Country	Incidence of improvident maternity
India	42.8 per cent
U.S.A.	19.2 " "
U. K.	14.4 " "
France	19.7 " "
Germany	12.3 " "
Japan	33.9 " "

The population of India was 314.8 millions in 1941 which increased to 356.8 millions in ten years. It gives an over-all increase, after deducting the number of deaths from births, eight persons per minute. Even with the best efforts it is not possible to increase our production for food and keep pace with the rate of increase of population. If we have not the capacity

to feed the entire population with our resources, then the whole nation goes with insufficient food throughout the year resulting in mass malnutrition with chances of dreadful famines visiting the land from time to time. Imports from foreign countries will not solve the problem in any way besides causing a heavy drain on our exchequer. It has always to be remembered that the number of countries exporting is becoming fewer and it is not unlikely that with the growing population in such countries export of foodgrains may become absolutely impossible for them. In the ordinary course, India has to provide for an additional three million mouths every year and roughly 100 million in the course of three years. Is there any possibility of expanding the land area of India or of increasing the yield of crop per acre at this rate ?

Moreover, there is a greater demand on land every year for meeting the needs of a progressive nation for purposes other than agriculture. One should remember that the dreary waste of the Rajputana desert is expanding at the rate of half a mile a year in every direction and all efforts for checking the progress has failed so far. Devastation of land by earthquakes in Bihar and Assam stand a chance of repetition at long or short intervals. Mining operations are bound to increase with the progress of time and areas which are supposed to hold minerals in the womb of the earth must have to be left alone. Roads and railways, bridges and dams, big reservoirs extending over several square miles will swallow considerable land surfaces in course of time. Sindri alone covers an area of ten square miles and other industrial cities like Chittaranjan, Kharagpur, etc., will come into being as new and newer schemes are taken in hand. Townships like Kalyani, covering about two square miles, Nilokheri, Fulia and a host of others will raise their heads as the headache of the administrators of the country increases with the larger population migrating towards the cities. Military needs of the country in the shape of more airfields and parade grounds, construction of barracks and leaving bare of safe areas between two unfriendly nations will have to be provided for. Parks and playgrounds, centres of research for agriculture and improvement of cattle, cattle colonies and pastures, public buildings and educational institutions, particularly of the basic school type, residential universities established on extensive grounds, zoological gardens or other "natural history" parks, sanatoria for tuberculosis and other fell diseases, will demand more and more land every year.

Not that all land that would be required for the purposes mentioned above are 'usable,' but at the same time it should be remembered that these institutions will have to be established near human habitations and it is likely that some cultivable land or even land under active cultivation will have to be occupied aggravating the situation which is already very difficult.

There is serious unemployment in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors and the position, instead of looking up, is fast deteriorating. Though the problem has a very close relation to the rapid growth of population, yet, taken individually, the problem of a large mass of active and willing people facing semi- or stark starvation with the entire family for want of occupation and earning is the gravest concern of the State.

Overpopulation is perhaps the greatest menace which has among its brood the hydra-headed monster, unemployment. The only remedy is limitation of family by all possible means so that the population of India does not in any way exceed 450 millions. The number of births should be so limited as not to exceed the total number of deaths and thus make it possible to maintain a balance. The United Kingdom has shown the way and after forty years of falling birth-rate, one out of every two British homes has no children under 16. Education and a craving for living in a comfortable way without much botheration have produced an atmosphere in which one out of every five married women is childless and 4.4 per cent have not five or more children compared with 21.9 per cent in 1911. It is significant that three million married couples have no children at all and eight millions of the nation's 14.5 million people, have no children of school-going age with the result that the average family now consists of 1.72 persons only.

Neither it is possible nor is it desirable that limitation of family should go so far. It is a fact that most of the civilised nations have maintained a rate of natural increase which is a little higher than that of India. Population is not yet a matter of great concern with most of them. There are countries where pressure of population on land is more intense than in India. There they have adopted improved farming methods with investment of a larger capital per worker. With the same amount of labour and expenses they are having a larger output per head. Even in two European countries like Denmark and U.S.S.R., where in extensive areas the density of settlement is almost the same, the former gets per worker, as much as five times over the latter labouring in the field and farms. Japan has got a more dense population than India and channelling the energy of this large mass of people, she has been able to increase her food production a little faster than the growth of her population.

There are other factors which when properly used will certainly ameliorate the present plight of the average Indian. Industries have not been sufficiently developed and they are still far away from the principles followed in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Economists of the eminence of Mr. Colin Clark holds that "the existence of large and densely settled population in India is, from the

industrialists' point of view, an opportunity and not a disadvantage."

India has adopted a policy of spoon-feeding certain industries by exacting cesses from the established ones which with their products can compete in the world market. What we need is "genuine industrial development of the kind which is economically capable of selling its products in a competitive market." India engages only a small portion of the total population, not more than 15 per cent, in industry and the output per capita is much lower than what it should be. It is absolutely necessary that "the real product per unit of labour or other economic resources employed" should increase and there is ample scope for it in almost every industry in India. It is wrong to surmise that increasing returns per capita of labour is a monopoly of the wealthier nations and the road lies open to all with a determination to achieve the cherished end. The per capita wealth which accrues to the nation as a whole from industrial labour is not more than Rs. 70 per year, but even many of the so-

called backward countries yield more than three times the industrial labour of India.

There is scope for expansion of industries and of absorbing a larger population in such enterprises and the whole picture will change if by degrees we can raise the percentage of employment from 15 to 25 or 30. It depends on the skill of the management and the labour combined with a liberal and helpful policy of the Government to increase per capita output of labour and it is always wrong to suggest that increased labour in factories and mines will result only diminishing returns. A survey of the world industrial centres will dispel all doubts and put heart in the despairing multitude.

As industries make larger and larger headway, tertiary industries and other avenues for employment will make their appearance and banking, insurance, trade, commerce, transport, recreational industries or amusements, 'service industries' and a host of others will gradually take shape and blossom forth in the fulness of time.

—O—

TAXATION FOR ENDOWMENTS IN NORTHERN INDIA

From the 10th to the 12th Century A.D.

By Miss PUSPA NIYOGI, M.A.

It is not easy to obtain a clear picture of taxation in India from inscriptional sources from the 10th to the 12th century A.D. Only stray references to some fiscal terms, not usually accompanied by such details as would have been useful in clarifying their definition, are to be found in the land-grants of the period. Nevertheless, the material, though insufficient in many respects, has an intrinsic importance inasmuch as it throws some light on certain sources of revenue, thus providing an opportunity for the study of the form in which the earlier system of taxation was continued during this period and also of the differences between taxation in actual practice and taxation as it is portrayed in the *Smritis* and other relevant branches of ancient literature.

In this paper an attempt will be made to focus our attention on that branch of taxation only which is related to trade, or to put it more appropriately, to such articles of trade which were intended for sale in the course of their transit, or during transactions in the market or when they were assembled at watch-stations or in the customs house. A term, known from the Vedic times, is not infrequently come across in the inscriptions of the period indicated above. This is *sulka*, the use of which goes back to

the age of the *Atharvaveda Samhita*. According to Whitney, it means simply a tax, while Weber takes it to mean 'a toll.' Ghoshal suggests that it is identical with *balli*. But this could not have been the sense conveyed by the term in the post-Vedic period when its connection with commercial taxation becomes definitely established. In the *Smritis* and Sanskrit lexicons as well as in the inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. wherever it occurs it has been usually defined as meaning 'ferry dues, tolls and transit duties.' Kautilya seems to apply the term over a wide field of taxation, for, according to him, it means 'duties levied upon articles imported into the city, port dues, duty upon sale of liquors (*sura*), customs collected by the ferrymen and boundary officers, duty upon mining (*khani*) products, duty upon imported salt, duty upon animals intended for slaughter, etc.' Thus charges on certain well-defined commodities in addition to taxes levied on all kinds of imports come within the meaning of the term *sulka*, as understood by Kautilya. Sukra¹ uses the word in the sense of import and export taxes, for he

1. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*: Trans. by R. Shamasastry.
2. *Sukraniti*: Ed. by Benoy Sarkar.

TAXATION FOR ENDOWMENTS IN NORTHERN INDIA

defines it as meaning tolls or customs duties levied on vendors and purchasers on merchandise carried into and out of the kingdom. This, however, does not fully indicate the scope of *sulka* in the *Nitisara* of Ukra. The duty on building sites for shops is also called *sulka* in that text. On the basis of the evidence furnished by various sources, some of which are noted above, it may be reasonable to conclude that all taxes levied on foreign goods as well as those reduced internally but intended for sale, collected at ports where they existed, or at the frontiers of a territory or at other places, were generally included in the category of *sulka*. Schedules are also given in legal and other texts of the different rates of *sulka*, specially by Vishnu² whose rule requires that the king's portion of the *sulka* should be one-tenth of the merchandise of his own country and one-twentieth of that of foreign countries, thus differentiating the rate of taxation for foreign commodities from that at which commodities produced in his own territory were to be taxed.

Sulka continued to be an important source of revenue for the Hindu State during the period under review. In this connexion it is interesting to note that some references to *Sulka-mandapika* also occur, which shows that there were regular customshouses where this tax used to be collected. The inscriptions, unlike the *Arthashastra*, the *Smritis*, and similar other treatises, do not give any idea about the rates of taxation. The inscriptions refer to *Sulka-mandapika* in connexion with donations made out of the tax collected there, as for instance, the Nadol Plate of Alhanadeva, dated in the Vikrama Year 1218 which mentions that this Chahamanra ruler granted to a Jaina temple a monthly sum of 5 drammās, which was to be paid from the *Sulka-mandapika* in the ground of Naddula.³ Here the amount to be paid to the temple authorities was specified, whatever might have been the actual collection at the *mandapika* in any month of the year. The same nature of information is available from the two *Prasastis* of Baijnath⁴ which record that a local chief granted daily 2 drammās out of the income derived from the *Mandapika*. The Nadol Plate of Pratapasimha,⁵ dated in the Vikrama year 1213, similarly records a grant by a feudatory of Kumarapala, consisting of a *Rupaka* per day, which was to be paid out of the collection at the *Mandapika* in favour of some Jaina temples.

Special attention is deserved by the Somanatha Temple inscription,⁶ dated 1017 A.D., which also contains a reference to the *mandapika*, for the reason that the grant therein recorded is not made either by

a king or a feudatory but by three merchants, who seem to have formed a group working for the purpose of this grant at any rate, in a collective capacity. It is stated in this inscription that three merchants Narasimha, Gourisha and Thiraditya jointly gave to Bhattaraka Nagnaka a daily gift of a *karsha* or about three-fourths of a tola of ghee, or clarified butter from out of the *mandapika*-tax. The three merchants named in the grant may have constituted the local authority for the collection of the *mandapika* dues. As members of the municipal board, if it existed in the locality concerned, they may have possessed some 'discretionary power,' as the learned editor of the inscription suggests, to make donations out of the collections at the *mandapika* situated within their jurisdiction. In this connection it may be mentioned that one of the municipal boards at Pataliputra in the days of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta was actually entrusted with the task of collecting tithes on sales, etc. If the step taken by the three merchants required confirmation by a higher authority, there is no mention of it in the Somanatha Temple inscription. The *Rajatarangini*⁷ in one place refers to an instance in which the dues appear to have been collected not in the *mandapika* but at a watch-station (*dranga*—a military station). The case appears in the record of the reign of Jayasimha (1128-49 A.D.) when an unruly Damara after imprisoning the king's officers had his own name stamped on red lead on the commodities as if he were the king himself. It will appear from this episode that the tax in question could be collected only by royal officers and that the seal of the king had to be stamped on all articles after the dues had been collected. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya⁸ states that it was the duty of the *Panyadhyaksha* or the Superintendent of Merchandise to collect fees at a military or police station (*sulka*). Another early text, the *Divyavadana*⁹ gives the story of a merchant in which a reference is made to the practice of collecting duties (*sulka*) and fees 'payable at military and police stations (*gulma*) and freight for merchandise.'

As regards the officers who were employed for the purpose of collecting *sulka*, sufficient details are not available, but one of the chief officers must have been the one designated *Saulkika*. He figures frequently in the inscriptions of the period along with other high officials of the State, particularly in the Pala grants.¹⁰

In the Jajilpara Grant of Gopala II¹¹ mention is made of a fiscal term *dvarikadana*, which seems to

3. *Ibid.* III, pp. 29-30.

4. *E. I.*, IX, p. 62.

5. *E. I.*, I, p. 97.

6. *I. A.*, XL, 1912, p. 202.

7. *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 131.

8. *Ibid.* VII, 2010.

9. *Ibid.* II, p. 16.

10. *Ibid.* III, 5, p. 501.

11. B. C. Sen: *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*.

12. *JASB*, XVII, No. 2, 1951, p. 137.

denote a tax or toll collected at the gates. The second element in the compound 'Dvarikadan' reminds us of the word *dan*, signifying transit duties levied by the kings of Anhilwara on goods conveyed through the country.¹³ There is an undoubted similarity as pointed out by some scholars, between the expression occurring in the Jajilpara Grant and *durovalirikadeyam* mentioned by Kautilya.¹⁴ Road-cesses seem to be implied in the designation of an officer, *maroggadaye kaupika*, referred to in the Somnatha Temple inscription¹⁵ dated in the Vikrama year 1074. The meaning of *kaupika* is not clear, but *maroggadaye* certainly means tolls on roads, indicated by the term *varitani* in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. From the inscriptions of the period it appears that road-cesses constituted a definite source of revenue out of which donations were sometimes made. The Panabara inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva of Mahur¹⁶ dated in the Vikrama year 1116, for instance, records that the king assigned one *vimsopaka* on every bull that passed on the road for the maintenance of the worship of a deity. It is likely that in this case the assignment formed a part of the total collection of road-cess in a particular area, the charge on the bull being a levy on the standard load carried by the animal. The Nadlai Stone inscription¹⁷ of Rayapala dated V.S. 1195 (1137 A.D.) makes the point clear when it records the king granted one-twentieth part of the income (*abhavya*) derived from the loads on bullocks 'going on their way or coming to Nadlai' for a religious purpose. The inscription, however, does not definitely show whether the donation in the recorded case was in cash or in kind. The Juna Stone inscription of Samantasimhadeva¹⁸ of the Vikrama year 1325 (1267 A.D.) refers to a grant of one *paila* from every in-coming or outgoing caravan 'exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks.' In default of this payment in kind, then *Bhimapriya vimsopakas* were to be charged. It appears that the cess in question was levied on inland commercial transport either arriving at or departing from a certain locality. Another Nadlai Stone inscription, dated V.S. 1202¹⁹ furnishes similar information regarding cesses collected on highways. Here a distinction is drawn between bullocks and carts as carriers of loads in fixing the rates of the cess. There are also certain specific details in this record in regard to the schedule maintained in the matter of charging the levy, which are lacking in similar grants. Thus the inscription notes there were two different rates for

bullocks and carts, and that in the case of bullocks two *rupakas* were to be charged for each 20 *pailas* of load carried by the former, while one *rupaka* was to be charged on each cart conveying commodities which came under the class *kiranas* (i.e., substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, etc.). The charge on carts is mentioned without any specification as regards the weight of the load carried, which implies that carts in all cases were of the same size and type and that their maximum load-carrying capacity was of a known standard which was invariable.

The inscriptions, so far considered in connection with cesses collected on roads, show that these were either in kind or in cash or in both. The amount of the donation was not fixed, for it depended upon the actual turnover, which may have varied, although it was quite possible to form an approximate estimate on the basis of past figures available to the donor. One inscription makes it definitely clear that the donation was out of the income from transport, but the other inscriptions do not mention this point specifically, from which it may be conjectured that the cess may have been an additional one which was levied for a religious endowment.²⁰

In the enumeration of rights transferred to donees in connexion with a land grant mention is made of the word *ghata*, which means the dues charge for crossing rivers. Ferry dues constitute a source of income in the Kautilian State. In the land grants of the Pala kings, the *Tarika* appears in the list of officials. This officer seems to have been concerned with the collection of ferry dues.

Another source of revenue was the bazar or the market where sales and purchases went on. The evidence furnished by epigraphy in this connection does not make the point clear whether grants were made out of the State's dues on sales and purchases or that they consisted of specific levies collected at the market for religious purposes. It is, however, evident that the transactions in the market were liable to normal taxation. Otherwise the market could not have been exploited in the way as shown in the records concerned.²¹ The point that cannot be definitely ascertained is whether the donations were included in the State dues normally levied on the market, or they were additional taxes on buyers and sellers, amounting to a kind of religious cess. The Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva,²² dated V.S. 1016

20. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 91.

21. King Sankaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) is credited by Kalhana with the establishment of two revenue officers, one of which was charged with the share of the lord of the market (*atta-patibhaga*). Apparently he was concerned with the collection of the royal market-dues. The duties of such an officer can be traced in the *Arthashastra*.

22. *E. I.*, III, p. 265.

13. Forbes: *Ras Mala*. Rawlinson, p. 235.

14. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

15. *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 151.

16. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 41.

17. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 36.

18. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 59.

19. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 42.

gives a list of taxes assigned to a religious institution, consisting of the following items:

1. Three *vimsopakas* on every sack of agricultural produce brought for sale to the market place;
2. Two *palikas* from every *ghataka-kupaka* of clarified oil and butter;
3. Fifty leaves from every *chollika* brought from outside the town.

It appears that the market dealt exclusively in agricultural products or that other kinds of commodities, not mentioned in the record, also had a share in the business transacted there, on which similar levies were not charged probably because they had already been taxed. Another earlier inscription, which belongs to the reign of Allata of Mewar²³ (V.S. 1010), gives details about the taxation on sales, similarly devoted to a religious institution. Donations recorded in this inscription comprised receipts from sources and at rates mentioned below:

1. One *dramma* on the sale of an elephant;
2. Two *rupakas* on a horse;
3. One-fortieth of a *dramma* on a horned animal;
4. One *tula* from a *lata*;
5. One *adhaka* from a *hatta*;
6. One *chaturhsar* from the flower-sellers every day.

These taxes were collected on the sales taking place in the market. The Arthuna inscription of the Paramara Chamundaraja (V.S. 1136)²⁴ furnishes another list of dues from transactions going on in the market-place, as will be seen in the following details:

1. One fruit out of every *bharaka* of cocoanuts;
2. A *manaka* on each *mutaka* of salt;
3. One nut out of every thousand areca-nuts;
4. One *palika* of every *ghataka* of butter and sesame oil;
5. One and a half *rupakas* on each *kolika* of clothing fabrics;
6. Two *palakas* on a *jala* (bunch of buds);
7. Two *santas* on each *lagada* (bar of gold, silver or other metals);
8. A *panaka* on each *karsha* of oil;
9. A *vrisha-vimsopaka* on each load of cattle-fodder;
10. A *dramma* on every pile of sugar; etc.

It appears from this inscription that the local market dealt in all kinds of commodities including agricultural products as well as industrial, such as clothing fabric, also gold, silver and other metals. Taxes were both in kind and in cash. The evidence of the Pehoa inscription²⁵ (882-3 A.D.) seems to suggest that when it concerned a religious institution it was possible even for private individuals to introduce a kind of tax, the payment of which was obligatory on the part of all similarly placed, not excepting

the king himself. This inscription records that certain horse-dealers, meeting at a *yatra* held at Pehoa, agreed to impose upon themselves and upon their customers certain taxes or tithes, which were to be distributed among some temples, or priests. The taxes thus voluntarily imposed were:

1. Two *drammas*, which were to be collected by deducting from the same from the sum received by the dealer in horse for each animal sold at Pehoa to the king or to any of his subjects;
2. One *dharana* to be paid by the buyer on each animal which was in excess of the stipulated price.

Even if the king were a party to the transaction he was equally liable to pay his share in conformity with the agreement arrived at. The total receipt from each such transaction amounted to two *drammas* and one *dharana* as shown by the details supplied.

There is another case of payment made both by the buyer and the seller, which is recorded in the Anavada Stone inscription of Sarangadeva²⁶ (V.S. 1348). In this instance the transactions were in respect of certain agricultural commodities. It gives the following details regarding rates, parties and commodities involved:

1. Half a *dramma* paid by the seller on one *dhadi* of madder (*manjishtha*);
2. One *dramma* paid both by the seller and buyer on one *dhada* of Solonum Melongena (*hingudi*);
3. Some portion from each cart filled with grain, the nature of which is not clear;
4. One *pali* from a *ghada* or jar of ghee by the seller.

It appears that stalls of traders were also subject to taxation. From the Arthuna inscription of the Paramara Chamundaraja²⁷ to which reference has already been made it may be gathered that the king took one *dramma* each from the shop of a trader and that of a brazier in the local market every month, and four *rupakas* from each *vumvaka* of the distillers. Similarly, the Raja inscription of Mathanadeva²⁸ states that the sum of two As *vimsopakas* was imposed on every shop per mensem. It has been already noted the *Nitisara* of Sukra²⁹ mentions a tax (*sulka*) upon building sites as well as sites of shops.

Certain fiscal terms are found in our inscriptions, the meaning of which is not sufficiently clear. Among these mention may be made of *Pravanikara*, *Mandalakara* and *Talarabhavya*. The term *pravanikara* is to be met with in most of the inscriptions of the Gahadavalas. Dr. Tripathi thinks that it was a tax on turnpikes intended to preserve the peace of the village by discouraging the 'advent of a large number of visitors.'

23. *I. A.*, XLI, p. 20.

24. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 295.

25. *E. I.*, III, p. 265.

26. *Sukraniti*: Ed. by Benoy Sarkar.

27. *I. A.*, LVIII, p. 161.

28. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 295.

29. *Ibid.*, I, p. 184.

Leumann derives the word from *pra* and *vanij*, which means according to him, a retail dealer or perhaps a second-hand dealer. There is, however, no satisfactory explanation as to why the final consonant is omitted in the expression, *pravani* or *pravanikara*, if it is not due to a deliberate attempt at abbreviation. The *Pravani*, it may be noted, appears along with other persons belonging to the assigned village, and his place in the list is next to that of the *Vanik* in the land grants of Mathanadeva.³⁰ The Somayamsi kings of Trikalanga³¹ mentions the *pravanikara* and a tax on fields (*kshetrakara*), assigned by a chief as a donation. The *pravanikara* may have been a kind of tax imposed on the *pravanis* in the locality concerned. They may have been small or retail dealers whose position cannot be exactly ascertained. The view that the term is to be understood in the sense of *sulka*, as suggested by Ghoshal,³² can be accepted only in a general way, for it may have formed an item only of the various charges which were classified under the general term *sulka*. The Sandav Stone inscription of Kelhana (V.S. 1221)³³ refers to an item of revenue called *talarahavya*. The text does not clearly indicate the nature of the tax.

Another term, *mandalakara* is mentioned in the Bigholi inscription of the Chahamanas Somesvara (V.S. 1226),³⁴ but it is very doubtful if it signifies any kind of toll or other such tax imposed on trade and business.

The evidence of some contemporary inscriptions, which has been considered above, raises one question which cannot be definitely answered, as has been

already indicated. The assignment of a proportion of taxes imposed on articles of trade for religious or similar purposes is not explicit in most of the inscriptions; where it is so there remains no doubt that a fixed share of the State's collection only was thus set apart. But in those cases where there is no mention of any such fixed share, it is not clear whether special taxes were raised for the purpose of endowing religious or other such institutions. It appears, however, that the sources which yielded revenue to the State must have been generally exploited even if extraordinary cesses were demanded for religious purposes. For the sources mentioned are on the whole the same as those which are noticed in the *Smritis* and the *Arthashastra* literature. Thus the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya mentions among sources of revenue *sulka* (tolls or octroi duties), gate dues (*dvaradeya*), market dues (*panyasamistha*), *varitani* (transit duties or road cess). Gautama³⁵ and Vishnu³⁶ specify the rate of *sulka* to be charged on the price of articles sold. Similarly, Manu³⁷ and Yajñavalkya³⁸ mention rates of *sulka*, the *Dharmasutra* of Baudhayana³⁹ and the *Manasollasa*⁴⁰ contain details of a like nature. In Kautilya's *Arthashastra* there is a schedule of rates for different categories of articles, which include flowers, fruits, vegetables, conchshells, diamonds, jewels, pearls, etc., linen, silk, metals, clothes, animals, cotton, sugar, salt, liquors, etc. Sukra gives detailed instructions regarding rates of the charges to be imposed upon various articles, as well as certain general principles on which the revenue policy should be based. He insists that articles should be taxed only once, though they may be bought and sold many times. What is particularly noteworthy for our purpose is that the items mentioned in the literary texts are generally identical with those noted in the inscriptions of our period, from which taxes were raised to be assigned to religious institutions.

30. E. I., III, p. 263.

31. *Ibid.*, XI, No. 14.

32. U. N. Ghoshal: *The Hindu Revenue System*, p. 263.

33. E. I., XI, p. 47. The expression *Talarahavya* also occurs in a Mangrol inscription (*Bhavagar Prakit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158) where it has been interpreted as meaning 'the revenue of a talara.' The meaning thus assigned is hardly helpful. Some scholars take it to mean 'the income or revenue from tolls.' This is not accepted by others, who think that Talara was an officer who did the work of a Kotwal in the suburbs, so that the income suggested by the expression may have been connected with his office. It thus appears that nothing definite has so far been suggested by way of ascertaining the real meaning of the term.

34. E. I., XXVI, p. 61.

35. *Ibid.*, X, p. 26.

36. *Ibid.*, III, p. 29.

37. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 398.

38. *Ibid.*, II, p. 231.

39. *Ibid.*, I, p. 10, pp. 15-16.

40. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 374-76, p. 62.



INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

By B. K. GOSWAMI, M.A.

WHILE presenting the budget of the Government of India for the year 1953-54 before the Indian Parliament, the Finance Minister, Sri Chintamon Deshmukh, announced the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. John Mathai. This is no doubt a step in the right direction. It is, however, generally agreed that the existing system of taxation in India is very unsatisfactory. The importance of the tax system in the economic framework of a country is too much, since it is regarded, in almost all the progressive countries of the world, not only as a revenue-earning measure but a powerful weapon to wipe out the vast disparity of wealth that exists in our society to-day. But such a view has never been accepted in India during the British rule. For instance, Mr. James Wilson, the first Finance Member of the Government of India, observed:

"The lot of men is fixed by thousands of inscrutable causes, and if a Government were to attempt to provide an equality by distributing the incidence of taxation, it would undertake a task the end of which must be confusion and disappointment to all concerned."

In the present century, an enquiry into India's tax structure was made as early as in 1925, but since then, the way of life of the people in the economic and political sphere has undergone many changes. After the partition of the country in 1947, changes also have come about in her political and constitutional domain. Moreover, the second world war has, in its train, brought in certain effects which affected almost every corner of the world. In this new set-up, the need for an enquiry into Indian taxation was felt for some time past, but nothing could be done as yet, since the data which had to be furnished by the National Income Unit were not available earlier. Now that the reports of the National Income Unit and the Finance Commission are ready, it is possible for a Taxation Enquiry Committee to investigate the matter covering all spheres of taxation—central, state and local.

Out of Rs. 2069 crores estimated to be spent for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the existing taxes of the centre as well as of the states would fetch only Rs. 568 crores as surplus, leaving a deficit of Rs. 655 crores which is yet to be met. It has been estimated to meet this deficit out of foreign assistance failing which the deficit would be made good by additional taxation within the country. Thus it is clear why an enquiry into Indian tax structure is necessary at the present moment. Of the five-year period of the Plan, two years have already gone away, and if the Commission take two more years to complete their investigation, it would be too late

to reap the benefit of their recommendations, and the entire period of five years would be over before the suggestions are put into effect. That is why Dr. Mathai has said that any unnecessary delay on the part of the Commission would upset the whole thing and would hardly be effective for the purpose which it stands for. It is perhaps known to all that the Commission would suggest changes in the existing tax structure and would recommend new taxes where possible.

As a matter of fact, any taxation enquiry commission is a cause of anxiety to our people as they expect further new imposition. People in our country, for years together, have shouldered the burden of heavy taxes under foreign rule and have, in return, received practically nothing which could be said to be designed with a view to ameliorating their distressed economic condition. But the terms of reference prescribed for the present Commission do not bear testimony to the fact that they are to recommend additional taxes only. This is the first Taxation Enquiry Commission in India after the attainment of independence, and second from the point of view of the history of Indian taxation. The first commission was appointed with the following terms of reference:

- (1) To examine the distribution of the burden of taxation between the different classes of people;
- (2) To consider whether the existing tax structure was in accordance with the canons;
- (3) To recommend alternative sources of taxation, and
- (4) To report on the machinery required for the imposition, assessment and collection of taxes.

But the field of operation of the present Commission is a wider one and has been assigned to investigate into the problem from the following points of view:

(1) Until recently, people in our country have been taxed simultaneously by central and state governments as well as by local bodies. The Commission is to consider the effects of such taxation upon production and distribution in general;

(2) In the matter of taxation, very little consideration was given to the ability or taxable capacity of the people. The incidence of taxation had very often fallen largely upon the poorer section than upon the rich. The Commission is to suggest changes to ensure that the distribution of tax burden is fair and equitable;

(3) A greater part of the tax revenue now goes to meet heavy administrative cost and huge military expenditure, and the share of food, clothing, housing, education or sanitation is lamentably

small. The Commission is to consider how far the present system of taxation is suitable for implementing the developmental programmes and how far the system could be adapted to fulfil that purpose;

(4) It has been said before that taxes were never imposed earlier with a view to removing the present state of inequality of income. The Commission would suggest new methods of taxation which would ensure the tax burden to be fair and just;

(5) The Commission will consider the existing rates of taxes and would suggest measures for assisting capital formation and investment in major enterprises which have so long been retarded by defective tax system. The middle class people, for instance, had all along played a significant role in the economic life of the nation by purchasing shares and debentures of the risk-bearing enterprises out of their surplus savings and helped provide the major part of capital in the field of commerce and industry. But due to different types of burdensome taxes, both direct and indirect, their incentive to save has been seriously affected and adequate capital for commercial enterprises is not also forthcoming to the extent it is desired.

(6) Finally, in every country the tax system is designed to pump out the additional purchasing power from the hands of a particular class of people in order to fight the evils of inflationary condition. But unfortunately, no tax has yet been introduced in India particularly with this end in view.

During the war, agricultural prices went up to a high level, and consequently, there has been a shift of wealth from urban to rural people but for various reasons the latter class is still very lightly taxed. The Commission will have to consider all these facts in detail and would suggest measures and remedies for the revision of Indian tax system, and it is expected that they would certainly recommend some relief for those upon whom a tax is really a burden and would impose new taxes upon those who need them. Although bitter, mention must be made of one basic fact about our taxation. There is an inherent reluctance on the part of our people to pay any kind of tax. This is due, no doubt, partly to alien police rule and partly to lack of patriotism. It is a regrettable fact that even the so-called educated and well-to-do in our society take pride in tax evasion. But it is known to all that even a single pie spent by the public bodies will ultimately be borne by the people themselves. In case of evasion, public bodies face huge deficit to meet their programme of expenditure which they fulfil by taking resort to loan. And it is the people who in their turn, are to pay the whole amount of loan plus the interest thereon. If the loans are long-dated, the burden of repayment would be all the more greater and would fall upon the inheritors. Thus, people can, in no case, evade

taxes. In other countries, the practices of tax evasion are really hardly to be seen.

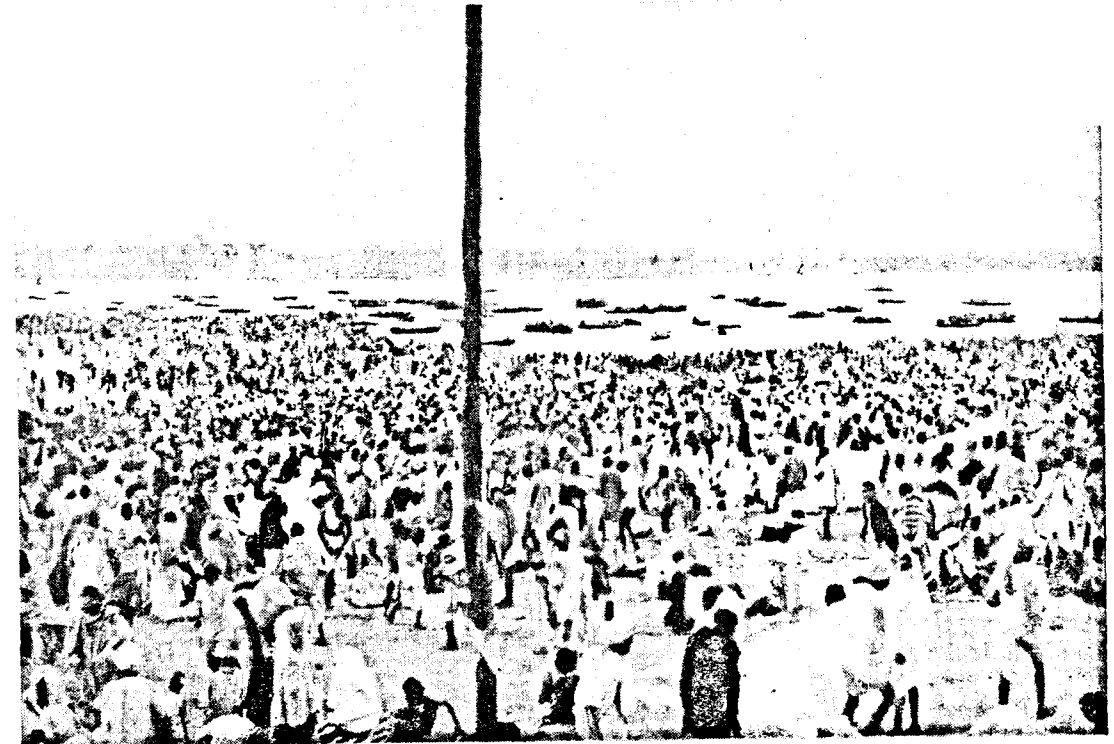
The effectiveness of any tax system of a country is generally considered from three points of view:

- (a) How far it is productive or economic;
- (b) How far economic efforts and enterprises are benefited by it, and
- (c) Whether it is effective to remove the inequalities of wealth.

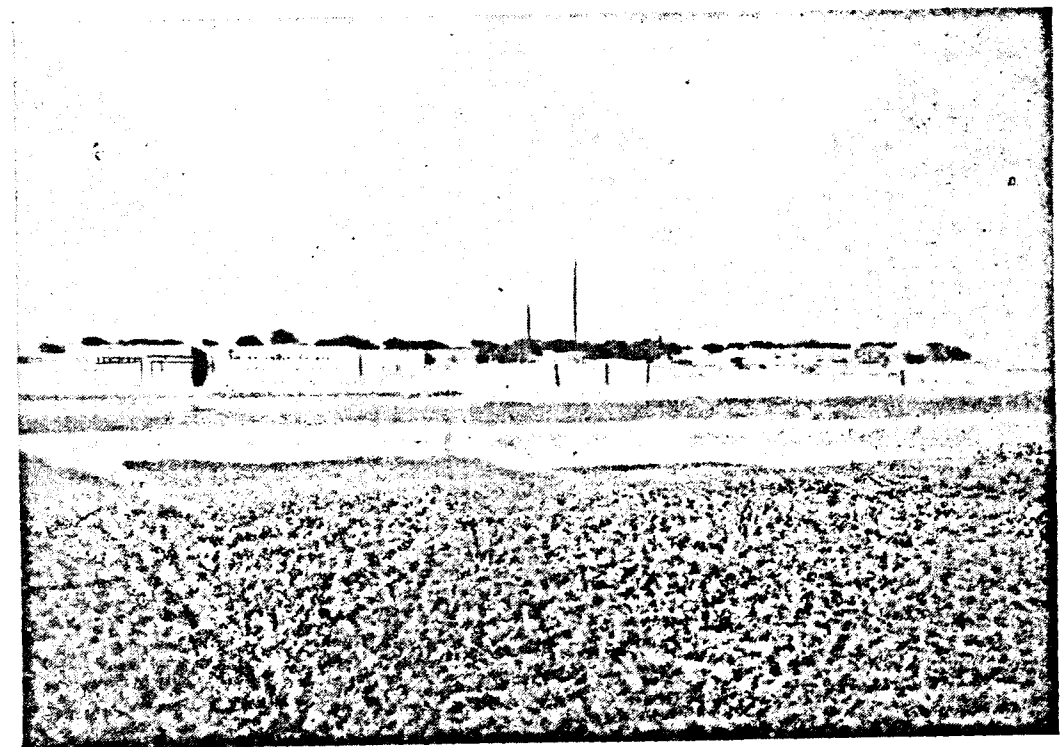
It is a well-known fact that the tax yield in India is the main source of Government revenue. That is why the revenue policy of the Government is based on multiple tax system, which, of course, provides tax-collecting facilities in diverse fields. The multiple tax structure of India composed of both direct and indirect taxes can rank as one of the progressive tax systems of the world. If we consider the matter of taxation in its historical perspective, it will be seen that the so-called canons or principles of taxation were never formally accepted in India, although Government officers stated that in proposing taxation measures, they were guided by great principles like justice, equality, equity and so on. In fact, the system of Indian taxation is based more on considerations of practical nature than on other factors. Only in the case of income tax, the principle of progression has been rigidly followed.

Before the first world war, the different sources of tax revenue revealed certain tendencies. Land revenue was the mainstay of the Government, but it fell from 53.15% to 20.75% within a period of forty years from 1883-84. Within the same period, income-tax, however, showed a tendency to increase from 1.32% to 12.30%. The yield from excises fell from 25.07% to 21.67% during the said years. During the early period of the British rule, there were large numbers of petty imposts in India. But these were removed at a later date and land revenue supplied the bulk of the state resources. Thus, there was a shift of policy from multiplicity to a single tax system. But the growth of expenditure particularly after the Sepoy Mutiny led to the imposition of many other taxes.

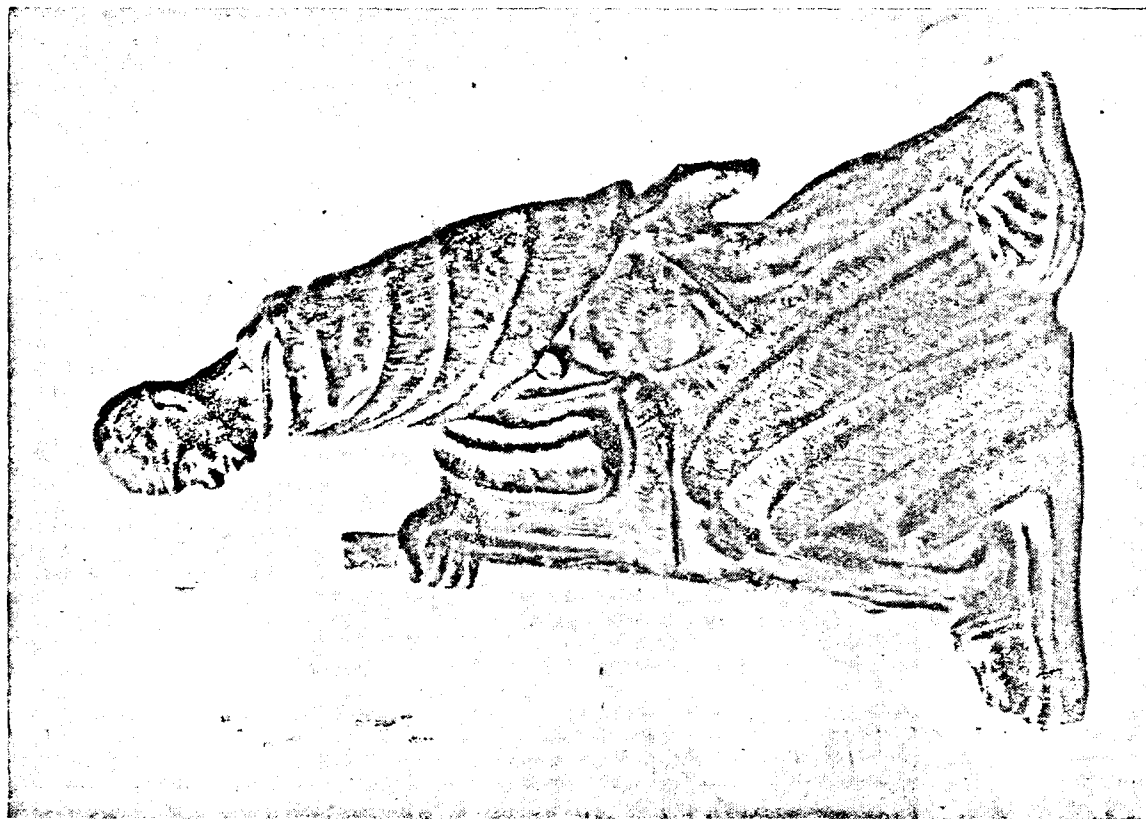
If we consider the central budgets over a long period of years, they would show the predominance of direct taxes at one time and indirect taxes at another, and sometimes of both. Of the total net revenue of the Government of India in 1938-39, direct taxes yielded only 22.6% which rose to 48.3% in 1944-45. During war years, people fell into the fold of several new taxes like Excess Profits Tax, Corporation Tax, along with a number of other consumption taxes. As there was scope for windfall profits at that time, it has been possible to save, by feeding them with sufficient money, the commerce and industry of the country from utter ruin and collapse. But the steep rate of direct taxes has given rise to serious discontent amongst the business community even in the post-war



Tribeni-Sangam. The Confluence of the Ganges, Jamuna and Saraswati at Allahabad



The Fort. Allahabad



Mahatma Gandhi
By Sudhir Khastgir



Toilette
By Makhan Datta Gupta

years when the state of trade and commerce had shown definite signs of improvement. In recent years, even experts like Dr. John Mathai has clearly stated the steep rate of income-tax to be highly uneconomic. In a democratic country like India, the most important question is whether the steep rate of direct taxes like income and corporation taxes, is detrimental to the healthy growth of trade and industry. Opinion is, however, divided on this point. One school of thought is of opinion that the high rate of direct taxes in India has led to positive dis-saving. According to another school, the high rate of taxes is not an impediment to saving. In this connection, the famous British Economist, the late Lord Keynes, had enunciated a new principle. We know, if production is to increase, it must be backed by increased demand which presupposes increase of consumption. According to him, with the growth of income, consumption and purchasing capacity do not increase in the same proportion, although a larger portion of the total income would be spent on consumption than before by the poorer section of the community. Thus it is uneconomic to tax heavily a few rich people who would spend a lesser amount than what the relatively poorer section would do under the same taxation, which, in its turn, would provide a relief for the poor and a burden for the rich. From this point of view, a high rate of income-tax seems to have some justification. But there is a limit, of course, up to which taxation may go and beyond that point, it may bring about disaster. This is no doubt, a very important matter before the Taxation Enquiry Commission and calls for immediate settlement. In the post-war budgets, indirect taxes have become more predominant than the direct. But in recent years, both direct and indirect taxes are playing a major role in our economic life. It has already been said that the systematic Indian taxation is not based on any economic principle. It has reached its present stage through ways of development. It is, therefore, high time for a revision of the Indian tax system.

As a result of the war condition, the total tax revenue of the Government of India increased by nearly 300% from Rs. 75 crores to Rs. 235.50 crores within a period of 10 years from 1937-38. During the early years of the British rule in India, differences in the rates and methods of imposition in different provinces led to many unsatisfactory administrative difficulties and a policy of uniformity for the whole of the country was accepted as a necessary condition of the administration of all taxation.

In India, the first attempt to 'develop local self-government' was made in 1882, but a definite plan to develop "local bodies autonomous within wide limits as a basis for eventual self-government" was adopted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Health,

education, highways and hospitals became matters of provincial concern. That policy had been pushed further by the Government of India Act, 1935. According to the new constitution of India, the right of levying taxes between the central and state governments has been divided in the following way:

A. Central Government will have the exclusive rights over the following taxes:

- (i) Income-tax excluding agricultural income;
- (ii) Import and export duties;
- (iii) Excise duty except on alcohol;
- (iv) Corporation tax;
- (v) Taxes on capital value of companies;
- (vi) Estate & succession duties;
- (vii) Stamp duties on financial documents;
- (viii) Taxes on Railway traffic;
- (ix) Sales taxes on newspapers;
- (x) Taxes not included in the state list.

B. State list of provincial taxes is as follows:

- (i) Taxes on agricultural income;
- (ii) Taxes on land and buildings;
- (iii) Taxes on mineral rights;
- (iv) Excise on alcohol;
- (v) Taxes on the movement of local goods;
- (vi) Sales taxes except on newspapers;
- (vii) Taxes on vehicles and animals;
- (viii) Taxes on trades and occupations;
- (ix) Taxes on luxuries, betting and gambling;
- (x) Stamp duties except those on Union list.

Thus, the states have been given very wide powers in the field of taxation. The most important sources of state revenue to-day are sales tax, land revenue and stamp duties. Sales tax was first introduced in Madras in 1939-40, and now every state has introduced it. Food-grains, industrial raw materials, bullion and other necessities were exempt first, but in some states, these are now taxed. The rate of sales tax varies from state to state, thus leading to uneconomic effect on inter-state trade and commerce. The Government of India, therefore, wanted in 1949, to bring under their supervision, the collection of this sales tax and distribute the shares between the states according to the precedent of income tax. But the State Finance Ministers were directly opposed to this arrangement, and the right over this important source of revenue has been confirmed in the new constitution. The yield from sales tax has increased from Rs. 13.32 crores in 1946-47 to Rs. 38.30 crores in 1949-50. Before the war, land revenue was the major source of revenue in Bengal, U.P., Madras and the Punjab. But in the face of the inflationary prices and costs during the war, the rigidity of the land revenue was further aggravated due to the peculiar land tenure system. Land revenue fell from Rs. 30.00 crores in 1946-47 to Rs. 25.47 crores in 1949-50. Some of the states have, however, introduced agricultural income-tax, but the total

revenue from this source is very small as yet. In Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and U.P., excises used to yield a large amount of revenue, particularly during the war. But except in Bengal, where excise revenue rose from Rs. 3.55 crores in 1947-48 to Rs. 5.97 crores in 1949-50, this revenue has declined to a serious extent as a result of the introduction of prohibition. The pace of prohibition has now therefore been halted.

The remaining important source of state revenue is income-tax, which is an item of Central Government and distributed to the states as block grant. The arrangement for the distribution of income-tax to the states was first provided in 1935 by a 50% allocation to states over and above "the amount attributable to central emoluments and centrally administered areas." The initial percentages going to the states were fixed by an arbitrator, Sir Otto Niemeyer. The basis of the Niemeyer award was never published, but it is stated that three factors have been included, namely, population—25; revenue collected in the province—35, and adjustment—5. After the partition of the country, a new arrangement became necessary and an allocation was made in 1947; and in 1950, an interim award was made by Sri Chintamon Deshmukh, the Finance Minister.

States	Percentage Distribution of Income-tax to the States			
	Niemeyer award-1936	Ad hoc award-1947	Deshmukh award-1955	Neogi award-1953
Madras	15	18	17.5	15.25
Bombay	20	21	21	17.50
Bengal	20	12	13.5	11.25
U. P.	15	19	18	15.75
Punjab	8	5	5.5	3.25
Bihar	10	13	12.5	9.75
C.P. & Berar	5	6	6	5.25
Assam	2	3	3	2.25
Orissa	2	3	3	2.50
N.-W. F. P.	1	..	..	..
Sind	2	..	..	..

This is no doubt an arbitrary arrangement. Though the Partition did not affect in any appreciable way, the total yield of income-tax from West Bengal as compared to the yield from undivided Bengal, a drastic cut has been made in West Bengal's share in all the awards, and other provinces have been enriched at the expense of this helpless state. In the interim arrangement known as Deshmukh award, Sri Chintamon Deshmukh bluntly stated that there were only two aspects of the problems, namely :

- To determine the shares to be taken away from Bengal, the Punjab and Assam in respect of parts of these provinces now included in Pakistan, and
- re-allocation from the Indian Union provinces of what is known as released percentages.

As a matter of fact, there could be no justification at all, of taking away several crores out of West Bengal's share when by Partition she lost only

a few lakhs of her collection in East Bengal, although West Bengal was in need of financial assistance. Even the decision of the Finance Commission headed by Sri K. C. Neogi has been an injustice to West Bengal.

The state of income-tax in India is not also very satisfactory. Although the population of India is 356 million, the number of people paying income-tax in 1952 is only 8,85,400. That is to say, in India, out of every 1000 people, only 25 persons pay income-tax as against 38 per 100 in U.K., 33 per 100 in U.S.A., and 27 per 100 in Australia. In every country, the yield and the number of people paying income-tax are important criteria of measuring economic prosperity. The revenue from taxes on income and corporations would, it has been estimated, be considerably smaller in 1953-54 than what it was in 1952-53. According to revised estimate in 1952-53, the yield from corporation tax was Rs. 39.83 crores; in 1953-54, the yield would fall to Rs. 36.62 crores. The revenue from income-tax was Rs. 130.17 crores in 1952-53, whereas, in 1953-54, it has been estimated to be only Rs. 123.38 crores. The significance of this decline in revenue clearly shows that the amount of profit of the trading concerns and the taxable income of the people are steadily on the decrease. This is, no doubt, a clear indication of the country's economic decay. The rate of income-tax in India has, no doubt, reached a fairly high level and the scope of raising it further high is very little. The centre of the tax problems are the rates, particularly the income-tax structure. Even as late as in 1942, a man with Rs. 100,000 income, had to pay 39% of his income as tax; after the Liaquat Ali budget, he paid 57% and to-day, he is paying 41% of his income. A man with an income of Rs. 500,000, paid in the past 64%, and 88% after the Liaquat Ali budget; to-day, he has to pay 75% of his income as tax. In recent years, the exemption limit of income-tax has, of course, been raised from Rs. 3600 to Rs. 4200, providing some relief to the middle class people. The importance of income-tax lies in the fact that it is one of the major weapons of reducing inequalities of wealth in the society and will show a progressive character in any system. It is really a question before the Commission whether they are going to recommend a further liberalisation of India's income-tax structure, or a shift back to the higher level of the Liaquat Ali budget. In any case, it should be factually weighed in the context of the present situation of the country. It is also evident from the report of the Board of Revenue that the average per capita income in India is so small that it is idle to expect any kind of saving out of it. It is, therefore, no wonder that capital accumulation for development programme would be a difficult task, and poverty, disease, starvation and illiteracy would stalk the land,

In its reply to the Taxation Enquiry Commission's questionnaire, the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has subjected the economic and financial policy of the Government, of which taxation is an important constituent, to serious criticism. The Federation believes that

"The present burden of taxation, both direct and indirect, is acting as a serious impediment to industrial development."

Dealing with the question of taxation as a measure of inequalities of income the Federation says :

"If, to start with, policies are adopted to bring about reduction in inequalities of income only, then it becomes more a sharing of scarcity than of plenty."

Constant reference has, no doubt, been made to the desirability of reducing inequalities of wealth. The "continuous harping" on the subject is unfortunate, specially when "any realistic policy must accept that it can only be a gradual process and that it can be achieved only through better living conditions for the masses and not so much by a reduction of incomes of the wealthy." As a matter of fact, the present economy is not designed to break down the existing inequalities of income. There is only one view that inflation which has been with us since the war has tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and that, therefore, the inequalities of wealth have become all the more pronounced. Improvement of the living standard of the people must necessarily be a gradual process but it may require a certain reduction in incomes of the wealthy. The main problem before the Commission is to build up a new tax structure which would help capital formation not only in the public sector but in the private sector as well, which has been, in the Five-Year Plan, assigned responsibilities of country's industrial development. But in spite of this important role, the private sector is regarded by some, as a "regrettable necessity to be tolerated rather than encouraged." Indian economy, in comparison with that of other countries, is very backward and the factors enabling other countries to bear the tax burden, are mostly absent in India. So it would be futile to build up the economic framework of the country on that basis.

It is really possible to spread wide open the net of taxation in countries which are industrially developed. But the load of taxation in India to-day is so heavy that even countries like Britain or America would not be able to stand it without jeopardising their developmental programmes; and efforts are, therefore, being made in these countries to reduce the tax burden. Removal of the present inequality of income is, no doubt, a desirable attempt, but ultimately it is likely to bring about a lowering down of the living standard and would tend to aggravate the unemployment situation. Further, the psychological value of the reduction of inequalities is im-

mense. So it is difficult to appreciate any attempt for the removal of disparities of wealth which would ultimately bring about a lowering down of the living standard of all the classes. Thus, it would be unwise to bring into one level the people of all the strata of the society, as, in that case, it would have a boomerang effect and efforts to build up a new economic structure would fail.

It is, no doubt, true that the hands of the Commission have really been tied by their terms of reference in which the Government of India have laid stress on a finding as to the adequacy or otherwise of the tax system in the context of certain specified objectives. We really want that our economy should be as equalitarian as possible, that the incidence of taxation should closely correspond to the tax-payers' ability to pay, or that in an era of planned economy in India, excessive consumption must not be held in check for a long time. To-day we are in a stage where vast changes are taking place in our economy, and forces are still a long way from stabilising themselves. We have been committed to a plan, but the country, in the meanwhile, is being swept by a huge wave of unemployment. The Commission would, no doubt, make a comparison between the proportionate share of National Income collected as tax in India and the corresponding ratio in other countries. And although the National Income of India is about the fourth or fifth highest in the world, unfortunately, due to population pressure, her per capita income is about the second or the third from the lowest in the world. Thus, the question of any comparison between India and any other country in respect of tax ratio should not arise. Moreover, the Commission should also take into consideration the aspect of the current price position in the country with which an average citizen's interest is so closely identified.

It has been said before that under the new constitution, the states have been given very wide powers in the field of taxation. But the scope of new taxes in India is very small. In all the states, budget deficits have been chronic, and it seems that their financial condition may, to a great extent, be improved not by increased taxation but by a better reallocation of the existing sources of taxation. An enquiry into tax system should not exclusively relate to the total amount of taxation but consider the distribution of the tax burden upon the people in general. According to expert opinion, such as the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee (1925) and the Indian Statutory Commission (1930), the burden is, on the whole, much more on the poor than on the rich. Finally, our broad conclusion is that the Indian people, by reason of their extreme poverty, form the least potential tax-paying community in the world.

THE THEORY OF EMERGENCE IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF ALEXANDER

By PROF. KATYAYANIDAS BHATTACHARYA, M.A., W.B.E.S.,
Head of the Department of Philosophy, Victoria College, Cooch Behar

THERE is a very old and persistent tendency in the human mind to assimilate the causal relation to the logical relation of inclusion. That there cannot be more in the effect than what is there in the cause is one of those propositions which are so deeply rooted in human mind that all accept them as self-evident. The cause is said to be incapable of explaining the effect unless the effect is already included in the cause. But this idea, if closely examined, is found to be opposed to any new change or advance in evolution. If what appears in the effect is already contained in the cause, then evolution is nothing more than what Spencer has described as 'the process of varying, grouping and division, regrouping and redivision, of matter and motion in space, strictly in accordance with mechanical laws.' If this view is accepted, then scientific explanation becomes equivalent to mathematical analysis, nothing but 'addition and subtraction,' as Hobbes put it. This view of simple reductionism—the view that no events can happen which cannot without residue be reduced to the pre-existent causes—has received a powerful challenge from the doctrine of Emergence according to which there can occur new changes or novelties or real advances in the process of nature which can never be explained by reference to the antecedent causal situations.

The term 'Emergent' as distinguished from 'resultant' was first introduced in 1875 by G. H. Lewis in his *Problem of Life and Mind*, Vol. ii, p. 412. He cited illustrations from Chemistry to bring out the significance of emergence. When carbon which has certain properties is mixed up with sulphur which has got other properties, there is formed not a mixture but a new compound with some properties different from those of the component elements. Here the weight of the compound is only an additive resultant, and anyone knowing the weight of the components will find no difficulty in predicting in advance that their compound will have as its resultant such weight. But other properties of the compound cannot be predicted and these are emergent. Of course, when one has learnt what emerges in a particular case, one can easily predict what will emerge in other similar cases under similar conditions. But without prior acquaintance with the plan of emergence no prediction can ever be possible. It needs hardly be mentioned that any and every compound does not manifest signs of emergence. There may be resultants without emergents as mechanical aggregates are nothing but additive resultants of elements. But there can be no emergents without underlying resultants. Resultants

represent the quantitative continuity lying at the root of all qualitative steps in emergence. The fault of the mechanistic interpretation of nature, according to the advocates of emergent evolution, lies in ignoring the emergent properties and treating all properties as resultant. In other words, the mechanists refuse to admit that instances of emergence are those of creative synthesis, that each emergence is creative of novelty, of some new quality or property, of a type that did not exist before the emergence.

Now though it is Lewis who first suggested the term, emergence, and applied it to describe novelty in some types of synthesis, the idea embodied by the term was by no means new to his contemporaries and predecessors. J. S. Mill's use of the word 'mental chemistry' and Wundt's advocacy for 'creative synthesis' in the sphere of mental phenomena suggests that emergence is only a new name for an old way of thinking. In the year 1820, Thomas Brown argued in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of Human Mind* that as the taste of lemonade is a blend and not simply a sum of sweet, sour, etc., so psychological compounds contain characters which are not resolvable into the elements. He maintains that as in chemistry it often happens that qualities of separate ingredients of a compound body are not recognisable by us in the apparently different qualities of the compound itself, so in the spontaneous chemistry of the mind, the compound sentiment that results from the association of simple feelings has, in many cases, little resemblance to these constituents. The idea of mental chemistry got a very eloquent advocate in J. S. Mill. Mill in giving a critical revision to his father's work (*Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind* by James Mill, 1829) maintains that every mental compound is the result of a very close union of various elementary sensations and ideas. The elements can scarcely be distinguished in the new compound. Mill explains this new loss of identity on the analogy of the formation of new combinations in chemistry. A fusion occurs when muscular sensations blend with visual sensations to form the notion of space which is analogous to the formation of water from hydrogen and oxygen. To understand the development of ideas Mill suggests, we require a chemistry, not merely a physics. He pleads for the use of the word 'mental chemistry' to describe the mental compounds that bear the new characters. In the late years of the nineteenth century Wundt pointed out that though it is usual in psychology to speak of complex sensory qualities as formed by the fusion of simple sensory qualities, the complex so spoken of is not merely an aggregate of such

qualities but a whole which is more than the sum of the components. In all psychical compounds there is expressed, according to Wundt, a principle which may be called the principle of creative synthesis. A compound clang is more in its ideational and affective attributes than merely a sum of single tones. In the apperceptive functions and in the activities of imagination and understanding this principle finds expression, as Wundt says, in a clearly recognised form. Not only do the elements united by apperceptive synthesis gain, in the aggregate idea which results from their combination, a new significance which they did not have in their isolated state, but what is of still greater importance, the aggregate idea itself is a new psychical content made possible by the elements, but by no means contained in the elements. In the year 1890, an Austrian philosopher-psychologist, Christian Von Ehrenfels, brought the problem of 'gestalt' or form quality to the forefront of psychological discussion. This quality is present in a whole but not in the parts making up the whole. Take the same collection of parts and arrange them in different ways and you get different wholes possessing different qualities. For example, take the notes of musical scale, arrange them in one order and rhythm and you have one tune; give them another order and you have a different tune. The tune is not present in the notes taken separately but only in the whole arrangement. To hear a tune then is a real experience, not resolvable into the experiences of hearing separate notes. The tune has a quality of its own, a form quality. From 1890 on, the psychological theorists were forced to admit the reality not only of sensory elements but also of shapes and patterns. In a series of articles published in *Mind*, Vol. ii in the year 1897, Professor McDougall suggested that we may reasonably believe certain brain processes (those of synaptic junctions) to engender sensory affections or qualities of consciousness which, synthesised into complex wholes according to the peculiar laws of synthetic combinations, acquire the new power of modifying the course of brain events.

Now, though the doctrine of emergent evolution does not appear to be directly influenced by all of these writers, it must be admitted that many thinkers of very different schools of thought were thinking in the same directions and the term, 'emergent,' did not express anything wholly new. The chief credit of the champions of the doctrine is that theirs is the first attempt to synthesise the concept of emergence with that of evolution, thereby showing that life and mind may be treated as the progressive steps of emergent evolution out of a basal stuff. This new doctrine was hailed with joy by many biologists and psychologists inasmuch as it was thought that the doctrine was the banner of independence for biology and psychology. As Jennings thought, 'No longer can the biologist be bullied into suppressing observed results because they are not discovered nor expected from work on the non-living parts of nature. No longer will he feel a sense of criminality

in speaking of relations that are obvious in the living for the reason that they are not seen in the non-living.' Similarly some psychologists became glad that it will no longer be necessary to maintain the pretence that conscious thinking makes no difference to our behaviour; that we would behave in just the same way if consciousness were absent. It is further claimed that this doctrine is vastly superior to the principle of mechanism as advocated by Herbert Spencer. In a mechanical system, the elements are qualitatively homogeneous and these bear to one another only one mode of relationship. Granted the elements and this mode of relationship, we have the data for inferring what is happening, has happened, and will happen within the system so long as that system remains undisturbed from without. If the system passes through the successive phases, *a*, *b* and *c* of which *b* is the present phase, an astronomer, knowing the elements and the laws of relationship in the present phase, will be able to tell us with absolute certainty what the conditions of mechanical relationship were and the state of any element was at any *a*-moment in the past and what they will be at any *c*-moment in the future. Given the knowledge of the entire material system at the present stage, a Laplace can predict through mathematical calculations what the state of the world will be at some remote date in the future, what the nature of any particular incident will be, how any particular human being will think and speak on any particular date in the future. In reply to this claim the advocates of emergent evolution hold that though it is undeniable that there are mechanical systems, and with regard to such systems, prediction is possible, it is equally undeniable that there are other kinds of systems existing in nature. As L. Morgan, one of the powerful champions of the doctrine, puts it, there are grades of existence—atomic, biological, psychological, and even a thorough acquaintance with the states of one grade does not enable one to deduce the states of another grade. The mechanists admit that such a deduction has not as yet been possible, but they contend that with the gradual advance of mechanical knowledge a time is bound to come when it will be possible to reduce the states of the so-called higher grade of existence to those of the lower grade. In other words, the mechanist claims that though it appears that the members of the atomic system play their game in accordance with some laws, and the members of the biological and of the psychological systems play their respective games in accordance with different kinds of laws, it will be seen in course of time that the laws of the games of the biological and of the psychological systems will be deducible from those of the atomic system, and at bottom there will remain only the rules of the atomic system. This is possible, says the mechanist, because the rules of the mind-game or those of the life-game are implicitly contained in those of the atomic game. Evolution does not imply any new creation but only the unfoldment of what remained enfolded at

the beginning. The advocates of emergent evolution, on the contrary, venture on the hypothesis that each game has a set of separate and qualitatively distinct rules, though it is undeniable that there are some rules, common and fundamental, which are applicable to all games—atomic, biological, or psychological. The doctrine, therefore, ensures autonomy in the fields of biology and psychology, without denying the comprehensive nature of the material sciences. The doctrine further emphasises that though each science is autonomous within its own field, there is an order among the sciences by virtue of which one science may be logically dominant over another. The science which is higher in this sense makes a subsidiary use of the more general principles and theories of the lower, while maintaining throughout the characteristic concepts appropriate to its more special and distinctive phenomena. Thus the biological sciences make use of the more general principles of physics and chemistry but maintain at the same time their appropriate concepts of teleology. So do the psychological sciences make use of the concepts of biology and of physical sciences without surrendering their own characteristic concepts for the description of the phenomena peculiar to conscious behaviour. The doctrine of emergent evolution is thus an attempt to save the distinctness and peculiarity of the different levels of existence, admitting, at the same time, one fundamental reality at the basis of all.

Now-a-days, the doctrine has its supporters in diverse schools of thought—Idealist, Realist, and Pragmatist. In England such writers as Schiller, Broad, Wildon Carr, and Hobhouse, in America such writers as Sellars, Dewey, Spaulding, and Brightman are among its enthusiastic supporters. But the wide philosophical range given to the doctrine is mainly due to Samuel Alexander. In an article entitled 'Natural Piety', published in *The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1922, Alexander maintains that as there is in the animal world or in the plant world a hierarchy of forms, so in nature there is a hierarchy of qualities characterising different levels of existence. By borrowing a phrase from R. W. Sellars, he holds that there are 'critical points' in the unfolding of nature when she gathers up her old resources for a new experiment and breeds a new quality of existence. In nature immense complexities of elements remain chaotic for an indefinite time and then suddenly gather themselves together and flower into some undreamt-of simplicity, leading thereby to the emergence of new strata of existence. Nature is, to quote an Alexandrian expression, stratified, as it were, and each stratum is the bearer of a new quality. Why the new quality emerges, nobody can say. Alexander cautions us that though there are no limits to the asking of questions, all questions are not capable of being answered, for however far we may push our explanations, the world presents some characters which must be accepted as beyond explanation. Alexander calls this habit of acceptance of nature by the phrase 'Natural Piety' an attitude which the simple-minded people

have when they accept events for which they find no explanation as the will of God. Alexander contends that the emergence of new qualities characterising ascending levels of existence should also be accepted with natural piety renouncing all attempts at explanation as futile.

The version of emergent evolution as presented by Alexander in his Gifford Lectures is a complete and thorough account where he has made a resolute attempt to give a philosophical interpretation of nature as a whole with an adequate emphasis on the phenomenon of emergence. In order to get at the very foundation of nature Alexander thinks out of it all that has emerged in the course of evolutionary progress—all that can possibly be excluded short of annihilation. This act of abstraction, carried to the last extreme, gives him Space-Time or Pure Motion as the basic stuff of the universe. It is out of this basic material that the different levels of existence, with distinctive qualities of their own, emerge. Thus Space-Time occupies in the philosophy of Alexander the same place as the Substance or the Absolute does in the philosophies of Spinoza and Hegel respectively. But while to Spinoza, Time, an unreal product of imagination, does not qualify the reality, to Alexander it enters into the very making of reality and without it Space becomes identical with nothingness. Similarly while to Hegel and his followers, the Absolute represents reality at its highest perfection, to Alexander Space-Time represents reality at its lowest state. In arriving at the conception of Space-Time as the basic material of the universe Alexander has been influenced by mathematical physicists like Minkowski, Lorentz and Einstein who familiarised, through the theory of Relativity, the conception of Space and Time as being inter-dependent and fundamental to the constitution of the universe. Of course as early as 1901, a Hungarian thinker, Palagyi, developed a theory of Space-Time in which Alexander's ideas were anticipated but Alexander does not seem to be much influenced by this writer.

Out of the basic stuff of Space-Time or Pure Motion the first thing that emerges is matter, characterised by primary qualities only. These qualities, such as shape, size, number and motion, are only the empirical modifications of the categorial characters and characterise all the spatio-temporal existence whether material or sub-material. These primary qualities are sharply different from what Alexander calls the primary qualities of matter, such as mass, inertia and energy, which are the characteristic qualities of materiality. The primary qualities of matter qualify all material existence but not things and events below the material level, whereas the traditional primary qualities, such as shape, size, number and motion, characterise all objects even below the material level. The categorial characters qualify all finites into which Space-Time breaks up, and as the primary qualities are only the modifications of these characters, it follows that we apprehend the primary qualities by intuition as we do Space-Time itself. But the pri-

mary qualities of matter are apprehended not by intuition but by the sense or resistance offered to my body by a foreign object. Thus out of Space-Time or qualityless motion the first emergent is matter and its characteristic quality is materiality. But here a question arises: Can there be an intermediate level between pure motion and matter? Matter can be analysed into electricity according to the modern Electron Theory of Matter. Cannot electricity serve as an intervening level between pure motion and matter? The organisation of matter as revealed by modern Physics is highly complex. How can such a complex level of existence suddenly emerge out of a simple qualityless motion-stuff? With regard to these questions Alexander offers no solutions. He admits that 'from simple motion to matter is a far cry,' but confesses his inability to suggest any intermediate level if any such level ever exists.

The next level in the order of emergence is that of secondary qualities. These qualities comprise colour, sound, taste, smell, etc. They are real and objective and not dependent on the mind for their existence as Locke supposed. The only difference between the primary and the secondary qualities is that the former characterise material objects by themselves, whereas the latter qualify the objects in relation to their surroundings. The colour does not exist as colour in the absence of light, though it does exist in the absence of any eye. The secondary quality owes nothing to the percipient subject or to the sense organs which are nothing but the instruments or means for the revelation of the quality belonging to the object. Both kinds of qualities, primary and secondary, stand on the same level in their relation to the mind. Both are objective qualities of things, depending upon the mind for their revelation only and not for their existence. The secondary qualities are a new set of qualities which movements of a certain order of complexity belonging to the material level take on or which emerge with them. The material movements so complicated cannot be separated from the secondary qualities in the same way as the vital processes cannot be separated from the physico-chemical processes out of which they emerge. Thus a set of movements occurring in a material thing, if it is of a right sort, is red or fragrant; such set of movements has not mere categorial or material characters but also secondary qualities in addition. Each of the secondary qualities is apprehended through a different single sense organ, for example, colour through the eye, sound through the ear, odour through the nose, etc.

The next level of emergent quality is life. It is an emergent from material existence. Here also a question arises whether there is any possibility for the existence of an intermediate level between matter and life. Is it not possible for chemical process to serve as an intervening level between physical existence and vital? Can we not conceive chemical matter to be qualitatively different from physical matter and 'chemism' to be a new quality emerging from physical existence? Alexander

can furnish no answer to the question. He follows the usual habit of lumping together physical and chemical processes, though knowing fully well that such a lumping-together has no justification. Life, therefore, is an emergent quality taken on by a complex of physico-chemical processes belonging to the material level. These physico-chemical processes take place in a structure of a particular complexity of which the processes are the functions. A living process is no doubt a physico-chemical one, but all physico-chemical ones are not living. A living process, in addition to being physico-chemical, is also living. To call it living is to mark the fact that its behaviour in response to stimulation is of a character different from those which are dealt with in Physics and Chemistry and in this sense something new with an appropriate quality, i.e., life. At the same time this new mode of behaviour is also physico-chemical and may be exhibited without remainder into physico-chemical terms, provided only the nature of the constellation is known. Until it is known what is specifically vital may elude the application of the principles of Physics and Chemistry. In this sense Alexander agrees with Dr. Haldane who maintains that Biology must be treated as special science dealing with its particular subject-matter of organic life. It is contended that if Biology, the study of life, has no specific subject-matter, then we would be compelled to declare it to be a branch of Physics and Chemistry, and ultimately, of Mathematics which deals with Space and Time as such. This is the professed aim of Reductionism which Alexander rejects as being inadequate to account for the characteristic behaviours of life. He agrees with the reductionists in so far as they maintain that the behaviours of life can be resolved without residue into physico-chemical processes, provided only the nature of the constellation of motions corresponding to the level of life is adequately known. Here Alexander foregoes the support not only of the neo-vitalists like Dr. Haldane but also of general emergentists like Bergson who do not believe in the reducibility of vital processes even after the complete and exhaustive knowledge of the physico-chemical constellation appropriate to the vital level.

The next level in the order of emergence is mind. It is an emergence out of vital existence. Materialism, building its outlook on the conclusions of the physical sciences finds no room for consciousness, while Spiritualism taking its stand on the ego as the centre of reference in all acts of knowledge, looks upon the mind as an independent spiritual substance and describes it as that which has 'elsewhere its setting and cometh from afar.' Alexander's view of emergent evolution brings out a compromise between these conflicting tendencies. The mind is an emergent system of connative acts characterising a particular constellation of neural processes. It is not cut off from the neural processes inasmuch as the neural processes do not continue to remain the same processes without it. The mental processes, though

emerging out of the neural processes, are distinct from the latter in the same way as 'a king who is also a man and belongs to the same class with his subjects is not one of the subjects.' Out of a neurological or physiological constellation nature creates a new quality, mind, which is not itself physiological, though it lives, moves and has its being in the physiological conditions. As Abt Vogler in Browning's poem declares of the musician that out of three sounds he frames not a fourth but a star, so out of a specific neurological constellation a new quality emerges, an entirely new creation. The new creation inherits the old ways out of which it grows but it simplifies the old complexity. The materialistic view of mind as an inert accompaniment of the brain, an epiphenomenon, is rejected not only because it assumes something to exist in nature which has nothing to do, no purpose to serve, but also because it is false to empirical facts. The neural processes which are not mental are not of the same neural order as those which are. 'The mental process which carries thought is changed into a different one when it ceases to carry thought.' The mind is therefore not accidental to the brain, nor is the brain indifferent to the mental feature, as the materialists suppose, but on the contrary, being an emergent out of the brain, it is essentially connected with the brain and has an effective part to perform towards the ordering of the behaviours of the body.

Now, on a comparison of the successive levels of emergence from matter to mind Alexander observes that there is a *nisus* or urge in Space-Time to give rise to ascending orders of beings with characteristic empirical qualities. On the strength of this comparison he supposes that though the mental order is the highest order of being known to us, there is nothing in mind to make us stop and say that this is the highest empirical quality that Space-Time can generate out of itself throughout the infinite time to come. The *nisus* which has borne its creatures forward through matter, life to mind will bear them to still higher levels of qualities. For these reasons Alexander thinks it legitimate to follow up the series of empirical qualities and imagine a higher order

of beings who will emerge in course of time characterised by a higher quality than mind, deity, as Alexander calls it. What the nature of that quality is we do not know for only those beings characterised by that deity will be in a position to know what the nature of deity is. To us who belong to the level of mind deity is a quality ahead of us which Space-Time is straining to bring into being but its nature will ever remain unknown to us in the same way as the quality of consciousness, or mind, is known only to us who are qualified by it but it remains ever unknown to the lower order of being such as plants.

Alexander's doctrine of emergent evolution has been accepted with great enthusiasm by a large number of modern scientists and philosophers inasmuch as it is regarded to have shown the path of solution of the age-long conflicts between mechanism and vitalism and between epiphenomenalism and spiritualism. But, closely examined, the doctrine is not without defects. There appear to exist two irreconcilable aspects in the doctrine. While on the one hand Alexander says that the emergent quality of each particular level of existence is quite new and should be accepted with natural piety, on the other hand, he says that each new type of emergence is expressible completely and without residue in terms of the lower stage, and therefore, in terms of all the lower stages, mind in terms of the vital processes, life in terms of the physico-chemical processes, and matter in terms of the processes of spacio-temporal motion. Now, the question arises, if an existent is completely expressible without residue in terms of its lower level, then how can anything be new about it? If mind is expressible without residue in terms of vital processes, life in terms of physico-chemical processes and so on, how can Alexander's scheme of emergent evolution differ from Spencer's scheme of reductionism against which Alexander throws out his challenge? But in spite of this and similar other defects, Alexander's theory of emergence has exercised a profound influence in contemporary thought and is looked upon as furnishing a solution of many vexed philosophical, psychological and biological controversies.



ANCIENT POTTERY FROM TAMLUK

By PROF. PARESH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

MODERN Tamluk in the Midnapore district of West Bengal is the site of the ancient city-port Tamralipti. Both from indigenous and foreign literary sources as well as from archaeological data we learn a great deal about this city-port. It is quite well known that this great ancient commercial emporium once connected the maritime traffic which passed between the eastern and the western seas.

are wheel-turned, and they generally reveal uniform firing.

Two long vases height 1 ft. 6½ ins. and 1 ft. 1 in respectively are highly interesting (Fig. 1, the left and the right) as their shape bears a kind of similarity with the Roman *amphora* jars of the classical epoch, although they lack the curved neck-handles. The colour of the vases is black and the slip does not

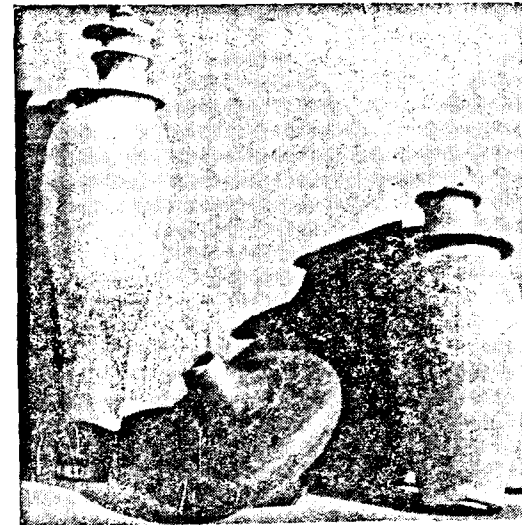


Fig. No. 1. Amphora-type vases on both sides. The middle one is a carrot-shaped black-polished vessel

The great importance of the Tamluk pottery was first understood when about a decade ago several interesting pottery-wares were discovered in Tamluk. These included two vases which through a similarity of their shape and design recall Egyptian, Minoan and Mycenaean parallels.¹

Recently, many interesting vases and pottery-fragments have been discovered by the present writer from the region of Tamluk.² These have been recovered while digging deep tanks and trenches and collected by me during the period extending from 1951 to 1953.

Most of the pottery-types,³ I have discovered,

1. The design consists of "caterpillar-like leaves single and crossed as in Swastika, plaited reed, twisted and rounded cane and rosettes."—See T. N. Ramchandran: *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIV, 3, Pt. V figs. 2, 3.

2. These along with many other highly interesting terracotta figures (also found at Tamluk) have been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. For a brief description of some of these finds, see *The Modern Review* for June and November, 1952, *The Calcutta Review* for February, June, and November, 1952, *The Statesman*, 8th March, 1953 and *Bharatvarsha* (a Bengali monthly journal), Panch. B.S. 1359, pp. 49-50.

3. They have been mostly found in the different tank-sites of Abasbari and Parbatipur at Tamluk.



Fig. No. 2. Terracotta lid (?) with double heads

possess any remarkable glaze. They gradually become narrow at the base, and their necks have some circular and sharp-edged rims.

A highly black-polished carrot-shaped vessel (height 6½ ins., diam. 7½ ins.) with narrow ends and unusual bulging in the middle seems to be unique (Fig. 1 middle). At one end of the vase, the bulging abruptly diminishes into a short and stout cylinder-like mouth. The other portion becomes narrow in a gradual way, the end being unfortunately broken. The shape of the ware to some extent corresponds with that of the common snake-charmer's flute in India. Its mirror-like black slip seems to connect it with the Mauryan pottery.

A grey-coloured terracotta dish (diam. 1 ft. ½ in.) with an embossed small lotus design in the centre fortunately remains unbroken despite some cracks,

The dish has a curved rim (height 4½ ins.). Its general shape and pattern recall similar troughs of the Gupta period. A fragmentary glazed piece also bears a lotus design like this dish. This sherd also seems to be in all probability the centre-piece of a big trough.

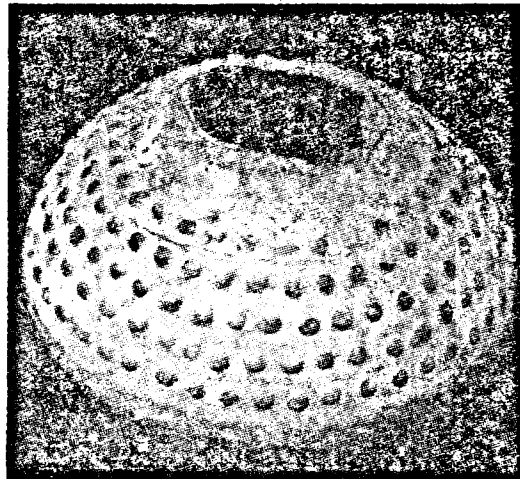


Fig. No. 3. A rimless vase with knobs

A number of small black unguent vases (some with traces of a glazed slip) having narrow necks recall similar wheel-turned types found after excavation at Sampur in Baluchistan.⁴

A double-headed and helmeted figure (fig. 2) with dull brown slip (height 1 ft.) having a large ring above was most probably used as the lid of some big vase.⁵ The double heads have sharp noses, thick and furrowed eye-brows and slanting cheeks. The helmets seem to be Roman and there are signs of

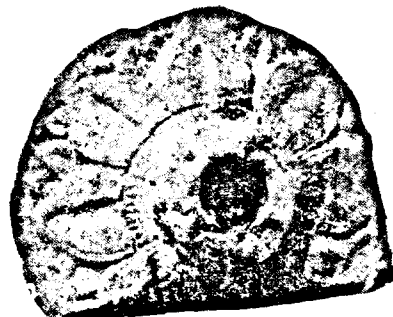


Fig. No. 4. A small lid with lotus-motif

tilak on the foreheads. The large ring (diam. 6½ ins.) above the figure has a scar at the top, which may indicate that there was a projection at this place.

Despite the *tilak* signs the figure looks definitely

4. *The Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1924-25, ed. by J. F. Blakiston, pp. 55 ff. Also, pl. XV, h: For the connection of Indo-Sumerian culture with Sampur, see, the *Saraswan District Gazetteer*, p. 42.

5. Vaid, P. C. Dasgupta: *The Modern Review*, November, 1952, fig. 3, *The Calcutta Review*, November, 1952, fig. 1.

un-Indian. The double heads of the figure on opposite sides clearly recall the image of Janus, the door-god as well as the war-deity of ancient Rome.* The ring of the top of this figure may be explained as the grip of this anthropomorphic lid.

A rimless vase (fig. 3) has numerous round knobs in relief on the outer surface of the upper half and a full-bloomed lotus motif in cubic manner on the lower part. The vessel (height 8½ ins.) is exceptionally thick and hard.

A small lid (fig. 4) with red slip (diam. 3½ ins.) and a hole on the top shows a many-petalled lotus in low relief. In the catalogue of the Annual Exhibition of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1953⁷ this object has been compared with similar Bharhut lotus medallions.

A fragment represents the upper part of a small and highly black polished unguent vase (fig. 5). It shows a fine lotus-motif on the ridge-like shoulder just below the neck. The shape of the object probably

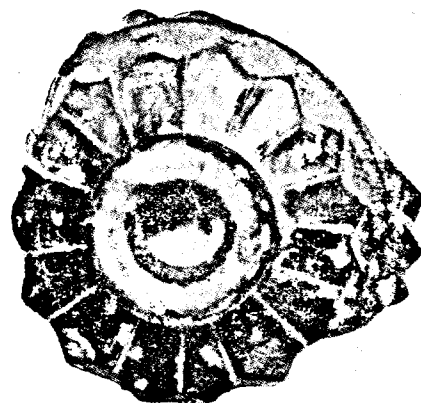


Fig. No. 5. Upper part of a small pot. It is highly black-polished

indicates that it was something of the kind of a bottle. Its purpose might be to keep some drugs or perfumes. A rimless vase (height 9 ins.) with buff colour is highly glazed. Its shape is roundish, and it is rouletted at the neck.

A grey coloured tray-like pedestal is a unique piece (fig. 6). After reconstruction of its various fragments it seems to have many-petalled lotus-motif and a miniature gateway (with hanging garlands) curiously resembling the well-known Sanchi railing. About eight elephants with outspread trunks have been recovered along with the pedestal. At least, some of them seem to belong to the elaborate decoration of the pedestal. These figures may mean that the tray-like pedestal had a *Gaja-Lakshmi*

6. In this connection, it may be pointed out that several clay bullae discovered at Sisupalgad in Orissa show human heads with high Roman affinity. See, B. B. Lal: *Sisupalgad*, 1948 in *Ancient India*, No. 5, Pl. L.B.

7. Held on 2nd February, 1953.

motif, the figure of the goddess of plenty being unfortunately missing.

The small pottery-fragments collected from Tamluk are generally of decorated, rouletted or stamped patterns (fig. 7). The decorations are mostly of the incised type, and they bear some amount of resemblance with the pottery-types discovered at Bangad, Sisupalgad and Ramatirtham.

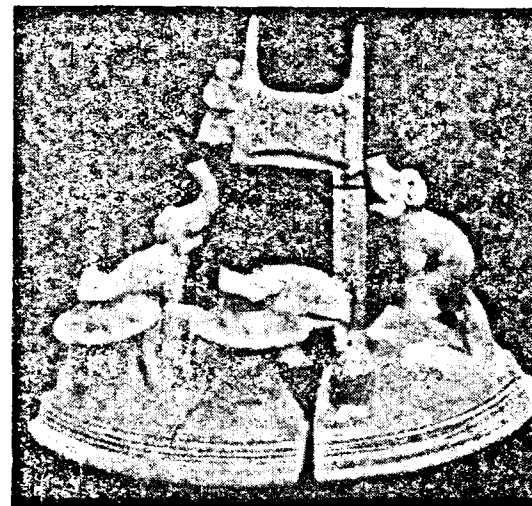


Fig. No. 6. A pedestal with elaborate motif. The small gateway at the back resembles the gateway and the railing of the Sanchi Stupa



Terracota figure of a caparisoned elephant, found along With Fig. No. 6 (Circa 1st Century B.C.). Tamluk

Of the patterns of the decorations of the sherds found at Tamluk, the following are most important :

- (i) Rectangular notches arranged in horizontal ways
- (ii) Incised criss-cross patterns
- (iii) Zigzag patterns
- (iv) Rows of horizontal or vertical slashes arranged in a close manner
- (v) Astral (or floral?) design
- (vi) Black-painted ware with red star-like designs.

Apart from these, there are many other simple patterns. The rouletted wares are very interesting and some of them resemble gramophone records. Similar rouletted pot-sherds have been found at Sisupalgad, Arikamedu, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli. According to B. B. Lal, the lowest example of



Fig. No. 7. Miscellaneous minor antiquities with three stamped sherds in the vertical middle row rouletted sherds from Sisupalgad may be assigned to the first century A.D.⁸

The stamped designs include mainly floral decorations. There are sometimes accompanied by circular bands.

A class of earthen spouts have been recovered from Tamluk. These are cylinder-like objects with comparatively much smaller hole at the mouth. Their colour is generally dull red or grey.

8. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 86, pl. XLIII.

In the month of August, 1952 I explored the region of Bachri (near the village Shashati) in the Howrah district just on the opposite side of the river Rupnarayan from Tamluk. I have collected from there some important antiquities including one big sherd (brown) with finger-tip pattern. The band with finger-tips seems to have been put in *applique*. Similar pottery-types have been found from Sisupalgad and Ramatirtham.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By MANIKLAL BANERJEE

The eighteenth annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts was opened by Dr. Harendra Kumer Mukherjee, Governor of West Bengal, in the premises of the Indian Museum on the 18th December, 1953. Nearly five hundred paintings drawn by the notable artists of the different provinces and twentyfour sculptural works found their place in the exhibition. Besides, there were paintings drawn by some remarkable



A girl in blue
By Jagadish Roy

artists of America, Great Britain, Russia, Australia, Italy and Japan. This collection of a variety of representative works of the artists of the different provinces of India presents an opportunity to the scholars of fine arts for examining and studying the progress of Arts in this country. The Academy of Fine Arts deserves, on this account, hearty and unstinted praise for its efforts.

This is an era of science. The sphere of fine arts has not escaped its great influence. Science has made it easy to exchange thoughts and ideas about every sphere of life among the different peoples of this world. India has been influenced by different currents of thoughts and ideas of the other peoples of the world in different ages. Our literature and fine arts, as they are on the present day, is the result of assimilation of foreign thoughts and ideas with our own. Science has brought a different angle of vision and has given a new shape to human life. The style of composition and the subject-matter in fine arts no longer follow the old traditions. The paintings of all the countries in the world, now-a-days, show a genuine effort to examine and bring to use the different thoughts and techniques of the different parts of the world to depict life in its new form beset with problems brought about by Science. This evolution has stirred the consciousness of many artists of our country and has thereby opened new paths to the artists. New ways and means have been discovered and new angles of vision created. It has been admitted on all sides that blind pursuit of the old traditions will not enable us to depict the real, up-to-date picture of the current life of the Indian people. It is also true that mere introduction of foreign thoughts and techniques will fail to give expression to the national character of Indian life. Real genius through the discovery of new paths and styles of composition proper for the age has given expression in arts to new currents of life in different countries and ages; there should be no deviation of this rule and process in this country in this age. The new current of life in India will find true expression through the test and observation of

new thoughts and techniques and through evolution. In the sphere of technique two different methods are chiefly being followed by the artists of our country. One is called the Indian style and the other European. The paintings of those artists, who follow the former method, are remarkable for the influence of folk-art, Mughal or Rajput style of art; some follow the style introduced by the late Abanindranath and

18TH ANNUAL EXHIBITION . . . OF FINE ARTS

217



Ferry Ghat
By Ramendranath Chakravorti



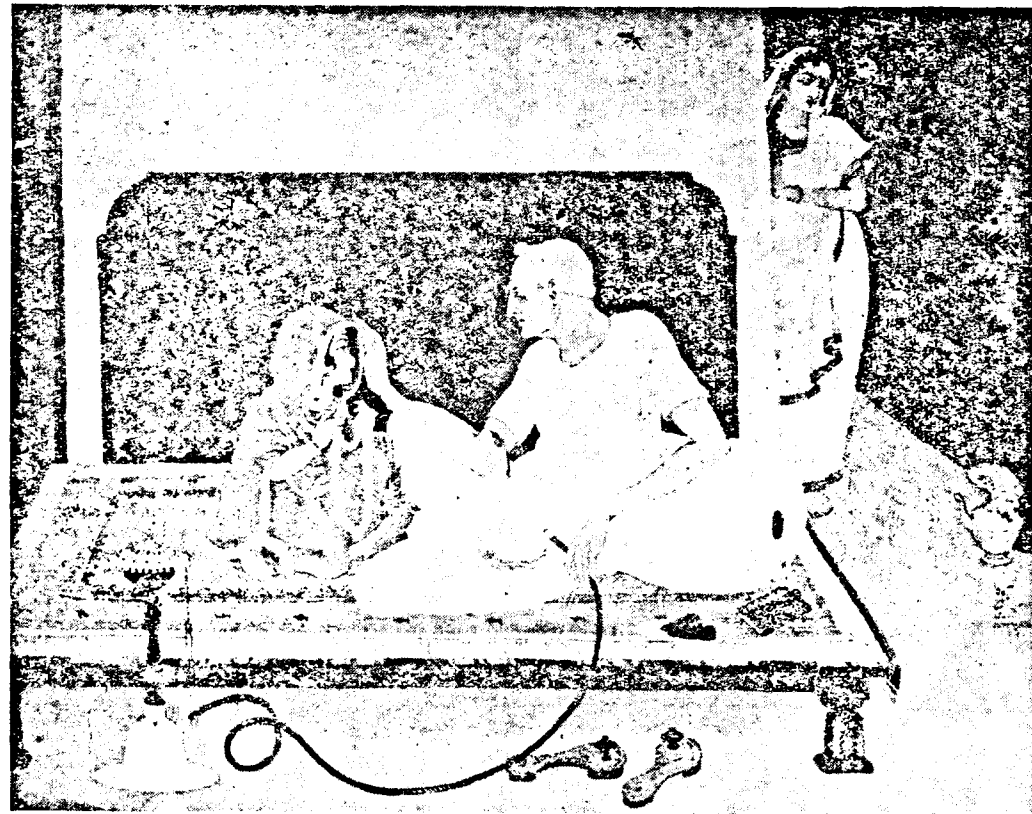
Musical's paradise
By Mohan B. Samant



Red Bridge
By K. C. S. Panikar



At Leisure
By Pradosh Das Gupta



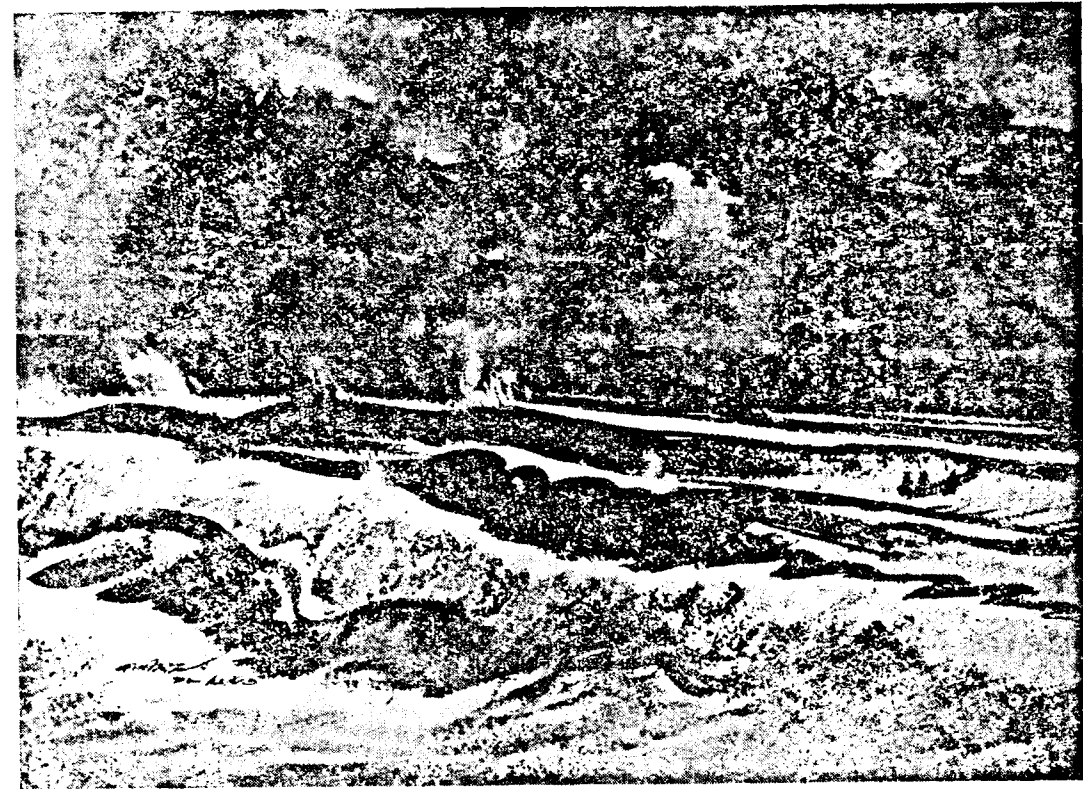
Grandfather
By Satyendranath Banerji

Sri Nandalal. Some give shape to the realistic form and some to the decorative. Again in the works of some artists are found efforts to find out new techniques by blending different methods. The influence of various "isms" of the West are also perceived in many paintings. Those who follow the Western technique, in their turn do not adhere to the same method or style; various methods are noticeable in their works—classical, impressionism, cubism, post-impressionism, expressionism, and various other ultra-modern "isms". The influence of these varieties of "isms" is clearly noticeable in the modern paintings of our country. The beauty and technique of the abstract art of Europe consists in the absolute manifestation of the sub-conscious mind, imagination and intellect. In their works of the abstract art, artists of the individualistic school have given shape to different currents of thought based on modern science, imagination and speed. Some of the artists of this land also are in pursuit of success in this line of action.

Art, of necessity, cannot and would not stand still. Close grip of the culture and traditions of a particular place or age is a sure obstacle to the progress of art.

Only when it is free from the shackles of old traditions and superstitions art achieves progress. Shackled by them art simply turns into imitation. So the blending of the new ideas and ideals, culture of different techniques and efforts to find out new lines of action are the signs of life in art. But this fact should also be borne in mind that mere imitation of new techniques may create new fashions in the sphere of art but achieve no real progress. There is a gulf of difference between mere imitation and intelligent pursuit of a new or foreign technique.

The Academy of Fine Arts has, in this year's exhibition, displayed unquestionably good taste in the arrangement of light and the proper placing of the paintings. In spite of special care and attention in the matter of the selection of paintings, a few of a comparatively low standard have found place in the exhibition. The exclusion of these paintings would have raised the standard of proficiency displayed in the general run of the paintings. But this also should be borne in mind that the standard of efficiency is not the only point to be considered by the organizers of an exhibition. New artists deserve encouragement at their hands by the selection of some of their works.



Waves
By Gopal Ghosh

On crossing the entrance door one will find the Indian Paintings, arranged in a properly artistic fashion, in the first room on the right-hand side. Here also, one will find one or two paintings of a lower type, mere imitation, which it would have been better to exclude. Other paintings of this section have been placed elsewhere.

The placing of the sculptural works might have been better. They ought to have been placed on stands on the eye-level which would have more easily attracted the notice of the spectators. This is one of the causes for the sculptural section of the exhibition not being so attractive as it could have been expected. The arrangement and placing of other paintings have been excellent.

An effort to create novelty is manifest in the works of some artists in this year's exhibition also. The paintings of Mrs. Damayanti Chowla have proved successful. The special feature of her works is an attempt for clear expression of ideas and for creating form with the use of flat and bright colours and bold but restrained lines. Her painting *Cooking* is a beautiful work. Novelty and ingenuity are manifest in the style of composition of *Round and Round* and *Transplanting* of Sri Sudarshan S. Benegal. The paintings of Sri Mohan B. Samanta deserve special mention in this

section. The influence of the Eastern style of painting—particularly Persian and Egyptian, in the matter of drawing, form and colouring is clearly noticeable in his works. Above all, in respect of individuality and novelty his paintings have been considered as successful works. In some of his paintings human legs have been drawn in a weak and consequently awkward fashion. This distortion is injurious both to rhythm and decoration. Mr. Dismond Doig's painting *Before the Storm* indicates genius in respect of the selection of subject-matter and treatment. The terrified and bewildered cat with its curving back in apprehension of the coming storm is really charming. His works *Interior* and *A Night Road* are also praiseworthy. Sri Ram Kinkar's *Peasant* and the two paintings of Sri Ram Kumar are successful efforts in Abstract Art. Sri Sailoz Mukherjee's *Fish* seems to be an unsuccessful attempt for creating novelty. The composition and treatment in *The White Cat* of Mr. W. H. Blackburn are pleasant. There is originality in the technique of Sri Bhabesh Sanjal also.

In the section of Oil Painting of the traditional Western style, Sri Panikar's *Red Bridge* is remarkable for its bold use of the red colour which has made it very striking. His *Early to the Fields* also represents the same style. There is originality in application of

colours in Ethel. C. Shea's *The Sisters*. Sri Kshitish Chandra Banerjee's *A Portrait and Naples* are remarkable works in the oil-painting section. There is indication both of genius and ingenuity in Sri Susil Sen's *Household Affairs*, Sri Anil Bhattacharjee's *Quiet Kitchen*, Sri Jagadish Roy's *A Girl in Blue*. The beauty of Sri Susil Sen's drawing, charming colour-combinations and composition easily attract the mind. Sri Jagadish Roy's skill in drawing and the pleasant method of colouring are indicative of a really artistic mind. *Roman County Girl* drawn by Mr. D. Purificato is also a bold work. There is surprise of novelty in the modern technique of Sri V. D. Chinchal Kar, but one will search in vain for novelty in the matter of form, rhythm and proper expression of thoughts.

In the Black and White section, the works of Sri Makhan Dutta Gupta are living and bold. Dexterity is manifest in the works of Sri Haren Das, but the scope of his power of creating aesthetic emotion seems to be quite limited. Sri Susil Sen's *Etching and Mrityunjay Chakravorty's The Fan Palm* (Dry-point) are beautiful works.

In the Sculpture section Sri Sunil Pal's *Earthquake* is a successful work. Sri Prodosh Dasgupta's *At Leisure* gives an instance of a new angle of vision.

In the Water Colour section the works of Sri Gopal Ghosh, *Waves* and *Fishing*, are skilful. The distinctive feature of Sri Gopal Ghosh's paintings

are his skilful application of colour, use of bold brush strokes and above all his originality. The paintings of Sri Kanai Karmaker also are worthy of special attention.

Sri Satyendra Nath Banerjee's picture, *Dadu*, in the Indian painting section attracts the attention and admiration of the spectators on account of his choice of subject-matter as well as his skill. Seated with the tube of an *Albola* in hand, the grandfather is intent on looking at the face of a newly-married girl, who is his grand-daughter. There is a garland in her hand for the bride-groom. There is a tender smile in the face of her mother standing behind the wall. One can notice a particular charm in the painting of this gifted artist which easily stirs the appreciative faculty of the mind. There is novelty of technique in the works of Sri Samar Ghose no doubt, but the use of cheap colours in the pictures have spoilt their charm to a great extent. We find aesthetic sense in some of the works of Sri Dhirendranath Brahma, Sri Sushil Majumdar and Sri Santi Mukherjee. Sri Dhiren Brahma's *Naroo-Gopal* is a successful creation. The decorative style of the two paintings of Sri Gopen Roy, *Ajagar-Ar-Rajputra* and *Suka-Pankhi-Nouka* are pleasant. There is a new treatment in his paintings with the subject-matter selected from the folktales of this country.

—:O:—

ASHTADIKPALAKAS FROM THE KATINAMKULAM TEMPLE

By Prof. R. P. NAIR, M.A., L.T.

It was an unprecedentedly weighty haul that the fishermen had that morning. As usual, an expectant and enthusiastic band of fisherfolk thronged round the fishing nets, which augured so well judging from the beaming faces of the adventurous men who had returned from the bosom of the sea. But lo! all their rosy dreams gave place to indescribable dismay and agony when they made the startling discovery that, what they had so fondly dragged ashore was nothing but a useless block of granite, albeit so delicately wrought into the shape of a Sivalinga. It was discarded on the shore by the disgusted fishermen but a proposal was made by a god-fearing section from among them that, being a Sivalinga and considering the supernormal way in which it had managed to reach ashore, it would be ill-omened and sacrilegious to abandon it on the beach. It was therefore devoutly entrusted to the Hindu inhabitants of Katinamkulam and this Linga, as the Sihalapuranas say, is the nucleus over which has been reared the magnificent shore temple at Katinamkulam.

There is something peculiarly fascinating about the location itself of the village of Katinamkulam in Kerala.

On the west is the Arabian sea, and on the east, the Katinamkulam lake, notorious for its unexpected outbursts of storms and sporadic toll of human lives. Thus hemmed in between the sea and the lake, with a breadth of about a mile, is this narrow strip of land, which might, for all practical purposes, be called an islet. The layman, who aspires to the dignity of an etymologist, will tell us that Katinamkulam signifies *Kadal* (sea) + *Nal* (good) + *Kulam* (tank), referring, by "tank," either to the Temple Tank, containing a perennial supply of fresh water in spite of its proximity to the sea, or to the lake itself, which, in moments of majestic serenity, is as enticingly tranquil as a pond in slumber. The place, situated twelve miles away from Trivandrum, and about two miles west of the Murukkumpuzha Railway Station is one of the loveliest beauty spots of Travancore.

The Siva Temple here represents a distinct landmark in the history of art and architecture in Kerala. There are two inscriptions in *Vatteluttu* in the temple, one on the north-western side of the pediment of the sanctum sanctorum and another on the eastern side of the *Valampalam*, stating that the temple was built in

1214 A.D. during the time of Sree Veera Raman Kerala Varma. The lay-out and construction of the temple and its out-houses have been carried out in strict conformity with the architectural canons prescribed in ancient Kerala treatises. The *Sreekoil* is a granite structure and is circular—a shape which, though very common in Kerala, is rare in other parts of India. The socle consists of Paduka, Jagathi, Kumuda, Kumudapattika, Gala, and Vajana mouldings. The structure is surmounted by a circular, conical roof, with a finial at the top.



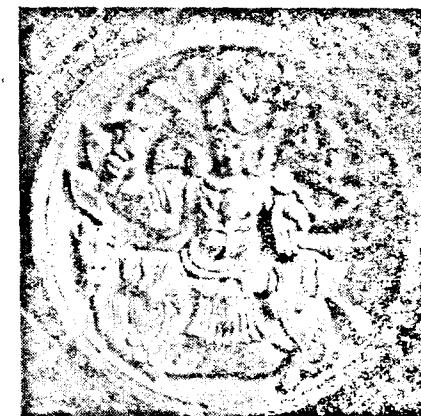
A. Katinamkulam Temple

Well-preserved wood-carvings of considerable artistic excellence are seen at the gables above the western and eastern entrances in the *Nalampalam*. Beneath the decoratively carved barge-board and in the shady recess of the western gable is placed a wood-carving of *Gajalakshmi* while the second gable below this represents the Holy family consisting of Siva, Parvathi, Ganesha and Subrahmanya. The comparative freshness of the wood used for this panel tempts one to surmise that these carvings are probably recent substitutes of earlier specimens which might have been damaged. But the Ganesha figure in the eastern gable is definitely of great antiquity and exhibits all the characteristics of mediaeval wood-sculpture in Kerala. Ganesha is seated on his *vahana*, the *mooshika*, while on either side, are two *Dwarapalaks*, holding clubs in their hands. Two *Nilavilakkus* and a pair of *Bhoothaganas* with grotesque countenances, complete the symmetry of the composition.

A real feast for the eye is, however, provided by the *Ashtadikpala* icons placed in the ceiling of the Namaskaramandapa, comparable in their artistry and finish to the analogous carvings in the Manampoor, Kazhakkootam, Kaviyoor, Vettikkulangara, and other temples in Travancore. The ceiling consists of nine panels each a foot square and harmoniously integrated into beams resting on the wood-carved capitals of four stone-pillars. The frame-work between each panel and the main frame-work of beams are all linked together by a rhythmic flow of designs incorporating animal and

floral motifs. The central panel of the ceiling is, of course, devoted to Brahma, while the other panels contain figures of Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirrti, Varuna, Vayu, Kubera and Isana, each being assigned his traditional direction in space.

The Garbhagriha of the temple, with its mouldings in the socle and its conical roof, is illustrated in photograph "A." In the foreground is seen the Namaskaramandapa, the ceiling of which enshrines the *Ashtadikpala* carvings referred to in this article.



B. Isana. Katinamkulam Temple

Photograph "B" is the image of *Isana*. The *Tantrasamuchchaya*, *Silpa Ratna*, *Roopamandana* and other texts on iconography concur in prescribing *Trisula* for the back right hand of *Isana*. But this carving assigns the *Parasu* to the right hand while the *Krishnamriga*, facing Siva, is held in the left hand. The two front hands are in the *abhaya-varada* poses. The most impressive and dramatic feature of the carving is the profusion of serpents with which Siva has bedecked himself as *Nagabhooshana*. Not only does he wear the *Naga-yajnopavita*, but there are on every portion of his body serpents big and small coiling and writhing about in vibrant rhythm. A five-hooded Naga serves as the background of the *Jata-makuta*, which is built up of the convolutions of a snake's body, partially concealing the crescent moon and allowing the tip of its tail to overshadow Siva's third eye. Gangadevi peeps out from above the tangled mass of the serpent-ridden *Jata-bhara*. Above the ears, and on either side, are two other serpents, lesser dignitaries than their five-hooded compatriot, but nonetheless unwilling to be relegated to the background. Two members of a still smaller fraternity constitute themselves as the ear-lobes and Kundalas of *Isana*. Another Naga decorates his chest, while yet another serves as the *Katisutra*. Two huge snakes each, on either side of the shoulders, rear their heads gracefully. Thus a full complement of sixteen finely carved Nagas adds to the beauty of this exuberantly chiselled panel. The sinuous, swirling lines surge up, radiating from the

centre, and go out in different directions, symbolising an *outgoing* and *incoming* of cosmic energy, while, seated on Padmasana, over his bull, Isana guards the north-east direction.



C. Brahma. Katinamkulam Temple

The third photograph "C" is that of Brahma. There are numerous iconographic variations of Brahma in the sculptures of Kerala. The existence of stone sculptures of Brahma in the Chola style in such temples as those at Sucheendram, Warkala, etc., does not appear to have

affected the canons of the wood-carver in Kerala. The Kitangur Temple has a wood-carved figure of Brahma, who sits on a *padma-peetha*, while the Vettikulangara Temple sculpture does not show even a *peetha*. The Kazhakkootam sculpture shows the swan in a separate corner of the panel. The Katinamkulam ceiling-carving represents *Pitamaha* as seated in Yogasana on a gorgeously carved *hamsa*. The *hamsa* figure is, in one sense, realistic as exemplified in such minute details as the ear-hole, etc. But at the same time it is only an idealistic and rhythmically ornate visualisation as indicated by the tail-feathers which are nothing but conventional designs skillfully dove-tailed into the identical designs in the background. As is usual, Brahma holds the Akshamala and Kamandalu in his back right and left hands respectively, while the front hands are in the Abhaya and Varada poses. He is lavishly decorated with Kundalas, Keyuras, Haras and double rings for each finger. The pulsating floral designs in the background serve to fill up a void which, to the sculptor, might have appeared unseemly.

The other *Ashtadikpalas* are also sculptured with the same consummate skill and are wonderful specimens of thirteenth century wood-sculpture in Kerala. The most noteworthy among these are the figures of Kubera on his *Naravahana*, and of Varuna in which is seen an exceptionally fine delineation of *makara* as half-fish and half-mythic creature.

—O:—

SHARQI ARCHITECTURE AT JAUNPUR

By M. YASIN SIDDIQI

TIMUR's invasion shattered to pieces the central power at Delhi and the distant provinces assumed independence—a dark period in the history of Imperialism but very fruitful from the point of view of art and architecture. The year 1400 A.D. may be termed as the "pivotal year" of this movement. The independent kingdoms under the patronage of their rulers developed particular styles of architecture of their own. They were a rebel against the Imperial style of architecture at Delhi as was the case in the domain of politics until everything heterogeneous was swallowed up by the advancing tides of the Mughal conquest. But the short period of their glory is most remarkable and at the same time an interesting study. Among such mushroom states one of the most notable was that known as the *Sharqi* or "Eastern" Sultanate with its capital at Jaunpur forty miles north-west of Benares.

CITY OF JAUNPUR

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firoz Shah Tughlaq in 1359-60 when he was encamped at Zafarabad, on the southern bank of the Gomti (four miles south-west of Jaunpur) to commemorate the name of his eccentric cousin Prince Juna, known in history as Muhammad Tughlaq. It is an established fact that the new city reared

up on the site of an old one (whatever might have been the original name). Jaunpur continued to be a "valuable bulwark" of the Delhi Empire until it became independent under the Sharqi Sultans.

SHARQI DYNASTY

The founder of the dynasty, Khwaja Jahan, was appointed to the Government of the eastern provinces by Mahmud Tughlaq (successor of Firoz) with the title of Malik-us-Sharq, or the "Lord of the East" and took up his residence at Jaunpur. Khwaja Jahan, originally named Malik Sarwar, was an eunuch given by Salar Rajah to his grandson Muhammad. Khwaja Jahan died in 1399 A.D., after he had declared himself independent of Delhi in 1394 A.D. He was shortly after succeeded by his adopted son Mubarak, who first assumed the title of *Sultan-us-Sharq*, or the "King of the East." Mubarak died in 1401 A.D. and the vacant throne was at once filled by Mubarak's younger brother, Ibrahim with the title of Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, a prince of varied talents, whose long reign is the most glorious in the short annals of Jaunpur. During Ibrahim's long reign of 39 years the sway of the Sharqi Kings was firmly established over the fairest provinces of Northern India, from Kanauj to Bihar, and from Bahraich to Etawah.

SHARQI ARCHITECTURE AT JAUNPUR

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was ambitious of founding a city in the heart of Hindustan that would become the spiritual and cultural capital of Islam in India, and it must be said to his credit that Jaunpur did attain to that glory and became a second Baghdad. The sway of the Sharqis covered nearly the whole of the ninth century of the Hijra era.



Gate of the Jami Masjid

JAUNPUR MONUMENTS

The architecture of Jaunpur is confined almost entirely to Muslim mosques, for the Sharqi kings who were such great builders were equally great destroyers, as every Masjid was erected on the site of a Hindu temple. And again, no Muslim city of India had suffered so much at the hands of the Musalmans themselves as this. Unfortunately many of its finest monuments were ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated by Sikandar Lodi in a fit of spiteful vengeance after his defeat of Husain (1452-78), the last Sultan of Jaunpur. Sikandar Lodi carried out the work of destruction with unusual completeness and razed to the ground even the gates of the mosques and would have destroyed the Masjids themselves but for the remonstrances of the Mullahs. Not a single residential building of the time of Sharqis, even in ruins, can now be traced. Hence the mosques are the sole data of the study of the Sharqi architecture at Jaunpur.

THE FORT

Before dealing with the Sharqi building a brief mention must be made of the fort of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, decorated with the Mosque and Hammam by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, Firoz's brother. The fort of

Jaunpur, the ancient *Karar-Kot*, no longer exists except as a ruin. It is an irregular quadrangle on the north bank of the Gomti, formed by a stone-wall built round an artificial earthen mound. The principal gateway of the fort still remains, and is attributed to the reign of Akbar. The spandrels of the arch are filled with glazed tiles and the walls are divided into panels with ornamental niches.

The Hammam of Ibrahim is almost a perfect model of a Turkish bath. The structure of the great part is below the present level of the ground, and the style of the edifice is as striking as its spacious dimensions.

FORT MASJID

The Masjid of Ibrahim Naib Barbak in the fort is the oldest of all the buildings in Jaunpur and for want of any other name may be conveniently called the "Fort Masjid." It is a long narrow building of the early Bengali type, that is, a simple arcade supported on carved Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle. It has no minars, their place being taken by two stone pillars placed at a short distance in front of the mosque, only one of which is now standing; but the position of the second is marked by its broken plinth.



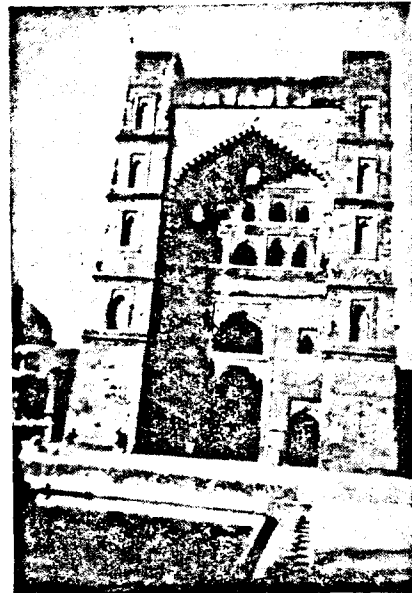
Main Gate of the Fort

SHARQI ARCHITECTURE

But the Fort is not to be reckoned among the chief attractions of Jaunpur. The noble mosques of the Sharqi period, unique in style and unrivalled in grandeur by such as depend, for their beauty, only on elegance of design and elaboration of material and not on the facile glory of rare marbles and bright enamels, still draw visitors from all over the world. These mosques are constructed entirely of stone, mortar, and concrete. The

walls are of ashlar masonry, set with fine and well-wrought joints. Internally throughout, the columns, roofs and domes are of stone, whilst the exterior of the domes and roofs, parapets and floors is floated with cement, marble being sparingly used for the decoration of the interior. An extract from Fergusson's description of the Atala Masjid will give an idea of the general features of the Jaunpur style.

"It consists," he says, "of a courtyard, on the western side of which is situated a range of building, the central one covered by a dome, in front of which stands a gate-pyramid or propylon of almost Egyptian manner and outline. This gate-pyramid by its elevation supplied the place of a minaret which none of these Masjids possess. The three sides of the courtyard were surrounded by colonnades, on each face was a handsome gateway. These Jaunpur examples are well worthy of illustration and in themselves possess a simplicity and grandeur not often met with in this style. An appearance of strength, moreover, is imparted to them by their sloping walls."



Atala Masjid

ATALA MASJID

The Atala Masjid is the earliest and finest specimen of the Sharqi style of Jaunpur mosque and the best preserved and most ornate and beautiful of all. In point of size, it stands about midway between the Jami and Lal Darwaza Masjids. Though the mosque was founded in 1377 A.D. by Khwaja Kamil Khan very little progress was made until the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who brought it to completion in 1408 A.D. and hence, was indubitably responsible for the character of its design. It stands on the old site of the temple of Atala Devi and was largely built out of the materials of that temple.

The general design of the Masjid is similar to that of the great mosques at Delhi and Ajmer; but its style of ornamentation belongs to the later period of the Alai Darwaza at Delhi. In plan it is a quadrangle, surrounded by cloisters of two storeys on three sides, with the Masjid itself on the west. The grand feature of the mosque is the highly decorated propylon or great central arch, with a smaller propylon on each side of it.

The Masjid proper is divided into five compartments; the central room covered by a dome. The corner rooms are cut off from the rest of the building with a private entrance from outside and they, most probably, were exclusively used by the ladies of the royal family—a characteristic feature of Jaunpur mosque. The dome is considerably lower than the top of the propylon, but it could be seen indistinctly from the front, through the trellises of the small windows decorating the screen wall under the great arch. The gateways in the middle of each of the other sides of the quadrangle are similar in design to the central part of the mosque, each presenting a lofty propylon outside with a dome behind it. Black marble has been largely used in the decoration of the interior of the grand dome.

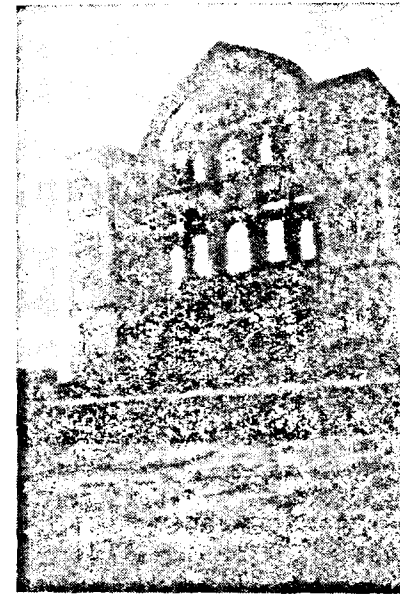
KHALIS MUKHLIS MASJID

The next mosque in point of age and belonging to the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi is that known as Khalis Mukhlis situated in the Mohalla Dareeba along the north bank of the Gomti river. The Masjid was built on the site of the temple of Vijaya Chandra by Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis (after whom the mosque is named), governors of Jaunpur under Sultan Ibrahim for the convenience of Saiyyad Usman of Shiraz driven from Delhi by the irruption of Timur. The mosque consists of a domed hall and two wings, the dome masked by a low facade of the character peculiar to Jaunpur, but there is no ornament to break or relieve the sombre massiveness of the building. It is most commonly known by the name of *Char-Ungli*, given to it by reason of the famous stone still to be seen on the left of the main entrance leading to the prayer chamber. It has the miraculous property of measuring four *unglis* (fingers) of any size. The stone is much revered and worshipped by Muslims and Hindus alike.

JHANJHIRI MASJID

This mosque lies in the Sipah Mohalla along the bank of the Gomti. It derives its name from the series of lattices (*jhanjhiris*) in the screen over the main arch. Gen. Cunningham is mistaken when he calls it as "Zanzeeri" which he guessed was due to the chain-like appearance of its ornamentation. It was built by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi himself in honour of Hazrat Saeed Sadr Jahan Aimali on the site of a famous Hindu temple of Jaya Chandra close to Mukutghat. Nothing now remains except the great propylon. The mosque was much smaller than any of the others, but the front of

the propylon yields to none of them in richness and beauty of ornamentation. The style of decoration is similar to that of the Atala Masjid and it is most likely that both are the works of the same architect.



Jhanjiri Masjid

LAL DARWAZA MASJID

The sole remaining work of Mahmud's reign (1440-1456) is the mosque of Bibi Raji, or as it is more commonly called, the Lal Darwaza Masjid in memory of the "high gate painted with vermilion" belonging to the palace which Bibi Raji built at the same time close-by. It stands near the village of Begamganj at some distance outside the city to the north-west. Bibi Raji, the founder of the mosque, was the queen of Mahmud Shah Sharqi and she outlived her husband for many years. With the exception of this mosque Sikandar Lodi destroyed all the palace-buildings and now nothing remains of them but the name of Lal Darwaza.

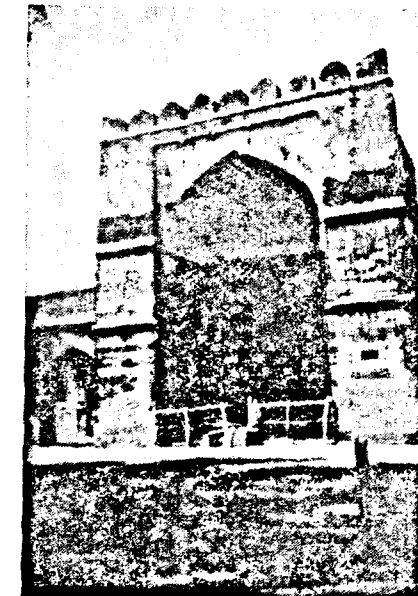
The mosque of Bibi Raji is the smallest of all the Jaunpur Masjids, and the general design and style are similar to that of Atala and Jami Masjids, but the walls are much thinner and the whole building is on a lighter and less massive scale. In front of the dome there is an entrance hall which is wanting in the other mosques. The Lal Darwaza is more decidedly Hindu in execution and treatment. The dome, the great entrance and the three gates are the only arched construction in the whole building. In this mosque, the ladies' galleries are placed alongside the central hall.

JAMI MASJID

The Jami Masjid, or to give its full title, the *Masjid Jami-us-Sharq* of Husain Sharqi is the largest mosque and last among the buildings of Jaunpur. Diverse

accounts are given regarding the reason for its foundation. Some attribute the design of the mosque to Ibrahim Sharqi who wished to save an old hermit, Hazrat Khwaja Isa, the voluntary labour of walking barefooted from his dwelling hard by to the Masjid Khalis Mukhlis, a mile distant for the Friday prayers. No one associates any part of the building with Ibrahim, but it is possible that some such design may have occurred to him.

The plan of the Jami Masjid is essentially the same as that of the Atala Masjid; but there are many differences of detail, of which the most marked is the high platform on which it stands, all other Masjids being raised but little above the ground level. The Masjid is divided into five distinct compartments, the great domed roof being in the middle with a pillared room at each end. The central room is called *gumbad* or "the dome," the pillared rooms are called *chhat* or "flat-roof," and the end rooms, *chhapra*, or the "vaults." According to Kittoe, this dome is a "wonderful piece of workmanship, the exterior shell being many feet apart from that of the interior, and is formed of different segments of a circle." The flat-roofed compartments on each side of the central domed room have two storeys. The upper rooms are provided with trellises (*jhanjhiri* or *jali*) with an entrance from outside, and hence must have been used as the Zanana gallery.

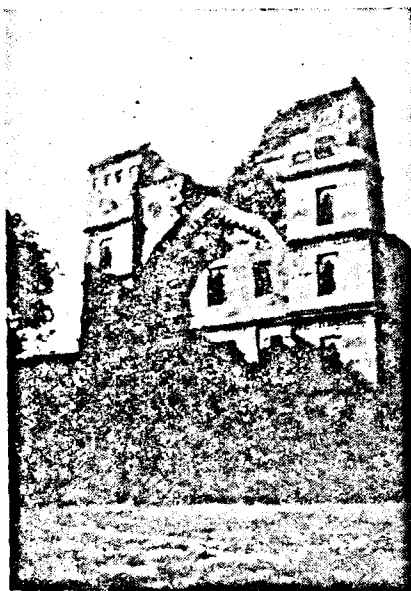


Char-Ungli Masjid

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

The characteristic features of the Jaunpur style of architecture are three-fold: propylon, surface decoration, and the Zanana gallery attached with the main building, but it is the former which gives the mosques at Jaunpur

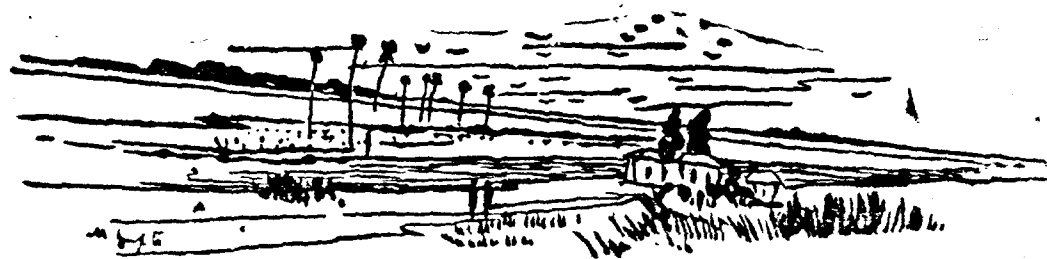
their distinctive character. Archaeological experts are divided on the usefulness of the propylon hiding a single dome, and it is successful as an architectural measure as it can only be seen in the most advantageous way from the direct front. John Marshall, though praising the device as it gave the mosque an imposing appearance and accentuated the importance of the prayer chamber, says:



Lal Darwaja Masjid

"Few things, indeed, in Muslim architecture are so anomalous as the juxtaposition of these flat, abruptly squared, propylons and of the graceful domes immediately behind them. It is an anomaly of which no architect imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art could have been guilty."

And he further blames the Hindu craftsmanship for this, according to him, defect of construction and composition. Though the dome is undoubtedly the most majestic covering for a single chamber, when seen from without, it appears to overpower a room whose walls are not proportionately lofty and hence, the effect of any such building could not be pleasing. Therefore,



to lessen the weight of the dome, the Pathan architects of Jaunpur would claim the honour of being the first in India to unite domes and their adjuncts into a happy synthesis—so original, so quickly perfected and hardly imitated elsewhere. The dome was retained as a symbol of a Muslim mosque and for the sake of an imposing internal roof to a central chamber.

THE STYLE

"The style," remarks V. A. Smith, "while it has much of the massiveness of the Tughlaq buildings at Delhi, is less severe and more attractive, a curious hybrid of Muslim and Hindu."

But the mosque of the Tughlaqs are less ornate than the mosques at Jaunpur, nor is there anything in them to match the imposing propylon screens which adorn the latter. There is no truth in the assertion that the cloisters of these Masjids are the remains of the Hindu temples which had been appropriated and converted as was done at Delhi in the construction of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. It is certain that these Masjids were largely built of materials obtained from the overthrown Buddhist or Hindu temples, though the stones taken from them were cut and sculptured afresh to suit the new requirements. But the true cause of the admixture of the Muslim and Hindu styles at Jaunpur, according to Fergusson, was the employment of Hindu masons and architects by their Muslim masters in building a house of prayer for the faithful. Besides, these newly converted Hindus were also employed who strictly adhered to their previous traditions in art and craft. The theory of Fergusson receives a powerful support from the simple but valuable records of the architects themselves in Nagari character inscribed on these mosques. They have put down their names, and the date when a particular building was completed.

The style or ornamentation is purely Hindu, the lotus emblem being predominant, and even the name of God in the *Qiblas* (direction towards Mecca) is inscribed on Buddhist bell. Jaunpur is still a pleasure resort for all admirers of art. The glimpses of its mounments viewed from the different parts of railway embankment, where it crosses the valley of Gomti, reminds one of its past glory and provides a strong stimulus to miss the train for the next.

PROGRESS OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS

ONE out of every eight villagers in India is now receiving attention under the National Extension Service. One of the most comprehensive rural development programmes ever undertaken in any part of the world, the Service now covers 46,000 villages with a population of 37.286 millions as against a target of 1,20,000 villages and a population of about 75 millions laid down in the Five-Year Plan. Thus by the middle of the Plan period, nearly half the target of rural population has been reached.

During the last one year's working of the projects, hundreds of miles of roads and canals have been built, drains dug up, wells constructed, minor irrigation works completed, agricultural extension work started, farm animals improved, literacy has spread and many other items of constructive work done in pursuance of the new programme.

Every State in India has had its share of the projects both under the Community Programme as well as the Extension Service, each according to its capacity and requirements. The statement below shows the up-to-date position in the States:

	Community Project Block	National Extension Block
Andhra	8	22
Assam	11	12
Bihar	15	14
Bombay	19	20
Madhya Pradesh	16	30
Madras	16	28
Orissa	12	2
Punjab	19	7
Uttar Pradesh	26	36
West Bengal	11 (composite type)	6
Hyderabad	9	11
Madhya Bharat	8	3
Mysore	3	7
Pepsu	4	4
Rajasthan	9	12
Saurashtra	4	4
Travancore-Cochin	7	3
Ajmer	1	1
Bhopal	4	3
Bilaspur	2	..
Coorg	2	11
Delhi	1	1
Himachal Pradesh	3	4
Kutch	1	1
Manipur	1	..
Tripura	1	1
Vindhya Pradesh	3	3
North-East Frontier Agency	1	1
Jammu & Kashmir	3	3
	220	240

NOTE.—(Each block consists of about 100 villages and a population of about 66,000 people. The blocks under Community Programme are being intensively developed in all aspects of socio-economic work while the Extension Blocks receive comparatively limited attention mainly confined to agricultural extension work. Work on the different blocks started on different dates, the more recent ones being the National Extension Blocks which were inaugurated on October 2 this year).

One year's working of the programme points to a few interesting results. It also indicates whether the programme is going to have any permanent effect on the rural life of India. In fact, that is the crucial question that has been posed before the community project authorities and on the extent to which this question is answered satisfactorily would depend the success of the programme.

PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION

The most encouraging feature of the programme is the enthusiasm and co-operation that it has evoked from the people. Perhaps no other project in India has been taken up by the people so enthusiastically as the community projects. Full data from all projects are not yet available but a review recently made of the first nine months' working of the community programme in 81 development blocks only indicates that in these projects peoples' contribution was nearly as much as the Government's total expenditure. Information available in the Community Projects Administration also shows that in certain project areas, peoples' enthusiasm had at times been embarrassing to the Government particularly when the Government machinery could not move rapidly enough to catch up with the peoples' desire to help themselves. There have been instances where *kutch* roads built by the villagers had been washed away because the Government could not construct the culverts on the roads in time before the rains came. Fortunately, such instances were not many but the moral is obvious. The people have given a good account of themselves.

EMPLOYMENT ASPECT

Full data on the employment provided under the National Extension Service will be available later, but considering its scope, it appears that in course of time the National Extension Organisation will be one of the biggest employers in India. When



Carpentry and machine-shop practice being imparted to trainees at a Training Centre in one of the Community Project areas

the target of 120,000 villages covering 1/4th of the total rural population is fully reached, the skilled personnel required would be of the order of 84,000 with a supporting staff of nearly 3 lakhs. Since half the target has now been covered, the employment contribution already made is likely to have been substantial. Moreover, the extent to which the community programme provides more work to the cultivator either in his own field or in subsidiary cottage industries, to that extent it has cut off a part of the incipient under-employment so prevalent in the rural areas of India.

Increase in production is the most immediate objective of the programme and the emphasis given to agriculture and allied activities underlines its importance. Although started in October 1952, the impact of the community programme on agricultural production could not be felt on the *rabi* season of 1952-53 because the first few months of the project work were spent mostly in preliminary preparations, survey, training, etc. The details of production of the *kharif* season of 1953 are likely to be available some time later.

The main aspects of work on agriculture on which considerable progress has been made is in regard to supply of better seeds, making of compost and manure, supply of fertilisers, iron and steel, information about improved cultural practices,

reclamation of waste land, special attention on animal husbandry with a view to producing better farm animals and improvement of transport and communications in the rural areas which will help in better marketing of the produce.

PLANNING AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Formation of panchayats and co-operative societies was given a very important position in the community programme because only through them can development become a permanent feature of rural life and villagers' consciousness aroused. A review of the existing position indicates that panchayats or co-operatives have grown rapidly in many of the project areas. These local institutions bear different names in different parts of the country. In Madhya Pradesh they are called *Vikash Mandals*, in Orissa, *Grama Mangal Samitis* and *Anchal Samitis* and in Madras, they are called *Gram Sevak Sangams*.

The *Vikash Mandals* are working with great success in the Madhya Pradesh where they are planning the entire agricultural programme in the villages. In at least two project areas, namely, Rasal Konda in Orissa and Amraoti in Madhya Pradesh, these organisations are not only doing development planning of the villages as a whole but also planning of agriculture for every individual plot. In Uttar

Pradesh, co-operatives are functioning well, for example in brick kilns and seed supply stores—a universal phenomenon in all the projects. In some States, Young Farmers' Clubs have come into existence under the auspices of which the children of the soil take practical interest in agricultural work.

While the above programme aims at economic advancement, cultural advancement is sought through educational programmes and opening of recreation centres. Adult education and basic education are particularly emphasised in the Community Project areas. A large number of schools have already been opened in which people's contribution has been substantial. In fact, experience of community programme indicates that the villager's preference to education is second only to his thirst for water for his field and his desire for communication with the outer world. In November last year when the community programme had barely started, the people in 55 project areas made a unique donation of 321 schools to the Prime Minister on the occasion of his birthday. Hundreds of schools have now been added to this number and in every one of them people have contributed liberally, in money, land and manual labour.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE

There is another direction in which the community programme is receiving attention from the people. It has become the receptacle, so to say, of voluntary service organised both under Government and non-official auspices. Thousands of students from colleges and universities have donated physical labour in the community projects and have helped in the construction of roads, canals, wells, etc. The National Cadet Corps have systematically taken up work in community project areas and have participated in the digging of roads and canals, literary activities, etc.

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED

While the programme is thus progressing satisfactorily and people's response has been active and enthusiastic the experience of the last one year's working also points to some of the difficulties faced by the authorities. One such is the need for a closer association between the members of the Project Advisory Committees and the project authorities and a greater understanding of each other's role in the implementation of the programme.

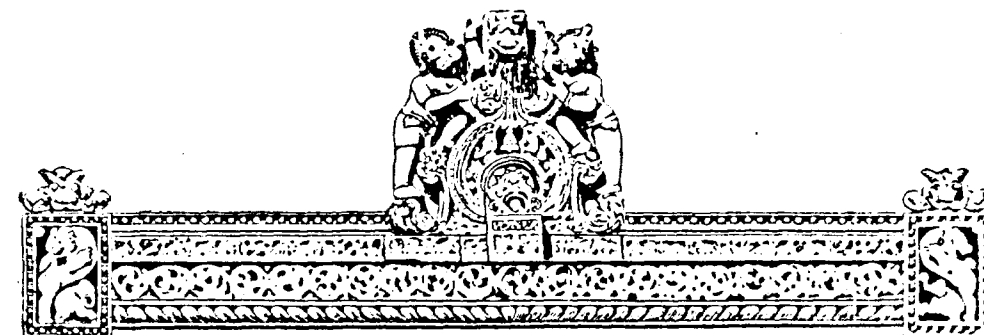
Another defect which in some States hampered the progress of work during the initial period was lack of co-ordination between the various departments of the State Governments. In such States community projects functioned for some time in isolation, which is exactly the opposite of what a community programme should be. This programme is the spearhead of all rural development programmes and in order to be effective it must have maximum co-operation, understanding and active participation of all nation-building departments of the Government. Efforts are continuously being made to ensure fullest co-ordination between the various Departments so that there can be a full rationalisation of the existing staff and resources for the implementation of the common programme.

Thirdly, as the community programme represented an entirely new approach, it required consummate planning at the initial stage. Quite a few State Governments were caught unprepared and where the people took up the programme enthusiastically, the official machinery lagged behind the march of the people, for some time at least. Fourthly, there have been delays in the procurement of equipment from abroad.

All these defects have been taken note of by the Community Project authorities, both in the Centre and the States and positive measures taken which, it is hoped, would ease the situation in future.

—PIB.

November, 1953.



By MONORANJAN GUPTA, B.Sc.

A retired District Judge, a senior lawyer, a businessman engaged in co-operative motor-transport and myself, a Chemist,—all of the same family, started on an inspection-tour of our ancestral properties in Eastern Pakistan on the 1st December last at 4 P.M. by the North Bengal Express. One more, a Doctor, accompanied by a Muslim Sarkar and a cook, joined us at Ishurdi; unlike ourselves, they were all nationals of Pakistan. For the sake of convenience, let me name the members of the family as J, P, B, M & C. We travelled with light luggage, though in view of the coming winter warm clothings and warm beddings could not be avoided. Besides, we had to take with us soap, matches, blades, tea, cigarettes, Paludrine, Sulphadruys and Entrokin, which could not be expected to be available in the villages of Eastern Pakistan.

To meet the expenses of the journey on the other side of the border, we changed some Indian currency to Pakistani currency at the Sealdah Bazar, the rate being Rs. 100/- Indian for Rs. 127/8/- Pakistani. We reached Banpur, the border station in Hindusthan, at about 9 P.M., and there our Passports and Visas were taken away for inspection. Having obtained permission and leaving B in charge of our luggages, we proceeded to have our meals in a wayside hotel; the charge was Rs. 1/4/- per head, although the menu consisted of only rice, dal and fish; it appeared to be about 50% above the Calcutta rate.

On our return to the compartment, we were completely taken aback on our finding that the validity of B's Visa of the B category was being challenged by the check-point officer, and he was being peremptorily asked to get down. The officer's contention was that as this Visa had not been used within six months of its date of issue, it was no longer valid. To our amazement, we could discover no such proviso in the Passport nor in the Visa. But to avoid further trouble and harassment, B was induced to act according to the advice of P, the lawyer, and return to Calcutta. We thus received the first shock of the partition of Bengal as we were going to enter into Pakistan.

I Go INSIDE

As the present article is meant for intending visitors of E. Pakistan, necessary information is being incorporated as concisely as possible in the following narrative:

Searches were conducted at Banpur to see if any passenger was taking more than Rs. 50/- in cash in each variety of currency, any cloth newly purchased or any other duty-chargable article. This lasted for about two hours and then the train was allowed to cross over to Darsana, the border station in Pakistan. It was then nearly 11 P.M. A new difficulty arose to

our party at this checkpoint when the Visa-officer found an overwritten date of issue on a Visa. We, however, pointed out that the same date was again clearly written on the same place by the same Visa office and this saved the situation. A similar search for money and things was made at this station too and new tickets for further journey had to be purchased. The train was then allowed to start after about 1½ hours. At about 1-30 A.M., we reached Ishurdi, and C came to join us here together with the cook and the Sarkar, the latter carrying a licenced gun with him. C complained that he was parched without a smoke, for cigarettes were not obtainable at Ishurdi and Parbatipur. Our compartment was then taken out of the train and joined with the Khulna Express. The train started for Serajganjghat about 30 minutes behind the scheduled time.

The speed was very slow. The sun rising in the east brought us some relief and we started to collect information regarding our onward journey from fellow passengers in the train. Very few activities were noticed at the stations, only the despatching or selling of fish broke the monotony in some of them. At Labiri-Mohanpur, we purchased a quantity of *pabda* fish weighing nearly 2½ seers for Rs. 1¼/- and began to plan how we would be able to cook them on our way on the Jamuna. Only a very inferior quality of tea was available on the way, but we were refreshed to find a new type of hawkers carrying tiffin-carriers loaded with *sandesh*. We purchased some *sandesh* from them at a ridiculously low price, Rs. 2/- approximately per seer, though sugar was not freely sold in Pakistan. It may be said *en passant* that C contrived to bring some sugar from Dinajpur @ Rs. 1½/- per seer for our use.

The train was late by about an hour by this time and this told heavily on the timing of our journey by boat from Serajganjghat. From Serajganj-Raipur to the ghat the railway line is a single track and in order to allow Rajshahi Express starting from the ghat at 10 A.M., to pass, our train was made to wait for about 2 hours. We reached the ghat at about 12 noon, 2 hours later than the scheduled time. Passengers for Jagannathganj were relieved to find their steamer waiting, but to our dismay no steamer nor any other swift conveyance was found to ply down the stream of the Jamuna. We, therefore, immediately took a boat on hire, purchased rice @ -[8]-, salt @ -[6]-, mustard oil @ Rs. 3/8/- per seer, matches at [2]- per box, and a small quantity of pasted *halud* for the fish and started towards our destination, a village situated on the bank of the Dhaleswari. Some delay was inevitable due to the time devoted for the collection of utensils required by us for our cooking

on the boat. But the 5 boatmen, all Muslims, plied the oars with such gleeful alacrity and buoyancy that we hoped to finish the first stage of our boat journey up to Elashin in that very day, the 2nd December.

But the Jamuna is in a very sorrowful plight—many new islands have raised their heads and water at many places has become too shallow even for boats of 15-passenger capacity. We had our meals at about 3 P.M. and after circumnavigating many seen and unseen *chars*, we at last moored our boat on the bank of the stream at Charabari, the roadhead to Tangail, at 8 P.M. The night was very dark due to the approaching *Amabasya*; and sensing danger on the way the boatmen expressed unwillingness to proceed further. Charabari is known to us and we are also known to this place. This was at one time a very busy steamer junction-station. The Kaliganj steamer service starting from Goalanda to Fulchari touched this point, and the Dhaleswari steamer service starting from Dacca ended here. These services have now been withdrawn, modern means of conveyance and communication are therefore non-existent resulting in the receding of these areas into the conditions of the pre-British period. This was reflected in the trade which has since dwindled into one-fourth of the previous volume. The passengers are very few in number and customers are fewer still, the old hotels are gone and the famous sweet *chamcham* of Charabari which was selling at the average rate of 30 maunds a day, has now come down to about 4 mds. a day. In those days, these sweets used to find their way to different parts of Bengal, bringing money not only to the manufacturers but also to the large number of inhabitants of the *chars* who supplied the necessary milk from their cows that grazed on the sunny *chars*. It may be mentioned in this connection that a cow which grazes in the sun gives comparatively fatty milk, so much required for the fatty *chhana* necessary for the correct taste and texture of the *chamcham*. We purchased a quantity @ Rs. 2¼/- per seer and the proprietor of the shop said that he was selling a small quantity at Tangail and was despatching about 2 mds. of sweets to Mymensing everyday via Tangail by motor bus. Thereafter we had to spend the night in the boat.

The boatmen were roused from sleep at 4 A.M. and they readily agreed to go to Elashin where our *Sarkarnahasaya* was expected to come with a boat for us. Tea was ready and dry food brought from Calcutta and Dinajpur provided a good breakfast for us. The last boat was paid @ Rs. 2/8/- per head with a *baksis* and these people who were good companions left us with hearty greetings and expectations of working on our return journey.

What struck us most was the moribund and

subdued condition of the once turbulent Dhaleswari, which was at one time our horror for its variable temperament. Gone were its pristine glory and might; it was found sleeping on a shallow and narrow bed of sand. The Hindu *manjhis* of our second boat were morose people and weaker in comparison; they worked slowly and depended more on the southward current of the river than on their own activity.

I Look Around

We reached Kedarpur, 6 miles from Elashin, in about 3 hours at 12 noon. We crossed to the western bank, walked over a distance of 4 miles spread on *chars* studded with human habitation at places. It was thus on the 3rd December at 3-30 P.M. that we reached our destination, spending nearly double the time that was required in pre-Pakistan days. Inhabitants of the village, mostly tillers of the soil, old and young, and boys in their teens flocked around us immediately leaving their work with their working implements in hand. These implements were small sticks, scythes and spikes for tending cows, cutting grass and catching fish respectively. Innocent though they are, they might be used for violent purposes and men with less knowledge of the area and ordinary nervous strength might view such company with premonition.

Our place of residence was a corrugated tin-shed and the land around was let out to these people for agriculture. They were good friends of ours and they readily responded to our sympathetic attitude. C heard of the illness of some of them and attended to them; but we could not do anything about their universal complaint of the scarcity of cloth. That night we read the following in the *Pakistan Post* of the 1st December, 1953:

"Chittagong, Nov. 29: Five Chambers of Commerce in a joint meeting yesterday appreciated the Government's move to assure a guaranteed supply of cloths to the consumers at cheap price by importing cloths worth about Rs. 3 crores on its own account."

"Rawalpindi, Nov. 30: Official statistics available here indicate that the population of the "Red Light" area has increased several hundred per cent within the last 2 or 3 years. Inhabitants of the area include persons ranging from the simple unassuming village girl to the educated and ultra-modern girls. Economic distress all over the country is blamed for this increase in social evils. Unofficial figures place the number of prostitutes in the town at more than 7,000 out of a total female population of 100,000."

Four Muslim watchmen slept on the verandah outside. In view of the winter night we did not ask them to go on rounds. The morning of the 4th December came with a glorious light which threw a shade of vermilion paint on the eastern horizon. Beyond the foreground of the *Kachari* on the far end of the pond (*kum*) a man was then throwing a fishing

net from a boat,—but without any permission from our side. This has been considered redundant since Pakistan was born. Beyond the *kum*, looking across the vast expanse of cultivated fields, on the other side of the Dhaleswari the sun shone up pure and red—the rectifier of many evils on earth.

According to law, P sent a messenger to Nagarpur P.S., at a distance of 4 miles with 2 separate letters, containing information of the arrival of P and M, who held Visas of C category. The messenger returned in the afternoon with news that the Thana had demanded to see the Passports and was not satisfied with their numbers alone. So, we had to send the information again along with the Passports; when to our utter bewilderment the Thana officer this time remarked that they were not at all necessary! On the same date with the same messenger, two letters informing of our intended departure two days afterwards were also sent. But the Thana returned the same with instruction to submit them only 24 hours before or after the commencement of the return journey. We do not know why this was thought necessary. Probably mutual interest lay at the root of this direction.

We went to the *hat* at Sonka in the afternoon to see the local people, and to get a glimpse of things brought for sale and also to feel how we would be received at the place of our old days. A trek of 1½ miles took us to the *hat* at the entrance of which we found sellers of mustard oil snatching empty bottles from prospective buyers. Mustard oil is a very valuable commodity in Pakistan, price being Rs. 3/- per seer and it comes to about 7 or 8 times the price of pre-war days. New *digha* rice was -7/-, good quality *patali gur* was Rs. 1½/-, brinjal -3/-, gourd -1½/- per seer and fish was selling at -8/- per seer on an average. While the Muslims *salaamed* us from a distance, the Hindus flocked around to keep us company. In both the communities, there were two kinds of people—of the sincere old type and the selfish wilful men prone to jeopardise the interest of others.

On our return to the Kachari, we sensed trouble in our kitchen which was being run by a very old maidservant used to our mode of cooking and the new cook brought from our North Bengal establishment. When the maid asked the cook to pre-fry the fish in oil before adding water to the fish-curry, the latter refused to do the same simply because (perhaps due to the high cost of mustard oil) he was not accustomed to do so. P intervened and sided with the maid, but the cook retorted that the fish would jump in oil and give him burns over the body. Naturally he lost his point, but we failed to make him cook fish properly because it appeared to us that most of the Pakistanis have forgotten to use proper quantity of oil in fish preparations. We regretted

that we did not take a cook this time from Calcutta as we did last time 3 years ago. Fish as usual was being supplied by Hindu fishermen—average price being -8/- per seer, which was about 25% more than the price they were getting from *Beparis* who sell fish in distant markets. Milk and eggs came from neighbouring Muslims,—price being -5/- a seer and -12/- a dozen respectively.

The 5th morning brought us pleasant company in a Muslim school teacher of Sonka. Young in age but profuse in enthusiasm and wisdom, he regretted that he could not come earlier because he was away at Manikganj to see the Inspector of Schools. He has been successful in obtaining sanction of a grant of about Rs. 1300/- for the reconstruction of the shed of the school which has been destroyed by a gale. He expressed satisfaction that the Hindus of the locality had offered the use of the Harisabha for the school during the difficult period of its existence.

From him we came to know that the students do not pay any tuition fees and the teachers get only about Rs. 25/- per head per month as Government grant (though not paid regularly). Attendance is only 25% of the number on the roll. The highest qualification of a teacher in his school was "Read up to class VIII" and the school was teaching up to class VI.

We also came to know from him that though taxes have increased (Union Board, education cess etc.), public utility services, such as maintenance of roads and educational institutions have not at all been attended to. He wanted to know from us what Hindusthan was doing regarding the displaced persons and expressed dissatisfaction at the absence of extensive development scheme in East Pakistan. My talk with him, however, was suddenly disturbed by P's high-pitched voice raised against *Sarkarmahasaya* when he found that the latter had been writing several years' accounts in the same book. *Sarkarmahasaya* pleaded scarcity of paper in Pakistan and stated that paper which cost -8/- in India was being sold at Rs. 1-12-0 or more in Pakistan. The teacher supported him, and C cited a recent instance when the schools in the district of Dinajpur were obliged to postpone yearly examinations for want of paper.

Haji Inu Munshi of Sunshi, a Muslim weaver of means, came to us at this moment with a smiling face and relieved the tension. He hoped and believed that the long existing paper difficulty would soon be over with foreign help, just as after about 9 months East Pakistan market was now being flooded with good quality Japanese yarn. Although a *lungi* costing Rs. 2/8/- in Hindusthan would of course cost Rs. 6/8/- in East Pakistan, still the fact that stands good is that at any rate the *lungi* is there.

Next day the 6th Dec. was a memorable day for us for a very unusual and unhappy sight. At about 10 A.M. we saw about 200 men coming towards our

Kachari. As they neared, we found various fishing instruments in their hands. Without any ceremony they got into the drying pond and commenced fishing with tumult and elation. They completely ignored our presence and it appeared to us that we were meant to spectacle such encroachment with equanimity implying our tacit consent. The Muslim Sardar in our employ, tried to soothe our ruffled feelings in the evening, when he told us that such rioting was only a part of a certain ceremony observed in the *Amabasya* day of every *Agrahayana*; this however failed to convince us at all.

Fish in E. Pakistan is a natural and normal commodity. Villagers usually catch the same from any unprotected water-bound place, free of cost. Others purchase it from the bazars at a low cost. But their number in proportion to the total population is very small. While returning via Goalanda on the 9th December night we found at least a hundred boxes, size 4 ft. × 3 ft. × 3½ ft. full of good quality fishes being booked to Calcutta, together with about 2000 baskets of eggs, plantains and ginger by the Calcutta Mail.

The 7th Dec. brought to us many peculiar business as of old. Encroachment of land by neighbours, dispute between successors, mutation of conveyance, documents of properties or proprietors who do not exist, were brought before us for settlement. Those who owed us large sums of money in the shape of rent or otherwise made themselves scarce. But cases of doubtful bonafides came up for hearing. This area is often under water and we were ready to remit rent of land under water. Still many ryots so affected preferred to stay away from us. Rent suits do not often take away land from the original owner—if ever it changes possession it is given through the ryot to another and not through the superior landlord. The more intelligent are feeding on the less gifted men.

But the morning of the 8th Dec. brought the greatest shock of our lives. J got up first to exclaim that his suit-case with its contents and used garments arrayed on its top was gone. P and C also found that their boxes too were gone. M was using his low box as his side-pillow, so his was safe. But the greatest worry was the Indian Passports of J and P which too had disappeared. The four men on the verandah were roused and we discovered a *Sindh* near J's bed. A vigorous search took us to a nearby shrub where the open boxes with the glittering red Indian Passports were found. This gave us no little comfort and we hastily made up a list of lost articles, worth about Rs. 900/- and sent the same to the Thana with a report of the incident. The Thana officer got this information within two hours, but the long list of the lost articles infuriated him, and he made some uncalled-for indecent and insolent remarks to the messenger of the letter regarding the gentlemen whose valuables

were stolen. In the next 24 hours that we were there, the police never arrived to enquire.

Our work continued and people who came to offer lip sympathy for the loss were quietened by us. Haji Inu Munshi's grandson-in-law, an M.A. of the Dacca University and the Headmaster of a school nearby came to see us and narrated how he also had recently been robbed in his School Boarding of all his belongings. He too had shared the same fate, and no police enquiry had been held in his case as well.

As we were going to bed in the night, according to P's suggestion the guards commenced singing for us on the verandah—village ballads of various romantic stories and tunes. We enjoyed the songs and the lyrics in them immensely, and left the Kachari at dawn. *Sarkarmahasaya* was with us for the night and he with his train of assistants took us to a boat that was kept nearby on the branch of the Dhaleswari.

THE RETURN JOURNEY

After a journey of a mile on the boat and a trek of about 1½ miles east over a big *char*, we got into a boat on the main stream of the Dhaleswari. We went southwards with the stream for about 13 miles (after passing Tilly and Tara, two important villages) and reached Beutha at about 12 noon on the right bank of the river. Manikganj, a subdivisional town of Dacca, was on the opposite left bank. Two wheeled horse-drawn carriages took us in about two and a half hours to Aricha, at a distance of about 15 miles, the charge being Rs. 2/- per passenger. We rested at a hotel, took tea and tiffin in the afternoon and was supplied with a meal of good quality at night at a cost of Re. 1/- per head. A steamer took us at 9 p.m. to Goalanda in an hour. We had to remain at the station for the whole night, for the only train to Calcutta leaves in the morning and reaches Calcutta in the evening. At Poradah, a Muslim gentleman, an advocate, coming from Dacca, sitting opposite to us in the train, took two toasts and a pot of tea for one on a tray from a turbaned vendor. The charge was declared to be as -12/- but at the next stop the vendor grabbed a whole rupee from him in spite of protest. A doctor from Boalmari complained that a study of the Railway Time Table of E. Pakistan would show that journey in the state could be done only by spending almost double the time required previously. There were no connecting trains in any junction. He showed me papers that he had moved the Karachi Parliament in this matter without result.

In the Time Table, Oct. 1953 issue, we read in the chapter containing description of important places to be visited in E. Pakistan, the following:

"DHAMRAI: At Dhamrai, 15 miles to the north-west of Dacca lies the Durgah of Hazrat Mir Syed Ali Tabrezi, the pioneer among the Pirs who preached Islam in Dacca district. A few epigraphs have been

discovered at this place one of which dates back to 1482 A.D."

"**PAIGARPUR**: Paharpur is three miles off from Jamalganj railway station on the broad gauge . . . It flourished from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. A coin issued in 788 A.D. attributed to the reign of Khalifa Haroon-ul-Raschid (786-809) has been discovered from the ruins of the Buddhist Vihara there which is ascribed to the creation of Dharmapal. It suggests the existence of a close tie between this part of the country with Arab world . . ."

"**MAHASTHAN GARH**: This place has been identified with Pundrabandhana or Pundranagar as referred to in records of the 3rd century B.C. to 12th century A.D. As a result of the excavation carried out by the

Archaeological Department important relics were found belonging to the different faiths, namely, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus. The main site of interest is the old fort in which lies the Durgah of Hazrat, Shah Sultan Balkhi 'Mahi-Sawar,' the 'rider on fish'."

These observations are blatant instances of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

By a separate train from Goalanda, P and C went towards North Bengal with the Sarkar and the cook. J was sitting in a corner of my compartment, half asleep or perhaps dreaming of the past days of his life which were never to return. Or was he thinking of the loss by theft which has been made so unendurably bitter by the insolent, indecent and unseemly remarks of the Thana Officer in E. Pakistan?

—O:—

THE MESSAGE OF KALYANI

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

The fiftyninth session of the Indian National Congress at Kalyani was of special significance from several points of view. At a time when the international situation is getting more complicated and our neighbour Pakistan is trying to negotiate with the United States of America for a Military alliance, the Congress once again reiterated its firm policy of non-alignment with any of the two Power Blocs in order to promote world peace and avoid tensions leading to disastrous wars. The Congress also underlined the need for National Unity and solidarity for meeting the "grave situation." It was clearly pointed out that the real strength of a nation did not depend on merely the force of arms but on "unity, self-reliance and the social, economic and industrial development of the nation." The resolution on "Planning and Development" also emphasized the urgent need for quickening the pace of social and economic progress and drew special attention to the desirability of preparing the next Five-Year Plan from the bottom upwards with the fullest co-operation of the village Panchayats, village communities and local bodies so that it may be a *People's Plan* in the best sense of the term. The resolution contained pointed reference to the need for far-reaching administrative reforms. "The rules of procedure, both at the Centre and in the States, are elaborate and complicated and lead to delays." The Congress, therefore, recommended that "early action should be taken in revising these rules, including those for the recruitment of the Public Services and bringing them more in line with present-day conditions and the demands made upon the State for rapid action." It was also admitted

that "improvement in village and small-scale industries has been slow and demands greater attention, more specially with a view to providing employment." The last resolution entitled "Call to the Nation" was, undoubtedly, the most important. It called upon the people to "build up and strengthen the nation" through Unity and Self-reliance. It wanted the country to "be prepared for austerity in the present," so that security and fuller life might be available to the people in the future. The Congress recommended to the Government that "special development loans" be floated so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated. "Such loans should suit the small investor so that a large number of people should associate themselves in this, as in other ways, in the great and co-operative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation."

The need for quick administrative reforms was emphasized by the Agra Session of the A.I.C.C. in July last year and it is gratifying to note that the Open Session at Kalyani also drew special attention to this very important problem. As the resolution points out, the rules and conventions of administrative procedure were framed "long prior to Independence and do not suit the conditions of a democratic State aiming at a rapid development." It is, therefore, absolutely essential to overhaul the administrative machinery in order to make it a fit and worthy instrument for the requirement of a Welfare State. We are glad to learn from press reports that a top-ranking officer who is shortly to assume charge as the Comptroller and Auditor General of India has already been entrusted with the work of preparing a

definite scheme for re-orienting Public Administration in this country. We have been repeatedly urging on the Government to undertake such administrative reforms and we are happy that the Kalyani Congress gave a clear lead in this direction. We have also seen a recent circular of the Government in regard to the dress of officials. We welcome this circular because it underlines the need for changing the "neck-tie and stiff collar" mentality among public servants. But merely changing the official dress will not do. Public servants must realise that they are now the servants of the people and must behave as such. Unless there is a psychological revolution among the public services, it will be very difficult to push ahead with numerous development schemes for building up New India. We hope that the Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, would give the highest priority to this aspect of the problem and assure the public that they are now out to render the administrative system more efficient and honest. Instead of entrusting this work to officials alone, however top-ranking and distinguished they may be, it will be desirable to associate eminent public leaders with this highly important work. They may be able to make certain concrete suggestions which may not occur at all to those who are themselves part and parcel of the administrative routine. Apart from amending the existing rules of procedure, we should also try to re-orient the system of administration in such a way that efficient and honest officers receive due encouragement and the inefficient and corrupt Government servants are speedily and effectively weeded out. The present routine is so "soulless" that it completely fails to promote initiative, integrity and a sense of civic duty.

In regard to the economic programme, we are glad that the Open Session of the Congress admitted that progress in the sphere of village and small-scale industries has been slow. It is true that there has been some change in the attitude of the Union and State Governments towards the promotion of village and cottage industries. But the change has been hardly "visible" or effective. It is urgent for us to realise that merely tinkering with the problem will be of no avail. If the problem of Unemployment and Under-employment in the country is to be really solved with a sense of urgency, it is absolutely essen-

tial to provide full scope for the development of village and small-scale industries on co-operative lines. Without a bold and radical policy in this direction, no substantial results could be achieved. As the Congress resolution has mentioned, the State must try to improve the technique of small-scale production and also demarcate "spheres" of manufacture in order to eliminate unhealthy competition. As regards land reforms, the Congress resolution once emphasized that "future progress should envisage the completion of land reform so as to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land." We have also seen the latest circular of the Union Minister for Agriculture in regard to the fixation of ceilings on land holdings. While we agree with him that the ceilings may not be "very low" to begin with, we would impress on him the desirability of encouraging such far-reaching land reforms rather than damp the initiative of State Governments. The emphasis should be on quickening the pace of progress and not on slowing it down with too many cautions. As we have often remarked, it is true that there are certain inherent dangers in moving fast; but it must be realised that the dangers in not moving fast enough are much greater.

During the last six years, India has achieved remarkable results in the sphere of political, social and economic progress. It is very wrong to under-rate our achievements which can compare very favourably with the achievements of any other country in the world during the same period of time. But it will be suicidal to rest on our oars. We must continue to move forward with faith, speed and urgency. We must try to achieve a social and economic revolution in the country as quickly as possible. Time is of the essence. In a fast-moving world, we cannot afford to lag behind. The Message of Kalyani is, therefore, the message of hard work, national solidarity, quick social and economic progress with a view to develop the internal strength of our Motherland. We are pledged to peace and democracy and we must show to the world that the path of democracy and non-violence is nobler and faster than the path of bloodshed, violence and totalitarianism. India must accept this challenge in a sense of humility but with a resolute will that can move mountains!

—O:—

THE TULASIDUTA KAVYA OF TRILOCHANA

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London), Kavyatirtha, F.R.A.S.

BENCAL has contributed, among other varieties, many devotional messenger poems, the chief among which are the Manoduta (1) Kavya of Visnudasa, maternal uncle of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Manoduta (2) by Ramarama Sarman, a descendant of the above-mentioned Visnudasa, the Uddhavaduta of Madhava Kavindra Bhattacharya,

the Uddhava-Sandesa and Hamsaduta of Rupa Gosvamin, the Padankaduta of Krishnanatha Sarvabhauma, the Gopiduta of Lambodara Vaidya, the Panthaduta of Bholanatha of Gangatikuri, etc. These Duta Kavyas may be considered as some of the best poems in the whole range of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

Some of the devotional Duta Kavyas composed in Bengal have not as yet been published. There are really many Duta Kavyas which should be ably edited and published in near future.

We notice here one such Duta Kavya, viz., the Tulsiduta of Trilochana which has not hitherto been published. This work was composed most probably in the Saka year 1730.*

The subject-matter of the work is the same as that of many other devotional poems composed in Bengal, viz., the pangs of the Gopis of Vrindavana due to separation from Sri Krishna after his departure for Mathura.

The poem begins with the description of a state of confusion amongst the Gopis on account of the sudden absence of Sri Krishna from Vrindavana :

नाथे याते मधुपुरमतिक्षोभ विभ्रष्टचित्ता,
गोपी काचित् कलयति सखीरन्तङ्गाः समीपे ।
प्राणत्यागदतिगुरुतरे तस्य बन्धोवियोगे
केन स्थेयं मुहुर्नित वचो व्याकुलास्ता बभावे ॥

Whereas some of the Gopis are very much distressed and cannot console themselves, others are simply unwilling to believe that Krishna could have left the Gopis of Vrindavana even for a while.

मनोऽस्माकं ज्ञातुं निविडगहने नूनमधुना
वसत्येको नाथः स घनघनवृन्दसु तिधरः ।
न चास्मात् प्रेमाब्धि मधुपुरमगात्रातु सहसा
समुल्लङ्घ्य प्राणप्रियतमविभुः पीतवसनः ॥ १० ॥

Some Gopis, therefore, keep on constantly roaming in the Vrindavana forest.

Some other Gopi accuses Sri Krishna of telling lies to those who, he himself professed, were dearest to him, and therefore, she comes to the conclusion that it is no wonder that many saints would tend to disbelieve in the Vedas as they were nothing but his (Krishna's) utterances, and consequently many individuals also would follow suit.

नास्ते किञ्चित् प्रियतमधने गुप्तमेतत्त्वदग्रे
व्यक्तं चैतन्मम तु भवता बन्धुना पूर्वमुक्तम् ।
गुप्तवामानं वचनमधुनाकारि मिथ्या स्वकीयं
प्रामाण्यं ते वचसि न पुनर्जायते सजनानाम् ॥ २५ ॥
अप्रामाण्यं श्रुतिषु बहुभिर्मोक्षते त्वद्वचस्त्वा
दाप्तैरतद्विषयवचने वीक्ष्य दृष्टान्तताञ्च ।
पश्चात् केषां कथमपि जनानामपि स्वर्गहेतौ
यागे वृत्तिर्न भवति जगन्नाथ नेतृ स्युक्तम् ॥ २६ ॥

* शाके श्वश्रुचि (?) श्रुतिक्षतिधरानन्तामिने हायने
भे शाहे कलशीतहल-हृदहमाने मुदा यत्नतः ।
नत्वा प्रावसुताङ्गिप्रफुल्लकमलद्वन्द्वं व्यलेखीद्विजः
श्रोतः पुस्तवरं त्रिलोचन इदं दूतं तुलस्यादिकम् ॥

Unfortunately the first line of the verse carries a dubious sense and is not very clear.

Lamenting thus, the Gopis come across a Tulasi plant whom they desire to send as a messenger to Sri Krishna. The Tulasi leaf, the Gopis say, is dearer to Sri Krishna even than Lakshmi herself, and therefore, undoubtedly the Tulasi would be able to bring back Sri Krishna to Vrindavana.

त्वञ्चाधिक प्रियतमा तुलसि श्रियोऽपि
जानीम एव किल बन्धुजनस्य तस्य ।
तस्मादति प्रियकरी भवती सखी नो
नूनं त्वया मधुपुरीगमनं विधेयम् ॥ २८ ॥

Thus, the Gopis entreat the messenger Tulasi to help them in their extreme distress as their greatest friend. He should not go alone on this journey. They would rather entreat him to have as his companion the 'Chandana-gandha' (the Scent of Sandal) and Devotion. Nor should the Tulsi hesitate to leave Vrindavana, because Vrindavana is said to exist wherever the Tulasi resides :

यास्यामि नैव परिहाय वदेद् यदीति
वृन्दावनं पुनरपि त्वयि तत्र युक्तम् ।
वृन्दावनं निगदितं कविभिस्तदेव
यत्रास्ति ते निवसतिभु वनेषु वृन्दे ॥ ४६ ॥

Here, the Gopis assign reasons why they choose the Tulasi as their messenger, and not the Manas (Mind) or the Foot-print of Sri Krishna as messenger.

एतेन त्वं यदिह मनसा शङ्कसे किं मनोसि
दौत्ये युक्तान्यपि वयमहो प्ररयामःस्म नैवम् ।
किं वास्माभिः प्रहितगमनान्यागतानीति नैव
चौरैर्नैति विरमति यतः सत्त्वमेतन्निरस्तम् ॥ ४७ ॥
आस्ते भूरि प्रियतमपदश्चिह्नमेतद्वान्तं
दौत्येऽस्माभिर्न हि सखि वरे किंप्रयुक्तं प्रयुक्तम् ।
आशङ्कयेयं न पुनरुचिता ज्ञानवत्या भवत्या
वृत्तान्तः किं रहसि जनितो बन्धुजन्ये न गोप्यः ॥ ४८ ॥

Then they warn the messenger not to disclose their message to Lord Krishna at an unsuitable hour and impart their message tactfully in order that their object might be fulfilled without fail.

The beauty of this messenger poem is that it is full of devotional fervour and is written in a very lucid style that would very much appeal to all devotees in particular. The importance of the Tulasi leaf as one of the essential ingredients of worship of the Vaishnavas has also been beautifully brought out. The casual references of the poet to his predecessors, such as the authors of the Manoduta and the Padankaduta, are also of absorbing interest.



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

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN INDIA : By S. V. Kogekar and A. Appadorai. Published by Premier Publishing Company, Delhi. 1953. Pp. 110. Price Rs. 5.

Of the three papers comprising this work, the first (originally published in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, 1952) and the second (published in *Contemporary Political Science*, Unesco, 1950) seek respectively "to evaluate the main trends of political science studies in India" and to survey the work done in this field in the country during the past 30 years, while the third and the longest paper (prepared in 1951 and published here for the first time) attempts "a comprehensive report on the teaching of political science in India in all its aspects." (Preface, p. i). The authors, while conscious of a certain amount of overlapping in their work, claim that it provides "a fairly comprehensive picture of the present position of the study, teaching and research in the subject of political science in India." A perusal of this work suffices to show that this claim is largely justified. The authors' surveys of the published works of Indian scholars under three heads, with some sub-divisions (pp. 2-6) and under four heads (pp. 18-31) are fairly exhaustive, while the third paper gives us the most complete factual description (illustrated with elaborate statistics) of the existing condition of political science studies in this country. The value of this work has been considerably enhanced by its penetrating analysis of the tendencies and characteristics of the contributions of Indian scholarship in the field concerned and of the factors shaping the same. As the author of the first paper justly points out, "Political science studies in India present the picture of a rootless growth" (p. 1), for mainly because of the selfish policy of the British rulers in the past, "the political scientist generally was isolated from the main currents of thought, action and administration around him" and was perforce compelled "to direct his attention to the past and the future, rather than to the present, except to the limited extent of constitutional developments" (p. 2). Other factors contributing to the same lamentable result are "the linking up of political science studies with the University syllabus for various examinations and the all-too-meagre resources devoted to the building up of departments of political science in our Universities" (p. 6). For, as the author explains, the syllabuses were largely influenced by the corresponding courses in the British Universities thus leading to an exaggerated emphasis on British to the neglect of Indian thought and practice. Again, it is a fact that "there are no institutions solely devoted to research in political science in this country and the urge for research has come neither from Government nor from other public

bodies" (p. 7). Turning to still another factor, the author points out (p. 11) how political science has suffered by being treated in the University courses till lately as a branch of history or economics with the resulting neglect of its aspects connected with psychology, sociology and the theory of law. Repeating in part the same observations, the author of the second paper points out (p. 16) that "the central defects in the thinking and teaching on political science in this country" consist in the fact "that they do not take into account those features of the social and political organisation in the country which should obviously be taken into account in an adequate theory of the State."

Without detracting from the high merits of this work, we may be permitted to make a few observations. Under the head of Indian contributions to the study of Public Administration (p. 27), one misses any reference to the important work of Dr. P. Saran entitled "Provincial Government of the Mughals." To this we have to add that the list of Indian writers on political theory (p. 18 footnote) is somewhat out-of-date, as it is silent about the important publication of Prof. K. P. Mukherji of the Bombay University, entitled *The State* (Madras, 1952) which was reviewed by us in the last number of *The Modern Review*. Again, the author's characterization of the salient features of Ancient Indian political theory (pp. 19-20) is somewhat one-sided or even inaccurate and misleading, as when we are told that it is "essentially a theory of the art of Government," that it invests the State with the ultimate spiritual purpose of procuring *moksha* through *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*, that it conceives Society (*sic*) as a conception which guides every living member in the performance of his functions, that it contemplates Government to be bound by natural law and lastly, that it makes political power a trust with the sovereign acting as the agent of the common good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE INDIAN CULTURE—Mahendra Jayanti Volume : Edited by Dr. Mati Lal Das, Ph.D. Published by Bharat Sanskriti Parisat, 30-6 C, Doctor Lane, Calcutta-14. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. Mahendra Nath-Sircar is an erudite scholar, and is universally respected both in the East and the West as an able interpreter of the true spirit of Indian culture, and as a cultural ambassador of India's philosophy and mysticism to the West. It was a happy idea to celebrate the 65th birthday of the eminent scholar by presenting him with a collection of essays by different scholars; and the volume under review is the result. Twenty-five different essays from the pen of scholars like the late Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Sri Anilbaran Roy, Dr. Haridas Chowdhury, Dr. Mati

Lal Das covering varied subjects like Hindu culture in Euro-America, Sankara's Interpretation of the Gita, Kundalini Yoga, A Dose of Gandhism, Sri Aurobindo—a Mystic or Philosopher?, complete the book. 'A seeker after the spiritual message and the rich cultural heritage of India will find in this book a storehouse of information and illuminating light on its different aspects. The get-up of the book is good, and the price moderate; and it should find a place in every cultured household.'

J. M. DATTA

COMMERCE ANNUAL NUMBER, 1953: Published by Commerce (1935) Ltd., Royal Insurance Buildings, 12-14, Veer Nariman Road, Fort, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 7-8.

The Commerce Annual Number is too well-known to enquire any introduction. This Number contains a comprehensive review of important developments in the sphere of finance, industry and commerce during 1953. This volume will be found useful by the businessmen, economists and students of economics. The articles, "India and the World Bank," by Eugene R. Black, "Task before IMF," by Ivar Rooth, "Role of Commercial Bank in Industrial Finance," by S. T. Sadasivan, "Outlook for Jute Industry," by K. D. Jalan, etc., will be found interesting and informative.

K. N. C.

SOVIET CIVILISATION: By Corliss Lamont. Published by Philosophical Library, New York. Price 5 dollars.

The individual learns by experience. Humanity does not. It is why two world wars in our life-time notwithstanding the world is again sailing dangerously near the maelstrom. A cold war, which may develop any day into a shooting war, is already on. It started before the end of World War II. In the words of Prof. P. M. S. Blackett of Manchester University, "the dropping of the atomic bombs (on Hiroshima and Nagasaki) was not so much the last military act of the Second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia." The mutual jealousy, hatred and suspicion of the U.S.A. and the U. S. S. R.—the twin colossi that dominate the world scene and hold the destiny of mankind in the hollow of their hands—are the greatest threat to the world-peace. A true friendship between the two can be built only when they have known each other. Mutual understanding will be followed by a spirit of genuine friendship and tolerance.

Mr. Corliss Lamont's *Soviet Civilisation* is an honest attempt to create the much-needed Russo-American understanding. In ten chapters running to a little over 400 pages, the author gives a sober and critical analysis of the Soviet constitution, Soviet ethnic democracy, economic and cultural progress of Soviet Russia, Soviet foreign policy and the like. He also discusses the foreign policy of the U. S. A. and points out the dangers of that policy.

To understand Soviet Russia one must carefully remember that it is neither a heaven nor a hell and that it is a land of extraordinary complexities with 177 races and ethnic groups, more than 125 different languages and dialects and 40 religious sects. One should further bear in mind the historical and cultural background of Soviet Russia and also the fact that in comparing that country with others allowances must be made for historical relativity.

Mr. Lamont has been guided by the principles indicated above and the result is a very readable

account of the U. S. S. R. We might go further and say that his work under review is one of the very few really good books on Soviet Russia. He points out that those who condemn the Soviet experiment as a failure and horrible menace ignore the fact that popular and national upheavals cannot be correctly judged before they "have had an opportunity to work themselves out, to correct their cruelties and crudities to fulfil the generous ideals of their founders." We agree.

Mr. Lamont contends and rightly at that that the Soviet foreign policy has always aimed at peace. War propaganda has been actually banned all throughout the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A.—the Government and the Press—has, on the other hand, unleashed a blatant war propaganda against the U.S.S.R. (pp. 336-54). Corliss Lamont—an American himself—must be a very bold man "to throw the spot-light of reality upon some of the vital features of Soviet" and American policies. He fully exposes the shortsightedness of the latter and the dangers underlying the same. "What many Americans in particular seem unable to grasp is the indigenous origin, the fundamental motivation and the broad scope of revolutionary movements which have been sweeping into the vacuum left by the downfall of the Axis and achieving state power throughout much of Europe and Asia." (p. 321).

America seems to be itching for a showdown with the Soviet bloc. Even if America wins the possible East-West war, there would be a breakdown of national states throughout Europe and Asia, with local dictatorships and terrorist gangs taking their place. In the meanwhile, American policy is forcing "Western Europe farther and farther to the left instead of rescuing it from the Communists." (p. 375).

The U.S.A. has lined up as allies a large number of fascist or semi-fascist governments dedicated to violence, terror and tyranny, such as, seventeen Latin American dictatorships of quasi-dictatorships (excluding Guatemala, Mexico and Uruguay), Greece, Turkey, France, South Africa, Spain, Japan, Formosa and the like.

The world is in a revolution and cannot be bought off with dollars. "Communists exploit the situation . . . The revolutions which are brewing are not, however, Communist in origin nor will they end even if Soviet Russia is crushed in war." (p. 321). The spread of Communism can be checked only by far-reaching social and economic reforms which will do away with poverty, unemployment, depression and the whole gamut of them. Mr. Truman's own words bear quotation in this context: "If we could help the people of the Orient to get a well-balanced diet . . . just that one change would have more impact on the whole world than all the armies and battles in history."

The policy-makers of the U.S.A. as well as of the U.S.S.R. will do well to remember, "Above all nations is humanity." Mr. Lamont is of opinion that in spite of the defects and drawbacks of the American and the Soviet systems, in spite of the past mistakes and mutual disagreements of the two Governments, "they can come to an intelligent over-all agreement that will stop the drift towards war and turn the tide instead in the direction of peaceful co-existence between the two countries and between the capitalist and Communist blocs in general" (p. 409).

We commend the volume to all students of world-affairs and international relations.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

SAGE OF SEVAGRAM: By Srimati Chitra Desai. With a Foreword by Sri Hansa Mehta. Published by Bharat Prakasam, 4 Pilha Cross Lane, Bombay 1. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.

This book was originally an essay on Mahatma Gandhi written for the competition organised by the Mahadevbhai Trust Committee. In the Foreword, it is truly said that the life and teachings of Gandhiji are condensed here in one hundred typed pages and that it is a good achievement, since not a single important event has been omitted from Gandhiji's life.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part gives a sketch of his life and the second deals with his personality and teachings. The biographical part is short but comprehensive and the second part discusses Gandhiji's ideas on God, religion, love, non-violence, prayer, Brahmacharya, future India, etc. The authoress rightly observes that Mahatmaji had a dynamic personality and his character was a wonderful blend of opposites. The book reads like an interesting story and is readable from beginning to end. It deserves a wide circulation.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE INTEGRAL YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO, Part I: By Rishabhchandra. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondichery. June, 1953. Pp. 195+iv, Double crown 1/16. Price Rs. 3, paper bound.

The author is an well-known interpreter of the Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo. This book is complete in nine chapters, being essays which appeared serially in the *Mother India*. They deal with the fundamentals, i.e., bases and preliminaries of Integral Yoga, leaving out its details, developments and the consummation which the author proposes to develop in part two of the book. He has put more stress on the Psychological and Spiritual side of the *Sadhana* than on mere metaphysical discourse. This makes it more useful to the ordinary man. Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo aims at the integration and transformation of all the parts of the being of man and their perfect attunement to the Supreme Divine Will, in individual and collective humanity.

Yoga in India has been practised from time immemorial in two popular forms: Physiological and Psychological, as well as in a third uncommon form—the Spiritual. It was Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen who for the first time in recent times took to the Spiritual form of Yoga which Sri Aurobindo has pursued. Brahmananda enunciated and practised the Synthesis of Yoga, individually and collectively as early as 1872-74 and founded a new Social Order for the same. In this set-up we refer the author to Keshub's works on *Brahmagitopanishad*, *Yoga—Objective and Subjective* and *Upadesas* (10 parts) and the records of their *sadhana* which form a beautiful counterpart to the study of Sri Aurobindo's Integral Yoga. Sri Aurobindo's message, as the author has shown, has harmonised the past and the present and has a practical value for us all which cannot be denied by any one.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

ELEMENTS OF JAINISM: By A. C. Sen, M.A., D.Phil. (Hamburg). Indian Publicity Society, 21, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta. 1953, Double crown 1/16 size. Pp. 78. Price Rs. 5.

Though Buddhism has played rather a dominant role in the cultural evolution of India the varied nature of her glorious past cannot be fully realised

unless one possesses a good general knowledge of Jainism which made indeed a solid contribution to the growth of the idea of *ahimsa* (non-violence) and existed even before Buddhism. This primarily gives importance to a publication like the brochure under review. In it the author has given in brief the life history of the Jaina Mahavira together with a succinct account of the essential features of Jainism, its sects, monastic order, sacred texts, religio-philosophical treatises, and other relevant matters. But it should not be considered to be merely a summary of what other scholars wrote before. The author, being a specialist in Jainism and having for his teacher the famous Prof. Schubring of Germany, has here and there offered criticism of earlier views which may be said to require revision. This imparts additional value to the publication meant for general readers. It may be hoped that this small work will prove to be attractive and useful to them, and for this, the writer surely deserves congratulation.

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

IN THE IMAGE OF MAO TSE-TUNG: By K. A. Abbas. People's Publishing House Ltd., Bombay. 1953. Pp. 105. Price Rs. 2-4.

This curious little book is the result of the author's five-week visit to China as a member of the Indian Goodwill Mission on the occasion of that country's national celebrations in 1951. Mr. Abbas utilised this opportunity by personally meeting "a strange assortment of Heroes and Heroines" who played their expected role during China's recent struggle for independence.

It appears remarkable how Mr. Abbas, the powerful writer that he is, has easily and quickly assimilated the all-too-well-known idiosyncrasies of that peculiar brand of lush paper-backed literature that today assails us on every side and clutters our book-stalls without let or hindrance. For here is a book after the true-beating Communist heart with plenty of "labour heroes and heroines," "hands that wield the plough and the guerilla's rifle," "patriotic emulation" in factories and on farms, "poor peasant turned worker turned revolutionary" (if you know what this is), "model workers" and "wall newspapers"—all liberally punched in. Contradictions exist and one such is at p. 84 where we have a categorical avowal that the Red Armymen are "quite a different kind of soldiers . . . not at all like the bandits . . . of the Kuomintang": at p. 29, however, we fortunately chance upon a Red Army commander (*he*, incidentally, "looked more of a scholar than a soldier") who, in his anxiety to prove his bonafide to poor Chinese villagers, "orders that the local landlord's cow be killed and its meat served" to them. Banditry, apparently, has conveniently shifting meanings in the Communist dictionary.

At another place (p. 61) Mr. Abbas reverently quotes a young Chinese "labour heroine" as saying: "You see, Chairman Mao has told us that it is the duty of every one of us to increase production by working not only harder, but more efficiently." The tragedy is that when, in an adjoining country, much the same words are uttered by another great little, hard-working and crystal sincere person, who is as patriotic as any in the world, they just do not carry any conviction, or in any event, are not fit to be heard or obeyed.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Lin Yutang

This interesting and appreciative study of Dr. Lin Yutang, interpreter of the East to the West, is by Baldoon Dhingra of the Education Department of Unesco at Paris. He writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Lin Yutang fits his own definitions of an ideal man who is not a perfect man, but only "a likeable, reasonable human being." Of importance, in the sense of show and social ladder-climbing, he is quite innocent. Lin Yutang is content to be a man of no importance. He dreads the decay bred by the inertia of achievement—the decrepitude of routine. For him civilization does not rest on the quality of its inventions but solely on the fervour that goes to the making of them.

His father bequeathed him the gift of true laughter which is an index of tolerance, humility, and a faith in the ultimate decencies and in the high purpose which alone makes them significant. Genuine laughter is impossible to the mean, the stupid and the mentally warped. Lin's laughter is not a crackling of thorns under a pot but always an expression of joy. It blows across men's souls like a spring wind and brings refreshment in its wake. This laughter becomes a measuring rod of the good life, a norm of civilization. Lin, with a twinkle in his eye, tells you he prefers to have no photographs published so as to retain his "readers' illusion of him as a grand old man of the East, with a flowing beard." For he has no wish whatever to impress or to create an impression. He cannot stomach ceremonious restraint and loves to be at ease in the company of those who will let him. For me "to be natural is to be in heaven," he says.

One of a family of eight, Lin Yutang was born in 1894 in South China, in a beautiful old city of the Province of Fukien. Its main street is majestic with marble arches, each a monument to some great man born in the town. Of his grandmother and his parents he says:

"My grandmother was a peasant woman and, being of extraordinary physical prowess, could hold a dozen men at bay and drive them out of the village at the point of a bamboo pole. My father was once a peddler of sweetmeats, a seller of rice at the prisons and an occasional bamboo-shoot seller in his childhood. He knew what it was to carry a burden on his shoulders, and he continually told us these stories, especially his experience under an unmerciful master, as lessons in charity to his children. His sympathy was always with the poor and even in his old age he almost fought a gentry tax collector who wanted to collect one hundred and twenty cash for a bundle of fuel that took an old man three days to cut from the hillside to carry about twenty miles to the fair to sell for two hundred cash. My mother was the simplest of souls, and although being a pastor's wife gave her a high position in that village, she didn't know what assuming airs meant."

Lin's father was a Presbyterian minister. He was a man of vision, possessed of an abundant vitality, and a

sense of humour that never deserted him. In those days, when people little cared what went on beyond the village boundaries, Lin's father evinced a great thirst for a knowledge of the outside world. He read with avidity all available foreign classics translated into Chinese. And he saw in them an undiscovered world. It is this experience of different cultures, this knowledge beyond village huts, that he felt he would like his children to share. From his pastor's pittance Lin's father squeezed every cent to send his elder son to St. John's University in Shanghai. There, after acquiring a scholarship a year or two later, Lin joined his brother. At this stage Lin had but a smattering of English and school days in Amoi had been lack-lustre ones, for the want of books and a library had rendered the years stale and unprofitable. At Shanghai he made rapid strides in the English language and graduated in 1916. The next three years were spent in the Tsing Hua University, teaching English. In 1919 Lin married and the young couple, ripe for fresh fields, proceeded to the U.S.A. Here, in the wonderful Harvard University, Lin realized for the first time the unbounded riches of a magnificent library. He drank as deep as he could of its treasure trove of wisdom and, in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, concentrated on Comparative Literature. He received his M.A. in 1920. The following year was spent in France teaching Chinese labourers in the Y.M.C.A. the rudiments of reading and writing. Early in 1921 Lin went to the University of Leipzig, where he earned a doctorate in Philology and Phonetics. Of these years he says:

"The years of my study abroad with my wife were years of greatest intellectual activity and at the same time great social immaturity. We were a pair of young innocents, very much dependent upon each other, with some pluck and unbounded belief in the future, but very little cash and life experience. My wife had more sense than myself, and she could count the pennies and knew how long they would last, while I had absolutely no sense of our financial straits. Somehow I knew that I would pull through, and now looking upon those wonderful years abroad, I think I am justified. We did pull through and managed to stay four years."

A few months later Lin returned to his country and joined the Peking University as Professor of English. Here, in the home of liberalism, he worked under the great humanist and champion of freedom, Chancellor Tsai. In an atmosphere tolerant and intellectually stimulating Lin flourished for a time. He loved his fellow men and, overleaping all bars of time and place, was one soul and clay with them. Three years of brightness sped away. In 1926, clouds gathered and thickened. Under this darkness Lin was black-listed, had to flee the city and spent some time in hiding. "I have such a strong dislike of petty politicians," he says, "that I have never been able to carry on a fight with them in any organization that I am connected with. I have always run away, because I don't like their faces."

In one of the street fights he was attacked, fought back, delivered his quota of blows and returned with a souvenir: a broken nose. The assailants at these

MEN WITHOUT WORK: By Dr. N. Das, Ph.D. (Lond.), I.C.S. Published by the Eastern Economist, Ltd., 52, Queensway, New Delhi. Pp. 1-44. Price Re. 1.

The problem of unemployment has assumed serious proportions and signs are not wanting to indicate that it is likely to expand in dimensions in the near future. The number of the unearning dependents of all ages in India is 167,450,000 and there can be no complacency over the matter any longer. In spite of the Five-Year Plan having achieved a good deal of success in other spheres, it has failed to touch even the fringe of the problem and it has had to be revised to open out new avenues of employment for the masses.

Various ways and means have been suggested from different quarters some of which, if acted upon boldly and expeditiously, would yield good results. The author who has made a special study of the problem has analysed the different aspects of both rural and urban unemployment and has rightly suggested somewhat different remedies for each of them. He has not failed to take due notice of the "fantastic" growth of population. Though he has not overlooked the importance of "control of the birthrate," he looks to "promoting a rate of economic development which would be high enough to make total real income increase faster than the growth of population." Even if this objective can be achieved, the need of birth-control will be a paramount necessity. According to the learned author, while the State should adopt a direct employment policy, it should also guide its social and economic policies so as to create conditions necessary for an increase in employment. We commend this booklet for proper appreciation by appropriate authorities.

KALI CHARAN GHOSH

WORK, WEALTH AND WAGES: By E. F. Row and P. C. Wren. Published by K. and J. Cooper, Bombay. Second edition. Pages 103. Price As. 12.

This elementary book to give in simple words the ideas of Economic Science is eminently suitable for boys having some knowledge of English. A book in one's mother tongue is however more suitable now-a-days when English has been given second place in the study of languages.

A. B. DUTTA

WHERE THERE IS A WILL: By Maurice Barbanell. Rockliff Publishing Corporation, Ltd., Dorset Buildings, Salisbury Square, London, E. C. 4. 1952. Pp. 153. Price 9s. 6d.

The author deals in this book with the infinite possibilities that lie hidden within the life of every man whoever he may be and illustrates his point with copious examples. He believes that everybody can live a fuller, richer and happier life if he cares to regulate his life by studying earnestly the rules of Nature and the powers of the Mind. The chapters on 'Mind and Body,' 'The Will to Live,' 'The Glory of Life' and 'Man, Know Thyself' are eminently readable. The price seems to be a bit too high.

B. K. SEAL

PRINCIPLES OF FABRIC STRUCTURE: By A. M. Banerji, A.G.W.I. Published by Vidya Prakash, 49, Mahanirvan Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.

This abridged edition with copious illustrations will be of great use not only to students and technicians of fibre technology, but to dealers of cloths also.

Description of yarns used, has not been given in all sorts of construction of cloths, which would have imparted explanation to laymen even.

SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

KUMBHA-MAHA-MELA: Compiled by Bhakti-Tirtha Umesh Chandra Chakravarty. To be had of Shree Shree Kali Mandir, 85, Amherst Street (North), Calcutta-9. Price four annas.

In this book dedicated with tears, to the memory of the more than 500 men, women and children of Hindu faith, the author, a scholar of Hindu Shastras, traces from times beyond history, the history of the Kumbha Mela, with care, quoting the Vedas and the Puranas, to illustrate his arguments. At the end he breaks out into a hymn in praise of our Motherland, a fit ending to a great theme. The Ashram deserves all the help that Hindus of all creeds can render unto it.

SURESH CHANDRA DIB

SANSKRITIC

PAUMASIRI CHARIU OF DIVYADRISHTI DHARILA: Edited by Profs. Madhusudan C. Modi, M.A., LL.B. and Harivallabh C. Bhayani, M.A. Singhi Jain Series No. 24. Published by Singhi Jain Shashtra Shikshapith, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 4-12.

NANPANCHAMIKAHAO OF MAHESVARASURI: Editor: Prof. Dr. Amritlal Sauchand Gopani, M.A., Ph.D. Singhi Jain Series, No. 25. Publisher: Singhi Jain Shashtra Shikshapith, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 7-4.

The Bharatiya Vidyabhavan which has already earned reputation by the publication of scholarly critical editions of important texts belonging to the rich literature of the Jains presents here similar editions of two old works in Apabhramsa and Prakrit. Of these the author of the *Paumasiri Chariu* was a descendant of Magha, the well-known Sanskrit poet, who composed the *Sisupalavadha*. He might have flourished some time about the 9th and 10th century of the Christian era. The edition is based on the only known—but very old—MS. of the work found in Patan. Detailed information about the MS. and its orthographic peculiarities are pointed out by Prof. Modi. The text as printed embodies the emendations of the inaccuracies of the MS. which are recorded in the footnotes. Prof. Bhayani contributes a note on the language and metres of the work drawing attention to the characteristics of the Apabhramsa language as well as the Charita Kavyas. A running summary of the work section by section and short notes, textual and exegetical, have added to the utility of the edition.

The edition of the *Nanapanchamikahao* is based on the collation of four MSS. of which one which is stated to have been copied from a MS. dated 1009 or 1109 V.S. marks the lower limit of the date of the author. In a long introduction the learned editor deals *inter alia* with the characteristic features of the work, especially with reference to similar other works in Jain literature. Three valuable indices (e.g., of Subhasitas, of proper names and of important words) are appended to the edition.

The editions will be helpful to scholars but for the language of the introductions which is a regional one, namely, Gujarati.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NIRJHAR-SANGIT: By Projwala Nihar Bharati. 3-1 M. Chhidam Mudi Lane, Calcutta-6. Price As. 12.

A book of sweet melodious verses, particularly refreshing at a time when jarring and obscure compositions try to pass as poems.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SAYANI KANYA SE: By Narhari Parekh. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 119. Price Re. 1.

This is the second Hindi edition of the author's "Letters to a Wise Girl (Daughter)," which in the original Gujarati has already run into several editions and has been warmly welcomed and highly valued by those for whom the book is primarily intended, namely, girls in the adolescent stage, confronted with problems of personal hygiene, marriage, choice of husband, family. The letters were written in the first instance to the author's own daughter and her companions. They have, therefore, in them a rare quality of approach to and understanding of, the delicate and difficult problem of sex, which at that particular age, is a live but, alas! little-understood issue. Gandhiji's, Mahadevbhai's and Kaka Kelekar's auxiliary contributions on the subject have enhanced the value of the book tenfold. The book should be translated into every principal Indian language and placed in the hands of every adolescent girl.

G.M.

GUJARATI

(1) **JIVAN DWARA SHIKSHAN:** By Shiva-bhai Gokulbhai Patel. Paper cover. Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-8.

(2) **GHARMAKSHI:** By Bansidhar H. Gandhi. Paper cover. Pp. 42. Price seven annas.

(3) **KHEDUTNO CHOPDO:** By Maganbhai P. Deasi. Paper cover. Pp. 44. Price Re. 1.

All published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1949, 1950.

(1) Education through Living One's Life, shortly put, the maxim "Live and Learn," has been exemplified in this book. Country youths and village boys have been educated in this way by their Acharya Shivabhai Patel, in the village of Bochasan, in various subjects: cooking, cleanliness, hostel life, handicrafts, self-education and numerous others. It is a most interesting and instructive experiment approved by Gandhiji, Sardar Patel and others. (2) The House Fly is potentially a great enemy of mankind, and carrier of poison. The structure of its body and its habits are explained here in very simple language to acquaint readers with the nuisance it spreads and tells them as to how to avoid the harm it is capable of doing. The fly has its uses also, e.g., by collecting in large numbers at a particular spot, it indicates where dirt and unhygienic conditions exist. It is a pointer to those who are interested in running dirt and dung-heaps. (3) The Account Book of the Agriculturist is a book which if the agriculturist writes it up as is indicated in the instructions given in it is sure to prove of great help to himself in finding the administration of his affairs. In addition, it is intended to furnish statistics at large for not only the village concerned but the world at large.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The ensuing March issue of the PRABUDDHA BHARATA, will be a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It will contain a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number: Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukharji; Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A.; Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C. T. K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C. C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A. and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

Printed on Imitation Art Paper

Pages 160

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 3

Will be sent to subscribers of PRABUDDHA BHARATA without extra charge

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

(Only Annual Subscriptions Accepted)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

demonstrations were always hired gangsters. The mercenaries got what they gave.

Lin's next appointment was at Hanoi, as Dean of the Faculty of Arts. This was followed by a brief spell of bureaucracy in the Hangkow Government under Eugene Chen, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During this period, Lin lived like a hermit, shunning the scurvy politician's life which was not his cup of China tea. "When I got tired of that and saw the farce of the revolution, I graduated into an author, partly by inclination, partly by necessity." For he realised that he was vastly better at minding his own business than at minding that of others.

He decided to settle down in Shanghai in 1927 and to make writing his career. There for eight uninterrupted years he completely devoted himself to authorship. He began by writing a successful English reader for schools. Next he earned golden opinion as a columnist signing himself "The Little Critic" in an English weekly known as the *China Critic*. This laid Lin Yutang's foundation as an English writer. He also founded and edited three Chinese literary magazines, all of which exercised a considerable influence. *Analects*, a fortnightly, was a humorous magazine, the first of its kind; the second was rather like Addison's *Spectator*, and the third was a general magazine for the common reader rather than for a coterie.

It was as "The Little Critic" that Lin Yutang revealed himself master of the brilliant phrase, the arresting sentence; a book of these would make a *vade mecum* for believers in a sane life. "I think I am about as moral as anybody," says Lin, "and that if God love me only half as much as my own mother he will not send me to hell. That I know. If I don't go to heaven, the earth is doomed."

In 1935, Lin Yutang published his first important book, *My Country and My People*, frank and intellectually honest. He was criticized for being so forthright but he wrote, as always, trenchantly and with penetration.

One year later, in 1936, Lin left for the United States and there wrote *The Importance of Living*, the book which made him world-famous. It was chosen by the Book of the Month Club and became a best seller. It remained so for 11 months, breaking all records. Here, as Pearl Buck aptly put it, is the quintessence of Chinese philosophy distilled through Lin Yutang. He stayed in the United States till 1938, quite at home wherever he went, being "a perfectly integrated being, at home anywhere in himself."

A year later Lin came to France and stayed for some time in the South, in Menton and its environs. He returned to the U.S.A. in 1939 with *Moment in Peking* to usher in. This novel, Lin's monumental work and his best, presents reality without bitterness, with infinite tenderness and unfailing beauty. To read *Moment in Peking* and *A Leaf in the Storm*, which followed soon after, is to feel one's mind cleared, the bonds of human compassion strengthened, devotion to all things that are of good report kindled, and one's faith restored. Here are sympathy and understanding, pathos and humour, tragedy and terror, all mixed and muddled as in life, presented with real humanity. Reviewing *Moment in Peking* in *The Observer*, David de Selincourt said: "Dr. Lin gives us now a novel which for its realism, its scope, its tragic intensity, its philosophic calm, claims comparison with Tolstoy's *War and Peace*."

In 1940 Lin spent a few months in China and returned to write, in succession, *Between Tears and*

Laughter and *With Love and Irony* in which one sees him as "a realistic idealist" and "a warm-hearted cynic." His visit to China he described in *The Vigil of a Nation*. At this period he was chronically overworked at what he loved to do. "It's nothing strange," he says, "that Edison could go without sleep for twenty-four hours; all depends upon whether you are absorbed in your work or not. Edison would fall asleep five minutes after an American Senator began a speech, so would I."

Part of 1943 and 1944 Lin spent in China and made a three-day whirlwind visit to India. He was received, wherever he went, with much warmth and enthusiasm, and kindness was showered on him. He met many learned and remarkable people, yet of all those he talked to in India, no one impressed him as much as Dr. Radhakrishnan, not only by his giant intellect but by his personality. Here, he felt, was a man after his own heart. When Dr. Lin joined Unesco in 1948 as Head of Arts and Letters, he came to know and admire Dr. Radhakrishnan more. Here two great Eastern minds met in Dr. Lin's lovely flat, and were treated to the choicest delicacies and succulent dishes provided by Mrs. Lin Yutang, whose culinary prowess almost equals her charm. Her laughter and gaiety are infectious. To meet Mrs. Lin, whose calm is indomitable—she could laugh at her discomfiture when she fractured a leg in a car accident—is to have a glimpse of the Chinese spirit. To meet the Lins with their three daughters—the Lins at home—is to see a picture in focus, a painting in proportion. There is nothing strained or artificial in the relationship.



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG CALCUTTA

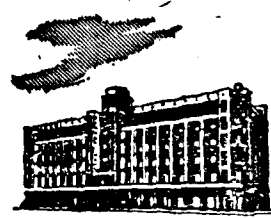
Lin Yutang's stay in Unesco lasted less than a year, for he soon wearied of routine work and was eager to return to writing. He felt that Unesco's real work lay in the field of education. Meanwhile his books, *The Gay Genius* and *Miss Tu*, appeared. Soon he was at work on *On the Wisdom of America*, a sister volume to the twin works: *The Wisdom of India* and *The Wisdom of China*, neither of which is an anthology merely; each contains Lin Yutang's introduction and notes and translations in which we see his master mind at work.

On the Wisdom of America is a "spiritual journey" through American writing. Lin Yutang took many excursions and viewed "at close hand the broad pastures of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the snow-capped peaks of Emerson, the granite monolith of Thoreau, the dark cavern of Edgar Allan Poe, the . . . plateau city of Mount Santayana, the laughing valley of Ben Franklin, the awe-inspiring sculptured rocky dome of Lincoln, the Greek edifice of Jefferson."

In this volume nearly half the text is by Lin



Life Insurance is not a fair-weather friend, but a friend in need. It is a protection against the rainy day—a safe and sure coverage for future eventualities. It guarantees security to those who avail themselves of its benefits. And you can as well enjoy these benefits by placing **YOUR INSURANCE** with the **HINDUSTHAN** which is your own Company. It has a tradition of 46 years' dependable service to the nation.



THE SEAL OF SECURITY



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA-13.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

Rs. aa.

- Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 1 (No. 1, to 9 out of Stock each No. at Rs. 4 32 0**
- History of Orissa Vols. I & II—R. D. Banerji (Each) 25 0**
- Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu 12 0**
- Dynasties of Medieval Orissa—Pt. Binayak Misra 5 0**
- The Knight Errant (Novel)—Sita Devi 8 8**
- The Garden Creeper (Illust. Novel)—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 8**
- Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 0**
- India And A New Civilization—Dr. R. K. Das 4 0**
- Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (Illust.)—P. N. Roy 4 8**
- Story of Satara (Illust. History)—Major B. D. Basu 10 0**
- My Sojourn in England—ditto 2 0**
- History of the British Occupation in India—[An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.]—N. Kasturi 8 0**
- The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee 6 0**
- The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy 1 0**
- Protection of Minorities—Radha Kumud Mukherji 0 4**

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

Yutang himself and many passages are to be found where his deep-felt thoughts are expressed. In a chapter entitled "The Spirit of Enquiry" he explains his point of view with crystal clarity:

"I am not against any particular dogma, but rather against a more basic evil, the spirit of dogmatism itself. What any church practically says is that dogmas are the very basis of religion and that without them the Church might as well not exist. If this has any meaning at all it means that the Church resents and is opposed to the spirit of free enquiry, that it sacredly holds that truth is all there, neatly packaged and delivered and need not be explored again by the individual soul . . . the Church stands pat on its dogmas . . . So we call a truce. I have a feeling something is being over-protected, being embalmed."

And so it was that Lin Yutang, brought up as a Christian, discarded Christianity because of its dogmas. He now describes himself as a pagan while claiming to be religious.

In 1949, the Lins sojourned in Switzerland and France and have since then made Cannes their home. They returned to the United States in 1951 to visit one of their daughters but came back to their flat in Cannes which overlooks the harbour, studded from end to end with sailing boats, billowy white against the azure of the sea. They are in New York again but now that Lin's new novel is out, will soon be back in France.

More volumes have appeared in recent years: *The Wisdom of Confucius*, *The Wisdom of Lao-tse*. Lately *The Widow Chuan* and *Chinese Short Stories* and a novel on Chinese Turkestan have been added to the list. Compared to his earlier works these are trivial, delicate as brushwork in Chinese painting. Novels of epic quality like *Moment in Peking* are not written every day. It is a tribute to his versatility that Lin Yutang touches nothing he does not adorn; his work, like the life of man, reveals the untold facets of a variegated world. That he is at home in so many little worlds shows his mental agility and power to receive and express a multitude of impressions. His mind is open to beauty, his heart responsive to the hopes and aspirations of men and his imagination capable of transmuting the commonplace into the significant.

Lin Yutang, the slight, resilient figure, with eyes and face wreathed in the tenderest of smiles, builds his philosophy on Lao-tse's teaching which is "the first enunciated camouflage in the world, teaching us the wisdom of appearing foolish, the success of appearing to fail, the strength of weakness and the advantage of lying low, the benefit of yielding to your adversary and the futility of contention for power!"

The appeal of Lin Yutang's personality does not

depend upon his presence. It reaches out through the written word, revealing a generous, ardent spirit, revealing in contradictions—"I am a bundle of contradictions, and I enjoy it!"—full of charm and rich in kindness and wisdom, who looks upon the multifarious concerns of humanity with gusto and intellectual curiosity.

Correct Approach to Indian History

Dr. K. Gopalachari writes in *The Indian Review*:

Ancient Indian History is a mighty rhythm. Nature had given her geographical unity. During the first 1300 years she evolved an Arya-Dravidian culture (2000—650 B.C.) and during the next 1300 years (650 B.C.—640 A.D.) tried to crown this edifice with political unity. And cultural unity leads by its inner impulses to political unity for one is incomplete without the other. Even a much inferior current of racial hatred of the French is styled English nationalism. That a theory of nationalism was not present is no valid objection for England was a nation before she understood the implications of nationalism. That she failed progressively in her three attempts is no argument. For it is much better to try and fail than not to have tried at all. Greece evolved a splendid culture but did not complete it by political unity. It was left to a 'barbarian' from the north (Alexander) to do it for a time and that too during the last days of Greek glory. Rome took up the idea but it was a political unity without a cultural basis to give it purpose and permanence.

Much has been written of the invasions of India by foreigners but little has been noted of the fate of these invaders in their Indian homes. India conquered the conqueror out of recognition. During the second century B. C., Bactrian Greeks known in Indian tradition and literature as Yavanas poured into the Punjab, Gujarat and western Deccan; we learn from inscriptions of the first century B.C. that these Yavanas embraced Buddhism and bore thoroughly Indian family names—Simhadaya, Yasavardhana, and Dhammadhaya. Even a casual visitor to Ujjain from the court of the Greek King Antalkidas became a *Bhagavata*. Like the Yavanas, the Sakas too merged in Indian society. The Saka son-in-law of the Pahlava Nahapana bears the name Usavadatta: another Saka bears the name Agnivarman, and his daughter that of Visnudatta. Nahapana's daughter bears the name Daksamitra. Usavadatta's charities to Brahmins and Brahmin institutions stamp him as a staunch adherent of the Brahmanical faith. The Saka Ksatrapas of Malwa and Gujarat of the first four centuries of the Christian era bear half Indian names like Rudradaman and full Indian names like Rudrasimha.

Swami Vivekananda and Modern India

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

Modern India is on the threshold of a new era of hope and promise for the common man, whose welfare, freedom, and destiny form the main aims of her constitutional and philanthropic activity. Long before the humanists and materialists of today, who are studiously championing the cause of the toiling masses under the banner of this ism or that, Swami Vivekananda reminded his countrymen of the new order of things, then in the offing, and drew their pointed attention to the deplorable condition of the masses. 'Believe, believe . . . India must rise, the masses and the poor are to be made happy'—was his oft-repeated refrain. The Swami's clarion call, addressed to the nation as a whole, was unambiguously clear: 'O India! . . . Forget not that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler the sweeper, are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers.' He was impatient of the unhelpful attitude of those of the upper classes who continued to exploit the helpless ignorant masses. So long as the millions lived in hunger and ignorance, he said he would consider everyone of the educated and so-called respectable, well-off classes as a 'traitor' or 'wretch' unless he bestirred himself and did whatever he could for the uplift of the masses. He was never in favour of the patronizing, demonstrative attitude of those who extended their sympathy and support to the masses for gaining their own selfish ends. He therefore held that three things were essential for every sincere worker: he should feel from the heart, feel that the people he is going to serve are no other than his brothers; he should find the proper solution for each problem and decide upon the right course of action in the light of past experience (without ignoring even the most ancient ideas); he should make sure of his motive and see that he is not actuated by greed, power, or fame.

It was not mere social service but the service of Man as worship of God that the Swami preached. 'The poor, the illiterate, the downtrodden—let these be your God; . . . think of them work for them, pray for them incessantly'—such was the Swami's direction to his followers. It is now a patent fact that his famous phrase 'Daridra-Narayana,' signifying the highest attitude of unselfish service, has seized upon the imagination of present-day India. Not charity or help to the 'have-nots,' but active service done in the true spirit of worship was the Swami's great and original contribution to the making of modern India. And service to others could become unselfish and effective only when coupled with renunciation. So the Swami forcefully reminded Indians, 'The national ideals of India are Renunciation and Service. Intensify her in those channels and the rest will take care of itself.' Renunciation of all finite limitations of the flesh and mind, renunciation of selfish preferences and privileges—not giving up or escaping from one's duties and responsibilities in relation to fellow men. Such harmonious blending of spiritual life and active life, of the quest after God-realization and the striving for the good and happiness of the many (*atmano mokshartham, jagaddhitaya ca*), was the most efficacious means of individual perfection as well as national regeneration.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

BIOSITIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

"HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH MARRIED": 312 pages, Daringly illustrated, the most talked about practical book in the world "HEID NOT TO BE OBSCENE" in the Bombay Court. Copies requisitioned for India Office (London) and British Museum Libraries. Available in English, Gujarati and Hindi for married persons only. Price Rs. 15 **BEFORE ORDERING SEND FOR FULL PARTICULARS.**

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.B.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
281/283, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM /

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., PO. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

On Holiday in Kashmir

Horace Alexander describes thus his feelings of peace and ecstasy out on a holiday tour in Kashmir in the *Indian Opinion* of Natal, December, 1953:

Have you been on holiday in Kashmir? If not, it is still not too late to go. If you go, I wonder what you will enjoy most while you are there. Kashmir is full of beautiful things. One could talk on a dozen different aspects. Perhaps the beauty that struck my eye while I was there would be quite different from those that you may notice.

Now we have arrived in Srinagar and we climb into a tonga to drive towards the Dal Lake. At the steps we get out and transfer into a shikara boat. As we recline on the cushions, and shoot forward towards our house-boat, a great peace invades the mind. What is it that affects one when one travels in a little boat across the water? There is no noisy engine, not even the sound of horses' hoofs on the road; no friction of wheels, nothing but a smooth, almost silent, forward motion, the only sound the splashing of oars and the gentle liquid lapping of the water on the sides of the boat. Above us, the stars are appearing in the sky, the full moon comes slowly out through a glowing silvery light from behind the great wall of dark mountains.

If there is heaven on earth, it is here, it is here. And then the life on the house-boat. I love to hear the creaking of the wooden planks as I walk through the boat; I do not know why it is, but there is something peculiarly attractive about a house made all of woodwork; and when the wooden house is floating on the water, somehow it acquires something of the mystery of a dream.

SIT WITH ME

Sit with me in the houseboat, and gaze out of the window at some of the special bird neighbours that you will find here in Kashmir. Suddenly a dazzling blue Kingfisher comes to rest on the woodwork within ten feet of you. One morning I saw that two Kingfishers were sitting on one of the house-boat ropes, close to the water. They were sitting side by side, but facing opposite ways. Suddenly, one took hold of the long sharp beak of the other and held it in its own beak. Its crest feathers were raised and its wings quivered. Both birds seemed violently excited, but after a few seconds they let go, then moved a few inches away from each other and still sat there, bobbing their funny little tails up and down, showing no further

interest in each other. What did it all mean? Was it hostility, or love-making, or perhaps a mixture of the two? For you know, I think these two things—hostility and love-making—really do sometimes get mixed up with each other—among birds and perhaps among other creatures.

You can see a dozen Kingfishers in half an hour spent in a shikara boat. When I commented on their abundance, my Kashmiri friend replied; "Yes, and they are eating fish all the time." So you might think the poor Kashmiri would slaughter the birds, so as to have more fish for his own stomach. But no, nature has found a balance and perhaps even contributes to it. Plenty of fish; plenty of Kingfishers; plenty of people.

NATURE FINDS A NEW BALANCE

And then the Swallow! In September before their migration to southern India, they sit in rows of dozens or scores along all the electric wires, twittering softly, making sweet music. Thousands and thousands of them must live and breed in Kashmir vale.

What did swallows do before man invented telegraph and telephone wires? Where did they rest? And, as to that, where did they nest before men put up huts and farm buildings?

Sometimes we see how man has persecuted beasts and birds or he has driven them out by taming the wilderness, but other birds, sparrows, crows, above all, perhaps swallows, have benefited from man's encroachment upon nature.

Just now I spoke of the balance of nature. Man is constantly disturbing the balance, but unless he goes too far—and sometimes he does go too far—nature seems to find a new balance.

Srinagar with her lovely lakes and mountain views is enough to satisfy many; but to my mind the Kashmir mountains are wonderful still.

"I STAND AND ENDURE"

Here around Pahlgam and all up the Liddar Valley are trees of a mightier stature than the chenars and the poplars of the vale. As I wander among these huge pines and firs I find myself stopping before one great giant tree and then another just to stand and gaze up at it, stretching far up towards the blue sky.

In the classical age of Chinese art, I believe an artist would live with a single tree for a year or more before he began to paint it. Many of these marvellous spruce trees deserve to be so lived with. What great wisdom we might learn from them!

One day in the woods, near Pahlgam, I found a tree that had been brought down by last winter's snow and avalanches; the foresters had sawn it across near the base, revealing the yearly rings of its life. I counted some 300 rings, 300 years of life. "Before Aurangzeb, long before Warren Hastings, I stood here," says that now vanquished giant. "I stand and endure," each great tree is saying, and as the breeze blows across the tree tops, they seem to say to us: "Be quiet, you noisy, hurrying men; stand and see and listen; and know that the life force is good."

So I go on through the silent forest till I hear a little twittering sound and a flutter of tiny wings comes across the sunlit glade. Here are brown willow-warblers, working their way down from the high marks where they have nested to spend the winter in the foothills or in the Indian plains, a little brown tree creeper climbing the trunk of a giant pine and searching out insects from the bark and little winged beauties. A small brown robin-like bird flies down from a branch to the ground, captures its insect prey and returns to a low branch, showing an unexpected bright blue tail, as it flies up. This is a young Orange-flanked Blue-tail, a characteristic Kashmir bird, which you will hardly find anywhere else in India.

In the great fir woods you may walk for hours and hardly hear a sound except for the dropping of a cone from a fir tree or the gentle twittering of a party of little birds.

THE RUSHING WATERS

But if we walk along the valley, how different it is; here we are for ever within sound of rushing water. I was unfortunate in one respect, for two days before I set off to trek up the west Liddar valley we had heavy rain, so the seven-mile walk to Aru was along a path that was almost ankle-deep in sticky mud and I had to spend all the time looking for the next step and trying not to get quite stuck in the mud. But rain in these mountains brings its compensations. The waterfalls were, a grand sight. Moreover, the rain had fallen as snow on all the 12,000-ft. mountains so whereas three days earlier hardly any snow had been visible and what was there was tired and dirty, now in the bright sunshine, all the mountain tops were glistening under their fresh white mantle.

If you continue the trek right up to the Kolahoi glacier you will come out beyond the woods to a region of stony desolation with green grassy slopes leading up to the snowy mountain tops. Every half mile of the way, indeed every hundred yards brings you a fresh view, some new scenery to astonish you. There is no end to the wonder and variety of these mountain scenes.

Well, you must really go and explore it all for yourself. Perhaps you will go to Gulmarg or Sonamarg instead of Pahlgam, or you may go trekking to Astanmarg or still further up the East Liddar Valley. In any case once you have visited the Kashmir mountains, you will certainly want to go again and again. "If there is heaven on earth, it is here, it is here."

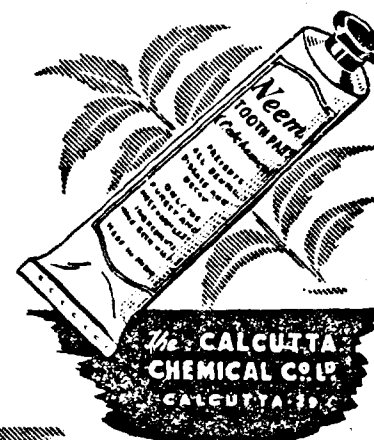
4

FOUR
BENEFICIAL PROPERTIES ARE
COMBINED IN CALCHEMICO'S

Neem TOOTH
PASTE

- 1) It contains all the antiseptic, germicidal, astringent and deodorant properties of Neem Twig, known to the Indians from ancient times and also extracts of some Ayurvedic herbs beneficial for teeth and gum and other ingredients used in modern dental hygiene.
- 2) A special substance used in Neem Tooth Paste particularly prevents caries and pyorrhoea.
- 3) The high grade medicinal precipitated Chalk, Mag Carb and other pure ingredients used as base, help to remove the acid-forming bacteria, which cause tooth decay.
- 4) It contains Chlorophyll with its beneficial properties. The animal-fat free soap content is minimum but the profuse foam created during washing with Neem Tooth Paste, enters into the crevices of the teeth and cleanse the whole mouth.

Neem Tooth Paste is a class by itself.



Now available in 3 sizes—Large, Medium & Small.



Racial Strife in Central Africa

John Hatch, Professor of History in the University of Glasgow, and author of *Dilemma in South Africa*, writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, October 1953:

This summer a new state was born in Africa, a state with an immense significance for the future of that continent. It is formed as a federation of the three British territories of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and its inhabitants are composed of about 180,000 Europeans and 6,000,000 Africans. The position of this state, with only the Limpopo separating it from the Union of South Africa, gives it great importance in this dark continent where the angry murmurings of racial strife seem to herald an imminent volcanic eruption.

Each of the three territories has a population divided at least into white and black, and more properly into European, African, Indian and Colored. In the three territories as a whole there are thirty Africans for every European. Nyasaland has known a comparatively peaceful racial experience, for there are only about 5,000 European settlers in the country and well over 2,000,000 Africans. Most of the Europeans are planters and have taken a paternalistic, feudal attitude in their African workers, which has resulted in their welfare being reasonably looked after without any great racial tension. Discrimination exists, but it is based more upon social caste than upon color, and Colonial Office has always kept political power firmly in its own hands.

In Northern Rhodesia, tensions have been much more highly-strung, particularly in the copper belt, where the rough white copper miners have tried to keep the Africans firmly in what they considered to be "their place." In particular, the white miners have maintained a monopoly of skilled work so that, on the average, the white worker is paid twenty times as much as the black. Discrimination has existed in shops, banks, post offices, places of entertainment, hotels and restaurants, and the social color bar is almost universal.

Nevertheless, the more enlightened colonial policy which the British Colonial Office has adopted since the war has had a considerable effect in assisting the Africans to develop their own organization and to progress towards claiming greater responsibilities within their own country. With British assistance a strong African Miners' Union has been formed in the copper belt and was able last year to conduct a well-disciplined and successful strike for higher wages. Other African unions have been formed so that there is now an African Trade

Union Congress. For the first time in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Africans have been introduced to the Legislative Councils. Under British guidance also African produced co-operatives have been developed to the great economic and social benefit of the African community. Perhaps of most concern to the Africans, the Colonial Office has safeguarded African rights over their land and allowed only a small area to be alienated to the white settlers.

This federal scheme bears a tragic resemblance to the experience of 1910 when Britain handed over political power in South Africa to the white settlers. Then, as now, it was said that the white settlers could be trusted not to abuse their power but to encourage the development of the non-European communities within the nation. The world has seen the results. The Union of South Africa has gained great economic benefit from the association of its four Provinces, but at the



TELEPHONE: AVN 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

BRANCH- HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/3, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

same time the power of the dominant white community has been steadily used to reduce and destroy the political and social rights of the Non-Europeans. The lesson of history has again been given. No minority of human beings can be trusted with unchecked power over the majority.

Since it became obvious that the new federal state was to be established, a ferment of thought and activity has developed in the area of Central Africa. After exhausting all methods of protesting against the establishment of the state, the Africans, now denied any constitutional means of changing their discriminatory conditions, have organized other means of protest. In Northern Rhodesia they have begun openly to defy the color bar by entering cafes and post office divisions hitherto reserved for Europeans. Already their protests are having some effect and the government is altering the post office buildings to destroy the previous partitions between white and black. Throughout the three territories, but particularly in the north, the African political organizations, the National Congresses, have linked up with the chiefs and the trade unions to organize passive resistance against the imposition of federation. Chiefs who have always been loyal officials for the British administration are refusing to collect taxes and continue administrative responsibility. Strikes both in industry and in the civil service have been organized on political grounds, and in Nyasaland, which is the main source of African labor for the other territories, a movement has begun to withhold supplies of manpower. Already the governments have started to take severe action against this resistance by dismissing striking employees and chiefs, and have even gone so far as to deport the Rev. Michael Scott, who was associating with the opposition to federation in Nyasaland, and arrested a number of the recalcitrant chiefs and Congress leaders. It seems clear that a considerable racial struggle is already ensuing and may well develop new racial tensions throughout southern Africa.

On the other hand some European opinion has clearly been affected by the debates and arguments over federation and is trying to introduce that form of racial partnership which is said to be one of the principles on which federation is based. It has already been announced, for instance, that the new Rhodesian university will be organized on an inter-racial basis, though it has yet to be seen whether this implies joint or separate classes. Negotiations have also started within the copper mining companies to discuss the relaxation of the industrial color bar.

In the political field the differences of approach among Europeans to the new federal state are clearly seen. Three parties already have been established to participate in the federal elections which are to take place in December. The main supporters of federation have formed the Federal Party which stresses support of federation, with emphasis on economic development. It has conspicuously omitted to make any reference in its program to racial policy, although Sir Godfrey Huggins has stated that he hoped that Africans would join his Party and avoid the sterile black versus white politics. The second party, called the Confederate Party, is to consist only of Europeans, and has as its main objective been ensuring the future status of the white community. This policy includes support for plans of territorial segregation of Europeans and Africans which are very closely similar to the *apartheid* policy of Malan in South Africa, and it is interesting to note that some of its members are *Afrikaners* from South Africa who had previously organized their own political party in Southern Rhodesia. The Confederate Party would like to see the

whole of Central Africa divided to keep Europeans and Africans apart and is aiming to throw off all British control and to secure the same kind of independent power as South Africa now has. It may well be that this party will quickly represent what has come to be a widespread acceptance of the segregation principle in Central Africa and may associate closely with the Nationalists in the Union.

Thirdly there is the Progressive Party which represents a liberal racial outlook. Its leader, Dr. Alexander Scott, has defined its aim of partnership as: "... encouraging the African to become skilled and reliable. If he does not take the opportunities offered, so much the worse for himself. But the important thing is that he must be given a chance." This party holds that the African must have equal civil, political and industrial rights.

The formation of this new state in Central Africa will have repercussions throughout the field of race relations wherever white and black meet. If, as seems probable at the moment, the creation of the state aggravates the racial tensions of the African continent and increases the racial struggle now to be seen rising to its height in Kenya and in South Africa, it may well add to the flames already beginning to burn away the social structure of African society. Much will depend upon the wisdom and courage of those Europeans who regard the African as a human being equal in rights, abilities, and potentialities to all other human beings, and in the tolerance of African leaders in resisting the strong temptations of black nationalism. But the federal state has been born in an atmosphere of injustice and resentment on the one side and fear and prejudice on the other, so that the slender bridges which still link liberal white and black opinion are very precariously balanced. Once they are destroyed, the chaos, which is so rapidly spreading throughout African society will have engulfed yet another section of the African continent.

Pakistan Celebrates 77th Birthday Of Its Founder

The 77th birthday of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah was celebrated throughout Pakistan on 25th December, 1953. The nation dedicated itself to follow in the foot-steps of the Father of the Nation.

THE MAN OF DESTINY

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born on December 25, 1876, in a merchant family of Karachi. His father was

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlal Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kri-to Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

anxious that he should enter family business, but an English friend, Sir Frederick Craft, was so certain that the young Mohammed Ali Jinnah showed promise of a great future, that he asked the father to allow the boy to go to England for further education.

Jinnah was then sixteen years old, and he sailed for London, the first step on the long road which was to lead him to high position and unforgettable place in history. In London he joined Lincoln's Inn, and in 1896 when he was twenty years of age he became a lawyer with great success, giving proof of his clever mind.

Jinnah stayed in England for four years, and during this time he studied with careful interest the way in which the British Parliament worked, and passed laws for the governance of the land. Dadabhoi Naoroji, who was also in England at that time, was trying to win a seat in Parliament. Jinnah helped him in his election campaign. Dadabhoi became the first Indian to win a seat in Parliament.

In 1896, Jinnah started to practise as a lawyer in Karachi. A year later he moved to Bombay where he hoped to find a wider field for his talents. This young lawyer was soon noticed by Mr. Macpherson, who was then the Acting Advocate-General of Bombay, and he asked him to study in his office. In 1900, Jinnah acted for a few months as a Presidency Magistrate. The clever way in which he conducted the court won him the praise of Sir Charles Ollivant, who was Judicial Secretary to the Bombay Government. Sir Charles offered him a post carrying a salary of Rs. 1,500 a month but Jinnah turned the offer down. He preferred to practise on his own. Soon he became a leading lawyer of the Bombay Bar.

A tall man, always well-dressed, Jinnah had a fine face and a strong, powerful voice and a splendid elocution.

In 1906, Jinnah acted as Private Secretary to his old friend, Dadabhoi Naoroji, who was then President of the Indian National Congress—the main political party of India consisting of an overwhelming majority of Hindus. In 1909 he was elected by the Bombay Presidency Muslim constituency as their representative on the Viceroy's Legislative Council where he attracted considerable notice, and was the first member to pilot through a private member's bill. In 1913, the Viceroy asked him to stay on in this position so that he could help to make the Validation of Muslim Wakfs Bill into a law. The brilliance with which Jinnah carried this through won him praise from all sides and gratitude of Muslims in particular.

In 1913, Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League, while, at the same time, he retained his membership of the Congress. In 1914, he led the Congress Delegation to England. When he returned to India, he spent the next few years in attempting to bring about an understanding and close alliance between the League and the Congress. He was the President of the Muslim League at the time of the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Jinnah tried to work for Muslim interest in co-operation with the Indian National Congress.

However, as early as 1916, he was actually conscious that the future of Muslims in India would not be happy until they were provided with effective constitutional safeguards. As President of the Muslim League, in 1915, he said in his presidential address: "A minority must, above everything else, have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for cooperation and united endeavour in the national tasks. To the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safe-

guards as regards their political existence as a community."

Jinnah was a man of profound convictions and a great lover of independence. He refused to be led into changing his views merely because it was the popular fashion to do so. While Indian National Congress agitated against the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, Jinnah alone advocated that these should be worked out even though they were inadequate. He continued therefore as member of the Central Legislative Assembly, leading an independent Muslim party, and became the most skilful parliamentarian of the time.

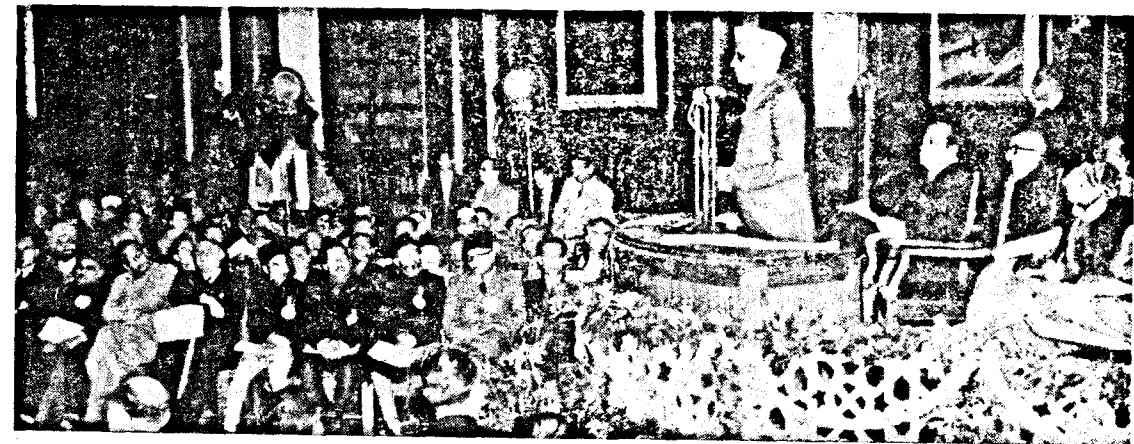
When the Khilafat Movement ended, and Muslims felt completely at a loss, it was Mohammed Ali Jinnah who fought valiantly to revive the Muslim League after 1922. On the arrival of the Simon Commission in India in 1928, the Muslim League presented to it the famous "Fourteen Points" which were drafted by Jinnah and which, for the first time, enunciated the Muslim viewpoint to the British Government. At the Round Table Conference, between 1930 and 1932, Jinnah brilliantly presented the case of Muslims of India. He stayed back in England to watch personally the stages of the Government of India Act of 1935, when it was being debated in the British Parliament.

On his return from England in 1934, he toured India, planning and preaching in the hope that Muslims would rally round the Muslim League. It was at this juncture that the Muslims of India turned to Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Under his resolute and fearless leadership, the Muslim League accepted the Congress challenge. With untiring energy, endless determination, boundless resourcefulness, Mohammed Ali Jinnah worked for the creation of a separate State for the Muslims of India. With one accord, Muslims called him their Quaid-i-Azam—the Great Leader—and followed him full of faith and without fear. He proved himself to be their saviour.

Jinnah was outspoken in his condemnation of reactionary elements which generated retrograde tendencies in religion. Dealing with the contribution of the Pakistan movement to Pakistan's national life, he said, "We have to a great extent to free our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Maulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in struggle."

No individual had contributed more to the achievement of Pakistan than Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. But in his valiant effort for the survival of Muslims and of Pakistan, he was losing his own precious life. In spite of his failing health, Jinnah continued to go through the minutest administrative details of the State, until his doctors advised him to take a few weeks' rest.

The Quaid-i-Azam left for Ziarat and then came to Quetta in the summer of 1948. But wherever he went he insisted that office files and State business should be brought to him regularly. In Quetta, the Quaid-i-Azam's health suddenly took a turn for the worse. He expressed his desire to be taken back to Karachi. On September 11, 1948 he was flown to the capital of Pakistan, and strangely enough he felt much better. But at 9 p.m. he started sinking, and by 10.25, he had breathed his last.—*Pakistan Today*, January 1, 1954.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivering his inaugural address at the First Conference of the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco, in New Delhi, on January 9



Dr. Luther H. Evans, Director-General, Unesco (left) and Sir Ronald Adam, Chairman, Executive Board, Unesco, (right) laying floral wreaths on the sacred Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat in Delhi on January 10

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

APRIL



1954

Vol. LXXXV, No. 4

Whole No. 568

NOTES

The Lesson of East Pakistan

The Moslem League was born in Dacca, the capital of what is East Pakistan today, about half-a-century ago. In the first election on democratic lines in that area, it has met with a debacle, at the hands of the United Front. The defeat has been so catastrophic that the editor of the *Dawn*, the official organ of the Moslem League, has beheld in it "The awful majesty of the people's will!"

It is impossible to predict the outcome of this totally unexpected disaster to the Moslem League. He would be a bold man, indeed, who would dare interpret the portents and portray the shape of things to come in Pakistan as a consequence. But it is gradually becoming clear to the outside world as to what were the causes that led to this drastic reversal of the will of the people of East Pakistan.

The prime cause was, of course, the economic exhaustion of the common man in East Pakistan. Jute, the main stay of the agriculturist, reached a new price-peak during the stock-piling by the U.S. during the black days of the Korean war, when World War III seemed to be so imminent. Since last year it has sunk so low, so far as the actual price the grower got, as to be hardly worth cutting and retting. Price of food-stuffs, particularly, cereals, oils and fats, salt and sugar, have risen to high levels due to scarcity. Market—gardening produce, fish and milk, on the other hand, suffered a decline in prices, due to lack of purchasing power of the local people, and the closure of the doors that led to the markets in West Bengal and Assam in the Union of India. The farmer and the fisherman were thus reduced to penury and could not earn the wherewith to purchase essentials of life. Clothing, medicines and other consumer goods were scarce, and the prices beyond the reach of the Common Man.

The second cause was the gradual pushing back of the Bengali Muslims, the children of the soil, into the background by non-Bengali Muslims, mostly refugees. The son of the soil felt that he was gradually being

reduced to becoming a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. All the lucrative business as also the prize posts were going to non-Bengalis. The native of East Pakistan felt that he was being exploited, for the benefit of the non-Bengali. Resentment at the attitude of the non-Bengalis towards the Bengali Muslim gradually rose to a peak.

The third reason was the refusal by the Centre to acknowledge Bengali as a State language. The Bengali-speaking Pakistani was in a majority in entire Pakistan, the Bengali language with its rich literary treasures, with its cultural advancement, was out-casted in favour of Urdu, a much poorer language in comparison, for no ostensible reason besides giving an unfair advantage to those whose mother-tongue it happened to be. The intelligentsia of East Pakistan took this to be a mortal insult and widespread disturbances followed the refusal of the recognition of Bengali.

The American arms-aid Pact is also a major factor. That pact is rightly taken to be conducive towards aggravating Indo-Pakistan relations, which are none too good as they are now. This would effectively stop interchange of goods and trade and commerce, as between East Pakistan and the Indian States that are her immediate neighbours, which spells ruination absolute for the farmer, fisher, labourer, weaver and petty traders of East Pakistan. Outspoken condemnation of the Pact had been made during the election campaigns by prominent leaders of the United Front. No one, not even the United Front leaders, expected the people to give their verdict in such an "awful" fashion. The Moslem League expected a stiff fight, not a total rout.

There is a lesson in the East Pakistan elections for certain sections of our own peoples. The Hindi enthusiasts particularly ought to take this lesson to heart. The other lesson, if not learnt in time, will bring in grim consequences to those exploiters of the children of the soil, in certain States. People's will can be manifested in more than one way.



SAKUNTALA
By Kalyani Chakravarty

Pabai Press, Calcutta.

Labour Riot in Chittagong

Serious rioting took place in Chittagong on March 22. Details are given in the two press reports given below. It fully illustrates the tension between the local and the non-provincial Pakistanis:

"Dacca, March 24.—Army personnel moved into Karnaphuli Paper mills area, Chittagong, where a serious labour riot occurred on Monday last.

The G.O.C., East Pakistan, is reported to have visited the area of disturbances today. Subordinate officers involved in the exchange of hot words with the Operative Manager, which according to the Government, set off the rioting on Monday, have been arrested along with 12 others. About 300 other persons are also reported to have been rounded up by the police.

The body of Mr. Khurshid Ali, Operative Manager, missing since the rioting and of two others were recovered today from the Karnaphuli river, bringing the death toll now to 15.

The mill, which is under the Pakistan Industrial Corporation and partly financed by the Government, went into production in December last year and has lately been producing about 50 tons of paper daily."

"Press messages from Eastern Pakistan said that while recent rioting there at Karnaphuli Paper Mills had been quelled, the overall situation had not returned to normal.

"The Chittagong correspondent of Karachi's newspaper *Morning News* reported that 'army has taken control of the situation.' It said the European technicians at the paper mills have withdrawn themselves from the mill area and moved down to Chittagong. The dispatch added, 'they (the European technicians) have refused to return to the mill where panic prevails.'

"Latest press reports said that in the paper mill riots of March 22, persons killed were 25 and persons arrested numbered 300.

"A report in a section of the local press today said that 'as an immediate sequel to the riots there was panicky selling by holders of the Karnaphuli Paper and Adamjee Jute Mills shares at whatever price they could get. A market fall in these shares in the Karachi Stock Exchange was registered.' Karachi Stock Exchange Market report shows that yesterday Karnaphuli paper came under heavy selling causing setback of about 12 annas. The report added, 'Many Karachi industrialists and businessmen were seriously concerned with the future of their investments in East Pakistan and were thinking of withdrawing them in view of the unrest which followed political changes in that part of the country.'

"News of the grim tragedy has cast a shadow of gloom and nervousness among refugee businessmen here."

The U. S. and Asian Defence

The following statement by the U.S. Secretary of State, appeared in the daily press at the time of our going to press:

"Washington, March 30.—The United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, has today raised the possibility of an Asian alliance to warn Communist China and the Soviet Union to keep out of South East Asia.

"In a major policy speech in New York, last night, Mr. Dulles called for 'united action' by the free world to meet the possibility of 'the imposition on South East Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, by whatever means.'

"Mr. Dulles did not specify what sort of 'united action' was needed—whether a regional alliance similar to the North Atlantic alliance, a free world declaration, or some sort of Monroe Doctrine defining the unwillingness of nations vitally concerned to tolerate the extension of the Russian or Chinese Communist system to South East Asia.

"Mr. Dulles said: Under the conditions of today the imposition on South-East Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally by whatever means would be a grave threat to the whole free country.

"The United States feels that the possibility should not be passively accepted but should be met by united action.

"This might involve serious risks. But these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

"He recapitulated to U. S. policy towards the Communists in Korea and Indo-China.

"He said that the Eisenhower administration had sought to deter Communist China from open aggression in Indo-China and added that he (Mr. Dulles) had declared that if Communist China intervened with its own army grave consequences would result which might not be confined to Indo-China itself.

"Mr. Dulles called on the Chinese Communists to 'cease and desist' from their apparent intention of conquest in South-East Asia.

"The United States delegation will go to Geneva in an effort to bring about a united and independent Korea from which Communist China will have withdrawn its army of invasion," he said.

"Mr. Dulles strongly opposed the admission of Communist China in the United Nations under present conditions and said the United States would not extend diplomatic recognition to the Peking regime.

"Mr. Dulles said, 'As one of the United Nations members who must pass on representation, we must ask, will it serve the interest of world order to bring

into the United Nations a regime which is a convicted aggressor, which has not purged itself from that aggression and which continues to promote the use of force in violation of the principles of the United Nations?"

"I can find only the answer 'no.'

"Those responsible for United States policy must ask and answer, 'will it help our country, if by recognition we give increased prestige and influence to a regime that actually attacks our vital interests?'"

"I can find only the answer 'no.'

"Referring to Indo-China Mr. Dulles said: The Chinese Communists have in fact avoided the direct use of their own Red armies in open aggression against Indo-China. They have, however, largely stepped up their support of the aggression in that area. Indeed they promote that aggression by all means short of open invasion.

"The free nations want peace. However, peace is not had merely by wanting it. Peace has to be worked for and planned for. Sometimes it is necessary to take risks to win peace just as it is necessary in war to take risks to win victory. The chances for peace are usually bettered by letting a potential aggressor know in advance where his aggression could lead him."—*Reuter*.

The attitude of the Eisenhower Government towards the forces that are either directly or indirectly attempting to impose the political system of Soviet or Chinese Communism in Asia has been clarified once again by this statement. It may be said that it is clearly understood by all Asiatics who are politically conscious and that further clarification is not needed.

But what is becoming equally clear is that the U.S. Government in its haste has forgotten that some Asiatic nations might prefer to think about the working of their own salvation in their own way. And it is also clear that the officials of the U.S. State departments are still in the same befogged state of ignorance about matters Asiatic as they were two decades back.

An Asian alliance is urgently needed to stave off the spread of Communism in South-East Asia and elsewhere. But there is no need to take stock of ancient enmities or of friendships milleniums old. There is no need to investigate the possibility of the arms-aid programme resulting in the flare-up of many smouldering feuds! It is a mad world indeed!

Soviet-Pakistan Relations

Moscow has clearly expressed the Soviet Government's attitude, towards the U.S.-Pakistan pact, in the statement given below:

"Moscow, March 28.—Russia announced yesterday that she had protested to Pakistan against granting military bases to the United States. The protest

said that Pakistan's action 'cannot but harm Soviet-Pakistan relations.'

"The Soviet note, according to Tass, the official Soviet News Agency, stated:

"In connection with the note of the Government of Pakistan of December 19, 1953, the Soviet Government considers necessary to state the following:

"In the note of November 30, 1953, the Soviet Government drew the attention of the Government of Pakistan to reports on negotiations between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States in the creation on Pakistan territory of American air force bases and on the inclusion of Pakistan in the plans of the organisation of an aggressive military bloc in the Middle East.

"It was pointed out at the time that the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to such statement as the establishment of foreign military and air bases on the territory of Pakistan and the adherence of Pakistan to the plans for the creation of the aforementioned bloc in the Middle East are directly connected with the security of the Soviet Union.

"The subsequent moves of the Pakistan Government have shown how well founded was the above mentioned note of the Soviet Government.

"It follows from the above that the Soviet Government cannot regard as satisfactory the note of the Pakistan Government of December 19 in reply to the Soviet note.

"The note of the Pakistan Government contains the statement that allegedly the question of granting military bases to the United States in Pakistan never arose.

"But in that connection it can be noted that in his interview published in the issue of January 15, 1953 of the American journal, *United States News and World Report*, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali stated that in the case in which an 'extraordinary situation' should arise, the Government of Pakistan will be prepared to put at the disposal of the United States military bases built by the means of the so-called American military aid.

"As it is known on February 25, of this year reports were simultaneously published in Karachi and Washington on an agreement reached between Pakistan and the United States on giving Pakistan the American military aid mentioned above.

"From the statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan mentioned above it can be seen that the Government of Pakistan in connection with that assumes the obligation not only to put military bases on Pakistani territory at the disposal of the United States, but also to place the Pakistani army in a situation in which it would be virtually placed under a foreign command.

"In its note the Government of Pakistan completely passes over the question put in the note of

the Soviet Government concerning the negotiations on the inclusion of Pakistan in the plans for the creation of an aggressive bloc in the Middle East.

"At the same time, it appears from the official Pakistani-Turkish communique, published on February 19 of this year in Karachi and in Ankara and also from the interview mentioned above of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, that a military bloc, directed against the Soviet Union and the peaceful countries of Asia, is being set up in the Near and Middle East.

"At the same time it is known that Pakistan is not threatened by any attack and in view of this the setting-up of the above-mentioned military bloc with the participation of Pakistan cannot be justified.

"Neither the lease of military bases to a foreign country on the territory of Pakistan nor the incorporation of Pakistan in a military bloc which is the instrument of imperialist aggressive forces is called for in the interests of the defence of Pakistan or in any way corresponds to the real interests of that country.

"Such moves can bring no good to the people of Pakistan, who are, like other people, interested in peace, the protection of their independence and the improvement of their well-being.

"In connection with what has been stated above, the Soviet Government deems it essential to draw attention to the fact that the participation of Pakistan in the bloc mentioned above and the putting at the disposal of the United States armed forces military bases on Pakistani territory cannot but harm Soviet-Pakistani relations and that the responsibility for such a situation rests with the Government of Pakistan."

Pakistan's haste in accepting arms-aid and military assistance from the U.S. is well understood in India. Indeed, half Asia understands the real implications.

America's efforts in this direction are leading to an active disturbance of peace over a wide area in Asia. It will retard our efforts towards the amelioration of the living standard of our peoples, because we shall have to devote billions of rupees and endless efforts for weapons of War, instead of using the same for implements of Peace.

India's Defence

"The basic approach to the development of India's defence and its pattern were explained by the Prime Minister in the House of the People today intervening in the debate on the demands for grants relating to the Defence Ministry.

"The two fundamental points in the approach to the building up of India's defence, said the Prime Minister, were that, firstly, it was aimed for defence and not aggression purposes, and secondly, greater reliance was placed on equipments and armaments

that were and could be produced within the country rather than on those which had to be imported but which might not be available in times of need."

"Far from increasing the size of her army, added the Prime Minister, we have deliberately reduced its size, but there is a limit beyond which we can hardly go. The Prime Minister saw no scope for further reduction of India's defence forces now.

"Referring to the criticism of about the number of British officers still employed in the Indian Defence Services, the Prime Minister said that the number of foreign officers which stood at 8,000 before partition had now been reduced to about a 100. Excepting in the Navy and in the Air Force and in some ordnance factories, no foreigners held any executive posts or operational commands. The Air Force Chief would be replaced by an Indian officer very soon. The Prime Minister told the House that Government attached great importance to the development of defence industries.

"A thorough survey of the country's mineral resources would be undertaken, he said, to find out what minerals we had for defence equipments. He also stated that it was being explored how the idle capacity of defence industries could be utilised to produce civilian goods.

"The Prime Minister paid high tributes to the officers and men of India's Defence Forces and also complimented foreign officers who were loyally serving India.

"The House of the People took up consideration of demands in respect of the Ministry of Defence totalling Rs. 223.5 crores. The biggest demand is in respect of the Army amounting to Rs. 146 crores. Other demands include Rs. 11 crores for the Navy, Rs. 32.9 crores for the Air Force and Rs. 18.37 crores for Defence Capital outlay.

"Mr. Umacharan Patnaik (Independent, Orissa) stressed the role of civil defence and said it had to be treated as part of the defence organisation. Civil defence was not an outmoded thing as the Prime Minister had stated, he said."

"Mr. Giriraj Saran Singh (Independent, Rajasthan) said the U.S.-Pakistan Arms Aid Pact had provided a splendid opportunity to unite the country which must be utilised to consolidate the country. While, he added, the threat from this Pact could be dealt with by India's Armed Forces, the real danger lay in fifth column activities which must be prevented by strengthening the security services."

In modern warfare an ill-equipped army, however, loyal, brave and well-disciplined, must be always at a disadvantage against a better-equipped force. Our officers and men are equal to the best the world can show, but have they the "tools of war" that they

should have? We would like to be assured on that point.

The question of army intelligence is also of the essence. We also want that the security services should be strengthened.

Ordnance Factories

"Details of some of the schemes, now under consideration of the Government, to make India self-sufficient in defence equipment were given by the Deputy Defence Minister, Sri Satish Chandra, in the House of the People on March 26. Intervening in the debate on the Defence Budget, he said that the Government was planning to set up ordnance factories for development of more advanced and complicated types of equipment. Besides, about two dozen schemes to increase the present capacity of ordnance factories in order to produce new items were under examination.

"The Government was considering possibility of manufacturing aero-engines in this country and proposals for producing more components of I.A.F. aircraft were being scrutinised. Denying that the equipment of the I.A.F. and the I.N. were obsolete, the Deputy Minister said that the Government had evolved a programme for gradually replacing the present vessels of the navy by newly constructed ships.

"Within a few months it would be possible to manufacture all the 20mm. ammunition required by the I.A.F. and the 40mm ammunition required by the army and the navy. He said, almost all the 20 ordnance factories in India were now working in full capacity and efforts were being made to utilise the few idle plants of civilian production.

"In a forceful speech Mr. Joachim Alva pleaded for an efficient military intelligence service."

It is plain, from what has been said, that we are unprepared. We have to go a long way yet before we can reach anything like self-sufficiency in the matters of arms, mechanized weapons of war and large calibre artillery. Vast expenditure in treasure and toil will be involved. But we cannot shrink from it, even though the money be needed urgently elsewhere.

The Union Budget

The Central Budget for the year 1954-55 is remarkable for the provision of deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 250 crores. Otherwise, it has pleased nobody—neither the man in the street nor those who have to bear the burden of controlling the means of production. The former complain that the budget provisions will surely raise the cost of living, while the latter keep on reiterating that the budget lacks incentive. A modern Jestling Pilate may rightfully ask, what is incentive for the capital? Of course, the question will remain unanswered.

The following are the new taxations and reliefs, at

a glance, announced by the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh:

NEW TAXES

- (1) Increase in import duties on betelnuts by Rs. 66 per pound to raise Rs. 3 crores.
- (2) Increase in import duties on plastic, insulated cables, electric fans, electric conduits, etc., to yield Rs. 1.25 crores.
- (3) Increase of excise duty on superfine cloth by six pies per yard and on other varieties of cotton cloth by three pies per yard to yield Rs. 6.5 crores.
- (4) Levy of duty on cement at Rs. 5 per ton, washing soap at Rs. 5-4-0 per cwt., on bars of one pound and other washing soaps at Rs. 6-2-0 per cwt., and toilet and other soaps at Rs. 14 per cwt. The duty on footwear would be 10 per cent *ad valorem*.
- (5) Excise duty of Rs. 1½ per yard on art silk fabrics.

ABOLITIONS

- (1) Abolition of import duty on raw cotton resulting in loss of revenue of Rs. 4 crores.
- (2) Abolition of import duties on steel sheets, plates and rail resulting in loss of Rs. 20 lakhs.
- (3) Preference given to U.K. on the imports of motor cars, motor car parts and batteries to be abolished on the expiry of period agreed under Gatt.

The following is the final picture of the Central Budget for 1954-55:

	(In crores of rupees)	
	Revised 1953-54	Budget 1954-55
Revenue	413.69	452.88
Expenditure	430.65	467.09
Deficit	16.96	14.21

For 1954-55, the revenue has been placed at Rs. 452.88 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 467.09 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 14.21 crores on revenue account. On the capital account, the expenditure on development schemes has been stepped up so sharply that the deficit will be as high as Rs. 250 crores, after taking into consideration the aid that would be available from friendly foreign countries and the amount to be borrowed from the long-term capital market. The revenue from customs will be Rs. 175 crores, as against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 160 crores. The improvement of Rs. 15 crores is due firstly to the additional duty expected to be collected in the coming year on the increased imports of sugar on Government account, now estimated at between 4 and 5 lakh tons, against 2.5 lakh tons this year, secondly, to increased yield from the import of commodities which carry high revenue duties, and thirdly, to the normal expansion of revenue. The revenue from the Union excise duties is placed at

Rs. 92.60 crores, that is, at a crore less than in the current year. The income-tax yield has been estimated at exactly the current year's revised estimate, that is, at Rs. 70.67 crores. Revenue from the estate duty is likely to come for the first time in the coming year. It is a new tax, the yield from which is most difficult to estimate. The income from this head is expected to be Rs. 4 crores and the whole of this amount will be transferred to the States in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The expenditure estimates at Rs. 467.09 crores reveal an increase of Rs. 36.44 crores over the revised estimates for the current year. Of this increase, Defence expenditure accounts for Rs. 5.78 crores and Civil expenditure for Rs. 30.66 crores, the exact total expenditure under these heads being Rs. 205.62 crores and Rs. 261.47 crores, respectively. The share of defence expenditure to the total expenditure is just 46 per cent. Nearly, the whole of the increase in this expenditure reflects the cost of bringing the Navy and Air forces up to reasonable efficiency in men and material.

As regards the rise in civil expenditure, the Finance Minister stated that the coming year will be the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan and it would be reasonable to expect a rise in the tempo of developmental expenditure during that year. The bulk of the increase of Rs. 30.5 crores in civil expenditure is due to this factor. The total expenditure on the nation-building and developmental services in the coming year is likely to amount to Rs. 53.67 crores, as against Rs. 39.52 crores in the current year. Expenditure on scientific departments, mainly on grants to scientific institutions and outlay on scientific services, is likely to be about a crore more than in the current year. The budget for education, providing for substantial grants for the expansion of basic and social education throughout the country, will be about Rs. 8 crores more than in the current year.

Increased provision has also been made for the development of village and small-scale industries. Community projects and national extension services between them will cost Rs. 8½ crores more than in the current year; about a crore more will be spent on grants for grow-more-food schemes and Rs. 1½ crore more on schemes of social welfare. These increases in developmental expenditure together account for Rs. 25 crores roundly of the total increase of Rs. 30½ crores. The increase of Rs. 5½ crores in the rest of the expenditure is mainly due to two factors. A lump-sum provision of Rs. 3.6 crores has been made under grant-in-aid to States for meeting any assistance that may have to be given to the State of Jammu and Kashmir if the scheme for financial integration of that State with the Indian Union, somewhat on the pattern of the former Princely States, which is under discussion with it, materialises. The payment of the

States' share of the Union excise duties next year will be about three-quarters of a crore more than in the current year. Increased provision has also been made under grant-in-aid to States for the welfare of scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other backward classes.

As regards the expenditure on capital account, the revised estimate has been put at Rs. 63.90 crores, as against Rs. 76.64 crores in the original estimate. The saving of nearly Rs. 13 crores has occurred mainly under Defence Civil Works and Government Trading. For the coming year, the provision for capital expenditure has been considerably raised and put at Rs. 145.75 crores. In the first three years of the Plan, developmental expenditure was necessarily somewhat smaller than the proportionate outlay for that period. Now that the economic climate is better suited for stepping up investment and the schemes themselves are gathering momentum, and in some cases nearing completion, the expenditure during the remaining two years is bound to be much more than in the current year.

As regards new taxation proposals, the preferential import duty on betelnuts has been increased by 6½ annas a pound. The Government viewpoint is that profit margins on betelnuts have for sometime been very high, often leading to the payment of premium on import licences. There is little justification for the importer and the middlemen retaining such profit and the new duty is an attempt to divert a part of the profits to the benefit of the exchequer. The additional revenue from this is estimated at Rs. 3 crores.

Certain changes in the import tariff have been incorporated in the budget. Duties on some articles like plastic and rubber insulated cables, electric fans and electric conduits have been raised. On the expiry of the period agreed under the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the preference given to the U.K. on the imports of motor cars, motor car parts and batteries is being abolished. The net effect of these and other minor changes will be a net increase of Rs. 1.25 crores in revenue.

The third change is the abolition of the present import duty on raw cotton. Imported raw cotton enters not merely in the production of cloth consumed internally but to some extent in the exports of Indian cloth. Under the present arrangements, Government allow a rebate of duty paid on imports of raw materials which enter into the manufacture of our exports. The whole problem of regulating the import duty on essential materials has been reconsidered by the Government in that context and, while obviously no final view has yet been taken, the Government feel that a move towards the gradual replacement of import duties on raw materials by excise duties on the goods manufactured from them could be made. This replacement seems to the Government more or

less inevitable, as the country is progressively industrialised; it will also make the export trade simpler by removing the complication involved in the grant of rebates of import duty. The beginning has been made with the import duties on raw cotton. The loss of revenue is estimated at Rs. 4 crores. In pursuance of the same policy, the import duty on some varieties of steel—a basic material—is being abolished with immediate effect. They are steel sheets (both black and galvanised), plates and rails. The loss of revenue involved is likely to be Rs. 25 lakhs.

In order to counterbalance the loss of revenue arising out of the abolition of the import on raw cotton, the excise duty on superfine cotton cloth has been raised by 6 pies per yard and on other varieties of cotton cloth by 3 pies a yard. This is designed partly, in the opinion of the Government, to replace the revenue lost by the abolition of the import duty on raw cotton and partly to rationalise the existing structure of the excise. The abolition of the import duty is expected to avoid the complications involved in the somewhat cumbrous procedure of giving drawbacks on exports. It will also facilitate the free imports of foreign cotton required by the industry by reducing the amount needed to finance it. The increase in excise duties will, to some extent, also reduce the possibility of diversion of manufactures from one tariff category to another by making it less profitable than at present, and will also, the Finance Minister says, ease the current pressure on Indian cotton. The changes, taking customs and Union excise together, will make the structure of taxation of Indian cloth more rational than at present. The net effect of these changes will be an increase in revenue of Rs. 6.5 crores.

An excise duty of 1 anna and 6 pies will be levied on artificial silk fabrics. The Government argument is that the use of artificial silk fabrics is now very widespread and they compete, to some extent, with cotton cloth which has to bear an excise duty. In the opinion of the Finance Minister, there is no reason why, when the bulk of the cotton cloth is subject to taxation, artificial silk fabrics should be exempt. The new duty will not be levied on the manufactures of handlooms and small units which have less than 10 power looms. Art silk fabrics will also be placed in the same position as mill-made cotton textiles by the levy of an additional 3 pies per yard, corresponding to a similar levy which is now being made on cotton cloth under the *khadi* and other Handloom Industries Development (Additional Excise Duty on Cloth) Act, 1953. The proceeds will be appropriated to the Special Fund for the development of the handloom industry. The revenue from this is estimated at Rs. 1.60 crores. The new excises on cement, soap and footwear will together yield Rs. 3.75 crores.

No Taxation Increase

The main feature of this year's budget, whether of the Union or of the States, is that no important taxation proposal has been mooted. With the Taxation Enquiry Commission at work, the Government of India consider that it is neither proper nor desirable to initiate any large-scale change in the present structure of taxation, until the whole problem has been considered in the light of the Commission's recommendations. The same explanation is being put forward by the State Governments, too, for not raising additional resources needed for implementing the Five-Year Plan. The result is that the Union Government have to depend to a greater extent than is necessary on deficit financing and excise duties. Had the Taxation Enquiry Commission been appointed before the Plan was launched or at least simultaneously, the country would not have been in this sorry plight. When the Plan was being framed, the right thing was to explore not only the resources available for the implementation of the Plan but also the manner in which such resources should be raised. For this initial omission, the country is now paying the penalty of inadequate and haphazard economic growth.

Notwithstanding the tall claims of the Finance Minister as to the desirability of shifting emphasis from import duty to excise duty, it must be admitted that the excise duty on consumer goods tends to raise the cost of living and makes its effect felt directly on the consumer. But the import duty is a silent partner in the determination of the cost of production and much of its vibrations are lost while being transmitted from the process of production to the process of consumption. The abolition of the import duty on raw cotton is just a favour shown to the industrialists at the cost of the consumers. What guarantee the Government have obtained that the prices of cloth will be lowered to the extent of the abolition of the import duty on raw cotton? Authority being placed on a higher altitude suffers from myopia in so far as the vision of immediate things is blurred, otherwise it could have seen that the excise duty on cloth, soap and footwear will not only raise the prices of these commodities, but also give a spurt to other consumer goods to be costlier in sympathy. Sympathetic vibration or synchronized movement has now become a peculiar feature not only of our political life, but also of our economic existence. The Finance Minister's pleas in abolishing import duty on raw cotton and imposing excise duty on cloth are not at all convincing. He has said that the replacement of import duties on raw materials by excise duties on the goods manufactured from them seems to be inevitable as the country is progressively industrialised. To say that the import duty is a feature of the underdeveloped economy and excise

duty is a feature of industrialised economy is too narrow a generalisation to be plausible. The Finance Minister may as well plainly say that his move is just designed to help the textile manufacturers. Does he not realize that the excise duties will affect the teeming millions of middle and lower income groups who are already groaning under the pressure of various kinds of indirect taxation and income rigidity? The new taxation proposals mean that the limits for direct taxation have been reached and that the scope for even indirect taxation is so restricted that the levies are too far and wide. Almost all important commodities are already subject to excise duties. Moreover, the State Governments are collecting sales tax at steep rates on all commodities, including industrial raw materials and food. The burden of indirect taxation is so heavy that the expansion of industries is being affected by the curb that is now being placed on consumption by excises and sales taxes.

As regards the deficit financing, although we are not opposed to it in principle, we are concerned about the way in which the large dose of deficit financing shall be pumped into the market. Deficit financing by itself is not bad and is needed to a certain extent for financing development projects and creating employment opportunities. But care should be taken to see whether the system can absorb such a huge amount all at once. Deficit financing in slow doses and keeping in pace with the expansion in consumer goods production may help in stepping up the developmental projects.

The States have failed to raise their share of funds to finance the Five-Year Plan. As a result, the Centre is compelled to help the States by way of loans and grants in financing the projects. This huge amount of deficit financing is necessary to meet the States' liability. The States should be asked to tap new sources of income, particularly, by levying taxes on luxuries. Prohibition has been a costly affair and socially wasteful, and in terms of money value, the loss is anything between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 crores per annum.

Deficit financing should be directed towards productive enterprises. The large sums that are being spent on Community Projects naturally raise the question whether the Projects will yield any tangible return of a productive nature and whether it is appropriate to devote sizeable resources on a dubious experiment at a time when funds are scarce. Instead of launching the scheme of building new model villages, the results—the sinking of tube wells, building roads, imparting education, etc.—could have been attempted by trying to intensify the working of the existing machinery.

The outstanding public debt of the Government

of India will go up by Rs. 275.45 crores during the next year, that is from Rs. 2,130.63 crores at the end of March, 1954, to Rs. 2,406.08 crores by the close of March, 1955.

West Bengal Budget

The most disquieting feature of the West Bengal Budget is the persistent adverse gap between revenue resources and expenditure. The Budget estimates for the year 1954-55 reveal a deficit of Rs. 13.37 crores. Since 1952, the deficits have been mounting at a galloping rate. In 1952-53, there was a nominal surplus of Rs. 32 lakhs, and the budget figures for 1953-54, revealed a deficit of over Rs. 6 crores; in the revised estimate, the deficit went up to Rs. 7½ crores. These deficits were wholly on revenue account.

The revenue income of the State of West Bengal has remained more or less fixed, but the expenditure on revenue account has been progressively increasing. In 1952-53, the actual revenue amounted to Rs. 37½ crores, in 1953-54, the revised estimates stood at Rs. 38.8 crores, and in the budget estimates for 1954-55, the estimated revenue are placed at Rs. 39.9 crores. During the last three years, the revenues have gone up by nearly Rs. 2½ crores, and this increase is quite inadequate when compared with the growing volume of expenditure. In 1952-53, the expenditure stood at Rs. 38.9 crores, and in 1953-54, it went up to Rs. 50.57 crores. For the year 1954-55, there is a further rise in expenditure by Rs. 2½ crores.

How this ever widening gap between income and expenditure is to be bridged? The cost of administration is steadily increasing. It would be dangerous to cut social services which are much too inadequate. The number of Ministers and their Deputies seem to be excessive and the axe should be applied on the administration as a whole. The State must increase its resources by tapping new sources. In this connection the question of reallocation of revenues or "taxing powers" should be reconsidered. Notwithstanding the so-called fine arguments of the Finance Commission, the general feeling in this State is that an injustice is being done to this "problem" State. Although West Bengal today has less than half the population of the undivided province, her income-tax contribution remains as big as that of undivided Bengal. In income-tax contribution, West Bengal occupies the second position, but in allocation of income-tax from the divisible pool, she comes fourth. West Bengal's share of income-tax has been fixed rather arbitrarily and she can justly claim a revision of this matter by the Taxation Enquiry Commission.

West Bengal should also improve its machinery for tax collection. The general impression is that the sales tax evasion is widespread—not of course, by the consumers, but by the retailers and the wholesalers. The sales tax yields in Bombay and Madras

are much higher than that of West Bengal. In the revised estimates for 1953-54, the yield from this tax is placed at Rs. 80 lakhs less than in the budget estimate. Nobody would believe that the business conditions in the State have proportionally deteriorated. It is, however, gratifying that the State Government have taken appropriate steps to tighten the loopholes in the sales tax collection machinery.

The expenditure on the Five-Year Plan has been according to schedule. Of the total estimated expenditure of Rs. 69 crores, as much as Rs. 54 crores will be spent by the end of the fourth year of the Plan. In the fifth year of the Plan, only Rs. 15 crores would remain to be spent. West Bengal has made a total contribution of Rs. 36 crores to the Damodar Valley Project. Besides, the State has to spend large sums on the Mayurakshi Projects, Community Development Projects and National Extension Blocks. These projects have largely enhanced the rural wealth and income. Industrial investment and production have also kept on a steady expansion programme. The State economy, on the whole, presents a brighter outlook.

West Bengal's debt to the Central Government now stands at Rs. 76 crores and it will go up to nearly Rs. 100 crores by the end of the coming financial year. With a chronic revenue deficit, which is nearly a third of the annual revenue income, and the need to create jobs at an increasing rate, the State Government deserves sympathy. The grants-in-aid from the Union are just a veil on the unhappy financial position of the State.

Many of the State enterprises which were started with high expectations have turned out to be costly affairs, that is, they are being run at a loss. Out of the 14 commercial concerns of the Government, 11 have been running at a loss. The State trading in foodgrains accounts for the bulk of the loss and this is understandable. West Bengal had to purchase rice from the Union at a higher rate and sell to the public at a subsidized price. It is good that the loss has been borne by the Exchequer instead of transferring the burden on the consumers. Nobody would grudge this loss. The Calcutta State Transport Service could have shown profit had it not been the victim of recurring public vandalism. Moreover, the Service is constantly being expanded and it is quite natural that the profit is being ploughed back into capital outlay. A point should be stressed here in this connection and it is that in a Welfare State profit is not the essential thing. What is essential is creation of more and more jobs and profit is anathema to a State economy. Profit arises by exploitation and the State should not be expected to exploit the labour of its people. If the capital is maintained intact simultaneously with the creation of increased employment opportunities, then the purpose of the State enter-

prises is achieved. But if the project neither earns profit nor creates employment, then certainly it is a bad venture, or rather wastage of public money by injudicious speculation which amounts to gambling. The Deep Sea Fishing Schemes belong to this category and stand to be blamed.

Handloom Weaving

India's handloom woven textiles were famous throughout the world for thousands of years. It survived all vicissitudes of invasion, loot and disorder for centuries. Even the determined attempt of the British, during the days of the ill-famed East India Company, to destroy it by brutal oppression of the weavers failed. But now it is faced with extinction through long neglect. The position of this famed and most important of all Cottage Industries in West Bengal has been well described by Dr. S. N. Ganguly in the weekly *West Bengal* of March 11, from which we append extracts below.

In this connection we would recommend the import of fine yarn from abroad until such time as the local mills can fill the demand. The import licenses and the distribution should be given to the State Governments. No other consideration should be allowed to stand in the way of resuscitating this dying industry.

"Handloom weaving is the first and most important of all the cottage industries in India. The same applies to the State of West Bengal as well. It is natural therefore that any effort made towards development of cottage industries of the State at once opens up the question of improving the lot of handloom weavers.

It is estimated that there exist in West Bengal, today, an approximate of 147,000 handlooms. Out of these no less than 125,000 are registered. On this industry depend four and a half lakh of inhabitants of this State who derive their living out of it. The products of Bengal handlooms had at one time captured the imagination of many men and women of fashion. It commanded a lucrative trade in the markets of Europe and Asia. The muslins of Bengal have no parallel even today. It is a matter of deep regret and concern that the members of the same weaving class are today on the verge of a dangerous precipice with their very existence at stake. To solve their problem and to set things right is an urgent and pressing need which the country must face squarely.

Out of the total of 125,000 registered looms in West Bengal an approximate of 47,600 are being operated by the handloom weavers working independently, either on their own or on co-operative basis. Nearly 70,000 looms are under the control of mahajans though not directly owned by them, the balance of seven thousand odd belong to the middlemen or mahajans who operate them on the same pattern as mills, with weavers working them

on payment. The workers in 77,000 looms belonging to the last two categories are weavers only in name, while in fact they are mere wage-earners working on daily pittance. The sale price of handloom products are fixed at levels much higher than their cost of production. The middleman maintains himself between the producer and the consumer and the difference in price at the two respective phases of the industry, he appropriates to himself. To produce a saree of 80 counts thread the cost of yarn and dye needed is estimated at rupees five and annas five. But its market price generally ranges between Rs. 14 and Rs. 15.

Handloom products are undoubtedly more lasting and better looking than a mill-made article of similar yarn size. But they are more expensive in comparison. It is not possible for a person of average means to go in for them always. In order to bring about a revival of the handloom industry it is necessary therefore to effect a reduction in its cost of production and sale price.

The second important factor responsible for the retrograde progress of West Bengal's handloom industry is its undesirable dependence on external agencies. To secure a supply of yarn the weavers of Bengal have to look for distant South Indian mills located in Madura and near about. To keep the one and a half lakh looms of West Bengal active it is necessary to secure about 75,000 bales of yarn. During the last three years it had not been possible for this State to procure even half the desired quantity. As a consequence, the weaver had not been able to produce at full capacity and this had resulted in his not being able to maintain himself and the family at the level of what may be termed as healthy living. One of the inevitable results of such poverty is fall of efficiency; and this leads to increased cost of labour. Moreover, whatever insufficient quantity of yarn was possible of procurement, it fell far short of the desired quality and count. A weaver used to weaving *dhoties* sometimes got yarn suitable for making a napkin and vice versa. As a direct consequence to this he had perforce to weave articles whose mode of production he was not well versed in. This led to further drop in efficiency and increase in cost of labour.

Besides, the cost of transport of yarn from South Indian mills to the homes of the West Bengal weavers had been in the region of no less than four per cent of its ex-mill price. This caused an undue rise in the cost of raw materials which he had to bear, putting him thereby at a great disadvantage as compared to his compatriot in South Indian regions.

It would be interesting at this stage to study the yarn situation in West Bengal. There are 23 mills at present in this State, engaged in the production of yarn. The total spindleage of these mills is estimated at 460,000. The total output of yarn in 1952 had been an approximate of 99,000 bales. Out of these 23 mills however 16 are of the composite types with facilities for weaving as

well. They have installed in them more than 8,000 power looms. Besides, there are 23 power loom factories in West Bengal with a total strength of 1,533 power looms. They have no means of producing yarn.

West Bengal requires at least 108,000 bales of yarn annually to feed these power looms. A further quantity of 60,000 bales of yarn are needed to meet the needs of Hosiery mills, if working at full capacity. The remarkable dependence of West Bengal for its yarn supply is appalling, as will be seen from the above figures. Till some effective measures are taken to remedy this defect, stabilisation of handloom or so to say the cotton textile industry, in this State will remain an uphill task.

West Bengal's need for cotton fabrics for internal consumption alone is estimated at 370 million yards per year. Besides, a considerable amount of fabrics is exported through Calcutta to neighbouring States like Assam, Manipur and Tripura, etc. Besides, there are markets overseas. The annual production of fabrics in this State may be stated to be 50 million yards in handlooms, 160 million yards in the mills and 13 million yards in the power looms outside the composite mills. It goes without saying therefore that West Bengal's production of cotton textiles falls far too short of her demand. There is thus ample scope for increasing the production capacity of handlooms. This can be effected by increasing the number of looms and also their efficiency."

"Statistics reveal that out of the total registered looms in West Bengal there are 10,600 throw shuttle, 111,400 fly shuttle and 3,000 semi-automatic looms. The first category of looms possess very low productive capacity. In the interest of the handloom industry it is desirable, except in cases where use of such looms is indispensable for the purpose of making of articles of specific nature, that these throw shuttle looms should be replaced by the more efficient ones like the semi-automatic and "Chittaranjan," etc. In order to survive, the industry must maintain a dynamic existence and march forward along the path of progress. In the alternative, it will perish."

"The Governments of West Bengal and the Indian Union are fully aware of the present precarious position of the handloom industry. Efforts are being made towards its improvement. To help sale of handloom products, a scheme has been taken in hand for establishment of 60 sales emporia at 60 different places to cover all the districts of the State. In addition, action is also being taken to equip a mobile shop. These measures are meant to bridge the gap between the producing and consuming centres and establish a closer contact between the weaver and his customers. Amongst other schemes, being launched with immediate effect, with a view to bringing relief to the weavers are (i) establishment of 12 regional dye houses so as to bring within easy reach of the weavers, dyed fabrics of standard quality at reasonable prices, (ii) establishment of a central block printing and block cutting station at the Bengal Textile

Institute at Serampore. This will offer increased scope for printing of fabrics with improved designs so as to meet the changing taste of the consuming public, (iii) to effect conversion at Government cost of 1,000 throw shuttle looms belonging to the indigent weavers to fly shuttle ones with automatic throwing device, and (iv) to introduce 250 additional semi-automatic looms at Government expenses."

"Massage Clinics"

With the influx of hundreds of thousands of uprooted young women, Calcutta was infested with a host of anti-social pests who established a large number of brothels in Calcutta, under the guise of Massage Baths and Clinics, in order to exploit the misery of those unfortunates for monetary gain. The West Bengal State is taking action against it now.

The State Assembly took serious view of the employment of women for immoral purposes in a number of so-called massage baths and clinics in Calcutta when it passed unanimously the West Bengal Clinical Establishments (Amendment) Bill, 1954.

Members so strongly expressed themselves against such massage clinics that they were ready to give Government more power to deal with this menace effectively. The House practically gave mandate to the Government that offenders should be given exemplary punishment. The Opposition, in fact, proposed that punishment for such offences should be raised to two years' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 2,000 in place of one year's imprisonment and fine of Rs. 500.

Sri M. N. Roy, A Correction

Sri H. D. Malaviya of the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*, sends the following correction, which we append below:

"I have seen the February, 1954 issue of *The Modern Review*, in which, on page 104, there appears a note on the late Shri M. N. Roy. I wish to draw your attention to para 3 in column 2 of page 104, in which you say that, "Immediately after he set foot on the soil of India, Comrade Roy was arrested in connection with what is known as Meerut Conspiracy Case", etc.

"I beg to bring to your notice what, I feel, is a mis-statement of fact. Firstly, Mr. Roy was not arrested after he set foot on Indian soil. Actually, I think, he remained underground for at least 1 or 2 years, if not more. He wrote a number of articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* in the name of Dr. Mahmud. I also believe that he was present at the Karachi Congress where he met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I have learnt on reliable authority that he had a hand in the drafting of the famous Karachi Fundamental Rights Resolution. Kunwar Brajesh Singh of Kalakaukar, U.P. (Dist. Partapgarh) was very intimately associated with Mr. Roy during those days, and this information I have got from him.

"Again, I will point out that Shri Roy was tried in Kanpur not in connection with Meerut Conspiracy Case but in connection with Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Mr. S. A. Dange, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, and I think, Shaikat Usmani were the other accused. They had already been tried and convicted and Mr. Roy, the fourth accused of the case, was tried after he was arrested in 1932 or 1933. It may be pointed out that the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case was the second Communist Conspiracy trial in India; first trial had taken place sometimes in 1921 or 1922 in Peshawar, known as Peshawar Conspiracy Case, in which, amongst others, Mr. Feroze Mansur was an accused. This Mr. Feroze Mansur was sometime Secretary of the Punjab Communist Party and he is now somewhere in West Pakistan, may be behind prison bars. It may be pointed out that Mr. Roy was maintaining contact with Mr. Dange and Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, etc., from Moscow, and through them was organising a Communist movement in India."

Contributory Negligence

Sri S. R. Venkata Raman of the Servants of India Society sends the following suggestion:

"A bill now before the New York State Senate Judiciary Committee seeks to replace the present doctrine of contributory negligence by a rule of comparative negligence. Under the plea of contributory negligence by the plaintiff, the defendant may escape payment of damage if he proves that the plaintiff himself contributed to his injury by his negligence however small it may be. Under the contemplated bill, a more equitable rule is sought to be introduced, enabling the plaintiff to recover damages proportionate to the plaintiff's degree of negligence. This rule of comparative negligence has been, I understand, in operation in the admiralty Courts of America much to the advantage of injured person. Why not in India?"

Unrest in Nepal

It seems the feud between the two half-brothers, B. P. and M. P. Koirala, has again assumed major dimensions. It is not known how wide this latest flare-up has been. It is a great pity that Nepal's progress should thus be hampered by party feuds.

"Kathmandu, March 28.—Mr. B. P. Koirala, President, Nepal Congress, and Mr. K. P. Upadhyaya, former Speaker of the Advisory Assembly, were arrested at a public meeting here this evening. Mr. Amir Bahadur, who was earlier wanted by the police, escaped as soon as the meeting was over. About 50,000 people attended the meeting which was one of the largest seen in recent years. A huge procession was taken out before the meeting. Mr. Koirala and Mr. Upadhyaya were arrested as they were leaving at the end of the meeting which had remained perfectly

peaceful. The police then tear-gassed and lathi-charged the meeting. They also used water hoses.

"Moving a resolution against the third amendment of the Nepal Interim Act, Mr. Koirala said the present Government was a Fascist one. The rights it had withdrawn by this amendment had been won by the people after a long and bitter struggle. He appealed to all democratic parties to unite on this issue. Mr. Amir Bahadur seconded the resolution. The amendment curtails the powers of the High Courts."

The Spanish Claim on Gibraltar

Devere Allen commented in February last on Spain's agitation for Gibraltar as follows. The picture covers a wide area, and shows up the laches in the U.S. schemes for defence.

"Why this new drive by Franco's regime to keep Queen Elizabeth from stopping at Gibraltar next May? Why the revival of the Gibraltar claim? Why the student agitations? There is only one answer. Just as this column warned, U.S. aid to Franco has puffed him up and he is throwing his weight around. He attacks Britain and France to destroy their prestige in the Arab world, which Franco wants to dominate. The French in particular have left themselves open by their crudities in holding back their colonials in North Africa, even to the extent of putting over them a hand-picked sultan. There is no percentage for colonial peoples, however, in backing Franco.

The deal for bases, incidentally, is showing strange aspects. As Walter Millis has shown in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the U.S. has no assurance whatever that in case of war its Spanish bases can be used. Spain's view is that they can't be used unless Spain comes into the war on the American side. If Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott thinks the U.S. can just bulldoze its way into an acceptance of its viewpoint, as he appears to, he doesn't know Franco very well.

The student episode is something straight out of Hitler's book. The government at Madrid, through the Falange Party, incited the students to agitate against the British and French. When the rioting got out of hand, the government cracked down on its own tools, and then the students promptly turned on the police. There is something sad about all this: not since Franco took power have the universities been open to all qualified students. Instead, they are screened by a matriculation committee, and only those appearing subservient are allowed to get a higher education. It is not easy for an individualistic Spaniard to be turned into a robot, but Franco is willing to try.

The Catholic paper, *Ecclesia*, frankly said the other day that the people of Spain are lax in their religious devotion. They lack confidence in the regime, they are hounded by poverty. *Ecclesia* could say this because it is the sole uncensored paper in the land. The popular laxity is not hard to understand. I shall not soon forget the ragged man I saw at the cathedral in Barcelona, first

making the sign of the cross, then pressing his nose against a window displaying part of the cathedral's golden and jewelled treasure, said to be worth two million U.S. dollars. From such vulgarity he turned away in rage, his broken shoes pounding the pavement in fury. Compare this with the dignity and simplicity of a new little Catholic church in my home town, and one can see why the people of Spain are not as devoted as they might be. *Ecclesia* was on the right track." (*Worldover Press*.)

The East German State

The Soviet Government has announced with a great deal of fanfare the birth of a new State in East Germany. It is clearly stated that it would be a sovereign State, as follows:

"Berlin, March 25.—The Soviet Government today announced the end of the occupation regime in Communist East Germany and declared East Germany a sovereign State, conducting its own internal and external affairs. The declaration said that, henceforth the task of the Soviet High Commission would be concerned mainly with ensuring, in the interests of security, that Germany should develop as a 'democratic and peace-loving State.'

"All Soviet surveillance over the East German State organs hitherto carried out by the High Commission would cease. 'The German Democratic Republic will be free to decide itself on its internal and external relations, including those with West Germany,' the declaration said.

"The full text of the declaration as published by the East German News Agency A.D.N. was:

"The Government of the Soviet Union is unerringly aiming to contribute to a solution of the German problem in accordance with the interests of strengthening peace and security, and the national reunification of Germany on a democratic basis. These aims shall be pursued by practical measures aiming at a rapprochement of East and West Germany, the carrying out of free elections and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

"In spite of the efforts of the Soviet Union, no step towards re-establishing German national unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty were taken at the recent Berlin conference of Foreign Ministers.

"In the face of this situation and as a result of negotiations of the Government of the Soviet Union with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, the Government of the U.S.S.R. deems it necessary to take steps serving the interests of the German people even before the re-unification of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty, such as:

(1) 'The Soviet Government establishes with the German Democratic Republic the same relations as with other States.

'The German Democratic Republic will have the freedom to decide on its interior and exterior affairs

at its own will, including the question of relations with West Germany. The Soviet Union maintains in the German Democratic Republic the functions concerned with guaranteeing security and those resulting from the duties of the U.S.S.R. out of Four-Power agreements.

'The Soviet Government has taken note of a declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic that it acknowledges the duties arising for it from the Potsdam Agreement about the development of Germany as a democratic and peace-loving State, as well as the duties connected with the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

(3) 'Supervision of the activities of State organs of the German Democratic Republic, hitherto observed by the High Commissioner of the U.S.S.R. in Germany, will cease. In accordance herewith, the functions of the High Commissioner of the U.S.S.R. in Germany are restricted to questions resulting from the abovementioned guaranteeing of security and the maintaining of relevant contacts with representatives of the occupation authorities of the United States, Great Britain and France in questions of all-German character and such resulting from agreed decisions of the Four-Powers on Germany.

'The Government of the U.S.S.R. believes that the existence of the occupation statute, fixed by the United States, Great Britain and France for West Germany, is not only incompatible with the national rights of the German people, but also under the present circumstances makes difficult a rapprochement of East and West Germany being one of the main obstacles on the road to national reunion of Germany'.

The U. S. Government, however, is very skeptical about the sovereignty of the newly born State as the news-item below indicates:

"Washington, March 25.—The State Department said tonight the Soviet Union's grant of 'full sovereignty' to East Germany was 'sheer facade' and that that Government would collapse if Soviet troops did not support it. The department said in a statement the significant fact in the announcement was that Soviet occupation troops would remain in East Germany.

"If those troops removed, the entire puppet regime would collapse under the weight of hatred and hostility of the populace which it has the effrontery to claim it represents,' it added."

Situation in British Honduras

It seems that the only cure for colonialism is total extinction of the infected people. After British Guiana we have now British Honduras.

According to a *Reuter* message, the Governor of British Honduras had requested the British Government for a political probe of the South American

colony. A general election was to be held there on the 3rd of April for the first time with universal suffrage. The only fully organized political party in the country was the People's United Party and it was very likely to win the elections. The Governor had expressed his concern that the party had strong links with the neighbouring State of Guatemala whose Government was said to be pro-Communist.

The *People* writes with reference to the situation in British Honduras that the constitution there stood morally suspended. "The legal suspension will probably follow soon enough. Elections are to be held on April 3. It is possible they will never be held, for the popular party which is against the colonial rule is bound to be in a majority. The British Government, wiser for their experience of British Guiana, don't want any more Jagans and Burnhams. They would rather have no elections in order to avoid the inevitable suspension of the constitution that will follow the emergence of a troublesome popular majority in the legislature.

"A convenient lie is that the opposition is tainted with Communism. The truth is that both Honduras and British Guiana betray a reversal of the policy of decolonialising. There is no doubt that all this is being done with the blessing and help of America. Any anti-Communist cloak, real or false, appeals to this immature nation. Americans seem to be forgetting in their present paroxysm of panic, even the holy doctrine of Monroe."

Racial Discrimination in S. Africa

We append below a Russian view of the plague-spot of racialism. So long as these besotted Rip van Winkles are associated with the "Democratic Bloc" that camp will be viewed with suspicion by all Asiatics, excepting those that are besotted themselves.

L. Yablochkov writes: "Racism has now become the State ideology of the Union of South Africa. Through strict segregation and bloody terror the present masters of South Africa strive to keep 8,500,000 Africans and 365,000 Indians of the Union of South Africa in a state of constant fear, poverty and ignorance."

The enormity and monstrosity of the measures taken to keep the coloured and Indian peoples under subjection might be gauged from the fact that sixty-three laws, not reckoning laws of discrimination directed against all non-Europeans had been enacted against the Indian population alone from 1885 to 1946. The Indians had no representation in Parliament.

The white settlers had grabbed all good land from the native population, so that ninety per cent of the country's land now belonged to a handful of white plantation owners. The local population had been driven to so-called "native districts" or reservations which were too crowded. At the present time forty

per cent of the families in the reservations had no cattle, and thousands of families had neither cattle nor land. "Hunger, poverty and heavy taxes force the inhabitants of the reservations to seek work in the cities and on the farms agreeing to any, most enslaving conditions."

Colour discrimination was a paying proposition for the white masters so far as it related to questions of labour. The African labourers were never paid wages equal to that paid to other workers. As a rule they received in wages a tenth of what was paid to the white workers, having no right to paid holiday or to a pension when they lost their capacity to work. They were deterred from resorting to strikes for a redress of their grievances under pains of imprisonment. The Africans were deprived of their right to move freely through the country by the introduction of a complicated system of passes and were thus virtually bound to their place of work. One could appreciate the miserable conditions, under which the native population were forced to live, from the fact that according to official data 65.3 per cent African children and 85.6 per cent Indian children were underfed. Chronic undernourishment and disease sent to the grave 242 out of 1000 new-born infants up to one year, 327—up to 2 years, and only 492 children live to the age of 16.

The national income of South Africa, writes Yablochkov, amounted to 1,200 million pounds sterling. Of this only 32 million, i.e., less than 3 per cent fell to the share of 8,500,000 Africans. Twenty-six lakh Europeans received more than 90 per cent. The State spent 15 million pounds sterling a year on the education of 450,000 European children while for 872,000 non-European children attending school it spent only 5 million pounds sterling.

The coloured people were sent to prisons on the slightest pretext and the Government loaned prisoners to white proprietors and received two shillings a day for each of them. During 1951, 800,000 non-Europeans had been sentenced for violating all kinds of discriminatory laws and decrees.

Parliamentary Report on Kenya

A six-man British Parliamentary Delegation visited Kenya between the 8th and 26th January. On February 18, the report of their tour was placed before the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for the colonies, Mr. Lyttleton.

The report says that notwithstanding the state of emergency, the expansion of the Regular Police force and the presence of five battalions of British troops in Kenya, "the influence of Mau Mau in the Kikuyu area, except in certain localities, has not declined, it has, on the contrary, increased." All political activity on the part of the Africans was virtually banned with the outlawing of their prin-

cipal political organization, the Kenya African Union. The Government had not succeeded in rallying the mass of the Kikuyu to the side of law and order.

Even in Nairobi, the influence of the Mau Mau was very effective. "Mau Mau orders are carried out in the heart of the city, Mau Mau 'courts' sit in judgment and their sentences are carried out . . ." The mass of Africans in Nairobi were leading a passive resistance movement. For example, they had started a "bus boycott" movement under which Africans had for several months boycotted European-owned buses.

A Commission of Enquiry into the police force had found disturbing signs of bribery and corruption in the lower levels of the Kenya police. But the Parliamentary Delegation felt it their duty to put on record their own serious disquiet on these and other points, appertaining to the police and to law and order generally. They referred to "the fact that brutality and malpractices by the police have occurred on a scale which constitutes a threat to public confidence in the forces of law and order. Official records with which we were provided, show that there have been 130 prosecutions for brutality among the police forces, ending in 73 convictions. Forty cases are pending. There have also been 29 prosecutions for corruption of which there were 12 convictions; 13 are pending. These are significant figures, representing much larger numbers of complaints received by the authorities, investigated and not proceeded with because they could not be proved or were disproved by investigation. An even larger volume of complaints, many no doubt false but others possibly justified, are said to have been made to people in close touch with Africans."

The Delegation suggested that a "reorganisation of the police, from the highest level downwards, should be accompanied by stern action to enforce proper discipline and a right approach to the general public." The Report expresses the anxiety of the Delegation at the attitude of a section of European public who had been openly proclaiming their sympathy with the European members of the Security forces who were accused of brutality and committing other offences. The Europeans had started a fund with the object of paying the legal expenses of such European officers. The Report says that, "Activity of this kind, taken in conjunction with protests in the press and elsewhere when proceedings are instituted against Europeans in the security forces, is tantamount to giving moral support to breaches of the law."

Referring to the relations between the Government and the people the Report says:

"If the Government has not succeeded in diminishing the sway of Mau Mau over the mass of Kikuyu people, equally it has not yet secured the full support, loyalty and understanding of the

majorities in all the racial communities outside the Kikuyu."

The Delegation noted widespread colour bar in Kenya and suggested that there must be more rapid progress in Kenya towards destroying the colour bar. "At Government level we believe the time is ripe for an examination of laws, with a view to eliminating discrimination. It is also at Government level that a lead may most appropriately be given in the economic sphere, by payment for the job rather than the occupant . . ."

Referring to the economic life in Kenya, the Report says that the basis of life in Kenya at the present time and in the foreseeable future was agriculture and its dependent industries. There was practically no industry in Kenya before the Second World War. No remarkable progress was noticeable in that direction since that time, though undoubtedly something had been done.

There was serious overpopulation in areas where Africans owned the land. In the European areas as well as in some other areas there were lands which were undeveloped. The Delegation did not deal with these matters in detail, leaving that to the Royal Commission now at work on all aspects of land and land use in Kenya but said, "Whatever adjustments in this field are eventually made as a result of the work of the Royal Commission we feel that there should be a declaration once more of the determination on the part of the United Kingdom that in Kenya, the objective is a multi-racial society in which the rights of all men are safeguarded, and not the domination of one race by another, or of the whole country by and for one race."

We hope that declaration will not only be made, but given effect to. The *New Herenvolk* of Kenya should be made to understand that their dinosaur mentality would only lead to their extinction.

Hindi and the Regional Languages

Referring to the controversy about the medium of instruction in the Universities, Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes in the *Harijan*, March 20, that until freedom had been won three things were taken as generally accepted that

"(a) The mother tongue should take the place of English as the medium of instruction;

"(b) the provinces in India, ill-arranged as they were from the national point of view, should be re-arranged linguistically;

"(c) Hindusthani should be the national language for inter-provincial intercourse and Central administration."

But after the achievement of freedom, to some people these principles appeared to demand a reconsideration. The first principle—that the true medium of education was the language of the child—was a universally accepted principle, "and there need arise no question on it." But unhappily the supporters

of Hindi as the national language wanted to impose that language as a medium of education also chiefly in the name of Indian unity, adducing minor academic considerations in favour of their argument like migration of teachers and students and the availability of competent teachers.

Exposing the fallacy of such argument Sri Desai writes that provision of the above facilities could not be the *sine qua non* of a medium. Had it been so "it would lead us into the absurd position of having one world language for all Universities. But we know that it is not necessary; nor is it feasible."

Regarding the plea of unity of India, Sri Desai writes that there was no danger of the disruption of the unity of India by adopting regional or provincial languages as the medium of instruction. On the contrary, the imposition of Hindi would lead people to think in terms of Hindi imperialism and would thus lead to the growth of a more dangerous type of provincialism and parochialism thereby disrupting the unity of India.

So long our Universities had simply played second fiddle to the British Universities. Henceforth, the role of our Universities also would have to change. "It will have to concern itself with training of three sections within society—the elite, the specialists and the residual mass." That three-fold education could not be democratic unless instructions were to be given in the mother tongue.

The provincial languages were moreover free from Hindi revivalist and communal considerations in contra-distinction to Hindi where such revivalist and communal considerations were trying to assert their narrow values and disrupt the march of true national growth.

Hindi could moreover hardly claim its precedence as a medium of instruction on the fact of its sufficient development. Hindi was as much undeveloped, if not more, as were the regional languages. Sri Desai reminds everybody that the people had lent their support to the national language movement on the clearest understanding that Hindusthani was "not designed to replace the provincial languages, but was intended to supplement them and to be used for inter-provincial contact." (Gandhiji)

Sri Desai emphatically says that the regional languages should immediately be adopted as the medium of instruction in the Universities with Hindi as a compulsory second language.

We support Sri Maganbhai Desai without any reservation. He is correct in laying emphasis on the incorrect and anti-national character of the Hindi revivalist movement.

His statement that Hindi was as undeveloped as the regional languages is very moderate. Hindi has to go very far yet before it can catch up with two or three regional languages.

French Methods in Pondichery

Colonialism dies hard. We see the results of it in Indo-China, as does the sane portion of the world. But French colonialism is evidently of the die-hard type and the reactions to that have begun in the French pockets as the following bits of news show:

"Pondichery, March 19.—M. Edouard Goubert and four Ministers of the French India Government declared today that the French Indian Settlements should be merged with the Indian Union without any referendum.

"At a Press Conference held here, the five French Indian Ministers said that they 'whole-heartedly' supported the resolution passed yesterday by the Municipal Councils of the eight Communes of French Settlements, demanding merger of these Settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum.

"The Municipal Councils of these eight Communes passed unanimously separate resolutions which declared that 'since the tendency of the population is asserting today in favour of merger with the Indian Union without referendum, we request the French Government to take urgent and necessary measure to that effect.' Copies of these resolutions had been cabled to the President of the Republic of France, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Territories and to the Presidents of the Houses of the French Parliament.

"M. Goubert told the Press Conference attended by the other four Ministers and the Councillors of the eight Communes that a copy of this resolution had also been sent to the Prime Minister of India. He said that a meeting of the French Indian Cabinet to be held before March 27 would also pass a resolution unanimously demanding the merger of the French Indian Settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum. He said their decision on the merger issue 'was irrevocable whatever might be the consequences.'

"Asked whether the French Indian Governor, M. Andre Menard would not dissolve the Cabinet if the Cabinet insisted on passing this resolution, M. Goubert declared that the Ministers of the French Indian Cabinet were responsible to the Assembly and hence the Governor could not dissolve the Cabinet without special decree from France."

"Pondichery, March 27.—A non-violent mass movement for the merger of the French Indian settlements with India was launched today in four communes of Pondichery by the French India Socialist Party with the support of other Nationalist parties.

"The communes—Bahoor, Kallapet, Mettupalayam, and Mannadipet—are separated from Pondichery proper by a strip of Indian Union territory.

"In Karaikal, where Indian flags are reported to be fluttering from housetops, a procession, defying the ban on the assembly of two or more persons, was lathi-charged and eight processionists were arrested. A crowd of about 200 persons which had gathered at the place was later dispersed by the police.

"In the Kallapet commune yesterday, a police chief and his party joined a crowd of local people in shouting Jai Hind. The police party was sent to the place on news that the Indian flag had been hoisted there. On arrival, the police was told that it had no authority over the people who had declared themselves Indian citizens and their territory part of India. The policemen were then asked to join their movement.

"The civil disobedience movement in Karaikal was launched by the Karaikal National Youth Congress. Mr. R. Ramasrinivasan, President of the Congress, with six volunteers, clad in white khaddar and carrying Indian flags and placards reading "French Imperialism Quit" and "We don't want a referendum" took out a procession. Nationalist leaders in Karaikal have strongly condemned the lathi-charge and the arrest of the volunteers."

"Paris, March 28.—The Overseas Ministry today denied that the French police in Pondichery had violated the Indian frontier to arrest Mr. Nandgopal, Mayor of Mudaliarpet.

"The Government statement said, Mr. Nandgopal was arrested on French territory at the same time as two Indian nationals, who were later released after their identities had been verified.

"The French statement added: 'This could be another tendentious incident in the campaign being carried out by New Delhi with a view to annexing our settlements.'

French Pockets in India

The Municipal Councils of eight Communes of French Settlements in India passed a resolution on March 18 demanding merger of these settlements with the Indian Union without a referendum and requested the French Government "to take urgent necessary measures to that effect." On March 19, the five Ministers of the French India Government declared their whole-hearted support to the resolution. On behalf of the French India Ministers, M. Edouard Goubert said in a Press Conference in Pondichery that their decision on the merger issue "was irrevocable whatever might be the consequence."

Immediately the French authorities let loose a reign of terror against the people who wanted merger with India. The authorities sent police parties to various parts of the French Settlements to warn people against demonstrations for merger.

The Government of India in a Note handed to the French ambassador in New Delhi drew the atten-

tion of the French Government to the incident in the French possessions in India. The Note said that the resolution passed by the President and Ministers of the Representative Assembly of Pondichery and by Mayors of the Communes should be regarded as complete an expression of the wishes of the people as was possible in the existing circumstances.

Referring to the merger agitation in Pondichery, Pandit Nehru said in the House of the People on March 22: "Now that the people, as represented by the municipal communes, as well as the industrial workers, have clearly expressed their views, the point as to what the people desire should at any rate be treated as settled." The next step, he said, should be a peaceful transfer of power. Speaking on the following day on the demand for the External Affairs Ministry, Pandit Nehru said that the time had arrived for a rapid *de facto* transfer of power in French India, to be followed later by a *de jure* transfer.

The French authorities, however, were not ready to concede the just demands of the people for merger and they were reported to be of the view that there could be no merger with India without a referendum. And in their efforts to put down pro-merger elements armed people from French Settlements even did not hesitate to violate Indian territory from where they arrested and took away the Mayor of Mudaliarpet and two Indian citizens.

In reply to a question in the House of the People, Pandit Nehru criticized these incidents and said that steps had been taken to prevent a repetition of such incidents. And it was only after the vigorous protests of the Government of India that the two Indian citizens were freed.

A mass movement was launched on March 27 for the merger of French Indian Settlements with India. Meanwhile the French authorities had banned the assembly of two or more persons in Pondichery as well as processions and demonstrations. By a decree of the French Government in Paris, the meeting of the French India Representative Assembly, scheduled to meet in Pondichery on March 27, had been postponed indefinitely.

Foreign Pockets in India

Happenings in Portuguese and French India are exercising the minds of our people. Clear statements on these have been made by our Prime Minister on March 16 and March 26. We append the statements below:

"New Delhi, March 16.—The House of the People today received with cheers a statement by Prime Minister Nehru that 'the way things are continuing to happen in Goa strains one's patience to the utmost.'

"The Deputy Leader of the Communist group, Sri Hareg Mukherjee, had asked in a supplementary to a

question put by a Congress member, Mr. Joachim Alva, about the arrest of Dr. Gaitonde and stopping of the car of the Indian Consul-General at Goa, 'when Portugal is obviously determined to retain Goa as one of her possessions and when under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, Britain has given a guarantee, according to Dr. Salazar in 1949, to defend Portuguese territories overseas, will India make it plain that she cannot indefinitely desist from answering the cry of agony which comes from her peoples in that area?'

"The Prime Minister replied, 'India has made it perfectly clear what our intentions are in regard to Goa. It seems inconceivable that any foreign pocket, like Goa should continue in India. It is true we believe that the best way to solve this question is peaceful even though they may take a little time, but I must confess the way things are continuing in Goa have strained our patience to the utmost. As for the member's reference to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, I cannot say what the consequences of the Treaty may be in regard to the matter legally speaking nor I am prepared to take Mr. Salazar's interpretation of the Treaty. It has been clearly stated by many countries that this external treaties have no application to Goa in India.'

"Kanpur, March 26.—Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, declared in the midst of cheers and applause that the foreign pockets would no longer be allowed to continue in this country. The Prime Minister, who was addressing a gathering of over two lakhs of people in the Phool Bagh under the auspices of the City Congress Committee this evening, called upon the people to realise the responsibility that had devolved on them after the attainment of freedom.

"He laid very great emphasis on establishing complete unity among all classes of people and strongly deprecated communalism which, he said, had done immense harm to the country and would further prove detrimental if it was not checked with strong hands. It was really a pity, he added, that provincialism still continued to dominate the people and they forgot that, in fact, every piece of land belonged to the country and all should try to contribute towards building the happy and prosperous India.

"Sri Nehru continued that India was a democratic country and the real power lay in the hands of the people. Freedom had recently been won at the cost of great sacrifice and sufferings by a large number of people. The freedom was our birth-right and we had to preserve it. New and greater responsibilities had fallen on the shoulders of the people. Everyone in the country should realise that this freedom should be defended with all the might at command. The defence of freedom, he continued, did not merely depend on a big army but it is to be defended by everyone on the roads, markets, fields and villages. Unity was essential for this purpose.

"Sri Nehru said that India was one of the backward countries in the world. He had dreamt of making this country one of the most advanced ones, economically, culturally, morally and otherwise. A tremendous task, therefore, lay ahead of them. There were dangers and difficulties which were to be overcome and surmounted."

"Sri Nehru said that the world was taking a peculiar turn and nobody knew what was to happen. With new scientific developments people had attained the power of destruction. He added that this tremendous power could be used both ways either for destruction or for prosperity. The trend, he continued, was that people were using this power for the destruction of the humanity. It was, therefore, obviously necessary that people of this country should keep their minds cool and well balanced and avoid mutual dissensions. The need of the hour was unity amongst all classes of people."

Sales Tax in India

Sri H. Laxminarain writes in an article in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* that the revenue possibilities of sales tax were very great. But at present there was no uniformity system in the country regarding the sales tax. The amount as well as the method of levy varied from one State to another. Mysore had a sales tax of 3 pies per rupee while in West Bengal, the rate was 9 pies per rupee. Bombay and Mysore had multi-point taxes.

Sri Laxminarain writes that a single-point tax was preferable from all points of view. The consumer was under a heavier burden under the multi-point tax system. It also placed the small dealer at a disadvantage compared to the bigger manufacturer-cum-dealer. The multi-point system also encouraged greater tendency to horizontal integration with all the evils of such integration. "The multi-point system imposes larger burden on trade and industry generally." From the Government's point of view also the administrative difficulties under the multi-point system were greater than under the single-point system.

Most of the States, however, had a single-point tax. It was highly desirable to achieve uniformity both as regards the system and the rate of tax, writes Sri Laxminarain.

The Finance Ministers' conference held in October, 1953, had considered the question of uniformity of sales tax and had appointed a high level committee to go into the question of uniform policy. Regarding essential goods the conference had reached some conclusions. These conclusions, according to Sri Laxminarain, were, "Firstly, no tax should be levied at any stage for the sale or purchase of foodstuffs and raw materials for import industries; secondly, on other goods taxes not more than six pies per rupee at the

point of sale to consumers should be levied and this tax should be a single-point tax; lastly, the State Governments should alter as soon as possible the existing law so as to these principles."

Indo-Burmese Rice Deal

The Government of India has entered into an agreement with the Burmese Government for the purchase of 9 lakh tons of rice at an average rate of £48 per ton f.o.b. Rangoon. According to a statement made by the Union Food Minister in the Council of States, the supply of rice will be spread over a period of three years, the option being left to the Burmese Government to supply all the rice even in one year. In the event of the supply being spread over three years, the price will be £50 per ton during the first year, £48 per ton during the second year and £46 per ton in the third year. The average rate of £48 will apply if the whole quantity is supplied in one year. Of the 9 lakh tons of rice, 3.5 lakh tons will be boiled rice and the rest will be "small mills specials." The boiled rice is being specifically procured to serve the needs of Travancore-Cochin. It is reported that £15 out of £48 paid for each ton of rice, will be adjusted against Burma's outstanding debt to India amounting to Rs. 75 crores.

The main object of this agreement is to build a reserve stock with a view to ensuring supply in the event of crop failure. Part of the imported rice will be distributed among the deficit States for enabling them to maintain their existing scale of rice ration. The balance will be supplied in the rationed areas of the States to the consumers without quantitative limitations. Such supply to the deficit States will be in addition to whatever quantities they have themselves procured or will procure and the quantities received by them from the surplus States. The Government of India would advise surplus States to give up their procurement as soon as a certain figure is reached. If, however, prices at any time go below the economic level and surplus stocks were offered to Government agents, the Government would purchase such quantities. The Union Government are also contemplating to resume export of finer varieties of rice in order to give an opportunity for those people in foreign countries who were accustomed to use Indian rice in the pre-war years to have their requirements. The exports, however, will be made by Government.

The agreement has been subjected to a good deal of adverse criticism. The price agreed upon to be paid, which averages £48 a ton, is very high, as it is claimed that the real value of the rice is £30 to £35 per ton. Moreover, it is alleged that the stocks of rice which Burma wants to dispose of, belonged to the previous year and had deteriorated in quality. The rice is being repolished for purposes of export.

NOTES

Such rice, it is reported, is unfit for human consumption. It is also being criticised that there is no necessity at all for importing Burma rice for building up of reserve stocks, for there is enough surplus rice and other grains in the country to meet the needs of the people. Indeed, after so much trumpeting that India has produced enough rice this year and she will not need to import rice, the agreement to buy Burma rice is really an anticlimax. Further, a section of public opinion is disappointed over the agreement, as it does not cover provisions for the settlement of the question of Indian-owned property in Burma, which valued at about Rs. 90 crores.

Travancore-Cochin Ministry

A new experiment in democratic practice in legislatures came into being with the two following news bulletins:

"Trivandrum, March 16.—Two weeks after the general elections, which gave no party absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly, a Ministry formed by the 19-member Praja-Socialist Party was installed in office in Travancore-Cochin today.

"Sixty-eight-year old Sri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, veteran politician of the State, heads the first P.S.P. Government to be formed in any State in India. Immediately after the swearing in, Sri Thanu Pillai drove to the Secretariat and assumed charge of office there. The care-taker Ministry, headed by Mr. A. J. John, relinquished office shortly before 2-30 p.m.

"The P.S.P. leader stated in an interview immediately after his appointment as Chief Minister that he expected support of all parties in the Assembly. 'I do not see any reason why I should not get the support from all sections of the House,' he said.

"Sixty-eight-year old Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai has been in public life since 1927. As President of the State Congress from 1938 to 1947, he led the popular struggle for responsible Government in Travancore."

"Trivandrum, March 15.—Sri Panampilli Govinda Menon, leader of the 45-member-Congress-Legislature-Party in the Travancore-Cochin Assembly, said that there was a 'good deal in common' between his party and the P.S.P. The Congress Party being in a minority in the Assembly although the largest single party, was not anxious to form a Government, he said. But the party wanted to avoid President's Rule in the State as far as possible. Its policy would be such as 'to facilitate a democratic set up' in the State.

"Sri Govinda Menon added, the Congress Party would not obstruct the formation of a Government 'whether by the United Front of Leftists or the Praja-Socialist Party.' But, he said, 'we may not extend our co-operation to the Communist and their fellow travellers as there is little in common between us. We can and will extend co-operation to the P.S.P. because we consider that there is a good deal in common between us.'"

P. S. P. Ministry in Tra-Cochin

Welcoming the formation of the P.S.P. Ministry in Travancore-Cochin, the *Vigil* writes editorially that the Central leadership of the P.S.P. was to be congratulated for the "bold and unorthodox decision" it took in Madras of not forming a coalition ministry with either the Congress or the Communist-dominated United Front of Leftists.

Having fought the general elections against the Congress with an electoral understanding with the U.F.L. a coalition with the Congress would have meant a betrayal of the people who had deliberately voted against a renewal of Congress rule. A coalition with the Communists on the other hand was against the principle for which the P.S.P. stood. Moreover, it would have led to a split in the P.S.P. itself. Yet if the party had remained neutral regarding the formation of a ministry it would have been charged by all as having been responsible for bringing about the President's rule and as a consequence of which it would have heavily suffered in the next elections.

Under these difficult circumstances the National Executive of the party rose equal to the occasion. "At every turn the Central leadership put a healthy curb on the impatience of the local leadership and perhaps, its desire for office, involving dangerous compromises," notes the paper.

The paper commends the Congress for its offer of support to the P.S.P. Ministry and says that the success of the ministry would depend upon its popular character. It could not hope to carry on as a party government, therefore, it would have to try to carry with it all the parties in the legislature, at least "the national and democratic parties and groups in the State."

Referring to the Communist charges of betrayal of electoral understanding, the newspaper writes that the Communist Party could not be unaware of the decisions adopted at the last annual conference of the P.S.P. at Allahabad in December rejecting any coalition with the Communist Party. "It was with great difficulty, and on the solemn word given by Sri Thanu Pillai that he had committed himself to nothing beyond an electoral arrangement with the Communists to avoid triangular contests, that the conference endorsed the arrangement made by the National Executive. As for any possible coalition with the Communists, the conference was definitely against it. Only on the almost unanimous persuasion of the leadership did the conference pass a resolution contemplating a possible U.F.L. Government with P.S.P. support from outside."

Moreover, in rejecting a coalition with the U.F.L. the National Executive of the P.S.P. had been guided by practical consideration of maintaining the unity of the party. If there had been a local understanding between the P.S.P. and the Communist Party, the

Central Executive had known nothing of it. Sri Thanu Pillai had denied it.

The P.S.P. had received the backing of Congress without any political commitment whereas if it had formed a ministry with the Communists it would have to make compromises. The combined strength of the P.S.P. and the Communists whether in votes or seats in the legislature was less than that of the P.S.P. backed by the Congress. "The P.S.P. Government, as it is now formed, is, therefore, more democratic than it would have been if it had been formed in combination with the Communists."

The Communist wrath was, therefore, clearly born of disappointment and frustration. They had been out-manoeuvred by the P.S.P. in the matter of forming a ministry, says the *Vigil*.

But all the same, the P.S.P. is in a most curious situation in Tra-Cochin. There is no parallel to this government in the history of parliamentary or democratic practice. Much will depend, of course, on the actual working of the ministry, regarding the stability of this arrangement.

Anti-Rajaji Moves in Madras

"A first rate crisis is brewing in the Madras Congress Legislature Party and a bid for leadership is on, according to well-informed sources," writes the Madras Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

He adds: "Clouds have gathered and all politicians are looking forward to March 24, probable date for the next Congress Party meeting. Lobby circles set great store by this meeting which would prove 'momentous'."

According to the correspondent, a number of the Congress Legislators had become irreconcilably antagonistic to Rajaji. Rajaji's elementary education scheme had become one of the main targets of attack of his opponents. A majority of the Congress legislators is said to be against the scheme. But Rajaji was determined to go ahead with it. In the ensuing party meeting there would surely be a tussle between those two groups.

It was however expected that with the return of Kamaraja Nadar, who was away in Malaya, in time for the Party meeting "the thundering clouds would disperse without making any noise."

The Correspondent writes that Sri Rajagopalachari was expected to make a surprise statement at the meeting. Rajaji is reported to have offered to quit if his education scheme was assured of vigorous implementation. The possibility of a last-minute device by which Rajaji might be able to continue was also not wholly ruled out. Failing that he was likely to quit by the first fortnight of April. "But the chances are that his exit would come sooner than expected."

There was much activity among high Congress circles regarding the appointment of a successor to Rajaji. According to one plan Kamaraja or one of his men would head the Party while one Minister of the present Cabinet would become the Chief Minister. Among those often

mentioned as the likely successors of Rajaji were Mr. C. Subramanian, Finance Minister in the Present Cabinet and a trusted lieutenant of Rajaji; Raja of Ramanatapuram, Minister of Public Works and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Agriculture.

Later reports said that Mr. Rajagopalachari had asked for and obtained the permission of Sri Nehru to relinquish office.

At the time of going to press it is reported from Madras that the Congress Legislature Party has elected Sri K. Kamaraja Nadar as its leader in place of Sri C. Rajagopalachari who laid down his leadership before the Party.

Thus ends the political career, through a graceful and voluntary exit, of perhaps the most brilliant and determined character after Sardar Patel, in the Old Guard of the Congress.

Mental Cases in Bombay Colleges

The Council for Mental Hygiene, which had conducted a "personality test" survey among 1200 college students of the Bombay University recently, found that thirteen to fifteen per cent of Bombay's college students were maladjusted or unstable and would benefit by psychiatric counselling or guidance, reports Mr. Thomas J. Coutinho in the *Bombay Chronicle* on March 22.

In all there were six universities in Bombay State with 111 affiliated colleges imparting knowledge to about 50,000 students. Applying the rule of averages, it would mean that about 7,500 college students in the State were to some extent immature or unstable. However, that might not be the case in practice.

According to the report the Council had also applied the same test to 200 students of the London University in order to make a comparative study. The Survey was to be continued and a comparative study of students in other Western and Asian countries would also be made.

In view of the student disturbances in West Bengal and U.P., such investigations may be revealing.

World Languages

According to the *Courier*, Unesco's monthly publication, some 3,000 languages were spoken throughout the world. Of the thirteen major languages, Chinese (including all its dialects) topped the list, followed by English, Hindi-Urdu, Russian, Spanish, German, Japanese and French. English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese were the official U.N. languages.

NOTICE

Articles sent for publication in *The Modern Review* should be accompanied with adequate stamps so that they may be returned if not approved. If replies to letters are expected, reply cards should be sent. Articles sent per Book Post may not always reach our office.

Subscribers and advertisers should write to the Manager. Letters concerning monetary transactions, non-receipt of our magazine and change of address should be addressed to the Manager, *Modern Review*.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJEE,
Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly

BEFORE I speak of "Parliamentary Democracy in India," I ought to say something about the background and basis of this new form of Government in our country which has been declared to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic. This vast country of ours with a population of 360 million people speaking more than 25 different languages, professing different faiths, observing different manners and customs, taking to different foods and dresses used to widely varying climatic conditions, was never before in her long course of history governed under one Constitution by a Central Government. The glimpses of different types of Government at different times in our past history and in our ancient literature do not give any indication of any particularly uniform type to suit all parts of the country, particularly suitable for the twentieth century conditions of the problems of Government of so vast a country of varying nature of population. The framers of our first constitution, therefore, examined various constitutions in different countries of the world. Some critics say our constitution is a blind copy of such and such a model. Is that a correct view? Is it really a blind copy of any constitution of any country? Framers of our constitution have, of course, taken full advantage of the achievements and mistakes of the great constitution-makers of different countries in modern times and adjusted the collective wisdom of the world with the special needs of our country. The magnitude of the problem therefore will be apparent when we set about preparing the instrument for making the adult population of this country—roughly 175 million people, really sovereign so far as the Government of the country is concerned or in other words when we begin preparing a constitution which will preserve democracy and will be the surest guarantee of Democracy.

Before I proceed to illustrate how our constitution has produced and safeguarded a democratic constitution it will be necessary to examine briefly what Parliamentary Democracy connotes as it has developed in western countries by a process of evolution through several centuries. Democracy never claims to be a perfection at any stage. It is based on the fundamental conception that it is always changing and growing for the better and creating some conditions which are conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number although trying to do good for all. Its doors have always been kept open for admission into its folds newer and newer thoughts and better plans of action. It is therefore a continuous process and not a hide-bound steel-frame rigid structure. It is always capable of adjustment and expansion. Its framework always admits of development and improvement by tightening one or more screws here or one or more bolts there or one or more plates somewhere, the ultimate objective being always to create a better structure and in this operation it is the process of evolutionary change which is known as

democracy and not the ultimate structure that stands erected. This process naturally requires a watchful vigilance so that in the course of change a false step or handling may not make the whole structure tumble down. Two methods are therefore needed always for successful functioning of this process of growth; an evolutionary method always attempting to improve the existing condition and a watchful method always attempting to see that evolutionary process does not proceed on a false path so as to lead to ruin and destruction and in this continuous process there are two distinct forces always working on opposite directions. In the case of democratic Government, therefore, there are always needed these force and counterforce; one being represented by the majority party responsible for running the democratic Government and the other being represented by opposition functioning as a watchful band ready to take over charge when the action of the Government force has not the support of the majority. Democratic Government therefore is the most difficult art of Government of a country which is nothing but Government by discussion. The very word 'Parliament' owes its origin from 'Parleys' or talks and discussions amongst several men. The two fundamental characteristics of Parliamentary democracy are:

(i) The Government by discussion and decision of the majority, and

(ii) unequivocal acquiescence of the minority in the decision of the majority.

This set-up of a parliamentary Government through a democratic constitution through representatives of the people chosen by means of universal suffrage of adult franchise necessarily implies formation of different political parties representing different view-points of the people in the country. In parliamentary institutions, therefore, today it is a matter for anxious consideration as to how far discussions and deliberations on the floor of the Parliament can influence decisions as in every democratic parliament rigid rules and discipline of party constitutions by means of party whips determine votes in the Parliament. No amount of argument or oratory can influence the decision of individual members as far as their vote on particular issues before the houses of parliament. But still good sound and convincing opposite views and speeches have their direct reactions on the majority sometimes belated, but sometimes indirectly through the pressure of public opinion that they succeed in creating in public mind outside the house. People generally are expected to have the commonsense to judge what is good or bad for them. The test of democracy and its success depends on how far through press and publicity the discussions and deliberations within the parliamentary institutions may have their reflections on public opinion outside so as to mould the decisions of the general body of men in the country at the time of the periodical general elections when the entire people have the opportunity

to express their opinion by their votes to form their own Government. It presupposes therefore existence of opposing political parties for successful functioning of parliamentary democracy. That is why in the British system of parliamentary democracy which has grown up through a process of evolution through several centuries by means of usage and conventions without any written constitution the opposition party in parliament is called His Majesty's Opposition and the Leader of the Opposition is an essential adjunct in Governmental machinery and is paid a salary out of the State Exchequer.

In our first Constitution our Democratic Republic has been formed with an elected President as the head of the State and we have so far as the conduct of parliamentary institutions is concerned followed the powers, privileges and immunities of the British House of Commons, the mother of Parliaments. To a dispassionate student of constitutional history, the British model which has grown through conventions established through several centuries in the present form of monarchical Government headed by the Prime Minister responsible to the House of Commons with an official Leader of the Opposition is the best example of Parliamentary democracy. The other European countries, for instance Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, are all on the British model with the monarchical form of Government headed by the Prime Minister, who is responsible to the Legislative Houses. In some other European countries, for instance France, Ireland, Italy and Finland the Government is republic with President at its head, but is headed by the Prime Minister responsible to the Legislature. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa—all Commonwealth countries—the model is practically the British model with Prime Minister as the head and the Governor-General appointed by the King being the constitutional head of the Government. The American Constitution which has also its roots in democracy, has developed a new convention where the head of the State, viz., the President, is also like the members of the Congress and the Senate elected directly by the people with a far greater mandate of executive responsibility than perhaps the Prime Minister of England. The President may have a majority in one House of the Congress and not in another. Even with majority in both he may not have his way. He cannot control either House directly and he has no powers to dissolve it. He can persuade, cajole and threaten, but the life of the American Legislature continues independently of its will. He sends to it the proposals, but the Congress makes up its own mind what it will do with them. It has an authority of equal legal standing with him in the determination of its policy. If he cannot secure what he wants from the members he has no way of appealing to the electorate against their decision. With the Americans the Congress may have a different party complexion from that of the President and his Cabinet colleagues. Even when the President's party has a majority in both Houses he has no certainty that he will have his way.

His defeat does not create a crisis in his party. As in America the President yields power so in other democratic countries of Europe in both monarchical and republican forms of Government it is the leader of the majority party who is the Prime Minister and who forms the Cabinet with collective responsibility that commands the confidence of the majority of the House and rules the country by directing its policy which is tested at the time of every general reference to the people. In this matter the Government of the Swiss Republic has taken a further forward step in democracy, viz., of carrying on of the Government of the country through the will of the people. The Swiss Constitution provides for referendum in respect of every legislative measure passed by the Parliament and if the people throws out any legislative measures the Government has to bow down to it. But Switzerland being a small country constant referendum is possible which is not within the range of practical politics in a country vast in area and population.

The success of a democratic form of Government, therefore, will depend upon the spirit of toleration that the members of parliament and respective political parties would be able to generate in the entire country amongst the people and upon the consciousness of the people of the value of the sacred right of franchise. Test of the best forms of working democracy in a country is the consciousness of the people of that country that the electorate is the sovereign to which all political parties must ultimately rely and it is their verdict through the ballot box given periodically that will guide the destiny of the nation for a certain period. The epithet that the people deserves its own Government therefore is an absolutely true saying in democracy. Simply because in a country which is following a democratic set-up of parliamentary institutions there are turmoils, commotions, conflagrations and disturbances of peace or some dislocation of normal life, it cannot lead to the conclusion that democracy is a failure. If we go deep and probe into the causes of such situations in democratic countries in some parts of the world it is because there the Government and the party in power have not been able to perform satisfactorily their duty of properly educating the electorate to a sense of balance and toleration and to a sense of awareness and vigilance with regard to their sovereign rights of forming their own Government.

Let me now summarise from our Constitution how Democratic form of Parliamentary Government is functioning in India under her new first Constitution. Ours is a union of States or a Federal form of Government. The federating units being 9 A class States, 8 B class States and 10 C class States, Andaman and Nicobar islands being the only D class. The law-making powers of the Union Legislature and of the State Legislatures are clearly defined by three exhaustive lists in the seventh schedule to the Constitution known as Union List, the State List and Concurrent List. In Union the Parlia-

ment consists of the President and two Houses of the Legislature, viz., the House of the People and the Council of States. In the States the Legislature consists of the Governor and one House known as Legislative Assembly, except in case of six 'A' class States it also consists of another House known as Legislative Council. The Constitution of the House of the People which is the law making body of the Central Government is that it will consist of representatives of the people not exceeding 500. For choosing such 500 representatives on a uniform basis the States have been divided into territorial constituencies and the number of members to be allotted to each such constituency has been so determined as to ensure that there shall be not less than one representative for every 75,000 of population and not more than one member for every 5,00,000 of the population. Such representation in the case of State Legislature is on the basis of not more than one member for every 75,000 of the population. Upon the completion of each census the representation of the several territorial constituencies in the House of the People as also in the Legislative Assembly of each State are re-adjusted. The Council of State in the Centre and the Legislative Councils in the 6 A class States are created by method of indirect election by the members of Legislatures and other special electoral colleges such as Local Bodies and Graduates. These second chambers are provided for in the Constitution following the precedents in other Parliaments of some Commonwealth countries and U.S.A. as a possible check against hasty legislation by the lower house. Whether these upper houses serve the purpose of democracy in India intended by the constitution-makers is a matter for future historians and constitutional experts to judge and the constitution itself provides for means of abolition of such councils and creation of such in states where they do not exist. President of the Republic is elected by a uniform method of election by the members of all State Legislatures and the House of the People and the time of office of the President is co-extensive with the life of Parliament and Assemblies. The Governor of a State is nominated by the President. Although the executive power of the Union vests in the President and that of the States in the Governors they are not responsible to the members of the legislative bodies and this responsibility is cast on the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of States who select their respective council of ministers commonly known as 'Cabinet' with collective responsibility from the members of the Houses. President and the Governor respectively are aided in their executive functions and duties by this council of ministers. As time passes on healthy convention is to be grown and established in India between the respective powers of the President and the Governor and the extent of aid and advice tendered by the Council of Ministers within the framework of the constitution. Under the above framework, therefore, the real person who has to answer to the people for his acts of government of the country in the Union and the States is the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Ministers of

the States through their selected men in the cabinet. Ultimately therefore the government of the country is run by a handful of men known as Council of Ministers or the cabinet so long as its policies have the approval of the majority of the chosen representatives of the people in the Houses. To get such confidence therefore the cabinet has to rely on the majority of the members of the house and see that the majority is never turned into a minority. As the cabinet is selected from the members, therefore, ultimate responsibility of returning best men in the House of the People and legislatures falls on each and everyone of the citizen of India, men and women. That is how parliamentary democracy works in New India and is on its march. Before the first general election in India under the new constitution under adult franchise several political parties with different election manifestoes appealed to the country for support. The political party led by the Indian National Congress had the overwhelming majority support in all the State Legislatures and the House of the People and their leaders were called upon by the President and the respective Governors to form Governments.

In the House of the People at the Centre the ruling party, viz., the Congress Party holds 364 seats out of 499 excluding the Speaker and there are six different Opposition parties with a sprinkle of unattached Independents numbering 134 in the aggregate. Similarly in all the other States in the State Legislatures the ruling party having a very overwhelming majority is the Congress Party and the Opposition is similarly divided into several Groups and Parties and unattached Independents. It remains to be seen as democratic conception develops amongst the electorate how far in future elections the effectiveness of Opposition crystallises into lesser number of parties by the consenting voice of the people expressed through the ballot box.

After a cycle of depression in India's national life for centuries during which she was under foreign domination, she is gradually finding expression to her real spirit, spirit of toleration that is in the very blood and bones of Indians through centuries of religious teachings and spiritual lessons. The very fact that in the early stage of her march under the New Constitution where democratic Governments have been formed in different States and in the Union, there has emerged a single largest political party entrusted with the task of forming and running Governments on uniform policy and the emergence of other political parties functioning as Opposition in different legislatures, and the spirit of tolerance shown towards those opposing political parties by the majority party that has been in evidence in the various legislatures during this short period prove that one can reasonably be optimistic of the future of Democracy in India so that the people of India or the electorate may be the real effective sovereign of this great land of ours and it is hoped that Parliamentary Democracy may usher in a new era of peace, progress and prosperity in our country.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

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

INTRODUCTION

UNEMPLOYMENT may be defined as a condition of involuntary idleness. The problem of unemployment may be designated as our economy No. 1. This problem is by no means peculiar to India but it is a problem common to all countries though the causes and the extent of such unemployment vary from country to country. In European countries and elsewhere it existed for a long time and attempts have been made in nearly every country to deal with it with varying degrees of success. The State, nearly everywhere, has come definitely to recognise its obligation in this matter. This obligation and responsibility has also been accepted in the new Constitution of India where it is clearly laid down that

"The State, in particular, shall direct its policy towards securing such a condition that the citizens, men and women, equally, have a right to an adequate means of living."

Defining the country's goal the President of the Union observes:

"We aim at a Welfare State in which all the people are partners sharing the benefits and the obligations; so long as there is poverty and unemployment, a section of the community derives no benefit from the partnership. It is, therefore, necessary for us to aim at full productive employment."

It is, therefore, quite natural that due emphasis has been given to full employment in our First Plan as the basic objective of national development.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

According to 1951 Census out of a total popula-

tion of 356 million 250 million people are engaged in agricultural and the rest in non-agricultural occupations. It is a fact that the Indian farmer suffers from chronic underemployment ranging from 3 to 7 months in a year. He, therefore, urgently needs some sort of work for his spare time. Of the total non-agricultural population of 106 millions 37.5 millions are engaged in industries of which only 2.5 million are engaged in large-scale industries and the rest are artisans and craftsmen who are not fully employed and live from hand to mouth. Commerce employs 22 million people and transport another 5.5 million people and the miscellaneous services including domestic servants absorb about 43 millions. Most of the persons engaged in commerce are petty shopkeepers or the middlemen who will be easily ousted from employment if the farmers start co-operative farming. The miscellaneous services are mainly part-time occupations. This analysis of the occupational distribution of the population clearly indicates the seriousness of the stupendous problem of unemployment, and still more so of partial employment.

A special enquiry conducted by the directorate of the Employment Exchanges in India disclosed that in July, 1953 there were about 5 lakhs of applications registered for employment of which in that particular month only about 15,000 could be given employment. A rough estimate puts the number of unemployed in India at 70 millions and that of the underemployed to double the figure. The following table gives the data regarding unemployment in India and elsewhere:

States	Unemployment in India					
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Uttar Pradesh	63,215,742	54,590,043	8,625,699	33,155	25,983	7,172
Bombay	35,956,150	24,785,810	11,170,340	80,613	—	—
Saurashtra	4,137,359	2,744,198	1,393,161	4,719	—	—
Kutch	567,606	453,852	113,754	634	—	—
Mysore	9,074,972	6,896,245	2,178,727	6,376	—	—
Vindhya Pradesh	3,574,600	3,268,780	305,910	1,802	510	5,866
Punjab	12,641,205	10,240,272	2,400,932	X	537	1,265
Pepsu	)	)	)	X Figures not available.		
Delhi	)	)	)			
Himachal Pradesh	)	)	)			
Bilaspur	)	)	)			
Unemployment in Asia						
Date	Burma Registered applicants	Ceylon Registered applicants	India Registered applicants	Israel Registered unemployed	Japan Labour force sample surveys	Pakistan Registered applicants
1937	—	—	—	—	2,95,443	—
1946	—	29,182	—	1,870	15,90,318	—
1947	3,139	32,995	—	2,772	3,70,000	—
1948	2,446	53,513	2,24,900	1,320	2,42,000	77,983
1949	777	68,358	2,93,043	6,351	3,78,000	70,996
1950	2,049	68,471	3,14,336	5,908	4,36,000	96,439
1951	4,149	56,844	3,38,402	6,336	3,86,000	1,00,993
1952	4,782	51,603	3,83,992	9,413	4,70,000	1,07,087
1953 March	4,087	54,483	4,25,178	20,700	6,10,000	1,03,348
June	—	—	4,73,917	15,850	4,40,000	90,834

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

277

Date	Canada Labour force sample surveys		Unemployment in America Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics		United States Labour force sample surveys		Chile Registered unemployed	Puerto Rico Labour force sample surveys	
		%		%		%			%
1937	406,000	9.1	—	—	7,000,000	14.3	2,315	—	—
1938	442,000	3.0	96,760	4.5	2,270,000	3.9	3,433	—	—
1947	988,000	2.0	68,254	3.0	2,142,000	3.6	3,700	—	—
1948	102,000	2.1	88,909	3.6	2,064,000	3.4	3,203	—	—
1949	135,000	2.7	135,626	5.2	3,395,000	5.5	3,445	—	—
1950	167,000	3.2	168,874	6.1	3,142,000	5.0	2,937	104,000	14.5
1951	108,000	2.1	148,222	4.9	1,879,000	3.0	2,562	114,000	16.2
1952	130,000	2.5	191,564	6.1	1,673,000	2.7	3,274	100,000	15.2
1953 March	172,000	3.3	360,100	11.0	1,674,000	2.7	2,931	—	—
June	90,000	1.7	119,800	—	1,562,000	2.4	—	—	—
Persons covered (thousands)	5,304 (1952)		3,097 (June) 1952		62,996 (1952)				

Tables reproduced from the *International Review*.

Number of passes in Matriculation, Intermediate and Degree Examinations in India

Examination	1947-48 to 1951-52				
	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52 (estimated)
Matriculation	116,680	162,530	190,960	249,747	270,000
Intermediate (Arts and Science)	39,840	49,972	59,081	72,441	78,000
B.A./B.Sc. (Including Hons.)	20,766	24,344	28,313	32,754	35,000
Graduates in Professional Subjects	10,364	15,419	13,756	18,583	19,500

These figures are illustrative. For certain States data are not yet available.

Therefore to bring India to a level of rational employment in order that the people should be productively employed like those of Europe or America we would require about 70 million new jobs for the people. According to the calculation of the Planning Commission it may be possible to provide an additional employment to four lakhs in the new industries and 2½ lakhs might be absorbed in major irrigation and power projects, additional work for about 1½ lakhs annually will result from repairs of old tanks, wells, etc., land reclamation may absorb about 7½ lakhs, about a lakh may be employed in public and private sectors of buildings and construction and another two lakhs may find jobs in the construction of roads and over 20 lakhs of people might be employed in cotton industries and partial employment may be given to about 30 lakhs of people.

TYPES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Five-Year Plan refers to three main types of unemployment, distinguished according to causes:

(1) Unemployment arising from deficiency in aggregate demand. This is mainly cyclical in character and has been recurring in all advanced countries from time to time.

(2) Unemployment arising from the shortage of capital equipment for other complementary resources. This type of unemployment is found mainly in the underdeveloped countries.

(3) *Frictional Unemployment*: This type may occur in any progressive countries.

PROBLEM AN OLD ONE IN INDIA

Unemployment has not been a new problem in India. It is a very old problem. The late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said in a speech in 1935:

Total Urban Population in the Indian Union (including Kashmir)

Year	Millions
1931	31
1941	44
1951	62

Looking coldly at the facts one can separate the long-term and the short-term elements in the situation. The former are: (1) During the past decade or more the population of the town have grown rapidly and from rural areas both those who have some education and those who have only their labour to supply have tended to move in increasing numbers to the urban centres. (2) The number of educated persons seeking mainly the white collar jobs is steadily increasing.

In 1939-40, the total number of the students including those getting primary and vocational education was 1 crore 52 lakhs. This number increased to 1 crore 70 lakhs in 1948-49. This is not to be wondered at if it is realised that within five years since 1947-48 the number of those who passed the Matriculation, Intermediate, Degree and Professional examinations has doubled. To these may be added numerous others who failed in the examination and are yet a burden on the employment market.

Statement showing the number of Matriculates and Graduates on the Live Registers of Employment Exchange seeking employment assistance on March 31, 1953

State	No. of passed Matriculation but not passed Intermediate	No. of passed Intermediate examination but not taken a Degree	No. of passed Degree examination	Total
Assam	1,663	141	153	1,957
Bihar	4,479	603	1,078	6,160
Bombay	13,582	1,252	1,754	16,588
Madhya Pradesh	3,467	205	408	4,080
Madras	21,196	1,360	1,797	24,353
Orissa	1,009	113	187	1,309
Punjab	4,230	617	713	5,560
Uttar Pradesh	12,516	3,044	2,129	17,689
West. Bengal	14,718	2,538	2,386	19,624
Hyderabad	2,676	236	287	3,199
Madhya Bharat	482	77	151	710
Mysore	1,068	187	585	2,739
Pepsu	599	42	100	742
Rajasthan	1,035	138	129	1,303
Saurashtra	407	20	59	486
Travancore-Cochin	2,237	71	411	2,719
Ajmer	707	72	105	884
Bhopal	67	10	9	86
Coorg	134	16	20	170
Delhi	5,036	787	1,671	7,494
Himachal Pradesh	55	7	9	71
All India	92,263	11,537	14,136	1,117,936

(Number of passes in Matriculation, Intermediate, and Degree Examinations).

The short-term factors in the present unemployment situation have operated at the margins of the employment situation; thus reduction in the external demand for raw materials and manufactured goods, the power cut in the Madras region, the difficulties which the tea industry recently experienced, decline in road transport development and other similar factors tended in different parts of the country to reduce the amount of Urban Employment available.*

* In a recent survey conducted in West Bengal, it was found that at least 12,000 persons lost their jobs during the year 1952-53 largely as a result of retrenchment and the closure of mills and factories. As against this the quantum of additional jobs made available in new undertakings set up within that State was only 7000. Although corresponding figures are not available for the first few months of 1953-54, there are reasons for holding the view that jobs lost continue to be more than jobs created. The same appears to be the case in U.P. and Madras.

CLASSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment may be discussed under three main heads:

- (i) Urban unemployment;
- (ii) Unemployment among the educated classes and
- (iii) Rural unemployment.

(i) *Urban unemployment* seems to be a very serious problem for some time past. Several circumstances may be mentioned which have led to an increase in the Urban unemployment:

(a) The total value of foreign trade in India in 1952-53, as compared with the previous year after allowing for the fall in prices, points to a substantial reduction in the volume of employment in the commercial activity in internal as well as external trade.

(b) Although industrial employment has been maintained in the large-scale industry, there has been curtailed activity in specific industries, e.g., Jute, Mica and Shellac, on account of weak foreign demand, and in the Automobile industry and small-scale engineering industry because of slack internal demand. Although industrial production rose from an average of 105.2 in 1950 to 117.2 in 1951, to 128.5 in 1952, rising further to a level of 132.6 for the first quarter of 1953, and although it might appear that there has been no decline in the employment opportunity, there has been a lack of adequate expansion relatively to the increase of the labour force coming on the market.

(c) The growing volume of welfare legislation has so increased labour cost without a corresponding increase in the output that it constitutes a strong factor operating against additional employment and in favour of retrenchment.

(d) The disappearance of inflationary conditions began in 1939 but after assuming a very serious form in the post-war period they disappeared since the beginning of 1952, partly as the result of the domestic policy and partly as a result of the operation of various international factors, the most important thing being the adverse movement in the terms of trade in the last two years.

There are also other causes which in varying degrees have worked in the same direction, e.g., de-control has led to retrenchment in the Government offices of persons for whom no alternative employment is available, small dealers have been displaced from business as a result of sales-tax in the States like Bombay, considerable unemployment has resulted in the cities from the enforcement of prohibition, heavy taxation on motor-vehicles had led to a large reduction in the lorry traffic, low purchasing power has reduced the number of persons to whom is catered and who

pay for public entertainment, in Bombay alone a fall of 20 per cent was felt in the entertainment tax receipts in 1953 as compared with 1951-52 with no change in the rate of the tax.

(ii) *Educated unemployment*: The most important feature of unemployment problem is the increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes. But this problem is not new in India; even in the twenties and thirties there was growing concern about this when the number of students was much less than they are today. Unfortunately in spite of the best efforts of the various committees to examine the matter, the problem has persisted and grown in intensity. The number of students has been increasing rapidly year after year without a corresponding increase in the openings available to them. Therefore, the basic cause for the increased unemployment among the educated classes despite the potential needs of the country lies in the form of education imparted at present and the dislike which the average educated person has both for manual work and for employment in the rural areas. The result is that the educated persons look for employment opportunities in the urban sector, and shift to the congested

cities and towns in search of jobs which are hard to find. Lack of vocational guidance and the absence of possibility of getting employment without University education lead the students to continue their studies without any definite aim in the hope that on getting the degree a job will be assured. The result of such unemployment is that people become biased about higher education as a road to success. They become disappointed and this results in the destruction of a happy healthy life.

(iii) *Rural unemployment*: Besides the above two types of unemployment there also exists rural unemployment in a rather acute form. Such an unemployment occurs in various forms, namely, unemployment resulting from crisis in the agricultural production, seasonal unemployment, unemployment due to lack of technical skill or the inferiority of the agricultural workers' position. Compared to that of industrial workers, recent unemployment from the cultivation of dwarf holdings in the rural areas may last from 150 to 270 days in a year.† The seasonal character of agricultural operations is the main cause for unemployment in the villages.

Employment in Factories

(Covering only those subject to the Factory Act)
Average daily number of workers employed

State	Average daily number of workers employed									
	1939	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	
									1st half	2nd half
Assam	52003	58070	53161	56119	59563	61132	62262	65136	54472	69190
Bihar	295998	168408	138990	136834	148208	155234	180204	192150	177567	168599
Bombay	446040	735774	680896	702465	737460	789463	733332	767704	732245	709495
Madhya Pradesh	64494	110263	101355	97219	111646	98273	100056	110994	115787	91751
Madras	197266	279176	262292	276856	288722	323950	391457	417545	417471	370270
Orissa	5371	7427	7443	10592	12329	13359	14439	17186	17670	15283
Punjab	22468	44759	41626	37486	36625	39342	50413	48175	45633	53598
Uttar Pradesh	159738	276468	257140	240396	242083	233837	232695	202514	206122	192894
West Bengal	532830	702964	663087	667626	687701	665008	641694	654901	623885	—
Ajmer	13330	15877	15789	15864	15877	15380	16597	16027	16782	15467
Coorg	14	27	53	117	74	82	485	366	396	372
Delhi	17400	36870	33349	31320	36894	38806	40268	42636	45604	35562
Andaman & Nicobar	—	—	—	2065	2019	2000	1637	1637	1548	—
Total	1626994	2436083	2255181	2274689	2360201	2433996	2504399	2530970	2446182	—

† In one of the villages in West Bengal, agricultural workers were found to be employed, on an average for 220 days during the year; in Madras for 200 days; in Bihar for 151 days and in Mysore for 121 days.

CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The evil of unemployment extends far beyond any loss of material wealth. A long spell of unemployment ruins a man's dignity and self-respect; it creates a sense of frustration and eventually of uselessness; it saps his power of concentration and capacity for normal enjoyment; it makes for tension within the family and within the community; it leaves men apathetic to ordinary social activities and duties, and makes them liable to lend a willing ear to violent expedients to get a status and a sense of purpose in life. In the words of Dr. N. G. Dass :

"The worker's attitude to his job is also perverted. He goes in fear of losing it and yet in fear of excelling in it: he cannot afford to be either conspicuously inefficient or conspicuously efficient."

"So long as there is a scramble for jobs, it is idle to deplore the inevitable growth of jealous restrictions, of demarcations, of organised or voluntary limitations of output, of resistance to technical advice."

Therefore, it has been rightly said that

"Unemployment is a great evil, it is a poison, it pollutes the society and wrecks the political fibre of a country. It creates devils, it turns good men into bad, it changes a honest worker into a criminal. It encourages dishonesty, patronises corruption, glorifies falsehood, points out the dark side of human character and makes one blind to its good side. It is difficult to expect truth, nobility, honesty from a person who cannot have two square meals a day, and who cannot provide a morsel of food or a dose of medicine to his sick wife or ailing children. A half-clad and a half-fed man is a diseased man and a diseased man infects the nation, the fire of hunger consumes all the noble virtues of a father, duties of a son or a husband."

SUGGESTIONS BY VARIOUS PARTIES MADE SO FAR

The A.I.C.C. at its meeting held in Agra in July, 1953, passed a resolution to re-examine and expand the Five-Year Plan in such directions as will lead to an increase in the volume of employment and particularly stressed the need of developing industries specially cottage and small-scale industries by the establishment of co-operative societies. It also emphasised the great need for large-scale investment in the development programme of the country, revision of educational system, greater effort to effect national saving.

In pursuance of the resolution of the A.I.C.C. the Planning Commission issued its notes containing recommendations to the Central and State Governments to expand the working of the Plan in specified directions which if done by the administration will go a long way to provide employment to a large number of idle population. The recommendations of the Commission consist of 11 points, namely :

(1) Special assistance should be given to individuals of small groups of people for establish-

ing small industries and business under the State aid to industries.

(2) There should be expansion of training facilities in those lines in which manpower shortage exists at present. The training facilities will remove those shortages, besides at the same time opening up new employment opportunities for semi-skilled workers.

(3) Active encouragement is to be given to the products of cottage industries through the purchase of the stores required by the State and the public authorities.

(4) Municipal authorities, private educational institutions and voluntary organisations should be assisted in establishing adult education centres in the urban areas. In the rural areas opening of one-teacher schools should be encouraged.

(5) The National Extension Service should be handled with courage as it will contribute towards removing the educated unemployment.

(6) There should be development of road transport. The existing licensing policy should be re-examined with a view to stepping up road transport development specially through private agencies.

(7) Sium clearance schemes and programmes for the construction of the houses for low income groups people in the urban areas should be implemented.

(8) Private building activities should be encouraged.

(9) Planned assistance should be given to refugee townships which suffer from chronic unemployment with a view to developing a sound economy for their continued existence.

(10) Schemes for the development of the power sponsored by private capital should be encouraged.

(11) Work and the training camps should be established at places where mainly through the Government action work opportunities exist, e.g., in the Community Projects, Road construction programme, afforestation and soil conservation and co-operative land resettlement programme.

PROPOSAL FROM STATES FOR RELIEVING URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

As stated above the Planning Commission prepared an eleven-point programme for relief of urban unemployment in the country. It has now received the proposals from the State Governments for strengthening the State Plans in the field of small-scale and cottage industries, vocational and technical training, road development, etc. The States have also given information about the preliminary assessment of the urban and rural unemployment in their areas. For relieving unemployment, the Five-Year Plan is proposed to be expanded by about Rs. 175 crores. The States have given different proposals relating to cottage and small-scale industries.

Assam has proposed that training institutions for manufacturing implements, used by agriculturists and by tea industry, should be started, and handloom, bell metal, pulp for paper and cardboard and compressed fibre industries be set up.

Orissa has proposed increased aid to individuals and groups for setting up small industries under the State aid to Industries Act, and setting up of a training-cum-production centre for some new industries.

The Punjab Government has recommended that for starting new cottage industries, loans should be granted to deserving persons or groups of persons, and a technical service unit for small-scale industries should be established. Lac industry should be developed in Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts. Quality making should be done for hosiery and agricultural implements, and making of handloom products should be given special attention.

Uttar Pradesh proposed the development of handloom and tanning and leather industries. Cottage industries should be developed in eastern districts to relieve scarcity conditions and co-operative societies should be formed for brick-kiln industry. West Bengal has proposed the starting of work-cum-training centres for sports goods industry, dairies and carpets, wood, pottery, cane and bamboo products. Every year 500 trade apprentices should be trained and small engineering industries should be developed.

Mysore has suggested the development of mat-weaving, pottery, manufacture of ceramic ware and porcelain articles, starting of leather tanning industry, production and utilisation of glass articles and bangles, manufacture of simple mathematical instruments and grant of loans to the educated unemployed for starting new industries. Pepsu Government has proposed the starting of ten cotton spinning and weaving centres for development of Khadi industry, establishment of finishing plant for handloom industry, a central cycle parts workshop, a sewing machine parts workshop, development of footwear and leather goods, leather tanning, sericulture, glass industry and sports goods industry. Saurashtra wants loans to be granted to small scale and cottage industries.

Ajmer is interested in the organisation of Co-operative Societies for small-scale and cottage industries, such as bidi-making, weaving, palm-gur industry, chatai and broom making and starting of neem oil industry. Bhopal has proposed the opening of training-cum-production centres and a polytechnic in the State. It has recommended that increased aid to existing industries should be provided under the State Aid to Industries Act. Delhi also wants to give increased aid to cottage and small-scale industries and to a recognised body for Khadi development scheme. It has proposed the establishment of a Commercial Show Room, an industrial museum, Delhi industries emporium and training-cum-production centres, besides development of handloom industry and a scheme for intensive propaganda.

The Kutch Government has proposed the constitution of a cottage industries Board, staff for Indus-

tries and Commerce Department and to depute an officer to Mysore to study the development of cottage industries there. Manipur wants to create an industries department and proposes the incorporation of increased professions in the State Plan for the development of Cottage industries. While Tripura has proposed an increased provision for the development of Cottage industries in the State Plan, Vindhya Pradesh has recommended the opening of training-cum-production centres in each district.

How far the National Extension Service Scheme will directly help to solve the problem of growing unemployment in our country is revealed from the following table :

Kind of employment	Number employed
Village level workers	12,440
Ministerial staff	12,300
Agricultural graduates	1,120
Project Executive Officers	1,120
School teachers	38,440
Midwives	2,480
Overseers	1,740
Veterinary Doctors, Stackmen, Messengers, etc	3,600
Co-operative Inspectors	1,120
Social education organisers	2,240
Graduates of social sciences	207
Doctors, Compounders, Sanitary Inspectors and Lady health visitors	2,480
Engineers	207
Arts and crafts supervisors	1,240
Mechanics	1,860
Sweepers	1,240
Total	83,834

The Central Government has also announced to invest 12 crores of rupees to open one-teacher school in different parts of the country so that employment could be given to nearly 80,000 educated youngmen. Besides this they have also suggested the establishment of Industries Department Corporation with a capital of five hundred crores of rupees. This Corporation is expected to finance and develop a number of small-scale and cottage industries in order to relieve unemployment.

SCHEME FOR RELIEVING EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

The Central Government have accorded financial sanction for the recruitment of over 16,000 rural teachers and 670 social education workers by eleven States in the implementation of the educational scheme for relieving educated unemployment.

Under this scheme the period of central assistance is three years. The centre will contribute 75% 50% and 25% of the salaries of the teachers in the first, second and third year of the scheme respectively. After the three-year period, the whole responsibility of maintaining the schools will fall upon the States; for new social education centres, the centre will contribute 50% of the salaries or honoraria to the teachers and the expenditure on contingencies up to a certain maximum, till the end of March 1955.

Proposals have been received from about 20 States and allocation has been made to the following eleven States for the present :

States	Rural teachers allocated	Social education workers allocated	Central share
			Rs.
Bhopal	150	15	71,500
Bihar	2,500	250	1,188,334
Bombay	4,000	..	1,400,000
Hyderabad	1,500	150	708,750
Manipur	50	..	22,000
Pepsu	700	59	202,250
Punjab	1,200	80	557,375
Rajasthan	800	80	372,000
Saurashtra	250	30	105,401
Vindhya Pradesh	200	..	87,250
West Bengal	5,000	..	1,496,875

I. N. T. U. C.'s SUGGESTIONS

The Indian National Trade Union Congress has also brought out its programme to relieve unemployment in the country. Among other things the programme includes the encouragement and development of cottage industries, the ban on the imports of articles which come in competition with the home-made articles, provision of facilities for the making of products of the cottage industries, greater emphasis to be given in the purchases of Swadeshi articles in place of foreign ones, establishment of industrial training centres in the country, change in the present education system, decentralisation of the large-scale industries and cottage industries to be centralised in the hands of individuals, establishment of more employment exchanges and no retrenchment of labour by means of rationalisation in the industry.

The Socialists also have not lagged behind in respect of recommending the measure for decreasing unemployment. Dr. Lohia has put forward certain suggestions which represent the views of the Socialist Party. Here he recommends that the rural economy should be reorganised on the basis of new land reforms, Co-operative Societies should be established in the villages, a land army should be formed consisting of the agricultural workers, landless labourers and the educated youngmen to cultivate the land which is lying fallow, cottage industries should be given all forms of financial assistance, there should be equalisation of prices not only for the agricultural products but also for the industrial products, the prices of necessities should be reduced by 30 per cent, a ban should be imposed on the export of oilseeds and vegetable ghee and above all there should be started a scheme of unemployment insurance.

COMMUNIST VIEWS

The views of the Communist Party have been represented by Mr. Gopalan, who has suggested that a sum of fifty crores of rupees should be allocated to be distributed in the form of cash and free rations among the unemployed. There should be a reduction of 30 per cent in the prices of all consumers' goods. Proper check should be placed on the closure of mills and factories and the consequent retrenchment of labourers. The amount of revenue and rent from the farmers and different taxes from the consumers should be lowered. All multipurpose projects requiring huge expenditure should be totally abolished, and all agreements entered into between India Government and the foreign firms for the purchase of essential materials should be cancelled and the imports of such articles which might injure Indian interest must be prohibited, monopolists' right should be abolished and the hoarders of necessities and other consumers' goods must be strictly dealt with.

WHAT MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Unemployment in India is, by all available evidences, of such a magnitude that no single measure of whatever intensity and volume can touch even a fringe of the problem. Agriculture, industries, fiscal policy or public works, none of them alone can eradicate this source of national waste and misery. And it is imperative that both for social and economic reasons a solution must be found out to meet the growing intensity of the situation. An integrated programme for the implementation and promotion of inter-related economic development policies together with a change in social pattern of the country can alone be of help to us in this direction. No action of temporary nature will in any way affect the situation, although it might be capable of providing temporary relief in a way that would make things worse when the effect of such action comes to an end. The problem, therefore, can not and should not be viewed apart from the economic development of the country.

CO-ORDINATION OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY NEEDED

In a well-balanced economy, industrial and agricultural development should be linked together. Without developing both, our economy would be a lop-sided one and we cannot add to the material prosperity of the country or the economic soundness of the average purchaser. No nation in modern times has grown rich from agricultural pursuits alone. India must become industrial-minded and the motto of future India should be "Industrialise or perish." Industrialism has come to be regarded as the most important factor of civilised existence because it gives not only wealth

but power and modernity. The Government of India must abandon the attitude of apathy and embark on an aggressive and progressive industrial policy. To make up for lost time and neglected opportunities and reorganise the country's economic life side by side with the industrial development, greater emphasis must be given to the decentralisation of industry and every effort should be made to encourage and develop such rural and cottage industries which are suitable for different areas having regard to the necessary raw material, labour supply and the capital resources available. This will to a great extent relieve the pressure on land by diverting the surplus rural population to the productive channel, because agriculture must also be reorganised on sound lines. Without the reorganisation of our primary industry the secondary and the tertiary industries could not be placed on a sound footing.

CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY BADLY REQUIRED

Besides, educational policy of the country needs to be completely reorganised. Up till now our education has been too much academic and theoretical and too little practical and useful because it trains head but neglects the use of hands. Education must be such as should teach not only how to learn but also how that learning should be used to earn one's livelihood. To quote Sir Visvesvaraya :

"The universities of the educational institution in this country should prepare men and women for the business of life. They should give a practical turn to the learning they impart in order to correct certain known tendencies which are unfavourable to progress. I have long complained that the Indian Universities have been unmindful of their duty towards the bread-winning occupation. So long as the people are poor there is no reason why the education of the country should not be largely vocational?"

With the change in education our young people should cease to go on job-hunting and turn to more independent and enterprising occupations.

REORIENTATION OF AGRICULTURE

The agrarian system needs reorganisation according to the present-day needs and conditions on improved lines. This should include an increase in the net returns, reductions of production cost, better standard of living for the farmer and considerable saving of labour. The reorganisation of agriculture can be taken up in three ways. Firstly, by intensification of utilization of the land already in use through improved methods in agriculture, such as, improved methods of manuring, better quality seeds, better farming methods and cultivation of heavy crops requiring more labour and more capital. Secondly, by removing the obstacles for full utilization of land

tenure system, ownership of land, size of holdings, laws of inheritance, illiteracy and rural indebtedness. Thirdly, by bringing more land under cultivation by means of extended use of irrigation and by the establishment of land colonies. It may be pointed out that these measures would not result in the desired goal without the creation of certain necessary prerequisites, such as the corresponding growth of co-operation, vocational and general instruction in rural schools and associations.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE SOUND

It need not be pointed out that our present industrial development is not commensurate with the size of population. Besides there has been an uneven distribution of industrial units in the different parts of the country. The concentration of industries in certain quarters have definitely done more harm than benefit to the nation. The problem of over-crowdedness, filth and dirt, squalor, prostitution, insanitary conditions of living and above all, the moral degradation of the workers are the outcome of factory concentration in large industrial centres. Therefore, in order to make the industrial development uniform decentralisation of industries in the rural sectors is highly desirable. This will not only improve the moral of the society but will also give employment to lakhs of peoples residing in the remotest corners. It was for this reason that various committees and commissions set up by the Government emphasised the importance of developing a industry which will not only relieve the pressure of land but will lead to integration of labour power and establish a really balanced and wholesome national economy. Rice and flour milling, sugar processing, cotton ginning, handloom weaving, paddy-husking, bee-keeping, poultry-farming and fruit-canning and basket and rope-making and the preparation of jellies and achar will no doubt give employment to the millions of uneducated masses.

In order to develop these industries it is necessary that Development Boards should be established at the Centre and the States which should be entrusted with the work of providing finance to the village artisans, either through the village Co-operative Credit Societies or through the Government Banks. Electrification of the industries is also necessary and the Board should give their attention not only to the supply but also to the marketing of finished products; more emporiums, distributing shops and research centres should be opened up to provide for the sale of the products and the technical training to the artisans. Above all, to give more employment to these cottage industries the purchasing of Government requirements of the articles produced by these industries should be made compulsory as far as possible.

Another direction in which additional employment could be found for educated youths would be to develop motor transport in the country. Expansion of motor transport for goods traffic would give employment both to semi-skilled and clerical workers. The passenger traffic in large cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi, can also provide employment to numerous young men as taxi-drivers, conductors, accountants and other clerical staff. New passenger routes should be opened up between two centres not covered or inadequately covered by railways. These measures would not only make life easier and happier for the travelling public, but would provide much-needed relief to at least a

section of the unemployed.

Besides, certain essential social services should also be extended. These services will have a direct effect on the health and happiness of the public. In addition to providing employment, *e.g.*, a vigorous drive to end illiteracy, they can provide employment to a large number of teachers. Similarly, extension in public health services is bound to give employment to more doctors, nurses, attendants and sanitary and health inspectors. Construction of school buildings, hospitals and dispensaries would assist in capital formation as well as widen the sphere of employment. Slum clearance schemes and construction of residential quarters in the industrial centres for low-paid workers would give employment to urban people to a great extent.

In addition to the above measures an extended programme of apprenticeship training in the industrial concerns, mills and factories is another method by which the vicious circle of unemployment and shortage of technical skill could be broken. The trained hands should at least be immediately absorbed if and when opportunities for employment occur; substantial additional employment can also be found for the urban population for a short period by developing the engineering industry and by carefully scrutinising our import policy so that the import of articles which can be manufactured in the country should be banned and that the newly started engineering industry should be assisted and encouraged by all possible means to take up the manufacture of such items in the country.

EQUALISATION OF NATIONAL INCOME SHOULD BE AIMED AT

It has been pointed out that the distribution of income in India is not even. It has been found out that more than a third of the population enjoys about one-third of the annual wealth produced in the country while one-third of the total wealth is enjoyed by one per cent of the population while the rest is enjoyed by the remaining population. This means

that unless the income-expanding process is faster than the rate of growth of population and can be maintained at an even pace economic development may not result in an increase in per capita income or in a stable level of employment. Therefore, what is essentially needed is that there should be equitable distribution of income among the different sections of the society. The most simple way of equalising the distribution of income would be that marriages should take place among the higher and lower strata of the same society and an increase in income would definitely raise the standard of living, thereby resulting in the lower growth in the rate of population, and

this will indirectly help in providing employment to the usual number available in the country.

TRANSPORT SYSTEM SHOULD BE ADJUSTED TO THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY

As our transport system is haphazard, unplanned and inadequate for the size of the country it is a great hindrance not only to the agricultural prosperity and industrial progress but also to the general economic development of the country. Therefore, what we feel is that if full employment programme is to be implemented it is essential that the transport bottleneck must be removed. For this purpose it may be suggested that all the different methods of transport should be nationalized so that competition may be reduced among the operators leading to a full employment of the services. And further effective transport system must be evolved so that it may cope with the increasing demand of transporting the agricultural and industrial products to the different parts of the country. Further, every effort should be made to take advantage of the village carts which in its improved form would provide employment to the large number of villagers sitting idle at present.

It has been often remarked that Indian labour is rather immobile in the sense that people do not migrate from their homes to the places of employment. Therefore, if full advantage is to be taken of the increased opportunity of employment in agriculture, industry, commerce and transport, efforts must be made to make the Indian labourers more mobile. In fact, what India wants at the present time is not mobility of labour but organised mobility so that our industries may not starve for want of labour.

MORE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES SHOULD BE SET UP

It is a matter of dissatisfaction that in India the number of Employment Exchanges have been very insignificant, *e.g.*, up to December, 1947 there were only 75 employment exchanges throughout the country and the number increased to 126 by June, 1953.

Employment Exchange Statistics

Period	No. of Exchanges at the end of the period	No. of Registrations during the period	No. of Applicants placed in employment during the period	No. of Applicants of the live registers at the end of the period	Monthly No. of employers using the exchanges	No. of vacancies notified during the period	No. of vacancies outstanding at the end of the period
15th Aug., 1947 to 31st Dec., 1947	75	207838	61729	236734	2879	97892	68756
1948	77	868787	259774	239033	3422	380118	55131
1949	110	1066351	256809	274335	4483	362011	29292
1950	122	1210358	331193	330743	5566	419307	28189
1951	126	1375351	416858	328719	6364	486534	21776
1952	128	1476699	357828	383992	6023	429551	22293
January, 1953	131	114617	20378	434428	4474	25912	21861
March, 1953	134	110293	17785	425178	4569	23980	21157
June, 1953	126	124429	16045	473917	4563	21398	22662

This increase in number is hopelessly inadequate for the country's need because on an average one employment exchange caters to the needs of 28 lakhs of people. Therefore, it is perfectly clear that even though employment opportunities may exist in different parts of the country yet a vast majority of the population is ignorant of these and, therefore, it would be to the interest of the nation that the number of such institutions be increased.

CHECK MUST BE PUT ON FURTHER POPULATION GROWTH

A foreign authority on population, Mr. Osbourne, has pointed out about the internal economy of India as "too many people for the land to support." India's land has long ago been depleted yet her population continued to increase at a rapid rate. Therefore, if employment is to be found for all the people and that without reducing the per capita income, it

is absolutely necessary that suitable measures should be taken in hand to put a check on the growth of population and lower it substantially. Besides this, the future population policy must also provide for educating the students of high school classes in the biological side of the human body, the functions of the physical organs with special reference to the reproductive side, so that they might know beforehand the harmful effects of unchecked growth to the country. Over and above, a team of educated people having a common knowledge of and training in human biology may be sent to the countryside to make the rural people understand the advantages of the limited growth of population. This measure will in the long run definitely prove useful in reducing the pressure of population on land and thus create full employment opportunities for the people of this country.

—:O:—

THE GENTLE ART OF BLUFFING A Species of Protective Colouration

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"What cannot you and I perform upon
The unguarded Duncan? What not put upon
The spongy officers?"—MACBETH

To bluff, or not to bluff,—that is the question: whether 'tis noble in the mind to bluff away the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to wage an honest battle against a sea of troubles and, by opposing, end them? To bluff,—to win: to bluff,—perchance to be found out: ay, there's the rub. For in that bluffing what fearful risks we may run must give us pause. There's the respect that induces us to deal fairly with our fellow-humans and not systematically to try to "put it over them" and thereby gain a treacherous advantage. The choice, of course, is immensely difficult: most often it is decided at our nativity. On this reasoning some must be adjudged to be born bluffers and some, by taking thought, to achieve bluffing. There remains the third category—namely, those on whom bluffing is thrust—willy-nilly, as

it were. Just as the sun shines on the just and on the unjust alike so also, it might be argued, bluffing may, on occasion, be forced on the habitually truthful no less than on the congenitally false. Circumstances, as we know, alter cases; and instances have not been lacking where persons that could be presumed to have imbibed the Beatitudes with their mothers' milk subsequently developed, through the machinations of blind fate, into very creditable imitators of a Macchiavelli or a Benvenuto Cellini. These things happen: nor do we know why they happen.

THE ARTISTS

All, it goes without saying, do not bluff alike. There is, in my opinion, no one art of bluffing: there are as many arts as there are persons to practise it. A

few, indeed, are such pastmasters of bluffing that it may be said of them that age cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite variety of their bluffing. They are the real *maestros*, the real artists. Bluffing comes to them, as reading and writing came to Dogberry, by nature. We can imagine them bluffing at all hours of the day and in all seasons of the year. They bluff without respite. They bluff 'rain or shine, in "cold wars" no less than in "hot," and they can be discovered on either side of the Iron, or the Dollar, Curtain and in every stratum of society. They bluff and bluster, as Falstaff ran away from the battle-field, on principle. They are the "die-hards" and the "last-ditchers" of bluffing. The poet, with his eye in a fine frenzy rolling, has visualised the rose that died of aromatic pain: these gentlemen may be found, by those who care to watch them, to be dying at their posts—with a last bluff on their lips. In life, we may assume, they bluff'd assiduously—and while dying they ceased not to bluff equally assiduously! They are, it will be seen, at the opposite pole to the man who was such a *born* non-bluffer that when, as what Mrs. Malaprop called an "unscrupulous" Providence would have it, he acted the role of Othello in a dramatic performance he deemed it incumbent on him to black himself *all over*! It is evident that not all the wealth of the Indies could ever have tempted him into even a reasonable semblance of bluffing. He, it is clear, was the prototype of the youth who bore, 'mid snow and ice, the banner with the strange device.

NO HARD AND FAST RULES

Again, bluffing may differ according to the latitude and longitude. What is, for instance, sheer honesty above the 38th Parallel may be pure bluffing below it, just as what is merely cussedness in the Captain is supposed to be rank blasphemy in the soldier. Have we not been told that what is meat for one man may be poison for another? (In the Cannibal Islands, it is conceivable, what is a *mate* for one man may similarly be poison for another!) In some places people may take in their stride what in others compels their neighbours to raise their eyebrows and to shrug their shoulders. By the same token, in some situations a code of conduct may be followed with impunity that will scarcely be tolerated in some others. The same rules, obviously, do not apply in war and peace. Those who are regarded almost as angels in the piping times of peace are apt to become devils incarnate—"red in tooth and claw"—when Armageddon is let loose on the human scene. Then we are confronted with a revolutionary change of values. Is not everything fair in love and war? During the pendency of a war the end is assumed to justify the means: the end being so noble (both the parties to the dispute blatantly proclaiming that *they*, and they alone, are on the side of Right) the means that are employed to achieve that end may, it would seem, very well be as ignoble as possible! Like the independent trooper, Tomkins, in Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Woodstock*, the combatants on either side imagine

themselves to be "above such matters as Ordinances." They are living on a plane where these petty things just do not apply. This Tomkins of Scott avows that, in former days, he had been only "the most wild, malignant rakehell in Oxfordshire." Now he is a saint and can say to the girl whom he wishes to debauch:

"To him who is but a novice in the things of the spirit much is enjoined, much is prohibited; and he is fed with milk fit for babes—for him are ordinances, prohibitions, and commands. But the saint is above all these ordinances and restraints. To him, as to the chosen child of the house, is given the pass-key to open all locks which withhold him from the enjoyment of his heart's desire. Into such pleasant paths will I guide thee, lovely Phoebe, as shall unite in joy, in innocent freedom, pleasures which, to the unprivileged, are sinful and prohibited."

"EVIL, BE THOU MY GOOD!"

When humanity is caught in the toils of war-hysteria it is not only freed from all its traditional inhibitions: but, like the trooper Tomkins aforementioned, gloats self-righteously over that newly-won freedom. Thus it comes about that we elect ourselves to be our own law-makers and, sitting in judgment over the most abominable atrocities that we have committed, absolve ourselves from the least taint of moral infamy and of spiritual apostasy. Even what are commonly called the beasts of prey and the vultures of the air and the monsters of the deep may not descend to such acts as have "no relish of salvation in them" as we (that preen ourselves to have been created in God's own image) habitually commit in times of hostility: yet somehow we contrive to exculpate ourselves from censure of any kind!

It is, however, not only the soldier on the battle-field that is liable to go berserk and to throw his weight about and generally to make a thorough nuisance of himself: the civilian sitting quietly at home or in his office is prone to no less mischief in his own modest and unostentatious way. It is he who sets the ponderous machinery of propaganda in motion, and there is not, it appears to me, much to choose between the ravages of insidious propaganda and those of actual fighting. If anything, the pen being proverbially mightier than the sword, the propaganda arm of war is more baleful in its effects on the enemy than the *fighting* one. No hold is barred in either, to be sure, but the former has this advantage over the latter—namely, that, like the Rumour of Shakespeare, it is a person "painted full of tongues" who "stuffs the ears of men with false reports" and is thus, as we might say, one up as against the other. And propaganda is nothing if it is not political salesmanship at the meridian of its splendour. It is aimed at nothing less than leading the enemy a veritable dance of conjecture, of speculation, as to our own next move or manoeuvre in this long-drawn-out game. If he laps it up he finds himself ignominiously trapped: if, on the other hand, he shies away from it like a startled mustang he may find himself equally ignominiously trapped—truth sometimes being stranger than fiction and what had

been presented to him in his instance, at any rate, being the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

TIGHT-ROPE WALKING

This is, really, tight-rope walking with a vengeance, as it were. The enemy is left guessing all the while: he does not know whether what he beholds is a mask hiding the truth or truth itself parading in the open for him to make the most of, if he has the requisite gumption. I am inclined to think that the biggest bluff of all is this parading of truth itself leading the enemy to imagine that what is thus being so wantonly exhibited cannot, in the nature of things, be what it pretends to be but its direct opposite. But, to quote a line of Matthew Arnold's, "it needs heaven-sent moments for this skill." The common, or garden, variety of bluffing is the mask hiding the truth; and the success of this depends on the canniness with which we design the mask. Very often it is the press of a country on which devolves the patriotic duty of devising the mask. The press is the chief medium of propaganda. Thus it can be said, without any exaggeration, that the journalist quietly sitting at his desk in his newspaper office is a combatant in the field to a much larger extent than is generally supposed. It follows that they also serve (in war) who merely sit and write. The *New Journalism*, being geared to publicity more efficiently than the Old, is as much to be reckoned with by the embattled foe as the mighty military machine itself which faces him at every hour of the day and night. This being conceded it needs only the emergence of a Coebbles (let us say) to

"coach the whole multitudinous orchestra of the Press to carry out the vast conceptions of some consummate conductor, *splendide mendax*. From each instrument under his baton this artist would draw its utmost contributive aid to immense schemes of concerted delusiveness, the harping of the sirens elaborated into Wagnerian prodigies of volume and complexity." (The late C. E. Montague.)

Some day an article needs to be written entitled, "The Journalist as Bluffer." If, as I earnestly believe, bluffing is an art the journalist, it needs no emphasising, is the artist *par excellence*.

WHERE BLUFFING IS BLISS

Bluffing may strike the same individual differently at different periods of his growth. Many a staid old man of the present day who smilingly tightens his belt one notch more at the sweet behest of his Food Minister and wins prizes in his parish for the number of meals he has uncomplainingly missed and for the number of ghost ration-cards he has not accumulated might (who knows?) have been a bluffer of the first water when the blood ran more gaily in his veins and time seemed to stand still.

"And at the rainbow's foot lay surely gold.
And hope was strong, and life itself not weak."

Then, again, bluffing may differ widely in men and women. Talk of the equality of the sexes! In the matter of bluffing women begin where men—the poor mutts!—leave off! The most consummate bluffer among

men is a mere child, "a six years' darling of a pigmy size," as Wordsworth so happily puts it, in comparison, with a member of what is, euphemistically, called the gentler sex. A woman (God bless her!) is born to bluffing as the sparks fly upwards. Someone has perspicaciously remarked that the word, "honour," is conspicuous by its absence in women's dictionaries. That being so it is not surprising that they have brought off, through every age and clime, some of the rawest of deals, some of the meanest of coups. But, perhaps, it can be said in favour of bluffing that where bluffing is bliss 'tis folly to be straightforward and to act in obedience to the maxims embodied in the Sermon on the Mount. Women naturally act on the principle enunciated by that seventeenth century poet, Prior:

"The merchant, to secure his treasure,
Conveys it in a borrow'd name:
Euphelia serves to grace my measure,
But Cloe is my real flame."

These lines are, in my opinion, the *locus classicus* on the subject of bluffing: their author has given pointed expression, a local habitation and a name, to the truth about it for all time. It is not known, however, whether he was himself a paragon of bluffing in real life, treading, like a puff'd and reckless libertine, the primrose path of dalliance or only pretended to be what he was not: he might merely have wished to strike an attitude, to cut a dashing figure, and his bark might very well have been worse than his bite!

A BLUFFEE, NOT A BLUFFER!

An essay, obviously, admits of autobiographical touches, and I have to confess, at the very outset, that, try however I might, I have not been able to come up to the standard of bluffing outlined above. That target, alas, is not for me! I am a tragic misfit in this age, which is, pre-eminently, the Age of Bluffing. It surprises me how an adult like myself could have come by such colossal indigence in the matter of bluffing. Actually, I have, if I may be permitted to say so, been more bluffed against than bluffing. I have been the unfortunate victim of bluffing by others, not the perpetrator of bluffing myself on those others: *bluffee*, not the bluffer. I have never bluffed—at least not on principle. I might, now and then, have deviated into bluffing by the exigencies of circumstances, nothing more. My best friends and warmest admirers cannot say more than that, at the most, I am only an amateur in the line. My bluffing, such as it is, can be very easily seen through—not, perhaps, by other amateurs in the line but by the professionals, the big guns, the high priests. That is why I feel that I am initially handicapped in the matter of writing an essay on the gentle art of bluffing. But I have derived no little encouragement from the French aphorism that a sculptor need not himself be made of marble. Besides, is it not the outsider who sees most of the game?

THE FINEST EXAMPLE

I believe that the finest example of bluffing that occurs to the memory is the story of the Emperor Without Clothes. The Emperor, as we know, went in the procession under the splendid canopy. And all the people in the streets and at the windows said, "Bless us! what matchless new clothes our Emperor has?" "But he hasn't anything on," cried a little child. "Dear me, just listen to what the little innocent says," observed his father, and the people whispered to each other what the child had said. "He hasn't any clothes on!" they began to shout at last.

"This made the Emperor's flesh creep, because he thought that they were right; but he said to himself, 'I

must keep it up through the procession, anyhow.' And he walked on still more majestically, and the Chamberlains walked behind and carried the train, though there was none to carry."

The moral of this parable is plain for all to see: a child can see through even the most consummate bluffing. There is no art of bluffing that can bluff him!

If, according to Hindu philosophy this world that we see around us, the sun, the moon, and the stars, "this vast overhanging firmament," is nothing but a mirage, a figment of the imagination, *maya*, illusion, what you will, their Architect must be, not to put too fine a point upon it, the Greatest Bluffer of All!

O:—

INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF INDIA

By ANADI BHUSAN MAITY, M.A.

I

The emergence of India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic is a land-mark in the history of the world. Economic and strategic reasons had thrown her under the iron-grip of British rule for nearly two centuries. At present, she is looked upon as the key country in Asia. She is potentially strong enough to alter the balance of power in the Far East. Moreover, she has a leading part to play in the struggle for emancipation of subject races from foreign yoke that is going on throughout the world. This had made her voice a force to reckon with in the sphere of world politics.

II

In order to understand the present status of India, it is necessary to view it from a historical perspective. Before the Islamic conquest, India was regarded as an independent State in the international field. She conducted her relations with ancient Greece and Rome by an exchange of embassies. The schools of international law sprang up in some parts of India. But the Islamic conquest of India sounded the death-knell of these institutions. Again, the growth of the Turkish Empire between the East and the West further interrupted the relations between India and Europe.

The discovery of sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in the 15th century changed the history of India altogether. Shortly after this event Portuguese Empire in the East was established. But soon their power began to decline owing to heavy influx of competitors in the scene. Spanish, Dutch, English and French merchants got into the field gradually. The rivalries among them became acute with the passage of time. It was the defeat of Spanish Armada in 1588 that finally doomed the fate of Spain and Portugal for ever and their trade with the East came to an end.

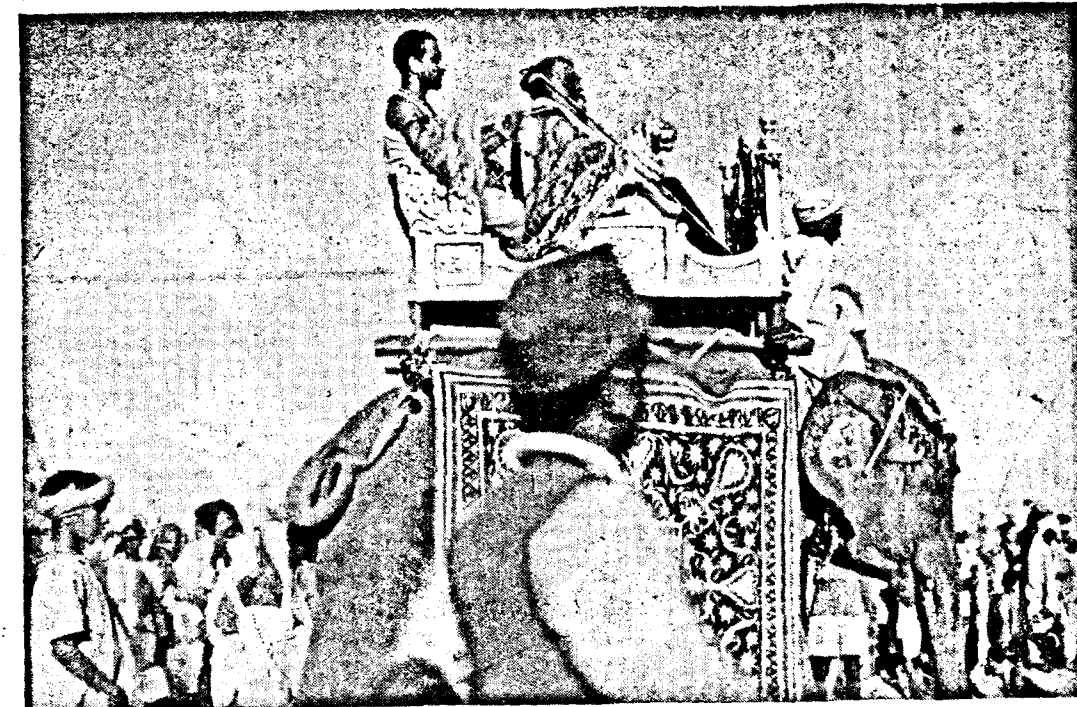
For the purpose of counteracting the trade monopoly of the Dutch, the merchants of London formed the British East India Company and asked Queen Elizabeth to grant them a charter of incorporation. On January 24, 1600, the Charter was granted authorising them 'to acquire territory, fortify their stations, defend their property by armed force, coin money and administer justice within their own settlements.'

Now, what was the status of the East India Company in international law? The answer to this question may be given in the following words of Prof. Westlake:

"The East India Company was an incorporated Company. An incorporated company is the creature of the state to the law or to the Government of which it owes its corporate existence and power, and if it is incorporated for an object which brings it into relations with foreign states, the state which has created it cannot escape responsibility for the acts of its creature."

After the formation of the East India Company the rivalries among the Colonial Powers became more prominent. India became 'the chess-board where the nations of Europe played out their game of skill'. Britain, with the intention of monopolising this trade, tried to oust her rivals by clandestine means. There were internal struggles among the native powers like the Moguls and Marathas. This created a 'power-vacuum' and Britain lost no time to exploit the weakness of this situation. The combination of all these forces led to the battle of Plassey in 1757 which put an end to Muslim rule in Bengal. The British conquest of India began from this date. The causes that led to the establishment of British supremacy over India was described by Karl Marx (*The Future Results of British Rule in India*, *New York Tribune*, August 8, 1853), thus:

1. Westlake: *Chapters on the Principles of International Law*, p. 191.



A Mohunt riding an elephant in procession at Kumbha-Mela, Allahabad

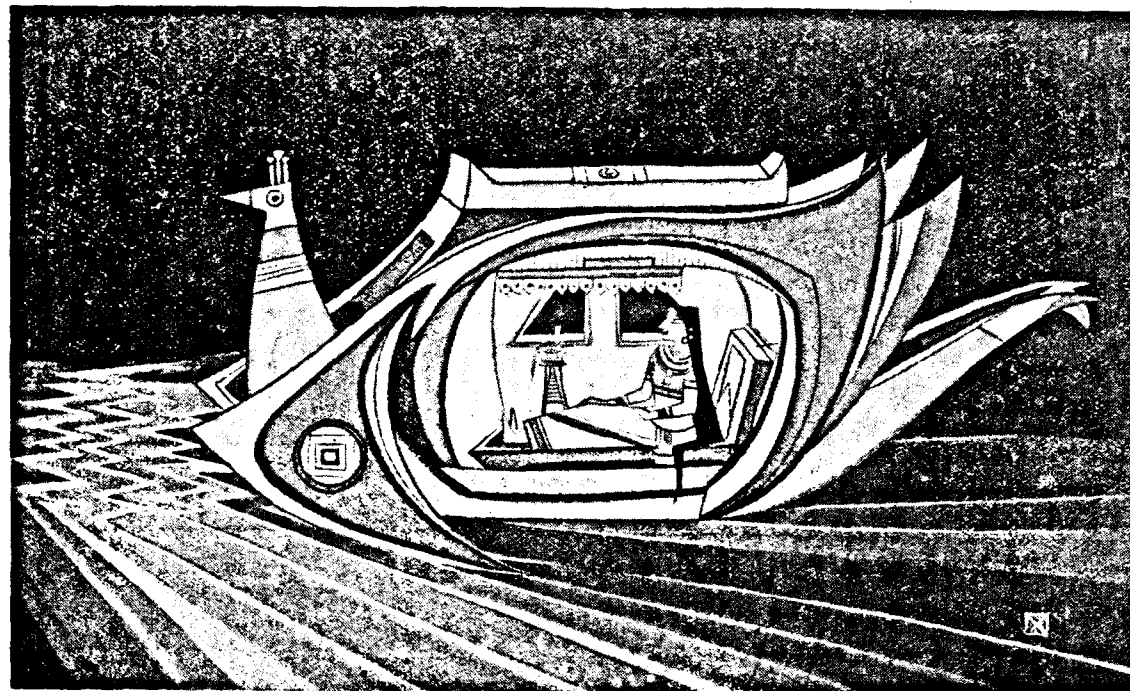


A procession of Sadhus at Kumbha-Mela, Allahabad

Courtesy: Sundaranda Vidyabinod



Potter
By Samar Ghose



Suka-Pankhi boat
By Gopen Roy

"The paramount power of the great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroy. The power of the Viceroy was broken by the Marathas. The power of the Marathas was broken by the Afghans; and when all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all."

After the battle of Plassey, Britain embarked upon a policy of territorial expansion and political domination. Latterly, the peril of financial bankruptcy of the Company necessitated an effective system of Parliamentary control and supervision over its policy and administration. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was the beginning of Parliamentary control to realise this object. The Act transferred the Company from a purely trading Corporation into a semi-sovereign political body under the control and direction of Parliament. This Parliamentary interference and the subsequent renewal of the Company's Charter implied that "whatever the East India Company held it held mediately as an organ of the State." By the middle of the 19th century they became the paramount power in India. The rapid territorial expansion of the Company was an important cause of the unrest which led to the Indian Mutiny in 1857. It was a revolt of the 'dispossessed princely order and the Muslim nobility and of a discontented army.'

With the suppression of the mutiny a Bill was introduced in Parliament providing for the assumption of the Government of India directly by the Crown. On August 2, 1858, the Royal assent was given to the Bill by which India was drawn into the vortex of a new Empire. She was placed under the control of the Secretary of State for India who was a member of the British Cabinet and responsible to Parliament. By the Royal Title Act of 1876 Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. Though from a strictly legal point of view India was not regarded as a colony, still, as Lowell points out;

"The method of administration is essentially similar to that of a Crown colony so far as the connection with the parent state is concerned."

Thus, India was under the complete control of Great Britain both internally and externally. In the diplomatic field she completely merged her identity in the British Empire which was regarded as a single unit in international law. The India Office was established in London wherefrom her external relations were conducted. The complete subordination of a colony to the British Parliament was clear from the decision in *Campbell vs. Hall*: "Every colony, whether Crown colony or not, is subject to the paramount authority of the Imperial Parliament." In view of this fact Prof. Westlake rightly says:

"It would be understating the case to say that the Empire of India is an international unit. The true international unit, for peace or war, neutrality or negotiation, is the United Kingdom and its dependencies, of which the Empire of India is one."

Similar was the case of the Indian States. They had no official intercourse among themselves or with any foreign powers. The principles of international law had no bearing upon the relations between the British Government and the native princes of India. In international law these States were regarded as 'Indian Vassal States,' and, as such, had no international existence whatsoever. Their status in international law was summed up by Lee-Warner, thus:

"The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as expressing the Queen Empress on the one hand, and the native States under the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."

III

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 paved the way for India to acquire a status in the Comity of Nations. Two forces helped her: firstly, the movement launched by the Indian nationalists for the establishment of self-government in this country and for the attainment of an equality of status with the British Dominions; secondly, India's magnificent contribution in 'blood and treasure' and the remarkable part played by her forces in the various theatres of war. Eventually, a new policy of "the gradual development of self-governing institutions" in India was decided upon by the British Coalition Government on August 20, 1917, "with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Simultaneously with this pronouncement, she was admitted, at the instance of Mr. Lloyd George, into the Imperial War Conference in 1917 as 'the junior-most traveller on the high road to self-government.' As Mr. Lloyd George said, this marked "the first Imperial recognition of the altered status of India." It should be noted that by virtue of the declaration of 1917 and also by her admittance into the Imperial Conference, "India," Dr. Nathan thinks, "has been recognised as having Dominion Status although it does not enjoy self-government." Prof. Coupland also holds the same view.¹⁰ But the correct view seems to be that India did not then acquire Dominion Status but was, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri remarked,

5. Forrest: *Ridges' Constitutional Law*, p. 489

6. Westlake: *Op. cit.*, pp. 214-215

7. Sir William Lee-Warner: *The Protected Princes of India*, p. 373.

8. Quoted by Madan Gopal: *India as a World Power*, p. 3

9. Nathan: *Empire Government*, p. 67

10. Coupland: *India: A Re-statement*, p. 110.

2. Quoted by A. N. Chakravarti: *Call It Politics*, p. 2.

3. Westlake: *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

4. Lowell: *The Government of England* (Vol. II), p. 391

"planted firmly on the road to the acquisition of that status."¹¹

In the Imperial War Conference of 1917, the Imperial War Cabinet was established in which India was accorded a place with the representatives of other independent nations. After the collapse of the Central Powers at the end of 1918, the principle behind the War Cabinet system was made use of in the British Empire Peace Delegation at Paris. Indian representatives, the late Lord Sinha for British India and the Maharaja of Bikaner for the Indian States, signed the Peace Treaty at Versailles on June 28, 1919. Consequently, India became an original Member of the League of Nations.

Before evaluating her status in the League, we should understand the legal nature of the League Covenant. The members regarded it not only as an international convention but also a part of International Law. It was an International Convention to which different nations of the world were admitted as independent sovereign States. According to Oppenheim: "The Covenant of the League is an attempt to organise the hitherto unorganised community of States by a written constitution."¹² And, in view of this fact, Noel Baker observes: "The Covenant is a kind of *Constitutional* International Law."¹³ India, being separately mentioned in the Covenant as an original Member of the League, was graduated to the status of a 'Person' in International Law. Thus her status was more enhanced by her membership of the League Assembly than by her presence at the Peace Conference. Prof. Keith is of opinion that at the Peace Conference "the essential authority rested with the British Empire delegation," but in the Assembly India did not "look to the British Empire delegation to express the views of the Empire as a whole."¹⁴ Her independent policy was evidently revealed at the Opium Conference of 1925-26. Apart from this, her delegates signed, by their own right, various statutes concluded under the auspices of the League. She also signed in the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and adopted its Optional Clause. In this way she got a perfectly distinct place in the Organisation of this Court.

From the above observations it appears that India acquired international personality by reason of her membership in the League of Nations. But legal opinion still varies on this point. It has been argued by some international jurists (like Hall, Keith) that these marks of separate national existence did not raise her status outside the League arena. The reason

is that "the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function."¹⁵ In fact, from this angle, her inequality of status was revealed in many cases. Firstly, there was a legal inequality of status which was held to arise from the form of the title of His Majesty the King, who, under the Royal Title Act of 1901, was called the 'Emperor of India'; secondly, as regards 'the highest attribute of sovereignty' involving peace and war, the power was formally vested in the King. This was demonstrated during the outbreak of the Second World War on September 3, 1939, when the Governor-General declared India a belligerent country by the principle of 'automatic belligerency'; thirdly, the Crown was still the 'constitutional linchpin' in matters of the executive acts and legislation. The Governor-General was responsible to the Secretary of State who in his turn was responsible to the British Parliament. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stood as the highest legal bench in relation to India; fourthly, the bond of Union between India and Great Britain was based on a *common allegiance* to the Crown.

These and other reasons stood in the way of her attainment of full international personality outside the orbit of the League. The British Government held that the Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League were not intended "to govern relations *inter se* of various parts of the Commonwealth."¹⁶ And, one of the reasons for upholding this *inter se* doctrine was the objection of the Dominions to submit issues as to immigration and treatment of Indians resident in their territory to an International Court.¹⁷

Questions may be asked as to whether India was an 'International Person' in a strict legal sense of the term. Prof. Hall points out that India acquired something of an international personality by reason of her membership in the League but "how much is not so evident."¹⁸ Oppenheim also holds the same view. According to him: "It is apparently *sui generis* and defies classification."¹⁹ However, it is quite clear that India so obliquely admitted into the Family of Nations, acquired international personality "to a much smaller extent."²⁰ She was promoted to the status of a dependent *State* in the eye of International Law.

After the war, Britain again began to tighten her control over India and like 'an arrogant and self-centred mother she refused to see that her daughter

11. Quoted by S. M. Bose: *The Meaning of Dominion Status* (Oxford Pamphlets), p. 27.

12. Oppenheim: *Int. Law*, (3rd Edn.), Vol. I, p. 269.

13. Noel Baker: *The Present Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law*, p. 67.

14. Keith: *The Constitution, Administration and Laws of the Empire*, pp. 49-50.

15. Oppenheim: *International Law* (5th Edn.), Vol. I, p. 181.

16. Keith: *Speeches and Documents on the British Dominions*, 1918-31, p. 347.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

18. Hall: *International Law* (1924), p. 35.

19. Oppenheim: *International Law* (5th Edn.), Vol. I, pp. 182-183.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

was attaining majority.' On various occasions Britain promised to offer Dominion Status but did not act up to these promises. These announcements were primarily directed to allay the growing distrust of the nationalists towards the British people who, in the words of Hampden Jackson, "had got into the habit of running the administration of India; it was unthinkable to them that Indians could manage their own affairs successfully."²¹ The Indo-British relations were further poisoned by the publication of the Simon Commission Report in June 1930, which said that "the Government of India is a subordinate official government under His Majesty's Government"

The outbreak of the Second World War on September 3, 1939, led the people to demand their freedom again. But the Governor-General declared India to be at war with Germany, without even the formality of a consultation with the Indian legislature. The status of India may be described in the following words of Dr. Ambedkar on September 12, 1939:

"As the position stands to-day, India is tied to the chariot-wheels of the British Cabinet. The British statesmen are free to pursue any kind of foreign policy and make any kind of international commitments. They are free to declare or not to declare war as they please and they are free to make any kind of peace they like. India has no voice in their foreign policy, in declaring war, or in the making of peace . . . India has no *locus standi* in the making of events that bring on war. She has no *locus standi* in the making of terms which often instead of ending war only adjourn war. Her duty is to be present only when war is on."²²

On September 14, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee adopted a resolution demanding immediate freedom for India in return for full support of the war. The British Government rejected this demand outright. In response to this situation, the Civil Disobedience Movement broke out. Negotiations were resumed for a better Indo-British understanding but all prospects of settlement came to an end in August, 1941, when Mr. Churchill announced that the Atlantic Charter was not primarily intended to apply to India.

The critical phase appeared after the Japanese entry into war in 1942. India was turned into a base for allied operations. The British Government promised full independence to India after the termination of the war. The Congress rejected the offer, calling it a "post-dated cheque on a falling bank." In August 1942, the All-India Congress Committee adopted the "Quit India" resolution demanding the withdrawal of British power from India. Nationalist uprising broke out in different parts of India which for a brief period assumed—"war within a war." With this the last hope

for a better understanding was shattered and the question remained dormant till the end of the war.

In 1945, Lord Wavell took the initiative and began fresh negotiations for the settlement of the question. In the meantime the Muslim League voiced their demand for a separate state—Pakistan. Lord Wavell sought to effect a compromise between the demands of the two parties but it ended in a total failure. In March 1946, the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission into India to assist her "to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible." After negotiations with the two major parties, the Cabinet Mission suffered a lamentable failure owing to the bitter rivalries between the two parties. Civil war soon ensued in India.

One last effort for a settlement was made by Britain on February 20, 1947, when Mr. Attlee announced the intention of the British Government to withdraw from India by June 1948. In order to achieve this end Mr. Attlee sent Lord Louis Mountbatten to prepare the ground for the transfer of power to Indian hands. This hardly changed the mental climate of the two parties. Ultimately, Lord Mountbatten was convinced that partition was the only solution and on June 3, 1947, he produced his plan for the division of the country into "India" and "Pakistan." Finding no way out, the parties accepted the plan. The British Parliament lost no time to draft the Indian Independence Bill on the basis of the above agreement. The Bill was passed and placed in the Statute Book in July 1947 with amazing speed and came into operation on August 15, 1947.

IV

The Indian Independence Act was a sign-post to Indian independence. From this day India became a fully self-governing Dominion and an independent country in the comity of free nations of the world. Before the termination of war in 1945, India had already exercised her treaty-making power at the San Francisco Conference and become an original member of the United Nations. But after attaining independence, she raised the status of her diplomatic missions to the rank of Embassies and exchanged ambassadors with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China, France, Turkey, etc. She also appointed High Commissioners in the countries within the British Commonwealth of Nations. After achieving the status of a Dominion, she still continued as a "State" with all her treaty rights and obligations particularly as a member of the U.N.O. But Pakistan, which broke off from undivided India, emerged as a new State in international law. On August 12, 1947, Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General, said on the status of India and Pakistan:

"In international law the situation was analogous to the separation of the Irish Free State from Britain and of Belgium from the Netherlands.

21. H. Jackson: *The Between-War World*, p. 252.

22. P. R. Lele: *War and India's Freedom*, pp. 47-48.

In these cases the portion which separated was considered a new State and the remaining portion continued as an existing State with all the rights and duties which it had before."²³

Moreover, the Independence Act had effected a basic constitutional change in India. By investing her with the status of a 'Dominion,' a new status was accorded to her in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Statute of Westminster 1931, which is called 'the Magna Carta of the Dominions,' defines that status thus:

"The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It may be asked that if her status could be defined by the Statute of Westminster 1931, why was she not granted Dominion Status simply by the addition of her name to the list of Dominions in Sec. 1 of the same Statute? This would have involved a simple amendment of that Statute and made unnecessary the drafting of the fairly long Indian Independence Act. Prof. Wheare put forward three reasons why this device was not adopted.²⁴ First, unlike other Dominions, India was partitioned. Partition in India made special and complicated legislation necessary for the grant of complete autonomy to the new Dominions. Secondly, the mention of India's name in Sec. 1 of the Statute would have been inadequate because of the fact that the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 was never applied to India. Thirdly, India desired an immediate abolition of the powers of reservation and disallowance, a provision which the Statute did not embody.

But these reasons do not appear to us quite sufficient. Probably, there were other reasons for passing the Indian Independence Act. Be that as it may, India's case was, however, peculiar. In the case of other Dominions the British Parliament, have, by virtue of Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931, the power to legislate for those Dominions with the consent of their Parliaments. In the Indian Independence Act, there is no such provision for legislation by the British Parliament.

As regards the Indian States, Sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act expressly provided that "the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements" lapsed from August 15, 1947. The Constituent Assembly of India was vested with full powers to make laws "having extra-territorial operation." Thus, the British Parlia-

23. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 15, 1947. See also *Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1947-48, pp. 39-40.

24. Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status* (4th Edn.), p. 327.

ment unreservedly gave up its legislative supremacy to the Indian people. In short, this Act was in line with that Treaty which terminated the British Sovereignty over the American Colonies.

Though the jurisdiction of Parliament over India ended with the passing of this Act, there still remained a marked degree of subordination from a strictly legal point of view. Like the people of other Dominions, Indians as British subjects owed allegiance to the British Crown. The Act did not effect any change in the status of Indian subjects. Prof. Banerjee argues that in between August 15, 1947, and January 26, 1950, the citizens of India could not be regarded as British subjects mainly for two reasons:²⁵ Firstly, the British Nationality Act of 1948, which amended the Sections 1 to 16 of the British Nationality and the Status of Aliens Act of 1914, could not be applied to India as it was not extended by any law of the Legislature of the Indian Dominion as required by Sec. 6(4) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947; and, secondly, under the provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948, the expression "India" did not refer to the territory of the Indian Dominion after the Act of Independence, but only to "British India" as defined by Sec. 311 of the original Government of India Act, 1935. It is difficult to maintain this position. It should be noted that as the British Nationality Act of 1948, was not extended to India by a separate legislation, it had no existence in the eye of the Indian Dominion and consequently the British Nationality and the Status of Aliens Act of 1914 must be held applicable to India as before with the result that an Indian retained the status of a British subject. Moreover, in the British Nationality Act, 1948, the expression "India" meant the territory of British India in 1935, as distinguished from the territory of the Native States. Certain difficulties proceed, no doubt, from this connotation of the word "India," but that does not affect the status of the people of what were before the Act of Independence, British Indian Provinces.

Indian leaders were pledged to make India a Republic. But at the same time political necessities required that India should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. A splendid opportunity to adjust the relations of India with the U.K. and the other Dominions occurred in April 1949 when in the Prime Ministers' Conference held in London, the Indian Prime Minister presented that case for India. A compromise was effected between the republican status that India aspired for and the *British Commonwealth of Nations* at the top of which stood the British King to whom all British subjects owed allegiance. After deliberations for a few days a joint declaration was issued on April 27, 1949, which stated

25. D. N. Banerjee: "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," *The Modern Review*, February, 1950, pp. 107-108.

that India would "continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free associations of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." And, the Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth recognised "India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration."²⁶

In this declaration two important points should be observed: Firstly, in the first paragraph of this declaration, reference had been made to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the subsequent paragraphs referred only to the "Commonwealth of Nations." This means that the allegiance which the citizens of India owed to the British Crown would not continue any longer after the achievement of her republican status within the Commonwealth of Nations; secondly, India desired to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the King as a symbol of the free associations of independent nations. It means that in relation to India the King would have no functions but a certain status. In the eye of the Indian Constitutional Law, the British Sovereign is absolutely non-existent.

On January 26, 1950, the new Constitution of India came into force and India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic. She is sovereign both externally and internally. In international law she is independent of the will of other States in the determination of her foreign relations. She is free to pursue any kind of foreign policy she likes. She acquires full international personality with her international rights and duties. Her constitution is drafted locally and not by the British Parliament. Her citizens are regarded as Indian citizens and not British subjects. The Supreme Court of India is bound by the Indian Constitution and the laws made by the Indian Parliament in pursuance thereof and no other. The Constitution opens with the words "We, the people of India" which emphasise "the ultimate sovereignty of the people" and the fact that "the Constitution itself is founded on the authority of the people."²⁷ Moreover, Article 51(c) of our Constitution says that the State shall endeavour to 'foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the

dealings of organised peoples with one another.' Though this Article is incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy and cannot be enforced by the Courts, still it, as Prof. Alexander says, "aims at the inclusion of India in an international order in which the rule of law prevails."²⁸ Moreover, this is a re-affirmation of India's allegiance to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially those that govern the admission of new members (Art. 4).

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao once wrongly argued that as the Indian Constitution Act received its Constitutional Sanction from the Indian Independence Act which was also a British Act like the Statute of Westminster 1931, "the Constitutional Sovereignty over India is still vested in the British Parliament."²⁹ But we should remember that though the Indian Independence Act was an Act of British Parliament, it had expressly renounced the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament in Sec. 6, and made the Indian legislature a sovereign law-making body in all respects. More important is the fact that this Act had empowered the Indian legislature to repeal or amend the same Act if it was repugnant to any law of the Indian Parliament.

V

So far we have traced the evolution of the status of India from her complete subordination to a foreign power, to her complete independence. Controversy sometimes arises regarding the compatibility of the 'Sovereign' Status of India with her membership of the 'Commonwealth of Nations.' It should be noted that India's association with the Commonwealth is voluntary, and it is open to her to cut off that association if and when she so desires. It is, as Mr. Ramaswamy says, "only a courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance."³⁰ In the words of Pandit Nehru:

"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."³¹

There is no question of allegiance to the Crown. In International Law she is now a full-fledged sovereign State and an honourable Member of the U.N.O.

28. C. H. Alexander: "International Law in India," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, July, 1952, p. 294.

29. *The Hindustan Standard*, December 6, 1952.

30. M. Ramaswamy: "The Commonwealth of Nations and India," *The Indian Law Review*, (Vol. III, No. 2), 1949, pp. 139-40.

31. *The Indian Law Review*, (Vol. III, No. 1), 1949, Appendix "A."



DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY

Some Recent Trends Examined

By DR. M. M. MEHTA, M.COM., D.Phil., D.Litt., F.E.S.,
University of Allahabad

I

The object of this empirical study is to find out the principal trends in the distribution of industrial control by community. Such a factual survey is likely to throw considerable light on many aspects of industrial organization hitherto unanalysed, such as the rise, growth and decline of different entrepreneurial groups in Indian industries, their principal fields of specialization; patterns of expansion and growth, nature and character of changes in the distribution of industrial control by community over a period of time, the influence of social, cultural and caste stratification on the rise and growth of the different entrepreneurial groups and their contribution to the industrial progress of the country.

II

PERIOD OF ANALYSIS

The study covers the period 1911-51. The year 1911 has been selected as a starting point for several reasons. The year 1911 was the first year for which factual data were available for such empirical study. The first edition of the *Investor's India Year Book* by Messrs. Place, Siddons and Gough, from which much of the factual data contained in this study have been compiled, was published in the year 1912, and which gave the complete figures of the year 1911. Secondly, the Census figures of the year 1911 were available for estimating the extent of total coverage and relative changes in the over-all position, and lastly, the data furnished by the Large Industrial Establishments in India for the year 1911 also provided very valuable supplementary information for estimating the range of coverage, and for the verification of some of the information contained in the *Investor's Year Book*. The year 1951 has been selected for the simple reason that it was the latest year for which complete information was available at the time this study was undertaken.

III

DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED

It is an extremely difficult task to attempt any classification of the business communities on a perfectly scientific and uniform basis. Generally speaking, three factors have played a dominant role in determining the homogeneity and entity of different entrepreneurial groups: religion, region and caste. Sometimes, the social divisions and stratifications are based on the basis of religion, viz., the difference between the Hindu, Muslim and Parsi

communities; sometimes the classification is on the basis of region, as between Gujratis, Marwaris, Bengalis, Maharastrians and Punjabis, and sometimes the basis of classification is in the caste or sub-caste which in fact is the sub-division of the principal groups in the Hindu community. The caste and sub-caste have played a very important part in determining the pattern of behaviour, attitude and association between different entrepreneurial groups. There is a considerable truth that the bulk of the positions of vantage and administrative responsibility and specially positions of profit and power in an Indian business are held by persons belonging to the same group, religion or sub-caste of its owner or managing agents. If a study like the *Rise and Growth of Business Executives in the United States* (published by the Harvard Research Center for Entrepreneurial Studies, Cambridge, U.S.A.) is undertaken in India, one would discover an interesting concentration and association of sub-caste people in individual enterprises.

While this development has helped to a limited extent, in the training of the business executive, it is also responsible for the "entrepreneurial immobility" in India, and for the lack of opportunities for those who possess the requisite business acumen, foresight and leadership, but who are not in any way connected with any of the entrepreneurial groups by virtue of caste, religion or region. In this study the principal entrepreneurial groups have been divided into the following categories: British, Parsis, Gujratis, Jews, Muslims, Marwaris, Maharastrians, other Indians, other Europeans and Mixed Control. To an outsider, this classification might look little unscientific and at times unintelligible, but those who are fairly acquainted with the working of the Indian society will have little difficulty in appreciating the fact that such social divisions and stratifications do exist in Indian society.

IV

PATTERN OF DISTRIBUTION IN 1911

Table I shows the distribution of industrial enterprises according to the caste and community of the Managing Agents. Where, however, a firm or company is not managed through the institution of Managing Agency, classification of the firms or companies have been made on the basis of the composition of the Board of Directors. In some cases, where the two entrepreneurial groups have been equally represented on the Board of Directors, or where it is difficult to find the relative dominance of any particular entrepreneurial group, the

firm or company has been classified under the group "Mixed Control."

The most striking fact which emerges from the observation of Table I, is the overwhelming predominance of British entrepreneurial class in 1911. As many as 282 companies out of the total of the 341 covered by our analysis, were under British control and management. These companies represented a total paid-up capital of Rs. 29,82,01,000. The Table also indicates the relative importance of other entrepreneurial groups in Indian industries. Next to British, the most dominant entrepreneurial group was that of Parsis who had substantial interests in the Cotton Textile Industry of Bombay. Indeed modern industrialism on the western coast owed its origin to the sagacity and foresight of enterprising Parsi industrialists who pioneered many important enterprises.

TABLE I

Distribution of Companies by Community

	1911		Total paid-up capital (in Rs.)	Percentage of total paid-up capital (in Rs.)
	Number of companies	Percentage		
British	282	82.7	2,98,20,000	66.9
Parsis	15	4.4	53,23,000	12.0
Gujratis	3	.9	2,94,000	.7
Jews	5	1.5	8,35,000	1.9
Muslims	..	..	..	..
Bengalis	8	2.3	7,80,000	1.8
Other Indians	19	5.5	51,58,000	12.3
Marwaris	..	..	..	..
Other Europeans	3	.9	5,97,000	1.3
Mixed control	6	1.8	14,000	3.1
Total	341	100.0	455,08,000	100.0

Particular mention must be made of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Hydro-electricity Works, both of which were floated by Messrs. Tata and Sons, Ltd. The total paid-up capital of Tata-managed concerns exceeded four crores of rupees in 1911. Another important entrepreneurial group of 1911 was that of Sassoons—a wealthy Jewish family of Bagdad, which migrated to Bombay in the thirties of the last century. Although they started with a rug factory, a banking establishment and opium trade with China, they went heavily into the textile industry, and by 1911, the Sassoon family was controlling five important textile mills of Bombay. The two other important groups which were just budding in were Gujratis and Bengalis, the former having confined themselves mostly to the textile industry of Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat, while the latter engaged themselves in a large number of miscellaneous enterprises mostly in the eastern sector. It is significant to note that none of the other groups, viz., Marwaris, Maharastrians or Muslims had any significant interest in any sector of industrial economy, and Gujratis although just budding in, did not occupy that important place in the entrepreneurial history of India as they subsequently achieved in the thirties and forties of this

century. In brief, the distribution of industrial control by community was extremely uneven in 1911, and with the exception of a few enterprising Parsi and Gujarti industrialists, the Indian businessmen exercised little, if any, control over the management of Indian industries.

V

TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY

Table II shows some recent trends in the distribution of industrial control by community:

TABLE II

Distribution of Industrial Control by Community (Frequency Distribution of Companies and Directorships by Community) 1911-51

	Frequency distribution of Companies			Frequency distribution of Directorships		
	1911	1931	1951	1911	1931	1951
British	282	416	382	652	1335	865
Parsis	15	25	19	96	261	149
Gujratis	3	11	17	71	166	232
Jews	5	9	3	17	13	..
Muslims	..	10	3	24	70	66
Bengalis	8	5	20	48	170	320
Marwaris	..	6	96	6	146	618
Mixed Control	28	28	79	102	121	372
Total	341	510	619	1016	4213	2622

Both the frequency distribution of Companies by community and the frequency distribution of directorships by community show the overwhelming predominance of British interests in 1911. Their principal fields of specialization were jute, tea and coal industries. According to the Report of the Indian Jute Mills Association, all the Jute companies before World War I were owned, controlled and managed by foreign enterprise, mainly British. Similar is true, though to a lesser extent, of coal and tea industries. Next in importance were Parsis, Bengalis, Jews and Gujratis. The Marwaris had not entered modern industry; they were just budding in as traders, bankers and stock-brokers. But unlike Gujratis and Parsis, they moved out to all the distant areas of the country wherever they could find opportunities for trade and commerce. The influence of Bengalis was confined wholly to the eastern sector, and the Muslims had not entered modern industry.

By 1951, many far-reaching changes have occurred in the distribution of industrial control by community. The British interests have lost their position of overwhelming predominance which they enjoyed four decades back. Though a substantial portion of industrial productivity is still under their control, ownership and management, the recent trends suggest a wider diffusion of ownership and control among different business communities. The most dominant elements in the Indian entrepreneurial groups have been the Marwaris and

Gujaratis—both *Banias* by caste—who have expanded their spheres of industrial and commercial activities in almost every direction. It is indeed very interesting to observe the close association and integration of British and Marwari interests—the fusion of two entrepreneurial groups which are culturally and socially so different. The family of Jantias is now firmly tied with Messrs. Andrew Yule & Company; of Kanorias with Messrs. McLeod & Company; of Poddars with Messrs. Shaw

Wallace & Company and of Bangurs with Messrs. Bird & Company and Messrs. Gillander Arbuthnot & Company. The development is accompanied by floatation of a large number of joint enterprises, representing the financial interests of both the Indian and foreign partners. These "New Deals" are spread almost all over the new industries—automobiles, radio manufactures, plastics, agricultural machinery, chemical and synthetic dyes, artificial silk, etc.

—:O:—

THE GENERAL BUDGET

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

ACCORDING to the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister for the year 1954-55, the estimated Revenue is Rs. 452.88 crores while the expenditure is expected to be Rs. 467.09 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 14.21 crores on revenue account. The Finance Minister has made provision for Rs. 145.75 crores for capital outlay, the estimates include Rs. 214 crores next year for loans to State Governments mostly for their development projects. The overall deficit next year is estimated at Rs. 250 crores. This is largely due to the substantial provision made for increased expenditure on development in both the revenue and capital budgets. Tax proposals for the next year include preferential duty on betelnuts increased from 9½ annas to Re. 1 a pound, yielding Rs. 3 crores. Excise duty on superfine cotton cloth has been raised from 2 annas to 2½ annas per yard, on fine cloth from one anna and three pies to one anna and six pies per yard and on medium and coarse cloth from three pies to six pies per yard. Excise duty of one anna and six pies per yard has been levied on artificial silk fabrics and an additional three pies per yard for the benefit of the handloom industry. The present import duty on raw cotton has been abolished. The Finance Minister has levied a moderate duty on three commodities namely cement, soap and footwear. In the case of soap and footwear, the products of cottage industries will be exempted. Additional duties on mill cloth are also expected to benefit the handloom industry and Khadi. We welcome this bias towards small-scale and cottage industries in the next year's Budget.

We also welcome the announcement by the Finance Minister that although "continuous vigilance" in regard to nation's security is "being kept," "it is not the intention of the Government of India to halt or slow down the economic development of the country . . . by entering into race for armaments." The inherent strength of a nation ultimately depends not merely on armaments but on its sound economic and social develop-

ment. Realisation of the truth of this statement is now all the more necessary in view of the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact. Although there has been a substantial increase in the budget for development projects, estimates for Defence expenditure for the next year show an increase of only about Rs. 5 crores.

The Finance Minister drew the attention of the Parliament towards the fact that sums provided for development both in the revenue and in the capital budget during the current year have not been spent in full. The Government have, therefore, asked a senior officer "to conduct a quick examination of the existing procedure in the drawing up, sanction and execution of development schemes and to report on the causes leading to the present unsatisfactory position." The future of India largely depends on the successful implementation of the National Plan and we are glad to know that the Government are determined "to remove the procedural and other impediments to the progress of the development schemes." We have no doubt in our minds that certain far-reaching administrative reforms are absolutely necessary for speeding up social and economic progress in this country. The administrative machinery must be overhauled to make it an efficient instrument for the achievement of a Welfare State.

As the Finance Minister rightly pointed out, we are prone to indulge in too much criticism of our shortcomings and apt "to obscure the sum of our achievement." "The face of the country is changing and changing for the better." All of us know that "much still remains to be done." "But we can bend our energies to the tasks ahead fortified by the knowledge that, in spite of mistakes and difficulties, we have made progress and, conscious that we are on the right road, however long and arduous it may be, we shall persevere, with a stout heart, with the task of building up a more prosperous India."

CALCUTTA MUSEUM BRINGS ORISSA CLOSER

By AJIT KUMAR DUTTA

THE university museum in Calcutta, the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, is the first of its kind to come into existence in this sub-continent of ours. This museum, barely fifteen years old, is no doubt of a very humble origin having only a handful of exhibits to start with, but to-day due to its marked achievements and progress it can well have a modest claim to be ranked among

Asutosh Museum has to-day a collection of more than 10,000 items of sculpture, paintings, wood, ivory, bronze, coins, textiles and a wide variety of folk-art specimens. Of these, the Orissan objects, numbering 1,000 in all, leave a lasting impression on the mind both for its variety and because of the fact that the artistic tradition in the 'land of temples' is yet a living force.



Dancing Nayika (soapstone). Puri.
(D. P. Ghosh collection)

most well-equipped and modernised museums of our ntry. In the opinion of a former Director-General of haeology in India, this museum can now well be said ave attained a regional character representing the art archaeology of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which a time immemorial have formed "a homogeneous tical and cultural unit."



Hunting scene (ivory). Orissa
(C. 17th century A.D.)

Here we too have to confine our discussion within certain limits.

The most significant point however of the two-thousand years old Orissan art tradition, is that it yet survives. It continues, but most unfortunately in an almost worn-out form, nearing its end from day to day. The geographical isolation of Orissa has been, of course, the vital factor in keeping the said traits of the land immune to any vandalism and cultural onslaught.

A cross-section of the Orissan objects in the museum,

convinces one of the wide variety of materials and media through which Orissan artistic talent has found expression. It ranges from stone, metal and ivory to perishable materials like wood and soapstone. A thorough analysis of these materials only affirms the historical developments. Ages have rolled by, but the art activities, started under royal patronage and practised on stone and ivory, have survived, though in a multilat-

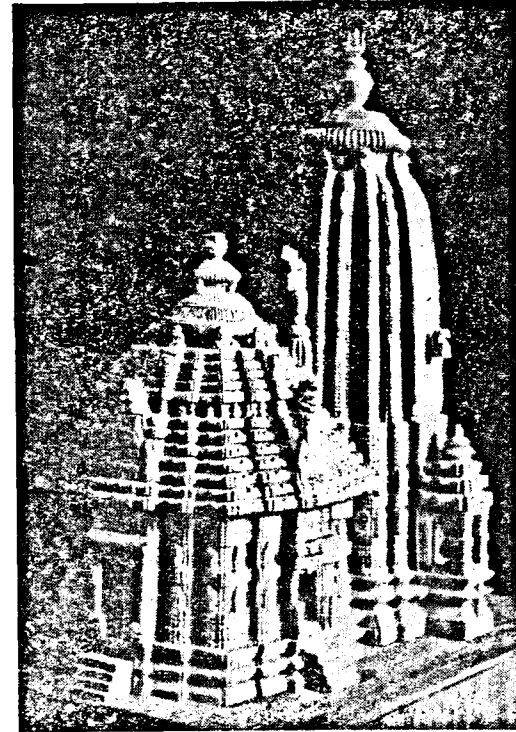


Railing pillar with Yakshis
(From near Bhaskareswar Temple, Bhuvaneswar,
C. 1st century B.C.)

ed form, the chief materials used in later phases being wood, clay or soapstone. Strangely enough, canons and injunctions of the Silpa-sastras have ever been respected by the artists. Naturally therefore, the product, be it an architectural fragment, a piece of sculpture, a painting on an illustrated manuscript or a soapstone-craft, bears something in common—a stamp of a highly developed tradition.

The Orissan archaeological finds, about 300 and odds

altogether, in this museum, include several architectural fragments as well as numerous pieces of sculpture. Of the early finds a highly polished coping stone, presumably a part of a Stupa-railing, found in the vicinity of Sisupalgarh, dates back to the time of the Mauryas. Incidentally, this has been claimed to be the earliest Mauryan find in Eastern India. A turbaned monumental head of about 1st century B.C., collected from

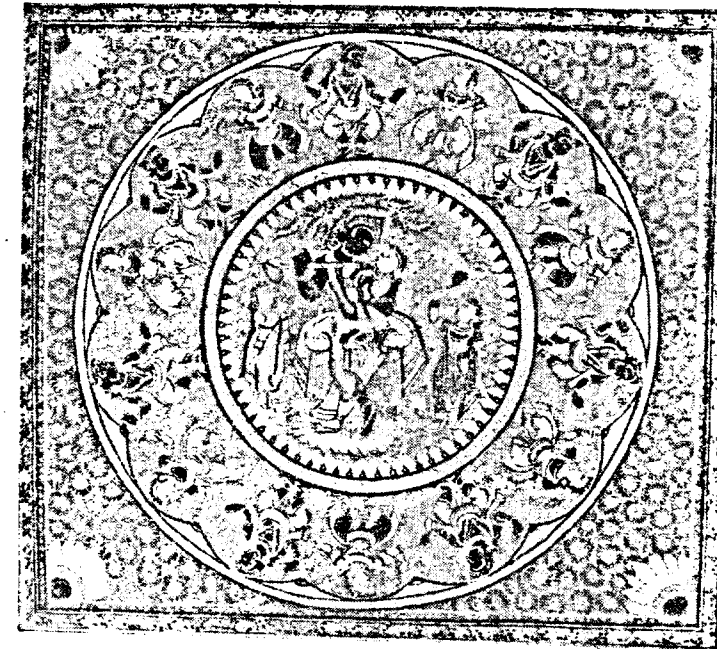


Replica of Bhuvaneswar Temple, 2 ft. high
(soapstone)

the vicinity of Bhuvaneswar, is another such important piece. Not the least important of early pieces is an interesting corner pillar carved with Yakshi figure in *anjali* mudra, ascribed a date of about 1st-2nd century; it was recovered from the environs of Bhuvaneswar. A set of terracotta medallions with royal portraits and heads are unique pieces of early Orissan art. These were collected by Prof. D. P. Ghose, curator of the museum, in course of his explorations in the Sisupalgarh area. He is probably the first man to undertake the work there on a scientific basis. A few divine figures belonging both to the Buddhist and the Brahmanic pantheons, particularly those related to Vishnu and Sakti cult, throw an interesting light on the socio-religious conditions. A few friezes are there of a comparatively later date, which help one to understand a gradual development of the Orissan architectural tradition.

Museums now cease to be "the storehouses of the dead." Contrary to popular beliefs the attention is to-

day, equally focussed on "the present." A new cry for abundance of raw material and aesthetic quality, is in the air; museums should be the "living registers" ready market is pre-assured. Asutosh Museum can

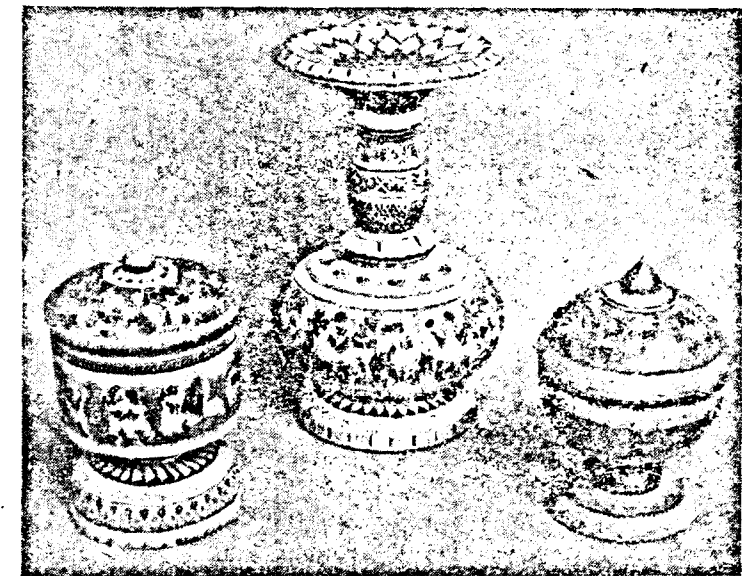


Purna-Rasa (*pat* from Puri District). The central medallion shows entwined figures of Krishna and Radha surrounded by alternating dancing figures of Krishna and Gopini

of national achievements and aspirations. Asutosh Museum has also responded to such an appeal. It has promptly come forward to discharge its new obligations. As a result the exhibits with a "living" appeal now occupy a good portion of the gallery.

Surviving Orissan arts and crafts are no exception. Orissan rural art and craft exhibits form a most fascinating study by themselves. In fact, those have no less an appeal to a visitor than that of their archaeological counterparts. The surviving tradition expresses itself in products like wood carvings, wooden articles, hornproducts, "patas" or paintings and decorative designs and soapstone carvings. Of several exquisite wood carvings, a miniature of a typical Orissa temple deserves special mention both for delicate workmanship and for neatness. In the ephere of Orissan crafts, cheap soapstone products more than anything else command a high

degree of popularity and prominence. It is brittle but With all this a word more is to be added and should



Painted wooden caskets and vase, decorated with floral and foliage patterns and Krishna-lila scenes. Districts Khandpara and Puri

rightly feel proud of having been a pioneer institution in revitalising the dying craft. Besides a few independent and highly decorated *Nayika* figures, the museum exhibits include a soapstone replica of the famous Lingaraj Temple at Bhuvaneswar—the first ever to be made, to scale, retaining all the architectural details of this great landmark of Indian Art.

Orissan paintings in all variety and richness have been very ably exhibited in the museum. It is worthwhile to mention here that one of these paintings, an 18th century Git-Govinda manuscript-drawing, received universal applause and was declared "probably the best exhibit" in the London Exhibition of 1948. It was acclaimed by some British art-critics as an "Oriental masterpiece." But the Orissan artists, particularly, the modern village painters have been in their best in *patas*, painted *petikas*, etc. Rural paintings yet carry all the signs of an age-old tradition, not only in the use of indigenous colours and media but in composition and



A general view of the Orissa-sculpture gallery of Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University

be added emphatically—the once glorious tradition of Orissan art is nearing total extinction. The reason is not far to seek. It is a clear case of cold neglect and lack of patronage. Royal patronage and feudal hey-days are long gone by and the brazen-faced society of to-day is out to throw the artists out to their graves. A few stray references help one have a clear picture of the prevailing situation. A survey report by Prof. D. P. Ghose is most illuminating. Prof. Ghose, who has made Orissa almost his second home, narrates, how in the course of the last ten years the number of the artist-families have been dwindling. The new generation has no charm for the hereditary profession and the old members are literally starving. Very rarely they get a chance-employment when for repair works the Archaeological Survey employ them on a daily-wage basis. An eminent educationist and art-critic recalls the incident of such an artist he came across. The artist was similarly employed to carve out lattices for a window, and he was requisitioned and sent to some Maharaja's palace by a contractor at a

fabulous price. It is no wonder the artists and architects, whose forefathers built the great temples of Konarak and Bhubaneswar, are turning brick-layers and masons.

The question of revitalizing effectively this great tradition of Orissan art deserves undoubtedly a serious and immediate attention. Due to economic pressure the buying capacity of the average man has been greatly affected, it is quite true. But the root of the trouble is somewhere deeper. The average man to-day horribly lacks aesthetic sense. Taste must be created, a steady demand of the product must be guaranteed to avert the impending tragedy. Publicity and marketing are the two important instruments in that respect. But the problem must be tackled in a higher level, if it is to be solved radically. Foreign markets must be explored at any cost and that will not really be a very difficult task. It will ensure the survival of the tradition as well as help the national exchequer to earn more foreign currency, particularly the much-needed dollar.

(Photographs by courtesy of Asutosh Museum)



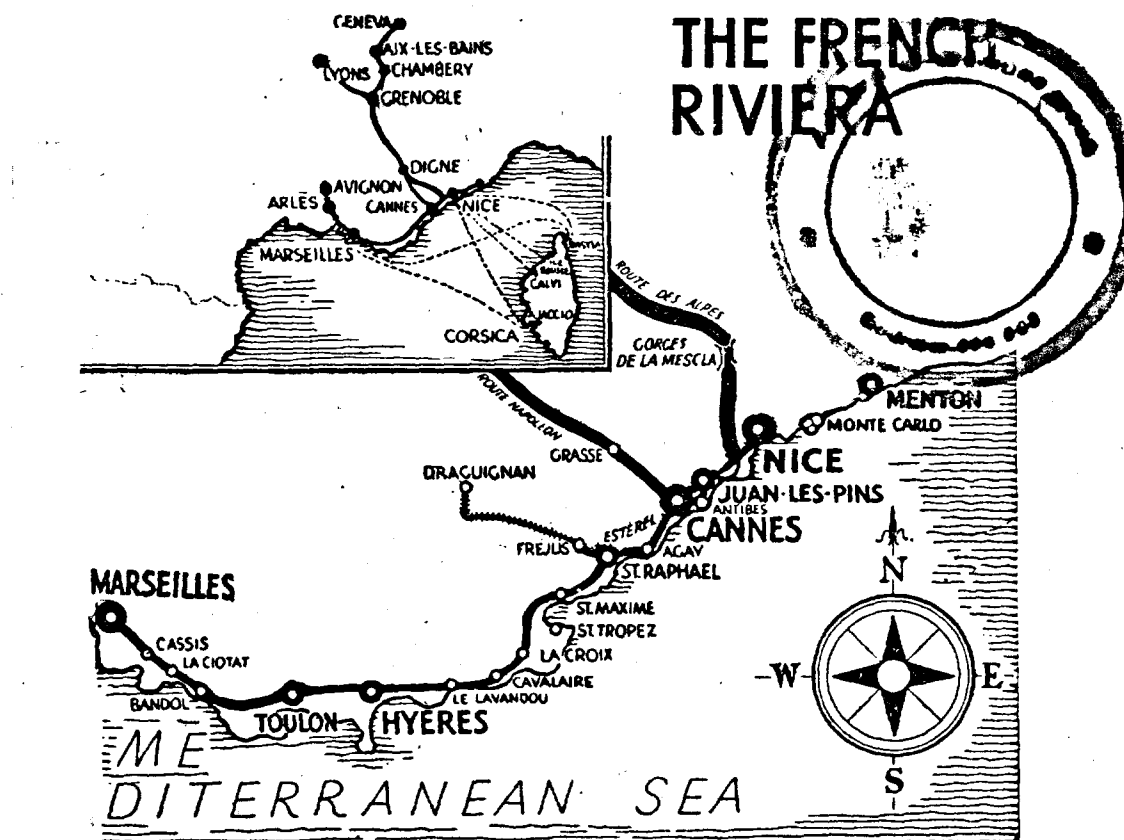
THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

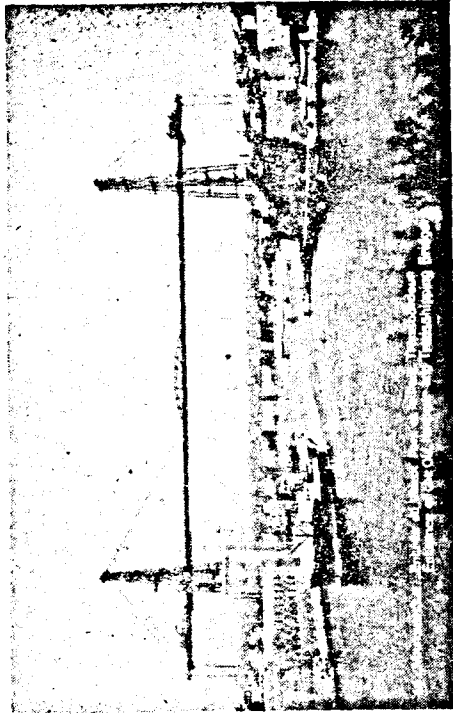
Marseilles to Geneva

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

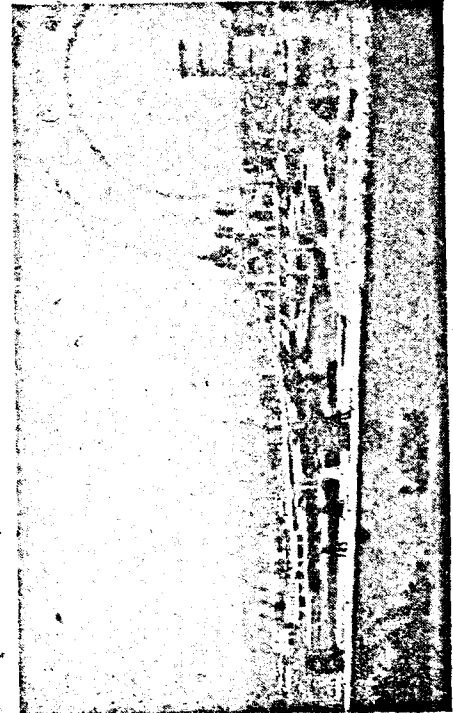
In the south of France, the countryside of the plains of Provence is barren and rocky. We motored through it from Avignon to Marseilles. This place had traded with distant and strange lands long before there was any nation called the French. Now it is the most important port in France and one of the largest in the world, where ships bring people from all countries of the globe, speaking all the languages of the earth. The breakwater on the west, the biggest barrier raised by men for protection of the quays against the sea, is a great engineering feat and affords marvellous porting facilities. The Cathedral, one of the largest in the world, just stands on the side.

imposing transshipping bridge which lies alongside the old port where Canebiere, the finest street in Marseilles with cafes, cinemas and shops, terminates. Close by the port, to its east stands the old Abbey of historic associations with catacombs or underground galleries of burials dating from the Christian era. The Notre Dame De la Garde further east, on an eminence, is reached by funicular ascension. A delightful promenade (Cornice, which is a road cut on the side of a steep hill over a precipice) towards east, to the Riviera, winds along the seaport on the slope of a rocky hill, falling sharply to the sea. The celebrated Chateau D'ef, immortalised by Duma's story, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, is visible at a short distance to the south-west. The

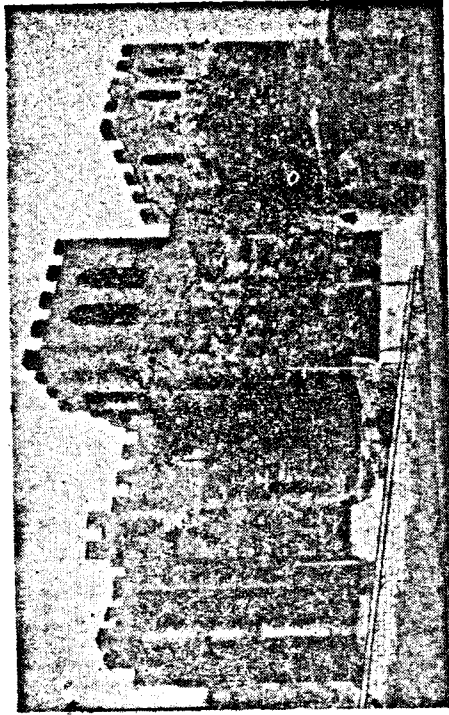




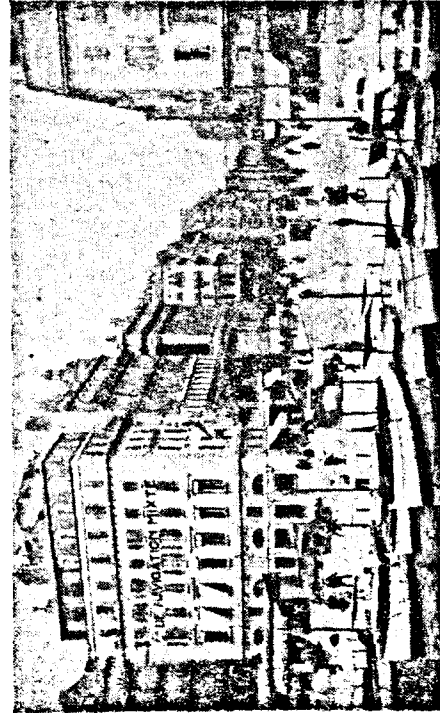
Marseilles. Entrance to the old Harbour and transshipping bridge



Quay Joliette, Fort St. Jean and the Cathedral, Marseilles



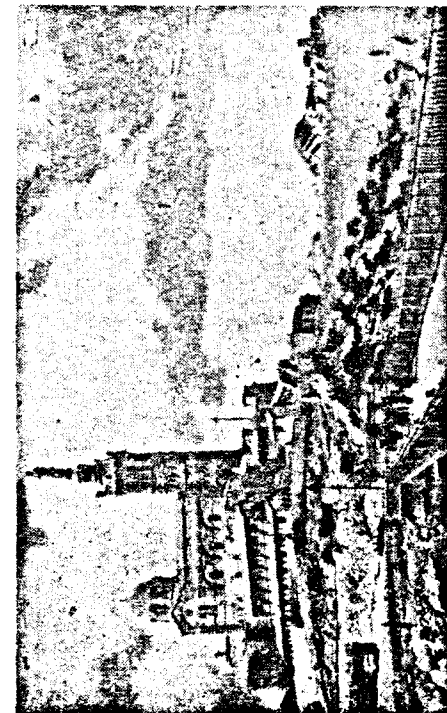
Abbey, Marseilles



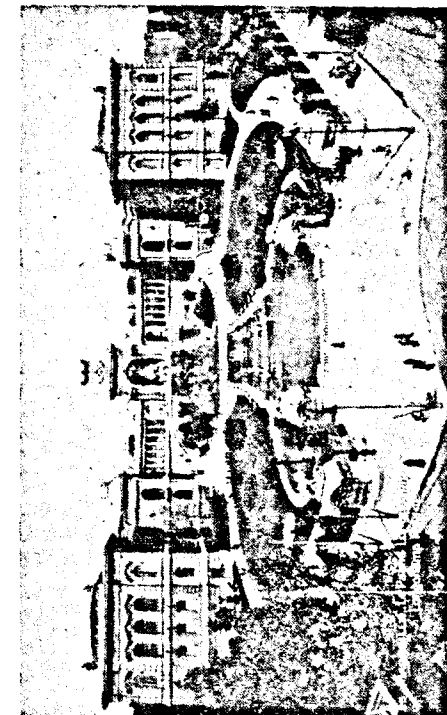
Quay Belges and Canebiere



Cornice at Marseilles



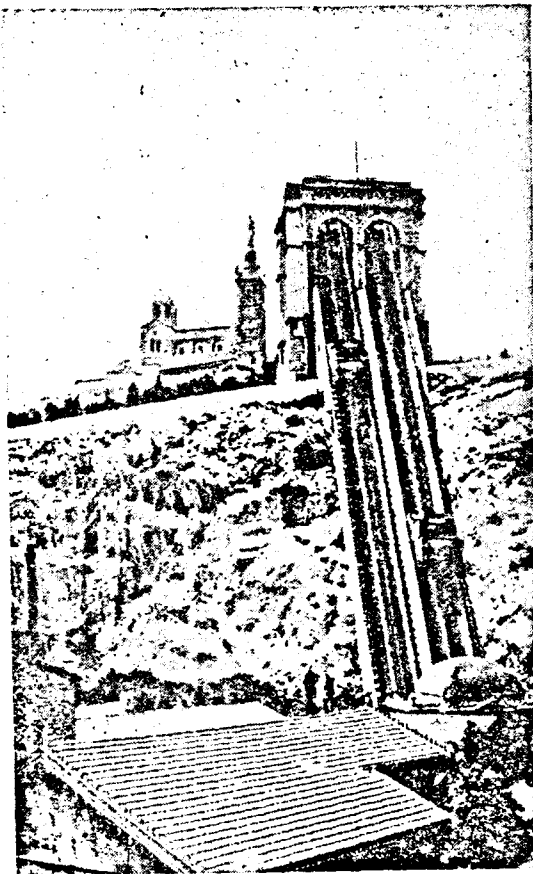
Notre Dame De la Garde



Palais De Long Champ



Le Chateau D'ef



Ascension to Notre Dame De la Garde

THE ICONS OF OHRID

By R. P. SINGH

AMONG several Yugoslav paintings which for long have held a place in world art are some of the icons of Ohrid. Their exceptional quality is discernible even in photographs. Firm lines drawn with extraordinary ease, the ingenuity of composition and the consistency of style, all this bespeaks the marvellous ability of the iconographers of Ohrid.

Craftsmanship, painting and similar other branches of art flourished during the middle ages. However, it was only after the fall of Constantinople to Rome in 1204 that the Balkan province strengthened and steadily gained independence not only economic and political but also, cultural, and expressions of art began to come to the fore among the ethnical, geographical and economic

Port was built in the 16th century for defence of France against Spaniards and as a state prison the fort later confined many German spies during the War in its cells and dungeons. The Cornice leads to the magnificent avenue of splendid mansions with gardens on either side (Prada), linking it with the town. Museums and parks surround its round-about (Rond Port). Between the Old Port, Cornice and the Prada, on the northern side of the town, is the remarkable Palace Longchamp, one of the finest in the world, used as a museum, picture gallery and a zoo in its gardens. Below lies the Railway Station with a most imposing flight of stairs leading to it. There is also the Arch De Triomphe below the station, not far from the Quays.

The Riviera is a veritable little fairy land tucked in between 90 miles of scenic Alpine Ranges in the north, of white or red rocks, rugged and wild crags and gorges, as well as snow-capped peaks (which protect it from the harsh cold north winds) and the vast expanse of the blue waters of the Mediterranean in the south. From here comes so many fruits, flowers, perfumes, etc. It is studded with date palms, olive groves, banana and orange trees, eucalyptus, fig and pine forests, vineyards, rose gardens, violets and hyacinths, a mixture of tropical and cold country vegetation. It has the best available weather in Europe. Credit for the discovery, a century ago, of its hidden beauties belongs to an Englishman.

groups. Ohrid, once the political centre of the Macedonian State of Czar Samuilo, and the religious centre of the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans, again assumed a leading role in the political, religious, economic and cultural life of this part of the Balkan Peninsula. The great painters, Entihijc and Mihailo, the creators of the rare paintings in St. Nikita's Church near Kumanovo (1313-1317) began to paint at Ohrid, as far as known, in 1295 and did the wonderful pictures in the Church now known as St. Kliment's Church.

Icon from Ohrid portraying the Virgin Mary and Christ are works well-known to art-circles. There are, in addition, numerous icons dating between the thirteenth century and the fourteenth. They are so numerous that by

their style they may be divided into two great groups—those of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in which the Byzantine school prevails; and those of the middle fourteenth century, in which the hand of local master and influence of the Serbian school is felt.

The Ohrid icons of Byzantine school, whether they portray Virgin Mary or Christ, are impressive, balanced, unobtrusive, abstract as a religious symbol and concrete as a work of art. In all of them Virgin Mary devoid of any sign of carefree youth or happiness of motherhood, is calm and majestic; she holds her child in a gesture of adoration. In none of them does she regard the child with the eyes of a mother; she adores in an attitude of obedience, apprehensive of the sacrifice to come.

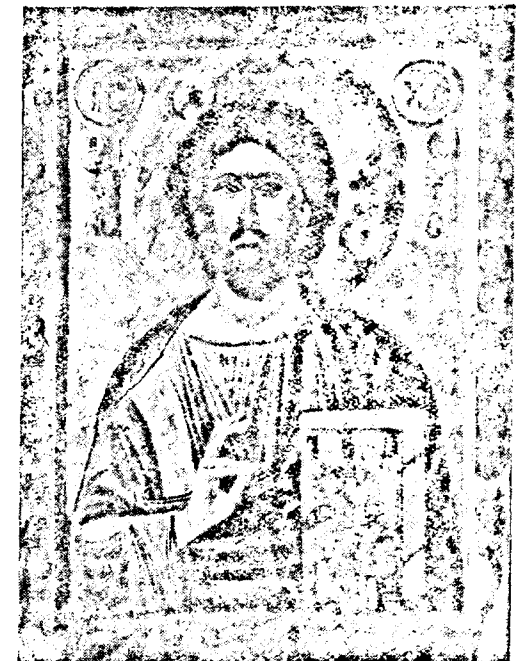
The frames and backs of the icons are incased in silver plates, stamped with an enamel-incrustated geometrical floral design. Typical of these frames is the purity and regularity of the abstract geometrical designs with highly stylised miniature floral motifs. The icon frames have complex arabesques interwoven between the medallions in relief, which are considered to be of Seljuk origin. The background of the icons Christ the Psychosoter and the Virgin Psychosoteria is filled out with the palmettes so typical of the ornamentation of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries.

In addition to the long famous icons of Ohrid depicting Virgin Mary and Christ, there are several compositional icons belonging to the Byzantine group; namely the two icons of the Annunciation belonging to the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Every stroke of the brush is concise and rendered with minimum means. Without indulging in unnecessary decorations, the painter has succeeded in expressing himself briefly and the value of his expression is irresistible in its eloquence. Their frames are generally of beaten silver; they contain figures and busts of saints in relief with a rectangular or circular background. They are adorned with angels or with prophets and have rather regular floriated surfaces.

The icon of Crucifixion belonging to the mid-thirteenth century is more impressive. The painter still appears under the influence of that age-old concept that the crucifixion is irrefutable proof of Christ's divinity. The beautiful torso gives no suggestion of suffering nor does it portray Christ as a human being not immune to bodily pain. Here the Virgin's pose also follows the old pattern of depicting Her as a divine person. She is neither an ordinary woman nor an ordinary mother. Standing alone and tearless, head slightly bent, extended but unimploring hands, transported in a quiet Byzantine gesture, She meditates and adores Her Child. True to older conceptions, the painter has not failed in portraying St. John as a witness of Christ's triumph. But it is in St. John that one notices the great change which the older conception has undergone. No longer with a book in his hand, he now holds his robe drawn close

around him, downcast and endeavouring to endure his pain. Broken by suffering, this deeply affected, deeply grieved man has not the strength to make any broader gesture even. His slightly bent head rested on the palm of one hand and the other hand emerging from the sleeve of his robe is magnificently rendered. Play of light gives perspective and accent to the entire movement.

Full of the abstract as it was, the Byzantine school confronted the painter with unusually complex tasks. He had to interpret religious doctrines and to create masterpieces of art exclusively through his own medium. And to-day the whole Byzantine world, although so remote, speaks to us clearly from these icons, with their quality of execution. The eloquence of the Byzantine painter is still effective, though his theological language is long forgotten.



Christ the Psychosoter

With respect to the second group of the Ohrid icons, one feels the elements of new artistic ideas and execution due to the tendencies of the native masters and the growing influence of Serbian art. The icon of the Presentation shows the new features of style. Like frescoes the figures on this icon are executed with broad movements. The colouring is light and light effects are strongly accentuated. A new spirit emanates from the painting. The figures have shed the influence of the antique; the girls have a more primitive elegance. Slimness of the girls is brought out on the one hand by painting larger and stouter figures of the High Priests on the right and left, and on the other hand, by the exceptionally slender columns of the building in the

background. Drawing, although cruder, the brush strokes are resolute. Figures have been executed in such a novel manner that they appear as an inseparable part of the group, every individual as a figure subordinate to the whole. All these features of style are directly connected with the contemporary Serbian fresco paint.

The third icon of Virgin is far more interesting, being detached from the Balkan School as a whole by reasons of its artistic conception. It was most probably painted in Czar Dusan's time and bears the traces of western influence. In this icon the child Christ is in the arms, not of an unwordly tragic Byzantine virgin, but in the arms of a beautiful young woman, who holds him with unusual ease, her right hand between his legs. Here the whole basic idea is changed, the painter wants to paint a young mother with her healthy child. The colours are exceptional, unusually intense and bold and constitute a bold novelty unique in Balkan iconography as the execution of the image itself. For the first time

a Balkan icon of the Virgin is given in detail, realistically, even to the eye-lashes. Actually it does not depict the change in some other form but the changes in the painter's attitude towards the image, towards the basic problems. It is no longer a dogmatic and rigid representation of an unreal deity, but of a living figure which shows life and lives.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the painters of Ohrid themselves. Ohrid was a very famous and important cultural centre not only of medieval Macedonia but of all the South Slavs. Of these relics and remains of the glorious past, with the exception of a few which may be ascribed to outsider hands, the remainder must undoubtedly have been the work of Ohrid's masters. Periodical influence of Constantinople and Serbia in no way diminishes their value. They occupy their place in the world art and represent the glorious traditions of Ohrid iconographers.

—:O:—

MRS. MARGARET E. COUSINS

An Obituary Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE death of Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins at the ripe old age of 76, on the 11th March, at Madras, removes from the rich gallery of European women one of the most talented and liberal-minded souls who had not only made India their home, but identified themselves with Indians in their struggle for political and spiritual freedom. She was one of the great galaxy of stars, who illuminated the Indian sky with the brilliance of their great service to India in various phases of life and living. For her sympathies with Indian culture and her great sacrifices for the cause of Indian liberty in all its phases, her name is recorded with the same string of names as Sister Nivedita, Maud McCarthy, Nora Richards, Mirrah Richards and others who have devoted their lives to the regeneration of Indian spiritual life.

Born of musical parents on 7th November, 1878 at Boyle in the County of Roscommon (Ireland), she grew up under religious impulses, determined to live a life dedicated to the service of God and humanity.

She much loved her only brother Surgeon Major Loughheed who had served in the Crimean and Chinese Wars and brought back pieces of carved ivory and embroidered silk costumes, which stirred in Margaret's young heart the longing to see the Far East and particularly India. She got a good sound elementary education in a co-educational "National School," where French and piano lessons were given. She passed her matriculation in the Derry Boarding School, and

specialized in study for the Bachelor of Music degree of the Royal University of Ireland, usually standing second in music competitions.

Before qualifying for the Music Degree in 1902, she was engaged to Dr. James H. Cousins, attracted by his poetry and dramas and also by his love of all beautiful things, but she disliked his vegetarianism, yet was reluctantly made to meet him at a vegetable restaurant, a rendezvous for the literary set led by the poet AE, where she also met a number of Hindu vegetarians who had come to Dublin on medical and legal studies. Married in 1903, she announced her vow for vegetarianism at the wedding breakfast. Brought to a lecture by Mrs. Annie Besant she was not much impressed by her subject-matter or personality, but was overwhelmed by Paderewski, when she heard his first recital in Dublin. Her married life began with drama and music and she collaborated in the production of Dr. Cousins' first play *The Sword of Dermot*, sponsored by the Irish Literary Theatre.

Joining the agitation for votes for women under the Irish Women's Franchise League, she broke the windows of Dublin Castle, and was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. Released on 27th February, 1913, she joined her husband, leaving Ireland for Liverpool en route to India. Arriving at Madras on 1st November, 1915, she was taken with her husband and lodged at the Theosophical Society at Adyar. Joining the Women's Indian Association, she drafted the Memorial for Votes

for Indian Women, and joined the Deputation on the Viceroy and Secretary of State at Madras on 18th December, 1917. Later she toured in Northern India, winning support for Women's Rights and strengthened the movement.

For a year during the absence of her husband, she joined as Head Mistress of a Girl's School in Mangalore, where "she had to live from hand to mouth, sans piano, sans home, sans spiritual friendship, and deprived of a sight of herself, as no mirror was provided for her."

Between school activities, and the editing of *Sri Dharma* and suffragette agitations, her husband returned from Japan and they came to Adyar. To this time belongs the staging of Tagore's play, *King of the Dark Chamber*, got up by Mrs. Cousins "with the help of a big jolly Mohammedan, a hearty Indian Christian, two Hindu widows, a re-married Hindu widow, and a western woman who ate together and enjoyed unrestrained laughter during the rehearsals."

Intense agitation for Votes for Women and the publication of her book on *The Awakening of India Womanhood* (1923) were followed by her appointment as the first woman Magistrate in Madras and, a year after, she published her experiences as a Magistrate in the *Times of India*. This was followed by more hectic activities for starting branches of Women's Indian Association throughout India by means of lecture-tours, which brought victory, the Government conferring the voting right on women (31st October, 1923).

A vacation in Europe (1923-25) was followed by continuous activities for development of "Women's Movement, culminating in an All India Women's Conference (organized by her) at Poona, with 5492 members and 59 elected delegates.

In April 1928, she left Madras for a tour round the world with her husband, sharing his work in preaching Indian Culture abroad. She frequently lectured on "The Awakening of Asian Women," culminating in a magnificent sermon at Geneva on "The World Mother," the Indian conception of *Jagadamba*, winding with a Women's Deputation on Disarmament to the League of Nations. Crossing over to America in 1929, she began to keep the American Press informed of the Advance of Women, meeting and talking to the press-men at the custom-barriers. Her Lectures at the Theosophical Lodge at New York and Philadelphia won her a present of an overcoat. She lectured frequently at meetings of women of the Jewish Council and the Pennsylvania College for Women and at other places; everywhere, the call on her was for first-hand information about India, especially about the conditions of life and status of Indian women, on which she spoke at the Women's International League and at the Women's Republican Club.

Returning to India she resumed her activities in the cause of Indian Women, frequently travelling to the North and South, during the absence of Dr. Cousins on a second visit to the States in 1930. She worked for several

months and organized the Session of the First All-Asia Women's Conference with Sarojini Naidu as the President-Elect (then in jail). She had to leave India in 1932 to join her husband in America, where she organized and spoke at several protest meetings held against the imprisonment of the Mahatma, Mrs. Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Malaviya and others. Leaving America in October 1932, she came back to India by the over-land route, stopping at Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Baghdad, making intimate contact with the Jewish Women's Association. Returning to India, she interviewed the Mahatma and Kamala Chattopadhyaya in jail and



Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins

planned to make organized public protests against the prevailing official ordinances against public speech in support of Freedom Movement. Addressing several such meetings, she was warned and then prosecuted and on 10th December, 1932 she was sentenced to simple imprisonment for one year. An extract from her statement at the trial is very interesting reading: "The fact that I am in this Court today is no accident. It is the result of seventeen years of intimate living and working with my Indian sisters and brothers. In moving freely with them in attempting to do constructive work, I and my husband learned how exploitation and injustice through foreign rule is crushing them down." In prison she used to sing with other prisoners Mrs. Besant's song, "God save our Motherland," in place of "God save the

King"—though set to the same tune. On the day she was set free she was given an ovation and smothered in garlands and flowers, and, ever since she came out of prison she took to wearing *Khaddar* frocks. She did not think that the time she spent in prison was lost, for she knew that influences and thoughts had been released that would have an enormous effect on the future of India.

The year after the jail she was made to preside at the annual meeting of the Women's Indian Association at Madras and took part in the Calcutta Session, doing her share of proposings and secondings at the delegates' meetings; the most important of the resolutions that she sponsored was one protesting against Capital Punishment on Women. In the following months, inspired by Gandhi, she joined the workers for the backward classes, visiting scavengers' and smiths' Settlements at Kotagiri and improving their life by providing pure water for drinking purposes. At Madanpalli College she continued her social works, admitting Harijan students in the College Hostel of which she was the Honorary Superintendent. Her interest in music made the Madras University appoint her Chairman of the Board of Studies in Music. In 1935 she worked for the election of Mrs. Rukmini

Lakshmi to the Madras Legislative Council, addressing mass meetings, leading processions and house to house canvassing, assisting the first Congress Woman to attain a Parliamentary seat. The next few years were busy with work of the All-India Women's Conferences, All-India Congress Committees and Music Conferences, at many of which she presided. Her part in the Women's Movement was deep and sincere, as she passionately believed that the future of humanity was with womanhood. Her musical accomplishments stood her in good stead and she had frequently collected money for work for the All-India Women's Conferences by giving piano recitals. She had frequently addressed mass-meetings of Women Mill-Workers at Coimbatore and other places. Her literary work has varied from time to time, chiefly confined to reviews for the press and to the continuous editing of the *Stri-Dharma*, regularly published for several years. Her book *The Music of Orient and Occident* has passed through two editions and deals with many technical musical problems.

Since 1943 she had an attack of paralysis which had curtailed her activities. Her death, a few days ago, has rung down the curtain on a life full of dramatic activities in the services of India and her culture.

:O:

DR. MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR

By NARENDRA NATH BASU,

Life Member, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science

Just half a century ago Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar breathed his last on the 23rd February, 1904. In the *Indian Nation* its editor Principal N. N. Ghosh wrote :

"There could not have passed away a more distinguished representative of the intellectual life of modern Bengal. For about forty years he had not only been a conspicuous figure in society but an earnest and assiduous worker in many fields."

After setting forth the life-work of Dr. Sircar he concluded :

"This insatiable seeker of knowledge, this untiring worker, this heroic champion of so many good causes, this priest of science, whose loss we mourn today, will undoubtedly occupy one of the highest places in the category of the children that Bengal has borne in the English regime. And it will be long before the place is filled of one so richly endowed by nature and so trained by self-discipline, so versatile, so discriminating, so valiant, so true to the ideal and so firm in his convictions."

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar is known throughout India and abroad as the Founder of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Eighty-five years ago Dr. Sircar realised that without the aid of science India could not really advance.

The *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* was started in January, 1868. In its number for August, 1869, he published an article "On the Desirability of a National Institution for the Cultivation of the Physical Sciences by the Natives of India," which was the starting point of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. After six years of ceaseless efforts, with the help he received from his rich friends and from some native princes, he was able to found this Science Association. Even in some countries of Europe no such national institution had yet been established.

It was in the laboratory of this Association that Sir C. V. Raman worked, and the success he achieved in his experiments brought him world-wide fame and the Nobel Prize.

At present the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science has been removed from the crowded quarters of Bowbazar to a spacious building built for the purpose at Jadavpur. The two great scientists, Sir Jnanendra Ghosh, D.Sc., who has been recently appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Prof. Meghnath Saha, D.Sc., of international fame are now its directors.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was born on the 2nd November, 1833, in Paikpara, a village 18 miles west of Howrah. At the age of 5, he was brought by his mother with an infant brother of 6 months to the house of her brothers in Calcutta (Sankaritola).

Shortly after arrival at Calcutta, his father died at Paikpara, when only 32 years old. His mother survived her husband's death about 4 years, and died of cholera when she was about 32 years of age.

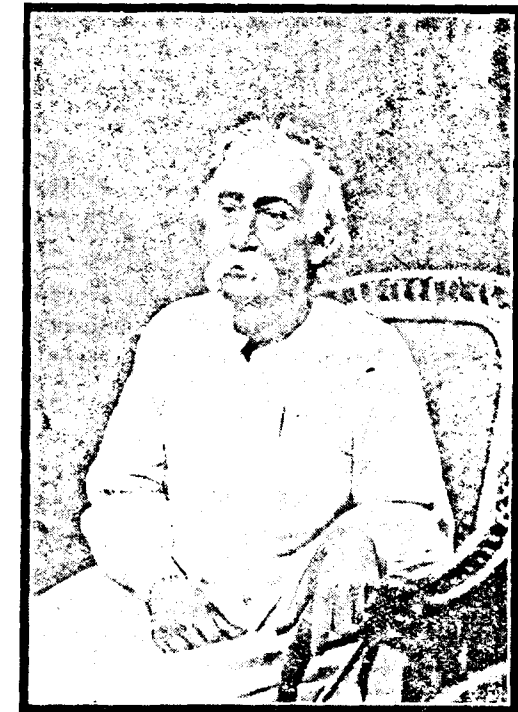
The rudiments of his vernacular education was in a neighbouring *pathshala* under a *Gurumahasay*, and shortly after, the rudiments of his English education was under Thakurdas Dey, to whom he remained attached to the last.

After about a year under Thakurdas Dey, his youngest uncle, Mahesh Chunder Ghosh, got him admitted in David Hare's school, in which pupils were all free. About a year and a half after his admission, Hare died in June 1842. Owing to his illness after Hare's death, he was absent for a long time from the school, and his name was struck off the roll. He was re-admitted by the kindness of Uma Charan Mitter, then headmaster of the school, whose memory he held in the greatest reverence and gratitude.

He remained in Hare's school till 1849, when he obtained a junior scholarship and was promoted to the Hindu College. He remained in this College till the beginning of 1854, where he became a favourite of Mr. Sutcliffe, Principal and Professor of Mathematics, and of Mr. Jones, Professor of Literature and Philosophy. He could have remained a year or two longer at the College, which then became the Presidency College, enjoying his senior scholarship. But his ardour for Science had become so great, especially after reading Mill's *Logic* and other similar books, which, he saw, could only be understood after a practical study of the Sciences, and there being no other institution except the Calcutta Medical College where some of the most important sciences were practically taught, determined to leave the Presidency College to get admission into the Medical College.

He had to remain 6 years in the Medical College from the session 1854-55 to 1859-60 when he passed the L.M.S. examination. At the Medical College he became a pet of all the Professors, especially of Dr. Archer, Professor of Diseases of the Eye. It was in this wise that he attracted the attention of Dr. Archer. When in his second year he had to take a relative (a young boy) of his to the Out-door Dispensary for some eye disease. Dr. Archer was in the habit of testing the knowledge of the students (5th year) who used to attend his clinique, by asking them to answer rather difficult questions on the anatomy and physiology of the eye and on the laws of light. It happened one day that none of the students could answer a question that was put to

them about a particular point in the anatomy of the eye. Sircar, who was at a distance taking medicine from the compounder, answered the question in a rather loud voice. "Who is that fellow?" asked Dr. Archer. His students, who knew Sircar, told the Professor that he was a second year student of the College. "A second year student answering my questions—call him here." On approaching him, Sircar was literally smothered with various questions about the eye, and the answers being satisfactory, he was asked to attend his clinique every day, though the case for which he had been attending the Dispensary had become nearly well.



Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar
(four months before his death)

At the request of the senior students and with the permission of the Professors and the Principal, he delivered a course of lectures on optics, in order to enable the students to better understand the mechanism of the eye as an optical instrument. In this year he delivered a lecture at a meeting of the Bethune Society on the Adaptation of the Human Eye to Distance.

His career in the Medical College was a pretty satisfactory one. He obtained medals, prizes and scholarships in Botany, Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery.

At the insistence of Dr. Fayrer he went up to the M.D. examination in 1863, and came out first, the

other candidate, the late Dr. Juggobundoo Bose, being second. Dr. Sircar was the second M.D. of the University, the late Dr. Kali Kumar Dey being the first.

In this year the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association was established through the exertions of the late Dr. Chukerbutty. At the inaugural meeting he made a speech denouncing homœopathy. He was at first elected its Secretary and, after three years, one of its Vice-Presidents.

His speech at the inaugural meeting of the Association attracted the attention of the late Babu Rajinder Dutt, who thought he saw in him one who, if converted, would advance the cause of Homœopathy. But his arguments were of no avail. He did not deny the cures he effected, but attributed them to the strict regimen enjoined. One day a friend asking him to review Morgan's Philosophy of Homœopathy for the *Indian Field*, he readily agreed, for, he thought he would now have an opportunity of exposing the absurdity of the system. The first perusal of the pamphlet convinced him, however, that it could not be properly reviewed without a previous practical acquaintance with the system. The author appeals to facts, and they must be observed and scrutinized before they can be proved to be false. This led him to observe cases under Babu Rajinder Dutt, and it was not long before he saw that there was truth in the system and that the profession was doing a gross injustice to it by ostracising those who adopted it. This led him to deliver the address in Medicine under the title of the "Supposed Uncertainty in Medical Science, etc."

He was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1870 (December 3), and was placed on the Faculty of Arts. Eight years after, in 1878, by a resolution of the Senate at its annual meeting, he was placed on the Faculty of Medicine. The members of the Faculty protested and objected to associate with one who professed and practised the absurd and unscientific system of Homœopathy. This drew forth a letter from Dr. Sircar to which they replied. This drew forth a second letter in which the cardinal doctrines of Homœopathy were set forth with indisputable facts and authoritative opinions from the best men of the profession, from Hippocrates downwards, making it clear to any one who would take the trouble of reading it that Homœopathy was really the only scientific system of medicine as yet established, and not the absurd and irrational system of transcendental nonsense as misrepresented by the Faculty. This gained him a signal triumph in the Senate who upheld their resolution nominating him to the Faculty of Medicine.

It was not till six years after its first idea was put forth that the Science Association was established in 1876. Dr. Sircar was made a C.I.E. in 1893,

appointed Member of the Bengal Council on 26th January, 1887, and was re-elected for the fourth time. But he soon retired after his last election in 1893.

Appointed Sheriff in December, 1887. Obtained the Honorary D.L. of the Calcutta University in 1898. Was President of the Faculty of Arts for four years (1893-97). For ten years member of the Syndicate, and, generally in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, used to preside at its meetings.

For several years Member of Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Till his death a Trustee of the Indian Museum, as a representative of the Asiatic Society. Life-Member, British Association for Cultivation of Science. Corresponding Member, American Institute of Homœopathy, and of the British Homœopathic Society. Life-Member, Astronomical Society of France.

Dr. Sircar had four serious attacks of fever, the first was septic fever from dissection wound in his second year at the Medical College, from which he suffered for six months and was only cured after a change. The second was an attack of malarious fever contracted in a village between Dumurdah and Balagar where he had gone to treat the malaria-stricken villagers. This lasted four years. He was well till 1874 when from continuous observations of the heavens with a telescope then recently purchased, he contracted bronchitic asthma which never ceased to trouble him.

The second attack of malarious fever was contracted in 1875 at Pandua where he had gone to treat a patient. This was so serious as to bring him to death's door. It lasted three years. The two attacks of malarious fever and the asthma gradually compelled him to reduce his dietary considerably.

The last attack of malarious fever was contracted at Tallyganj where he had gone in November, 1896, to treat the late Prince Ferozh Shah at the insistence of a friend against his will, knowing that the place had become deadly malarious. On the day of his fourth visit he got the fever which clung to him till the last.

His last ailment, prostatic dysuria from gravel in the prostate gland, which began when he first went to Baidyanath-Deoghar in 1891, culminated in complete retention of urine on January 2, 1901, since when he was confined to his home.

He raised his fee from Rs. 4 to 10 after passing his M.D.; from 10 to 16 from the 1st September, 1874 after his breakdown from asthma; from 16 to 32 from 1897. Shortly after that he had to raise it to 100 to avoid repeated calls. Since January, 1901, he was unable to go out visiting patients. Patients came to him for consultation at home.

On the 2nd November, 1903, Dr. Sircar entered into his 71st year. His friends, relatives and dear pupils celebrated the completion of his 70th year on

the following Sunday the 8th November. Bengali and English verses were recited and songs composed to mark the occasion were sung. Everyone present prayed for Dr. Sircar's long life and relief of his sufferings. Dr. Sircar replied with feeling. Tears flowed from his eyes. Those present were very much moved by his utterance.

Within four months of the above function and after ten days of great suffering from the retention of urine the great son of Bengal, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar passed away on Tuesday, 23rd February, 1904, at 5-10 a.m.

His firm faith in truth which converted him to homœopathy based on a rational and scientific principle lost him the approbation of his medical colleagues in his practice of medicine and the seat in the Medical Faculty of the Calcutta University.

—:O:—

HAROLD LASKI AND THE IDEAL OF NATIONALISM

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College

"NATIONALISM," as Christopher Lloyd has rightly said, "is the religion of the modern world," as "it is rooted in the deepest instincts in man."

It is a condition of mind, according to Hayes, "in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its 'mission' are integral parts It is this nationalism which colours thought and conditions action in political, social and cultural spheres, in our domestic politics and in our foreign relations."

This spiritual sentiment is one of the most significant emotional factors for which men "have died and conquered." It has since the time of Joan of Arc inspired many persons to make great sacrifices. It has been directly and indirectly responsible for the liberation of many countries from the foreign yoke. It has particularly since the partition of Poland in 1772 acted, as Laski has said, as a powerful "political dynamite" in many lands and caused subversive movements there. The German philosopher Fichte and the Italian patriot Mazzini have, amongst others, been the high priests of the cult of nationalism. Fichte's inspiring "Addresses to the German Nation" are one of the causes which led to the emergence of modern Germany. And addressing the Italian workingmen Mazzini declared:

1. See Lloyd, *Democracy and its Rivals*, p. 1.

2. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 6.

3. See Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 57.

"Your country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a People of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonour your country and yourselves."

The effect of Mazzini's call to "Young Italy" need not be retold. Thus this spiritual sentiment of nationalism has not only guided political thought and action in different countries but has also helped the progress of civilization.

"Humanity at large," says Burns, "is benefited by the preservation of . . . many distinct types. For the human race is not at its best when every man or every group is a copy of every other. Civilization progresses by differentiation as well as by assimilation of interests and character."

Yet, Prof. Harold Laski is one of those persons, who in their anxiety for the welfare of mankind offer a direct challenge to the cult of nationalism as it has developed since the last quarter of the 18th century. In spite of its great influence Laski does not accept this time-honoured political principle as an unmixed blessing for humanity and shows its dangerous implications. He does not, however, deny the fact that nationalism has been a strong political force.

"I do not deny," he says, "the strength of the national claim; the evidence is too fiercely strong on every side of us. I admit, gladly and willingly, that

4. See Burns, *Political Ideals*, p. 194.

5. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 14.

people charged with the care of its own destiny achieves thereby a spaciousness not otherwise capable of being attained. Self-respect, exhilaration, creativeness—all these seem to be the definite outcome of self-government."

But he emphatically concludes that the sooner this political principle is discarded the better it is for the progress of humanity. In a creative civilization, nationalism has no place.

"We must," he unequivocally declares,⁶ "learn to think internationally or we perish—that, I suggest, is the clear alternative before us."

Laski regards nationalism as a quality making for separateness and holds that it is "builted, doubtless, upon the basis of gregariousness."

"At bottom," he says,⁷ "it seems a genuinely instinctive expression of kinship with a chosen group that is deliberately exclusive in temper. And because it is exclusive, it seeks autonomy, even if autonomy involves economic sacrifice." And "it is at the point where nationalism invokes autonomy as its right that the needs of civilisation begin to emerge. For to demand autonomy in the modern world is, in effect, to demand the whole panoply of the sovereign State."

He challenges the idea developed by Hegel and Mazzini⁸ that the nation-State is the ultimate unit in human organization and, therefore, the ultimate unit in human allegiance.

"A nationalism," he remarks,⁹ "that implies the sovereign right of self-determination is, therefore, a principle of which the consequences are far different from those envisaged by men like Mazzini and Mill. It involves the politics of prestige, and these, in their turn, involve a world so ordered that relationships between nations cannot become matters to be determined by justice. It is not necessary to deny the reality, even the validity, of national feeling to realise that it is built on emotions which are, in the atmosphere of contemporary civilization, fraught with grave danger."

"It is . . . idle to deny," he maintains,¹⁰ "that there is an egoism in the national state which bodes

ill for mankind The nation-state, having come to be, yearns to be strong It seeks security from attack, and there comes the problem of armaments and strategic frontiers. It seeks an outlet for its surplus population; and there are restless experiments in colonization. Its merchants reveal anxiety about their markets, and we are plunged into imperialist and mercantilist adventures about which the spirit of nationality throws a dangerous glamour."

The character of modern industrialism, Laski further holds¹¹ "has created a world-market and a world market implies foreign competition." "No nation can now consume all that it produces" and it is "compelled to find markets for its surplus goods" and "to minimise the competition of its rivals in that trade."

"Domestically the form taken by that minimisation is a protective tariff; abroad, it takes the form of colonization, of concessions in undeveloped countries, of favoured-nation clauses in commercial treaties, and the like. Freedom of international trade, in other words becomes limited by the demands of nationalism. It is found, in the classic phrase, that trade follows the flag. The power of the nation-State may be exerted to obtain a market dominated by some special national group."¹² And "as power extends, nationalism becomes transformed into imperialism. The romantic penumbra of patriotism is exploited to consolidate the interests of some special group."

And the result of any hindrance to national interest and national prestige is war.

"The character of modern warfare," he remarks, "implies further difficulties for civilization. Its destructiveness is so great that the nation-State must direct the organization of its resources to safeguarding itself from the dangers involved in war."

But each nation-state will do the same; "and there is engendered a competition in the armament of power which acts so as to jeopardise the maintenance of peace, to provoke an atmosphere of nervous hostility, and to induce the smaller States into alliance with powerful neighbours that they may win security by that multiplied strength. So organised, the distribution of nation-States resembles nothing so much as a powder-magazine which, as in 1914, a single chance may suffice to provoke into conflagration."¹³ Laski, therefore, suggests that the only solution of the world problem is the establishment of a "cosmopolitan law-making" body. The present unfettered discretion of a single nation-state to will war must be replaced by the law of an international community to prevent it. This means "the end of the sovereignty of the state in international affairs," and "compels us to think of the *civitas maxima* first, and of the nation-state as a mere province in that wider community."¹⁴

"In a creative civilisation," he insists,¹⁵ "what is important is not the historical accident of separate

11. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, Ch. VI.

* See *ibid.*

12. See *ibid.*

† See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 24.

13. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 64.

States, but the scientific fact of world-interdependence. The real unit of allegiance is the world. The real obligation of obedience is to the total interest of our fellow-men Our problem is not to reconcile the interest of humanity with the interest of England; our problem is so to act that the policy of England naturally implies the well-being of humanity."

"Nor," he adds,¹⁴ "can we, in the sphere of international facts, leave England or France to decide in an absolute fashion upon the way in which each should live. There are problems of which the impact upon humanity is too vital for any State to be left to determine by itself what solution it will adopt. The notion of independent sovereignty, for example, leaves France free to invade Germany when and how she pleases; and the only retort that can be made is either a dissent which does not alter the fact, or a war which destroys civilisation. Once we realise that the well-being of the world is, in all large issues, one and indivisible, the co-ordinate determination of them is the primary condition of social peace."

On the other hand,

"The notion of an independent sovereign State is, on the international side, fatal to the well-being of humanity. The way in which a State should live its life in relation to other States is clearly not a matter in which that State is entitled to be the sole judge. That way lies the long avenue of disastrous warfare of which the rape of Belgium is the supreme moral result in modern times. The common life of States is a matter for common agreement between States. International government is, therefore, axiomatic in any plan for international well-being."¹⁵

The only alternative to the acceptance of this view is disaster.

"World community and the sovereign-state," he emphatically concludes,¹⁶ "are incompatible terms. We must choose between the one and the other; we cannot have both. We must recognize that international law has a claim superior to municipal Nationalism emerging into statehood results, in a word, in an egoism we have discovered to be intolerable. Either we must curb its excesses—which means the end of the sovereign-state—or they will destroy civilization."

It is worthy of note here that Laski's view on nationalism is essentially in agreement with that of Rabindranath Tagore, according to whom also¹⁷ nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, and eating into its moral vitality."

"The Nation," he further says,¹⁸ "with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation, that all its precautions are against it, and any new birth of its fellow in the world is always followed in its mind by the dread of

a new peril. Its one wish is to trade on the feebleness of the rest of the world, like some insects that are bred in the paralysed flesh of victims kept just enough alive to make them toothsome and nutritious."

"Those who can see," he continues,¹⁹ "know that men are so closely knit that when you strike others the blow comes back to yourself. The moral law, which is the greatest discovery of man, is the discovery of this wonderful truth, that man becomes all the truer the more he realizes himself in others. The truth has not only a subjective value, but is manifested in every department of our life. And nations who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism will end their existence in a sudden and violent death."

And "where the spirit of the Western nationalism prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half-truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them, by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity. It is discrediting the ideals, which were born of the lives of men who were our greatest and best. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world."²⁰

So far as Tagore's own creed is concerned, he says:²¹

"Even though from childhood I had been taught that idolatry of the Nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity."

Thus it is evident that both the thinkers are of opinion that in a progressive civilization the concept of nationalism, as it has developed particularly in Western countries, ought to be discarded, since it lies at the root of all present international animosities. The view of Laski is a genuine break from the idea that the principle of nationalism is conducive to the welfare of humanity.

But a simple study of the twentieth century political developments proves that the concept of nationalism is too strong a political force to-day to be discarded without an instinctive change in human nature. It is this concept which has inspired the people of India in its struggle for political freedom. It was at the root of the revival of Germany after the First World War. It has led to the freedom of the Irish people. Even in the communistic State of the U.S.S.R. the spirit of nationalism has influenced political thought and action.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

16. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 43.

17. See Tagore, *Nationalism*, 1950, p. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

"Even Marxian Socialism," says Hayes,²² "despite its international programme and its cosmopolitan slogan, is essentially national; it propagates its doctrine within the framework of the national state; it co-operates with nationalists in the destruction of imperial states; and when it ascends to political power, as in Russia, it exalts, rather than abases, the national state."

Thus we find that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. explicitly states:

"The defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the homeland: violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military might of the state, espionage: shall be punished with the full severity of the law as the gravest crime" (Article 133).

In the Second World War we have noticed the tremendous influence of the doctrine of nationalism on the U.S.S.R. We also see its influence on current international politics. Thus we find that nationalism as a product of the gregarious instinct of man still manifests itself as a strong political force. It can never be totally suppressed either for the sake of civilization or for humanity. At the same time, there is no doubt that perverted and aggressive nationalism is a menace to civilization.

There is another point to which we should like to make reference here. Laski discards the doctrine of nationalism and wants to reduce the nation-State to a mere province in a wider community—*'the civitas maxima'*. He would permit the world community as he contemplates to control the nation-State, but he does not clearly explain what should be the relationship between the two. Perhaps, a clearer and a more balanced view has been taken by Sri Aurobindo. Though the latter feels the need of a new world order based upon some form of unification, he prefers, "a world-union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity" to "a World-State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity."²³

This question "of the form of a World-State," he

says, "is beset with doubts and difficulties that are for the moment insoluble."²⁴

"A free world union," he observes, "must in its very nature be a complex unity based on a diversity and that diversity must be based on free self-determination."²⁵

The most desirable form of world-union would be, he says again,

"A federation of free nationalities in which all subjection or forced inequality and subordination of one to another would have disappeared and, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status. A confederacy would give the greatest freedom to the nations constituting the World-State, but this might give too much room for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to operate; a federal order would then be the most desirable. All else would be determined by the course of events and by general agreement or the shape given by the ideas and necessities that may grow up in the future. A world-union of this kind would have the greatest chances of long survival or permanent existence."²⁶

Sri Aurobindo adds, however, that this formation of a world-union cannot be possible unless men of different nationalities are imbued with the sense of a "religion of humanity," for, "an inner change could alone give some chance of durability to the unification."²⁷

"There would be needed," he suggests,²⁸ "to make the change persist, a religion of humanity or an equivalent sentiment much more powerful, explicit, self-conscious, universal in its appeal than the nationalist's religion of country; the clear recognition by man in all his thought and life of a single soul in humanity of which each man and each people is an incarnation and soul-form; an ascension of man beyond the principle of ego which lives by separativeness,—and yet there must be no destruction of individuality, for without that man would stagnate."

This seems to be a more rational view. No world union can survive long unless it is based on the consciousness of the unity of mankind and its community of purpose and interests.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

22. See Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 253.

23. See Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 234.



SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

How A "Pure and Manly Life" Took Shape

By S. N. DUTT, M.A., B.L.

"There is one thing grander than the sea; that is the sky. There is one thing grander than the sky; that is the human soul."—VICTOR HUGO.

In Syama Prasad Mookerjee's passing India has lost such a soul. A great man with a great soul. He was Mother India's one of the most beloved—a patriot of patriots and a giant among men. Much has been written and spoken about his life and works; much more remain to come to light. A master-mind's portrait that undoubtedly Syama Prasad was can be drawn only by a master-artist. My humble endeavour is just to present to our readers a few hitherto unknown but highly remarkable snapshots of the departed leader's early career. They point to a rising star: young Syama Prasad's burning zeal and earnest preparations to evolve his manhood following in the footsteps of his illustrious father Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the 'infinite galaxies' of the contemporary times. The eminent writer and publicist St. Nihal Singh in narrating an intimate impression of Syama Prasad in his younger days (1921-23) recalls:

"Adoration was writ large upon his face. Eyes, ears, hands and feet were all eagerly devoted to the service of that embodiment of erudition he evidently loved more than life." (*The Modern Review*, September, 1953).

Here I come to my points:

While just passing his teens, Syama Prasad addressed a few notable letters to the late lamented Professor H. M. Percival whom Sir Asutosh regarded as a "foremost of the teachers of his youth" and to whom he "owed very much his success in life." For thirty years (1880-1911) a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Percival was an intellectual giant of encyclopaedic knowledge in every branch of arts and literature at whose sacred feet sat for learning and enlightenment a galaxy of Bengal's youngmen in the last quarter of the nineteenth and first decade of the present century. Out to drink deep in that unfathomable fountain of genius, Syama Prasad wrote to this saintly teacher of his father, and his writings bristled with a young aspirant's vision of life indicative of an unmistakable promise of the great future that was in the offing.

I reproduce below the three gems of his precious letters (from my collections) which I had the pleasure to remind him of, in one of my many meetings with Dr. Mookerjee. I had the proud privilege of knowing him intimately, loving him dearly, respecting him deeply.

He wished me to carefully preserve the series of valuable correspondence between Professor Percival and his distinguished pupils and admirers for appropriate use in time. I could hardly dream that the following would have to be released in the dark shadow of the tragic loss of Syama Prasad:

77, Russa Road North,
Bhowanipur, Calcutta, 2nd September, 1920

Sir,

From the very beginning of my College career it has almost been an ambition of mine to get myself introduced to you and I have all along been looking out for an opportunity to do so.

I may state at once that I am a student of the Presidency College. Mr. Wordsworth, our present Principal, has just appointed me the General Secretary to the Presidency College Magazine; and it is a most pleasant duty,—nay, a privilege—on my part to approach you on behalf of the members of the Presidency College with a request to contribute an article to the magazine.

I shall not trouble you, Sir, with elaborate arguments, but shall be content with saying that the Presidency College will feel it an honour to take this opportunity of associating with its magazine, the name of one who had ungrudgingly dedicated the best part of his life to the responsible task of imparting education to the youths of Bengal. Perhaps, you do not know, Sir, that although a considerable number of years has elapsed since you left Bengal, although the present generation of students had not the privilege of coming into your contact, yet your memory is cherished by the Student Community here with feelings of admiration, reverence and affection. Your reputation as a Shakespearean Scholar spreads far and wide and indeed when we go through the books, so ably edited by you, we feel proud that they are the productions of an Indian brain.

To us personally more weighty perhaps is what follows: it is, in a word, your proverbial love for your pupils. To many this may seem to be of minor importance; but to us, sensitive Bengalis, this is everything. We crave for gentle treatment; we crave for sympathetic assurances; and those who give us these, have us at their service. This particular trait in your character has been urged upon us mainly by Prof. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh, coupled with lively illustrations.

I, for one, have greater reasons to think of you and revere you than any of my fellow students. And that is due to the anecdotes I so often hear from my father, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who is proud to be one of your devoted pupils. From him I have come to know how wonderfully punctual you were; it is said that if you were required to be present at a certain place at 3 o'clock, you would be there not a moment earlier, not a moment later; but just as the clock struck three, you would make your appearance. That was splendid indeed.

It was from Praphulla Babu—another of your devoted pupils—that I have heard of the incidents that took place on the day you had left our College,—how greatly moved you were on account of the pathetic manner in which your students, while bidding you farewell, paid their everlasting homage to you, their beloved guru.

I shall not trouble you with a longer letter during the days of your well-merited retirement. But, Sir, while sending me the article for the magazine, you will not perhaps grudge me the honour of receiving from your pen a letter that I shall treasure with pride and satisfaction.

Though circumstances have compelled you to live far from your College, far from the band of your loving pupils and enthusiastic admirers, far from the land of your birth, yet our good wishes are always with you. May you live yet long and enjoy a happy and peaceful life, the fruits of the labour of a silent and contented worker.

Respectfully

Syama Prasad Mookerjee

20th November, 1920.

My dear Sir,

I was away to Benares during the Poojah Holidays and returned to Calcutta only a week ago.

I have got your letter and I cannot say how proud I do feel. Such a letter is indeed worthy of you and you alone. From its very beginning to its end, it is couched in terms, which I cannot but describe as affectionate. They say—the writing shows the man—it is really so, Sir, in your case.

We all deeply regret to find you are unable to write something for our magazine. May I request you to kindly accept a copy of the first issue of the magazine for this session, which I am sending to you in a separate cover.

I deem myself fortunate for having been able to get myself acquainted with you and I cannot but express the hope that you will bless me from your inmost heart that *I may live a pure and manly life*.

I beg to remain, Sir, with profound respects,

Yours affectionately,

Syama Prasad Mookerjee

May 3rd, 1923.

My dear Sir,

About three years ago I wrote to you in my capacity as editor of the Presidency College Magazine inviting you to contribute an article to it. You could not comply with my request but you sent me a letter in reply that was worth preserving, characteristic as it was of him who penned it.

Today I am sending you a copy of the correspondence that has lately passed between Lord Lytton and my father, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Father is proud of being one of the first batch of your pupils and I am sure you will read the enclosed with pleasure and interest. The Bill, which, if I may say so, was the subject-matter of the dispute, has been rejected by the Government of India. You will be further pleased to learn that father has made up his mind to resign his Judgeship and join "politics." He will stand for election as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in November next. The only thing which stands in his way is his health which of late has been poorer than it was before on account of a most severe loss that he has sustained. My eldest sister died on January 4th. Hers was a life of woe and misfortune. She became a widow at the early age of 11 and father remarried her at the age of 13. You know fully well what sacrifice he made while he took this step. She however again became a widow, a year and a half after her remarriage. She was all in all to father and her death at the age of 28 has severely told on his health.

I hope, Sir, you are still keeping fit. I shall finish my final law examination in January 1924 and I expect to be in England a few months after that. If I come, it will be a duty on my part to call on you and pay you my respects.

With deep regards,

Believe me, My dear Sir,

Obediently yours,

Syamaprasad Mookerjee

Eventually Syama Prasad met his father's 'Guru' Percival in due course in the latter's retirement in a London Home and received the old veteran's hearty blessings for his much cherished aspirations for a "pure and manly life." He did live the life of his ambition. He grew up fully in the legacy of the heroic courage that brought forth his father's historic utterance—"Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always" in defiance of the alien ruler impeding the path of the progressive development of the Alma Mater.

If public memory will not be very short, I may further recall that on the proposal of erecting a befitting memorial to Asutosh, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan rose to the peak of his feeling eloquence at both the condolence meetings at the Calcutta Corporation and in the huge gathering in the Senate Hall (July, 1924) in almost identical words: "... His heart was with the nation. He was a builder. He tried to build this great

Indian nation and honour it by his activities and I know many were his plans he formed of work after his retirement*... He was a dynamic personality. We want something living, something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of today to the fullness tomorrow." Was not Syama Prasad at once the natural and spiritual heir to this tradition? Evidently the first phase of the struggle envisaged by the Prince of Patriots ended in the country's independence, and in the next phase of its consolidation Syama Prasad was among the few foremost in the vanguard—a builder, a fighter, and last—a martyr!

Alas! "The country knows not yet, or in the least

part, how great a son it has lost"—in a tragic suddenness, in man's "absolute power that corrupts absolutely," in 'malice and jealousy of persons in authority,' in a prison house 'locked by his country's Swadeshi Government by persons with whom he shared power' not long ago. Gone in vain all cries for an enquiry into the vital questions of his questionable death—cries that were wet in the tears of millions of his countrymen mingled with the unbearable tears of his dearly beloved Mother—none other than Mother India! Shall not out of these tears emerge the Future that shall redeem Justice denied and Truth trampled today?

* Vide Ref: in Syama Prasad's third letter to Percival.

—:O:—

THE VEDANTIC APPROACH TO COMMUNISM

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

MODERN communism owing its origin to Karl Marx starts with the equality of man as its basic postulate. It looks upon birth as an accident, reposes faith in the dignity and potentiality of the common man, advocates equality of opportunity for all, and condemns all discrimination, economic, social or political. Being a staunch supporter of the Labour Theory of Value, Marx held that the value of a commodity which is determined by labour and wholly belongs to labour is confiscated by the capitalists in the shape of rent, interest and profit. Hence the capitalist system is based upon a foundation of injustice and oppression by the rich over the poor, and must, therefore, go. Marx was a materialist, and interpreted history in terms of the conflict of economic classes which would ultimately lead to a violent revolution and end with the victory of the proletariat.

In ancient India a different approach was made to communistic ideal. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta views the thing from a different angle of vision. It discards the materialistic view of life preached by the Marxian communists, goes deeper to the root, and approaches the problem from the spiritual plane. It declares that all men are spiritually equal, the individual soul substance (*Atma*) deriving its entity from a common root, the universal spirit (*Paramatma*) or Brahma (*Sarvam Khalu Idam Brahma*).

Two fundamental principles of Hindu philosophy are the Theory of Rebirth and the Doctrine of Karma, according to which man's mundane existence is determined by his deeds in the previous birth. The soul's attachment to the worldly pleasures arising from Karma through Maya or cosmic illusion causes its repeated rebirth which would ultimately end with the emancipation of the spirit.

Thus although Hindu philosophy by its doctrine of Karma offers a spiritual interpretation of the differences

in the strata of society it never advocates any discrimination between man and man and holds out as its norm or ideal a casteless and classless society because to a true Vedantist there is no difference between man and man. This is also the ideal of modern communism.

The caste system or Barnasram Dharma which is found in the Vedas stands in apparent contradiction with the above ideal, but when we read into the true meaning of the caste system in which it is used in the Vedic scriptures, the above contradiction seems to be more apparent than real. In the Vedic literature the term "caste" has been used in a special sense, namely, a functional group, and society is divided into four castes on a functional basis. No hard and fast difference is prescribed between one caste and another on the basis of birth in a given strata of society, and there is full autonomy for a member born in one caste or functional group to follow the avocation of the other caste according to his calibre and capacity. The caste system as mentioned in the Vedas has nothing to do with heredity, and the division of society into water-tight compartments on the hereditary caste basis came as a subsequent historical development during the decadent state of Hindu society which was responsible for the oppression of one caste over another, and brought about the rupture of the bond of unity which held all castes together during the Vedic era. The functional segregation of society into economic groups is found even in the highly industrialised economy of modern states, and must be accepted as a fundamental truth if society is to survive.

Thus we find in the Upanisadic teachings of ancient India a new light of communism on the spiritual plane and a prescription of the rules of conduct as to how to achieve this. The Vedanta states that

"Every soul is endowed with a material body according to its Karma. Bondage of the soul means its confinement to this body. Liberation is the complete dissociation of the soul from the body. The cause of the bondage is Karma springing from Maya or ignorance. The soul identifies itself with the body through ignorance of its real nature, and behaves as though it were the body. It hankers after sensuous pleasures, and thus becomes attached to the world and the force of this attachment causes its repeated rebirth. Thus ignorance is removed by the study of Vedanta and man comes to know that his soul is distinct from the body, and that is really a part of God or Brahma. The disinterested performance of the obligatory duties enjoined by the Vedas destroys the accumulated forces of attachment or Karma, and helps the perfection of knowledge."

Thus according to the Vedantic view of life it would be unwise to look at the differences between man and man. When we focus our attention on the aspect of spiritual oneness a distinct change in our outlook is attained. One who is rich feels himself to be in no way superior to the one, who is poor, and one who is poor feels himself to be in no way inferior to the rich one. Thus jealousy and greed, haughtiness and meanness lose their importance, and are much reduced freeing the dynamics of money circulation from the rule of individual dictators. The Upanisadic teachings condemn the profit motive and substitute for it the principle of sacrifice and service to society which constitute its Dharma or binding force. The same note of service and sacrifice we find in the modern theory of communism according to which the basis of remuneration in society should follow the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Gandhian socialism is also based upon the Vedantic view of life, and takes as its goal, a casteless society. It is essentially spiritual, theistic and non-violent. It abjures violent revolution as a method for the desired transformation of society, and reposes faith in the change of heart for the realisation of the ideal of Ram Rajya.

Before discussing the essentials of modern communism, we may add a few words on the theory of communism as enunciated by Plato in his *Republic*. Plato conceived the highest good of the state to be the supreme goal of a citizen, and identified the well-being of the individual with the well-being of the state. It is in this state alone that man attains his perfect realisation and its nature finds its fullest scope of development in society. This idea is typical with all ancient Greek philosophers. To achieve this objective Plato advocated communism. The two great hurdles to the complete allegiance of the individual to the state he found in family attachment and financial worries. Accordingly, he advocated abolition of a permanent monogamous sexual relationship, and prohibition of private property. Plato thought that his republic should be governed by statesmen philosophers, and accordingly his communism applied only to the Guardian class i.e.,

soldiers and rulers. As Prof. Sabine observes in his *History of Political Theory*:

"Plato was not in the least concerned to do away with the inequalities of wealth because they are unjust to the individual concerned. His purpose was to produce the highest unity of the State."

Philosophically and politically modern communism differs widely from the Gandhian socialism and the Upanisadic ideal, and one is as far off from the other as the two poles asunder. As compared with the Vedantic ideal and the Gandhian socialism which are essentially spiritual, modern communism associated with the writings of Marx and Engels who published their famous thesis on the subject in the Communist Manifesto in 1848, is basically materialistic, godless, violent and revolutionary. The foundations of Marx's analysis lay in his theory of Economic determinism or Materialistic interpretation of history. Marx applied Hegel's dialectic method in the material world and explained historical events in terms of thesis and antithesis. According to him, the system of production obtaining in a country at a particular time gives rise to certain economic classes whose interests are bound to clash and all history, social, political and religious, is the resultant of the conflict of these classes. As the system of production changes, and there follows a change in the distribution of wealth in the community, there takes place a transfer of political power to those who now wield the economic power. Thus with the onset of the Industrial Revolution towards the close of the 18th century in England and other Western countries which completely changed the whole complex of production, a new capitalist class, namely, the Bourgeoisie, came into power, and overthrew the feudal lords who wielded the political power during the Middle Ages. The French Revolution of 1789 which has been rightly characterized as a Bourgeoisie Revolution brought about the ethanasia of the feudal regime, and ushered in the new capitalist era. As a result of the introduction of the factory system with the use of machinery replacing human labour, another class, namely, the proletariat, emerged whose interests were in apparent conflict with that of the Bourgeoisie. According to Marx, the gradual pauperisation of the wage-earning class brought about by the devouring greed of the capitalists for profit will accentuate the class-conflict and lead to a violent revolution. This will end with the dictatorship of the Proletariat which would stay for some time after which the State will wither away leading to a classless society. The communism in Russia is still in an experimental stage, and how far the above prediction of Marx comes true is yet to be seen.

The *modus operandi* of the Marxist Communism is the accentuation of class-conflict leading to strikes and violent revolution to facilitate the forcible seizure of power by the labouring class.

It differs primarily from the Indian approach by its lack of insight into the nature of forces at work which tend to eliminate class and caste distinction. Abolition

of class distinction is a blind affair in the Marxist Communism and this abolition of class by itself is considered as a goal, whereas in the Indian philosophy the goal is the achievement of an insight which abolishes all distinctions automatically as a corollary to its realisation. Obviously the former has to be enforced by violence on account of its nature, i.e., the blindness about the goal. In the latter case the co-operation obtained varies according to the degree of insight achieved by each member of the Society and since the goal is in sight, whatever abolition of class distinction happens is achieved as a result of voluntary co-operation. Admittedly the progress in the latter is slower, but on account of voluntary element it is more sustained.

The second difference between the Marxist and Indian approaches lies in the nature of means employed to achieve their respective ends. Violence is believed to be a brute necessity in the Marxist logic. Its counterpart lies in the Gandhian Socialism which is dogmatic about non-violence. As a matter of fact, Indian philosophy considers both the paths or any mixing of the two, viz., violence tempered with love, can serve the

purpose provided there is an insight in the application of the means, and it eventually helps everybody to achieve his own insight. Vedanta philosophy believes that a man with complete insight can lead his society along the most suitable path to a requisite goal, and the choice of his path will not depend upon any intrinsic merit of the path, as there is no such intrinsic merit, but upon the expediency of the existing circumstances.

To conclude, Modern Communism based upon atheism and the creed of violence is antithetical to the spiritual tradition of India, the key-note of which is tolerance and faith in the God-head. The Communists advocate establishment of socialism by forcible expropriation of wealth from the rich, and its equal distribution in the community. Indian philosophy, on the other hand, which is based upon the doctrine of Karma and the immortality of the human soul starts with the fundamental postulate that man is a spiritual entity, a part and parcel of Brahma, and advocates socialism through the conquest of our baser self by development of perception and insight.

—:O:—

THE LATE DR. SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMY IYER

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

The passing away of Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer after completing the biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of eminent lawyers of the stature of Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour. Law as a profession is a luxury ordinarily meant for the well-to-do in society. The poor and the helpless can ill afford to wait at its portals for long. But curiously enough some of the topmen in the legal profession happen to be those that have fought their way up inch by inch.

In Madras Dr. Alladi fought his way to the top against heavy odds. Born of poor parents, he had to struggle hard to complete his education. Probably this experience made him alive in later life, to the needs of the poor students. After a brief period of service as a tutor in the Christian College, he chose the legal profession, though the Mysore Civil Service was thrown open to him,—a service that was indeed tempting in those days. Situated as he was the choice must have appeared to one and all as short-sighted and foolhardy.

By untiring industry he mastered the intricacies of law in its varied aspects quite early in his career. Besides, he studied the case law of other countries as well and acquired an immense knowledge of law and practice of other countries. He was reputed to

be capable of taking instructions even in complicated cases at a very short interval. Success came to him as it ought to with the elevation of his master and senior Sir P. R. Sundara Iyer to the Bench in 1911. He soon came into contact with Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar and their association lasted till 1915 when the latter was elevated to the Bench. From then onwards Mr. Alladi became one of the leading Members of the Bar. In the legal profession there are two types of advocacy, i.e., the persuasive and the tornado-flourishing on parallel lines. Dr. Alladi belonged to the latter category and besieged his opponent with his massive arguments, ruthless logic and profound learning. Naturally he created a great impression on every Judge. He spoke with the confidence of a law-giver. He combined a grasp of general principles with a profound and detailed knowledge—a rare and noteworthy combination. His memory was phenomenal. He was justly regarded as an acknowledged authority on case law and codified law, customary law and constitutional law in their historical as well as comparative aspects. He successfully held his own against almost all the eminent lawyers of India in a number of inter-provincial cases.

He was Advocate-General in Madras continuously for over fifteen years during which period he was equally a *persona grata* under Dyarchy interim

regime, Provincial autonomy and the Advisor's Government. The reason for his continuance in that capacity during all the vicissitudes was not that he was subservient but that he was indispensable. He guided the respective regimes on sound and safe lines in the light of their policy and programme without projecting his personality or imposing his likes and dislikes. Hence he was regarded in every quarter as a sincere and safe ally. But his talents did not receive the recognition that they richly deserved. The portfolio of law in the Government of India till the dawn of freedom was practically the monopoly of Bengal. His elevation to the Federal Bench which many took for granted did not materialise. When Sir B. L. Mitter retired as the Advocate-General of India, Alladi was convalescing at Bangalore and Sir N. P. Engineer of Bombay stole a march over him. But his personal loss was indeed the positive gain for the public. His chambers in the words of the present Chief Justice of India came to be regarded as a Seminar for the higher study of law.

He played his part in the public life as a non-party nationalist most unostentatiously. He was intimately connected with the three Universities of Madras, Andhra and Annamalai. Besides, he was a member of the Court of the Banaras Hindu University for over 25 years. According to him, a University should be the reservoir of the intellectual forces of the nation and the clearing house of ideas. The State too had its responsibility. It must unreservedly place its resources at the disposal of a University without in any way impairing the academic freedom which is the life-breath of a University.

In a multi-lingual province like Madras he mixed with all classes and communities freely and intimately without taking sides or antagonising any section. He was a typical Madrasi, a nomenclature current in Northern India, in the best sense of the word and as such was qualified to be ranked among the great Indians. But on momentous occasions he did not hesitate to come out of his academic grove and take the lead. He extended his support for the creation of the Andhra State and pleaded that the City of Madras should be centrally administered. When the I.N.A. personnel were stranded and persecuted in Malaya, he organised a strong committee and arranged for their defence. He personally argued Captain Bahrannuddin's appeal in the Federal Court. After the dawn of freedom he renounced his Knight-hood to keep pace with the spirit of the times.

His real greatness was displayed when he became the member of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution and to this work he brought to bear his vast learning and wide knowledge of constitutional law and practice. He was in fact one of the most significant architects of our constitution. He

was subsequently nominated as a member of the Council of States. The Universities of Delhi and Andhra conferred on him the Degree of Doctor of Law. Though a conservative and intensely religious in his outlook and habits he had progressive views and he was convinced that a large-scale reform of the Hindu Law was an imperative necessity at the present day in order to bring the law in line with the social consciousness of the community and "to prevent courts of law from becoming the battle-ground for the settlement of simple questions of succession and family law."

He was unassuming, simple and genial. Though we are accustomed to see many an upstart blooming into a blue-blooded aristocrat there was no tinge of vanity or arrogance in him. He was easily accessible, frank to a fault and kind and considerate to one and all. In spite of striking disparity in age, ability, experience and status in life I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. When I met him in April last at Madras, where I had been to deliver the Eardley Norton Memorial Endowment Lecture in the High Court, he received me with great warmth though he was confined to bed. We talked at length and in detail about every matter of importance. In this connection I wish to publicise an incident narrated by him, which speaks volumes about his tremendous personal integrity and character. His son Dr. Ramakrishna who is now a Reader in the Madras University was originally selected for the I.A.S. Then Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was the Deputy Prime Minister congratulated Dr. Alladi on the success of his son. Later he was disqualified by the Medical Board and had to join the Madras University. Sometime after when Sardar Patel enquired Dr. Alladi as to where his son was serving, Dr. Alladi quietly replied that he joined the Madras University. The Sardar felt uneasy and enquired why did he resign from the I.A.S. Then Alladi told him about the fact of his being disqualified by the Medical Board. Immediately Sardar Patel in his infinite goodwill and sympathy flared up and took Alladi to task for not bringing that fact to his knowledge earlier. Then Dr. Alladi replied that in his long life he stood in the queue and took his chance in the normal course and never misused his position or influence to serve his personal ends and similarly he did not like the idea of his son's exploiting his name and fame. Evidently this attitude of Dr. Alladi came as a pleasant surprise to Sardar Patel when he was pestered with requests from every quarter. It is possible to write much and for long about Dr. Alladi. But I shall content myself in saluting Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy, the great jurist, eminent advocate, a noted philanthropist and a non-party nationalist of personal integrity and unimpeachable character, whose life and work can serve as a model to generations yet unborn.



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

NEW LIGHTS ON INDUS CIVILISATION: By Rev. Heras. Published by the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. Illustrations 24 pages, Bibliography 70 pages. Index pp. 495-542. Price Rs. 175.

Over thirty years ago, in 1922, the late lamented Prof. Rakhal Das Banerjee discovered in Mohenjo-Daro, the remains of Indus Valley civilisation, later on found linked with Harappa culture. Sir John Marshall and Earnest Mackay, Waddell and Hunter published books on that culture even attempting the decipherment of the seals and inscriptions which may supply the real keys to the solution of the many problems. Thus a new world of epigraphy and glyptic arts was opened, as it were, by these important documents of 3rd millennium B.C. and Rev. Heras, S.J., applied twenty years of his life to the systematic elucidation of the many baffling problems.

From the study of the Indus Valley cities, Rev. Heras began studying the system of deciphering the inscriptions and the historical foundations of the early migrations westwards. He hopes (as he wrote in his learned Introduction) that "once all these problems are solved, India will be acknowledged as the cradle of human civilisation." It is a bold book of rare erudition and encyclopaedic in character deserving the close attention of the scholarly world.

In Chapter I, the author discusses the stages in the Decipherment of the Mohenjo-Daro Script, with appendices on the language of the proto-Indians (lexical and grammatical).

Chapter II compares Mohenjo-Daro and Sumer (Iraq) and discusses the probable date of the two cultures.

Chapter III describes the Hamitic migrations into Egypt showing the so-far-unsuspected relations of the Nilotic with the Indus Valley civilisation. The Indian legend of the Makara country is compared with the Egyptian Serpent Tales—as conserved in the Greek and the western Mediterranean traditions. In an Appendix, Rev. Heras discusses the points of contact between India and Egypt.

Chapter IV is devoted to the analysis of the Legends of the Great Fish and the Flood, as reflected in Indian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Cretan (Minoan) antiquities.

Chapter V summarises the author's conclusions regarding (a) the Hamitic or Indo-Mediterranean Race, (b) the Migrations of the Dravidians, (c) the Racial relations of the Dravidians. The last appendix is on the original names of the proto-Indo-Mediterraneans.

The mere list of illustrations—excellently reproduced—run over 24 pages; and the Bibliography

cover about 70 pages. The Index (pp. 495-542) is quite exhaustive and very helpful to general readers who may find the price Rs. 175 pretty prohibitive; but it is a book to be treasured by book-lovers and librarians. The book is printed at Vakil & Sons, Ltd., Bombay, and it is a veritable monument to the Indian Historical Research Institute (Bombay) and its learned Director, Rev. Heras.

KALIDAS NAG

RAMAYANA (Parts I and II): By Sudha Mazumdar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1953. Part I: pp. 221; Part II: pp. 279. Price Rs. 1-12 each.

The *Ramayana* is justly regarded as one of the world's classics. It was therefore a happy idea of the general editors of the Bhavan's Book University to include an English translation of this immortal epic in their series. It is well known that the *Ramayana* has come down to us in numerous recensions, for, not to speak of the original work of Valmiki (which itself has been handed down in at least three different recensions, the *Gaudiya*, the *North-Western* and the *Southern*), it has been rendered into all the important regional languages of our land. The present translation, which has been completed after years of toil by a cultured Bengali lady claims to "have mostly followed the version of Krittivas" (read Krittivasa). But the authoress has exercised her own judgment in deleting "much that was considered not essential to the life and teachings of Rama" (Authoress's note, p. xii). In the result she has incorporated into the book many episodes unknown to Valmiki, such as those of the fight of Mahiravana and Taruni Sen (sic) with Rama and Rama's worship of Durga accompanied with the offer of one of his own eyes for making up the full list of 108 blue lotuses in honour of the goddess. The authoress would have been well advised in sticking to the original version of Valmiki instead of embellishing it with such later narratives. Further she might have taken better care in the rendering of proper names so as to avoid such strange forms as 'Sukha' (minister of Ravana), 'Dhumrakhya', 'Gobakhya', 'Mokarakhya', and 'Atikai' (warriors of Ravana) not to speak of 'Krittivas' and 'Taruni Sen' above mentioned. It is also strange that she calls Queen Kaikeyi's humpbacked maid repeatedly by the name of Kunji. On the other hand, it is but fair to state that the authoress has succeeded in her principal aim, that of interpreting the message and the meaning of the Great Epic to the people of the West so as to enable them to form a real understanding of our ideas and thoughts (Authoress's note *loc. cit.*). Written in the simplest English prose without any

straining after effect, she has been able to reproduce much of the spirit of the poem with the dramatic interest of many of its incidents and the picture of many of its heroic characters. The paper, print and get-up are good and the price is cheap for the size of the volumes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE DIARY OF MAHADEV DESAI, Vol. I: *Yeravda-Pact Eve, 1932*. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1953. Price Rs. 5.

This is a record of the life in prison of Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's disciple and Secretary, from March 10 to September 4, 1932, from the day when Mahadev Desai was taken to Yeravda to keep company with Gandhiji and Sardar Patel to a fortnight before the memorable fast against a proposed separate electorate for the Harijans.

That the recognised forms of literature break down in particular cases is nowhere better illustrated than in this present instance; the Diary of Mahadev Desai is virtually an epic, with Mahatma Gandhi as its protagonist, and it has its lyric components in the pronouncements of Mahatmajee on various crises in individual life, e.g., the question of self-control. Such lyric components never blur the central figures moving in this epic, the life of one man controlling the destinies of millions even from within the prison. This rebounds to the credit of the author, the diarist.

There are many refreshing scenes which open themselves before us—Vallabhbhai learning Sanskrit and preparing envelopes from waste material, Mahadebbhai almost ashamed at his good luck in having been granted the privilege of being with Gandhiji, Gandhiji himself giving out his comments on books that he has read, his own confession that his reading has been odd and by the way, a look at the list is itself illuminating—and his views on the relation between husband and wife. It is a valuable document and Gandhiji's mind stands here more revealed than in his own writings, in the warmth of the affectionate but none the less truthful record of his devoted companion.

But the interest that is roused in Mahadev Desai's own inner life is by no means a slight one. He is here an active agent, and by no means a mere copyist, e.g., his comparison of Drummond and Keyserling.

Gandhiji's opinion on Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda will be read with interest, and also his comment on Sumitranandan Pant and Upton Sinclair. But above all there is the overshadowing prospect of the Epic Fast which evidently has not paralysed but only intensified the activity of Gandhiji's camp—we realise how it served as an electric spring letting the usual functions of a great man full play.

P. R. SEN

SRI AUROBINDO ON HIMSELF AND ON THE MOTHER (Vol. I): *By Sri Aurobindo*. Published by the Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry. Pp. 782. 7 ins. x 5 ins. Cloth-bound with dust cover. Price Rs. 12.

This is the first volume of a work on the life and thoughts of Sri Aurobindo based on his letters and notes. The book is written in a dialogue form, free from technical terms of philosophy, years and dates are given where necessary.

"But why write my biography at all" says Sri Aurobindo. "In my view, a man's value does not

depend on what he learns, or his position or fame, or what he does, but on what he is and inwardly becomes" (p. 352). Reprimanding a group of writers for writing myths, he says, "His memory is indeed so strong that he not only recollects, very inaccurately, what actually happened, but recalls also and gives body to what never happened at all" (p. 103). The following mistakes have been pointed out: *Yogic Sadhan* and *Aurobindo Prasange* do not represent him, articles in the *Karmayogin* from February, 1910, are not his but Sister Nivedita's, his connections with her were purely political and not spiritual, his departure to Chandannagore was taken on the strength of an *adesh* from above and not on the advice of anyone, he had no *guru*, he did not take initiation or *diksha* from Sarada Devi or any one, he never approached Swami Brahmananda of Belurmath for admission and so on.

The first portion of the book gives the background of his education, his decision to dedicate himself to the service of India and her liberation. His connections with the papers, *Indu-Prakash* of Bombay, *Yugantar* of Calcutta, *Bandemataram*, *Karmayogin*, *Dharma* and *Arya*, his relations and differences with some of the political and religious leaders of his time and his colleagues, the introduction by him of the idea of complete independence and revolutionary movement are narrated therein. Yoga covers the greater part of the book.

As for his reason for leaving politics, he says, "I came away because I did not want anything to interfere with my Yoga and because I got a very distinct *adesh* in the matter" (p. 314). What was his Yoga? "To rely wholly on the Divine and His guidance alone both for *sadhana* and for outward action" (p. 108). It was not founded on books but on personal experience. It is not identical with the Yoga of the Gita. The Vedantic and Patanjali Yoga systems depend entirely on the Purushakara. But in his Yoga is an inflow of the life of the Divine from above. He says that the purpose of the old is to get away from life to the Divine, and the purpose of the new is to reach the Divine and bring the fulness of what is gained into life for the transformation of humanity. "By transformation I do not mean change of nature, I do not mean sainthood or Yogic *siddhis* (like the Tantrik's) or a transcendental (*chinmaya*) body" (p. 162-65) but change in the frame of the present humanity by bringing down a higher spiritual light and power of a higher character" (p. 218). "We have to deliver the self-involved in the lower nature by the self rising to freedom in the higher nature" (p. 196). Emergence of this ethical foundation of humanity in his Yoga is very important.

The Ashrama and the cultivation of psychic nearness and oneness, the place of the Mother, a new *Guruvada* denouncing life by proxy and fundamentally different from the *gurugiri* in vogue in our country are delineated. Belief in some symbols, etc., are mentioned which appear to be crude; they are, however, personal and do not form part of *sadhana*.

For man existence is a continued process of self-fabrication and self-transcendence. The more godlike our powers the more demonic our applications of this power. Why? Because the transformation of man remains incomplete until it is directed primarily to the fulfilment of the human person. A new religion is evolving towards this end. Sri Aurobindo's *sadhana* and activities form part of it.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Brahma-

nanda Keshub Chunder Sen developed a new God-Vision. It was the Infinite Personality at once revealed and ever-to-be-revealed. In Him our *bhakti* and meditation mingle. The Divine descends transforming the life on earth. Yoga with its ally Jnan represents one half of the composite human nature, and need its other complementary half *Bhakti* with its ally Karma which hungers and thirsts for companionship and co-operative social service (*seva*). This four-fold functioning concentrates on the upbuilding and regenerative functions, in both the personality and community of man, embodying his wholeness. This new faith harmonises revelation and science, outgrowing credal and ritualistic religions, metaphysical abstractions and materialistic sciences. Automatically different churches are merging into One Universal Church. Keshub Chunder Sen in his inimitable simple style intelligible to the common man, put his experiences in his famous discourses on the *Jeeyana Veda* and the *Brahmagitopanishad*, and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar in his immortal book, the *Spirit of God*. A perusal of these books makes it easier to understand Aurobindo's philosophy. Sri Aurobindo played an important part in setting forth the overmild view of things in mental terms, mediating between the intellectual and the Supramental, harmonising spiritual experiences both Western and Eastern and interpreting the whole experience in terms of philosophy.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE EXPERIENCE OF DEATH (The Moral Problem of Suicide): *By Paul-Louis Landsberg*. Published by Rockliff, Salisbury Square, London. 1953. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Landsberg, a brilliant and highly intellectual young professor of Philosophy had to spend a harassed life during the Hitlerian regime, continually fleeing from one place to another till he was finally arrested by the Gestapo and died of exhaustion at a camp near Berlin. We can only regret the circumstances that were responsible for the abrupt termination of a promising career.

It has been mentioned in the preface that Landsberg died more from 'psychical inadaptation' than from physical disability. Indeed, evidence of this psychic inadaptation are noticeable in the two essays which constitute the contents of the volume. The style, the thoughts, the almost morbid seriousness with which the questions are discussed testify to the deeply introverted nature of the writer. Apparently the attempt to escape from the extremely grim realities of life which it was his tragic lot to face filled his mind constantly with thoughts of death and suicide. As a Christian should he commit suicide—has he the right to do it? What after all is death itself? These problems overwhelm him almost obsessively. In the end he seemed to convince himself somehow that it was only the right Christian conceptions that gave satisfactory solution to the problems of death and suicide. In that faith the author ended his life. May his soul rest in peace! That is the sentiment which spontaneously arises in the mind of the reader who knows the conditions under which the author lived and died.

The reviewer thoroughly agrees with Martin Jarrett-Kerr that the essay on suicide cannot call for our unqualified admiration though we find in it the same honesty of exposition and concern for the human person as in the other essay on death. He feels, however, that even the essay on death con-

sidered as an academic discussion of the problem suffers from great defects of omissions. Buddhism to which references have been made here and there is not the only Indian system of thought. The conceptions of death in the other Indian metaphysical systems which reveal the real meaning of life here on earth and show the ways of attaining that state of Bliss which transcends death itself have not been mentioned even. The essays are the linguistic expressions of the conflicts that had been terribly agitating the mind of the author just before he died. Let us take them as such and not mar the genuineness and sincerity of the feelings experienced by the author by (now unnecessary) critical observations.

S. C. MITRA

ESTATE DUTY MANUAL, 1954: *By Shri R. Bhargava*. Published by Taration Publishing Co. (India) Limited, 8, Daryaganj, Delhi-7. Part I: pp. i-v and 1-380, Part II: i-x and 1-102, Part III: i-clxxix. Price Rs. 17-8.

The Estate Duty Act, 1953, has been passed with a good deal of support from all sections of the legislature and the opposition was mainly directed towards the rates of duty and the exemption limit regarding the minimum property belonging to an individual. In some form or other the duty has been in practice in almost all the civilized countries of the world, India being almost a solitary exception in this respect. It is true that the Duty will remove inequality in wealth in a certain degree but the objective will remain an unattainable reality so long as the masses are not raised from their present low level of income and consequent low standard of living with opportunities arising out of their own resources and individual and collective efforts. The Duty realised with the aid of the Act is so incommensurate with the enormous amount necessary for the purpose, that it can possibly be ignored. Moreover, it is likely to affect investment of capital in the private sector of industries which is one of the greatest needs of the present day.

These points have already been discussed threadbare in the press and the legislatures and the Act is an accomplished fact. What is necessary now is to make it intelligible to the public, especially those who will be required to interpret it for the tax-collector as well as the inheritors and/or representative in interest of the deceased. The *Estate Duty Manual*, 1954, will remove a genuine want of such persons as Estate Duty Advisers, whether Advocates or Chartered Accountants, of the property-owners who will have to leave the world with the uncomfortable idea of a large portion of his estate being "devoured" by the State. The examinees required to have a thorough knowledge for professional or departmental examinations will find the book very helpful for their purpose.

While the Estate Duty Bill was on the legislative anvil, a good number of the veteran legislators complained about the language of most of its sections which are admittedly stiff and technical and does not lend itself to an easy understanding even after repeated readings. Perhaps this difficulty is patent in a taxing statute and the present Act is no exception. It is known that the "fundamental principle of construction of a taxing statute is that it must be interpreted strictly by reference to the words of the Act, and the onus is on the Revenue to show that there are clear (unambiguous) words which impose the tax or duty on the subject." But in the practice

of estate duty additional difficulties are more likely to crop up in the interpretation of transactions than in the interpretation of the language of the various sections of the Act.

There is a chance for the unwary to stumble at every step. One may rest content with the idea that the burden of proof that duty is payable is on the State and any benefit of doubt must go in favour of the party. But the position at once changes when he puts a claim on exemption from duty. The law holds the subject in its grip once he has been brought within the charge of duty, and the onus at once shifts on him to prove that the claim falls within the words of the Statute. Such difficulty also arises regarding the definition of 'property' which has been kept so wide as to cover all possible rights and interests that may pass on death. The law does not rest here inasmuch as it includes property which is deemed to pass on death.

It is needless to say that the operation of the Act will result in protracted and costly litigations at least for the first few years of its application as the Government will be exclusively confronted with the 'propertied class.' In anticipation of such a contingency measures have been adopted to minimise litigation as far as possible but the effectiveness or otherwise of the provisions will have to be assessed by the result.

Before an array of almost insoluble complications the appearance of the book under reference is thrice welcome. The various chapters of the book have been divided not according to the several chapters and sections of the Act but on the merits of co-related factors taken together. It is gratifying to find that every possible matter has been dealt with under different sub-heads in each chapter. But the authors have not overlooked the necessity of a busy practitioner and has very judiciously given the entire Act in Part II of the book with such notes as have been found necessary.

A number of very useful charts carefully arranged and dealing with all the charging sections as well as all exemptions from duty, points on estate duty on selected items, insurance policies and their dutiability, policy moneys and estate duty, location and nature of assets, notes showing the utility of various certificates, etc., have been given at appropriate places. A fiscal enactment can best be understood with the help of illustrations (rather than by interpretation of technical words). With this end in view and to make the law more easily understandable, copious illustrations have been appended to every important section explaining the practical application thereof. The most important reported cases, especially of the U. K. have been given and these will save considerable labour and time of the legal practitioners.

In addition, all the topics of practical utility have been taken one by one and discussed at considerable length. A large number of the sections of the Act are based on the different sections of the U. K. Finance Acts and one would find the relevant extracts of the said Acts in appendix A. The other two appendices, B and C, contain relevant extracts from the Indian Trusts Act, 1882, Transfer of Property Act, 1882, Married Women's Property Act, 1874, Indian Court Fees Act, 1870, Indian Stamp Act, 1874, Indian Registration Act, 1908 and Indian Succession Act, 1925. Everybody will admit that these are germane to a proper understanding of the Estate Duty Act,

1953, which stands out from other Acts for its rigidity and popular concern.

The author has been remarkably successful in presenting the law in a simple, lucid and as far as possible in non-technical language and it is not surprising that the *Manual* has been booked 75 per cent in advance.

KALI CHARAN GHOSH

SANSKRIT

PARAMANANDAKAVYA OF KAVINDRA PARAMANANDA: Edited by Govind Sakharam Sardesai. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXX. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 10.

We have here an edition of fragments of a Sanskrit work (or possibly of more than one work) narrating the history of the family of Sivaji. It is a welcome addition to the comparatively small amount of historical literature in Sanskrit published so far. The edition is based on a solitary defective manuscript belonging to the Baroda Oriental Institute. For a portion of Section IV of the five sections into which the leaves of the manuscript have been arranged by the learned editor the text of another fragmentary manuscript as printed in the pages of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Vols. XVIII and XIX) has been compared for recording variants. We have reference to the name of the work and the author in the colophons of Sections III-V and once in a cryptic manner in Section II. The name of the work is given as *Anupurana* a part of which has already been published under the title *Sivabharata*. The title of the volume under review is evidently the coining of the editor. Section III, it appears, is the work of Kavindra Paramananda and Sections IV and V of Govinda, his grandson. It is, however, curious that they are usually mentioned as publishers and not as authors. The most interesting parts of the fragments are stated to be Sections IV and V where Tantric practices are referred to. It is stated that one Siva-yogin came to Bengal to be initiated into the Tantric form of worship by a great spiritual adept of the place. It has been supposed that this story refers to the introduction of Tantricism into Maharashtra from Bengal. It requires to be seen if the available data are quite sufficient to warrant the conclusion.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

BENGALI

NARI: By Manojmohan Ray, M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 130, Kasundia Road, Howrah. Price Re. 1.

A sketch of a Bengali woman's life, mainly drawn from experience, presented in a simple, homely manner. The note of sincerity is particularly refreshing.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SAHITYALCHAN KE SIDDHANTA: By Ram Narain Yadavendu. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agrawal, Agra. Pp. 298. Price Rs. 3.

The Principles of literary criticism are discussed here in the light of Sanskrit or Indian as well as European schools of authors and artists. The discussion is helpfully hedged round with a treatment of such themes as 'Literature,' 'Art,' 'Poetry,' 'Drama,' 'Art of Story-writing,' 'Prose-Poem,' 'Realism,' 'Mysticism,' 'Progressive School,' etc., and is amply illustrated with examples. Shri Yadavendu is, indeed, a reliable guide to a literary pilgrim, desirous of admiring and assessing the beauties and beautitudes of Literature. Such books as the one under review are not at all common in the specific sphere. Dr. Dharendra Verma has contributed a brief Foreword.

G.M.

GUJARATI

PARSI SAHITYANO ITIHAS: By Miss Pilan Bhikhaji Makati. Navsari. Printed at the Massi Printing Press, Navsari. 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 1063 + 52. Price Rs. 15.

Miss Pilan Makati has already won her spurs as a Parsi writer, writing excellent Gujarati. About thirteen works on various philosophical and humanitarian subjects, like Rearing Animals, Mystery of Death and Re-birth, Search after Happiness, Rama-Sita, Mercy and Prohibiting the Eating of Flesh, Life on a Higher Level, etc., have already been written by her, but this substantial volume of eleven hundred pages, is the crown of them all. This sort of a consolidated history of the contributions of Parsi writers to the literature of their adopted country is the first of its kind and to make it perfect and up-to-date, she seems to have undergone immense trouble in reading, digesting and reproducing the colossal material gathered by her. She has tried to adopt a historical and methodical procedure in her work, but in spite of it, critics consider it a hotch-potch. Well, it is an unkind cut. Prof. Vijayani Vaidya, noted as a keen critic, has contributed an appreciative Foreword and Mr. Phirozshah Mehta of Karachi, known as an able Parsi writer, has introduced Miss Pilan Makati to the reader. We think it would take much and take long to beat her pioneer work.

SAHITYAKAR AKHO: By Prof. Dr. Manjular R. Majumder, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Baroda. Published by the Premanand Sahitya Sabha, Baroda. 1949. Card-board cover. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 4.

Akho, the well-known poet of the seventeenth century, has left an abiding name and fame as the exposé of hypocrites masquerading under the name

of spiritual Gurus, and lashing with bitter but plain words, the sordid deeds of worldly men and women. He preached that the world was an Illusion—*Maya*—and must be so regarded. This is a compilation of the writings of many writers, Gujarati and European, (Rev. Dr. W. R. Scott), who have written the various aspects of his life, and it makes itself out as a worthy companion of two former such compilations, *Shahityakar Premanand* and *Shahityakar Shamal*. Both the Sabha and the compiler are to be congratulated on their useful performance.

SAHITYANE CHARANE: By the late Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai, Ahmedabad. Published by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalay Mandal, Baroda. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 2-8.

Dr. Hariprasad, who died a couple of months after this book was published, was a devout follower of Gandhiji ever since the latter came to Ahmedabad to found his Ashram there. As such, he had courted jail many times and utilised the time passed therein in producing literature. Although a medical man by profession, he did not allow profession to monopolise him. Literature, social reform, civic reform, physical culture were some of his main occupations and his services in those directions have won him name and immense gratitude of those whom he inspired by his personal example and perseverance. Ahmedabad will not readily forget him. As President of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, with which he was connected from A.D. 1905 to his death, he had delivered a number of addresses on purely literary as well as other subjects. Eighteen of them have been collected here and published by a Mandal, the forerunner of which, Mrs. Motibhai Ansari, was a great friend of Dr. Desai. It is a suitable tribute paid to his memory.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The ensuing March issue of the **PRABUDDHA BHARATA**, will be a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It will contain a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number: Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukharji; Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A.; Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apté, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C. T. K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C. C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A. and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

Printed on Imitation Art Paper

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 3

Pages 160

Will be sent to subscribers of **PRABUDDHA BHARATA** without extra charge

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

(Only Annual Subscriptions Accepted)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.,

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Sri Sarada Devi—The Holy Mother

The following extract from Sister Nivedita's article on Sri Sarada Devi has been quoted in The Holy Mother Birth Centenary Number of Prabuddha Bharata:

I arrived in Calcutta, alone, in the beginning of November (1898) . . . The widow of Sri Ramakrishna—Sarada Devi, or 'the Holy Mother,' as she is called amongst us—was living close by, with her community of ladies; and in the course of the day, I was accorded possession of an empty room in her house. . . .

Of the head of our little community, it seems almost presumptuous to speak. Her history is well known. How she was wedded at five, and forgotten by her husband till she was eighteen; how she then, with her mother's permission, made her way on foot from her village-home to the temple of Dakshineswar on the Ganges-side, and appeared before him; how he remembered the bond, but spoke of the ideals of the life he had adopted; and how she responded by bidding him God-speed in that life, and asking only to be taught by him as the Guru—all these things have been told of her many times over. From that time she lived faithfully by his side for many years, in a building in the same garden, at once nun and wife, and always chief of his disciples. . . .

To me it has always appeared that she is Sri Ramakrishna's final word as to the ideal of Indian womanhood. But is she the last of an old order, or the beginning of a new? In her, one sees realized that wisdom and sweetness to which the simplest of women may attain. And yet, to myself the stateliness of her courtesy and her great open mind are almost as wonderful as her sainthood. I have never known her hesitate, in giving utterance to large and generous judgment, however new or complex might be the question put before her. Her life is one long stillness of prayer. Her whole experience is of theocratic civilization. Yet she rises to the height of every situation. Is she tortured by the perversity of any about her? The only sign is a strange quiet and intensity that comes upon her. Does one carry to her some perplexity or mortification born of social developments beyond her ken? With unerring intuition she goes straight to the heart of the matter, and sets the questioner in the true attitude to the difficulty. Or is there need for severity. No foolish sentimentality causes her to waver. The novice whom she may condemn for so many years to beg his bread, will leave the place within the hour. He who has transgressed her code of delicacy and honour, will never enter her presence again.

And yet is she, as one of her spiritual children said of her, speaking literally of her gift of song, 'full of music,' all gentleness, all playfulness. And the room wherein she worships, withal, is filled with sweetness.

The Mother can read, and much of her time is passed with her Ramayana. But she does not write. Yet it is not to be supposed that she is an uneducated woman. Not only has she had long and arduous experience in administration, secular and religious; but she has also travelled over a great part of India, visiting most of the chief places of pilgrimage. And it must be remembered that as the wife of Sri Ramakrishna she has had the highest opportunity of personal development that it is possible to enjoy. At every moment, she bears unconscious witness to this association with the great. But in nothing perhaps does it speak more loudly than in her instant power to penetrate a new religious feeling or idea.

I first realized this gift in the Holy Mother, on the occasion of a visit that she paid us in recent years, on the afternoon of a certain Easter-Day. Before that, probably, I had always been too much absorbed, when with her, in striving to learn what she represented, to think of observing her in the contrary position. On this particular occasion, however, after going over our whole house, the Mother and her party expressed a desire to rest in the chapel, and hear something of the meaning of the Christian festival. This was followed by Easter music, and singing, with our small French organ. And in the swiftness of her comprehension, and the depth of her sympathy with these resurrection-hymns, unimpeded by any foreignness or unfamiliarity in them, we saw revealed for the first time, one of the most impressive aspects of the great religious culture of Sarada Devi. The same power is seen to a certain extent, in all the women about her, who were touched by the hand of Sri Ramakrishna. But in her, it has all the strength and certainty of some high and arduous form of scholarship.

"RATNAM3"—Bring in Worldly Happiness.
By appeasing evil influences of the Stars & Planets.
(Nabagraha) **"Koustuv-Ratnams"**

A combination of Nine Gems, Eight Metals, etc.

Set on—RINGS—LOCKETS—PADAKS.

Gems & Metals :—(when come in contact with body.) Attract the "Electrons" abundant in the SUN-RAYS, which act on human body and by psychic action destroy and remove the parasites of disease and augment blood circulation in the Veins, Arteries and strengthen the nerves by which Mind and Body become refreshed and Man becomes Healthy, Active and full of Vigour for all kinds of domestic happiness and enjoyment. (Theory of) "Roetegen-Ray" or "Ultra-Violet-Ray" is an example of this truth. Please ask for details :—

B. PANI & SONS, GEM-DEALERS. P. B. No. 7839,
C-4, College St., Market (1st Floor), Calcutta-12

India and the Commonwealth

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Janki Nath Bhat discusses why India decided to retain her membership in the Commonwealth and the good that has resulted from the special status given to the Republic of India :

In 1947 when the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two dominions, India and Pakistan, was made it was believed by many that India would definitely break away from Britain and the Commonwealth. But strangely enough, every year since then has seen her more and more closely wedded to the Commonwealth countries in spite of the fundamental differences she has with some of them, like South Africa. The change in India's attitude after winning independence becomes less surprising if one keeps in mind the history of the policy of the Indian National Congress, the ruling party now and the predominant political force before independence. The Congress, for a time, had been asking Britain for Dominion Status for India. Unfortunately the reluctance of the British Government to grant it, the long time it took to part with power and its repressive measures, made the Congress leaders very bitter. A resolution was passed by the All-India Congress Committee in 1929 which was solely directed towards *Purna Swaraj*, complete independence, and which envisaged no link with the Commonwealth. But even then, under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was prepared to accept Dominion Status. In 1931, while addressing the second session of the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi said :

"I have aspired—I still aspire—to be a citizen, not in an Empire, but in a Commonwealth; in a partnership if possible . . . but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another. Hence you find here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever the connexion, to dissolve the partnership.—R. Copeland, *The Indian Problem* : 1833-1935 (p. 126) .

This was later followed, however, by a period of opposition to even Dominion Status by the Congress. On December 13th, 1946, Pandit Nehru moved a resolution in the Indian Constituent Assembly which stated that the Constituent Assembly declared its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign Republic. After independence it became, therefore, uncertain as to whether she would or would not continue to be a member of the Commonwealth.

In April 1949, the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions held a Conference at London to decide the position of India which was about to declare herself a Republic. At the Conference India made her position clear. First, she was firmly resolved to have a Republican Constitution. Secondly, and this was what was rather unexpected, she desired to retain her association with the other nations of the British Commonwealth.

It would be interesting to discuss here the considerations which must have caused India to somewhat unexpectedly express the wish to retain membership in the Commonwealth. There were both advantages and disadvantages involved. The disadvantages being, perhaps, more obvious than the advantages. First of all, it was commonly believed at that time that membership in the Commonwealth would entail a curtailment of sovereignty, in spite of the Balfour declaration which acknowledged the complete independence of the Dominions. Second, it seemed to be going against the definitely declared "neutral" Foreign Policy of India, for

it was assumed that the link-with the British Commonwealth would mean India's leaning towards the Anglo-American bloc. Third, Britain was still a colonial power, and such connection would imply a countenancing of her colonial control over Malaya and other colonies, at a time when most of these were looking to India for leadership. Fourth, Britain's racial policy in South Africa and her discrimination against South Africans of Indian origin had been a sore point since the time Gandhiji had led his non-violent movement against the South African Government. Finally, considering the bitter relations between India and Pakistan and Britain's chilly attitude towards India in Kashmir (for this was the time when the British delegation in the UNO did much to side-track the complaint of India against Pakistan for the latter's complicity with the raiders in Kashmir), was not encouraging. Added to all this, Mr. Churchill's open partiality for Pakistan and his vehement speeches in the House of Commons in favour of British intervention in Hyderabad, after having asserted that he had "not become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire," did a great deal towards making the position of the Indian leaders very difficult.

On the other hand, there were many advantages which the people in India, who were strongly decrying membership in the Commonwealth, were apt to overlook. India was dependent, to a great extent, on British personnel in the Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force. Britain was then, as it is now, the chief country with which India had foreign trade. Also Britain's war debt to India tended to tie India to the sterling bloc; and British shipping, banking, marine insurance, and investments were important factors in Indian economic life.

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

Above all, India was afraid that severing her relations with the Commonwealth would enhance the economic position of Pakistan with Britain to the detriment of India.

The feeling of some that association in the Commonwealth would mean curtailment of sovereignty for India was dispelled by the reassuring statement that had been made by Britain in June 1947, that the Indian Constituent Assembly was free to decide whether India wanted to remain in the Commonwealth or leave it. And it was finally felt that, on the whole, the balance of advantage was on the side of India's continued membership in the Commonwealth.

It should not be forgotten that although Britain, for various reasons, was intent upon persuading India to continue membership, she had also to face an anxious time. It was not without hesitation that she agreed to the special status given to India in the Commonwealth. Commenting on this *The New Statesman and Nation*, (April 23, 1949), asserted that there were two difficulties likely to be created by the decision :

"The first is that of stretching an already tenuous constitution until it dissipated itself into thin air. The second is that of creating a special status for India which might lead first to a special status for Pakistan and Ceylon, and then to a special status for South Africa, until finally the Commonwealth was nothing but a congeries of special cases."

This opinion was shared by a number of people in England, and, among the members of the Commonwealth. Australia was not particularly well-disposed towards the new arrangement. But, on the whole, the decision was approved by most of those concerned. It received strong support from one most unexpected source, Mr. Churchill, who commenting on the decision said :

"I feel that the tides of the world are favourable to our voyage. The pressure of dangers and duties that are shared in common by all of us in these days may well make new harmonies in India and, indeed, with large parts of Asia. We may also see coming into view an even larger synthesis of states and nations.—*New Lanka*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 14 : "Commonwealth Unity."

Time has proved, we think, that the special status given to India has made the Commonwealth all the stronger; and India has been realizing how wise it was not to break her connection with it, even in the face of great provocation from within and without. The great message of Smuts—that grand old man of South Africa—is growing clearer with the passage of time. He is reported to have said that the Commonwealth's contribution of human qualities, such as balance, moderation, good sense, good humour and fair-play, is of a very special character. They are worth more than scores of divisions.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kvirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji!

WONDERFUL TALISMANS

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11. **Bagalamukhi Kavacha** :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha** :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha** :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha** :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"
by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence : 50/2, Dharamtola Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065. Consultation hours : 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.

Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 8-30—11 A.M. Phone : B.B. 3685. Central Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M. LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, F.A. Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Democracy in British Guiana

H. N. Varma writes in *Careers and Courses* :

On October 9 the British Government suspended the Constitution of British Guiana on the plea of checking the subversion of communist activities in the colony. Certain charges were levelled against the cabinet headed by Dr. Cheddi Jagan and a statement was issued specifying reasons that led the British Government to take such a step. Suspending constitution is the most drastic measure and one naturally asks whether the existing conditions in the colony could not but be met otherwise than by such an action? Was no other alternative left for them? The gravity of the action can be appreciated by keeping in view that Dr. Jagan's Government was duly formed after elections and through the constitutional procedure.

The statement carried these charges against the Cabinet :

(i) Their words and actions had shown that they had no intention of making the constitution work; that their sole object had been to seize control of the whole line of the territory and to run it on totalitarian lines; and that, to achieve their end, they were prepared to use violence and to plunge the State into economic and social chaos.

(ii) The "ringleaders" among the elected Ministers and their Party (the People's Progress Party) were "closely associated" with international Communist organisations. These "extremists" had been planning "to turn British Guiana into a totalitarian state subordinate to Moscow, and a dangerous platform for extending communist influence in the Western hemisphere."

(iii) The Ministers had used their official positions "to provoke and encourage a stoppage of work in the sugar industry . . . and to spread the stoppage to essential services" for political purposes.

(iv) The Ministers had conducted "an assiduous campaign to undermine the loyalty and discipline of the police force," and had "proposed to establish what they term People's Police." They had also "intruded into the sphere of the public service."

(v) They had promoted a communist "Pioneer Youth League" and sought to undermine the position of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. They had also sponsored a local branch of the Peace Committee and a Committee supporting the Communist terrorists in Malaya, while "personally and through their agents" they had initiated "subversive propaganda and subversive activity."

(vi) They were intending to secularise all schools and revise the curriculum "with the evident objective" of subjecting children to communist indoctrination.

The Governor announced that the Colony's conditions had very much deteriorated and to improve the lot, shortly a revised constitution would be introduced.

Before we discuss the constitutional portion it will be better if we know something more about the colony.

BACKGROUND

Guiana is a small country on the Caribbean sea in South America. After the ruling powers, divided into three parts, it is named as British, Dutch and French. British Guiana was ceded to Britain by the Dutch in 1814.

Geographically the British colony is divided into three parts: remote barren hinterland composed of 10 per cent of the land; below it is the thick jungle consisting of 85 per cent and the remaining 5 per cent consists of a rich but low-lying coastal belt about 10 miles deep. The colony has a number of good rivers, but because of their rapid flow and falls they are not helpful for communication purposes. On the other hand, because of their floods, they have proved a drainage on the country's finances.

The colony is rich in minerals, specially iron antite and manganese. American companies are exploiting colony's natural resources. Timber also forms a good source for the colony's business.

POPULATION

The slave population by 1830 in the colony was over a lakh. Slaves were imported to work on fields. But after abolition of slavery in 1834 the conditions changed. The slaves took to peasantry. The planters then tried with indentured labour. Up to the first World War about 240,000 labourers were imported from India. Many of them were required to be back to their original country after the expiry of the period of indentured labour, but others settled there.

The present population is 440,000 (1950 census) :

Indians	190880
Africans	156061
Coloured	44975
Amerindians	17004
Portuguese	8818
Other Europeans	3855
Chinese	3537

Of the population one fourth lives in George Town, the capital of the colony. Thus the density of the population is on coastal belt. The population of the whole interior is only 30,000.

The population can be tabulated in the following form on occupational lines :

Rice Peasants	13000
Employees in rice mills	400-900
Mineral	3000
Timber	6500
Sugar	28000

Sugar industry is in the hands of a few companies. In 1952 it exported 200,000 tons of sugar. In 1947 it made a profit of £400,000. The working conditions are not good. The working hours are also long. Whereas the average earning, counting that work is not available throughout the year, is very low. The housing condition is equally in a bad plight. The various commissions appointed by the British Government criticised the present conditions and pointed out that the bad conditions were due to the sugar interests.

Sugar is the main crop of the land. The vested interests have ever attempted that no other crop may be produced. Thus though rice could be produced no one paid any heed to it. Nor the development of the colony was ever taken in hand. The sugar monopolists rather proved a hindrance in its way.

ADMINISTRATION

Till 1891 the country was governed by a Council of the Governor, a 'court of policy' and a 'combined court.' The last was demanded by the planters' representatives. It had exclusive power to impose taxes and vote supply. Thus it is clear, the planters had a say in the country's administration whereas the people had no voting power.

A Commission was appointed in 1927 to suggest constitutional amendments. It found that "the Power wielded by the elected members had produced hand to mouth finance to haphazard and ill-considered taxation. The budget had been consistently in deficit; and the administration of the health and educational services and agriculture was stagnant."

The two courts were abolished in 1928 and their powers were given to a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor and a few officials and non-official members. There were minor changes in 1943. After that the Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, 24 members (3 officials, 7 nominated, 14 elected). But even then the Governor had the wide executive powers.

World War II affected British Guiana as well. Guianese had contacts with Europeans on the field and as such their outlooks changed. Thus the British Government realised and therefore a Commission, known as *Washington Commission* was appointed in 1951 to suggest amendments to constitution. The Commission recommended :

(i) Introduction of universal adult suffrage at the age of 21 (and abolition of the criticism of literary and material possession yard-strikes).

(ii) The executive should consist of the (a) Governor; (b) three appointed ministers—chief secretary (head of civil service, foreign and commonwealth affairs, defence including police and information), financial secretary and attorney general; (c) one nominated minister without portfolio; (d) 6 ministers chosen by ballot from the Legislative in charge of Government departments. One of them was to be the 'First' minister. Law, order and finance could not be transferred to elected members.

(iii) The Governor was to have powers of dissent, reservation and declaration—"to be used only in matters of grave public concern."

(iv) There should be a House or Assembly (consisting of 24 elected members and 3 official ministers) and a revisionary chamber of 9 members (6 nominated by Governor and 3 on recommendation). The revisionary chamber had a suspensory veto of 3 months on money bills and one year for other bills passed by the House.

These proposals were accepted and also promulgated by the British Government.

LAST ELECTIONS

Four parties participated in the elections. P.P.P., United Farmers and Workers party, National Democratic Party and United Guiana Party. The last two merged and formed United Democratic Party.

P.P.P. programme included a social security scheme, a free health service, Secular (government controlled) education, drainage irrigation schemes, distribution of reclaimed land and nationalisation of sugar plantations.

The P.P.P. won 18 out of the 24 seats in the assembly with 6 ministerial seats in the council. Dr. Jagan became the first Minister.

But after taking the office Dr. Jagan did nothing very revolutionary to be labeled as a communist. Before election, *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent reported, "The P.P.P. is better supplied with thoughtful Indian leaders than the left organisations and are not likely to behave in an irresponsible manner even if they get an absolute majority." After assuming the office, Dr. Jagan said, "We are conscious of the role of the private capital. We will take steps as will encourage and attract private capital for the development of the country and above all we will guarantee that the government will fulfil all its obligations and undertakings."

The trouble arose at the issue of trade union recognition, when the P. P. P. supported G. I. W. U. a militant labour organisation. It called for strike. The Government passed a Trade Union Bill. This infuriated the employers. And then came the suspension of the constitution, and arrests of P. P. P. leaders.

JAGAN'S MOVE ABROAD

Jagan along with Bornham moved to England to put up his grievances before the British people. Though he very well refuted the charges but no justice came from the reactionary Government. Even the Labour Party extended no sympathy to the just cause of the people of British Guiana.

Dr. Jagan, who had great hopes to receive justice at the hands of the British came to India to seek help. Here he pointed out that the best help the Indians could give them is to provide them with monetary, legal and other assistance. What counts more is the moral support that India is giving to them. As Dr. Jagan said, it is democracy that is on trial in Guiana, for why should not the people be allowed to elect the persons they like?

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlal Dutta |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Highlights of Unesco's Activities in 1953

Unesco's activities, particularly in the fields of education and science, were considerably developed in 1953. Among the major projects undertaken by the Organization this year were the following:

A European Organization for Nuclear Research, planned and organized by Unesco, came into being in 1953. The purpose of this Organization is to proceed with the construction of a modern laboratory for nuclear research and to develop co-operation between existing laboratories in theoretical studies already in progress in various countries. The research will be of a non-military character; and the laboratory will also serve to train scientists in this field.

The Convention establishing the Organization on a permanent basis was approved by the official representatives of 12 Member States—Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and Yugoslavia—on 1st July, 1953. It has already been signed by 11 Member States and will enter into force when ratified by 7 States, with a total

percentage contribution amounting to 75 per cent. The headquarters of the Organization will be near Geneva, Switzerland, where a site has been offered by the Swiss Government and unanimously accepted by the Member States.

An Arab States Centre, designed to train teachers in the techniques of fundamental education, opened in Sirs-el-Layyan (Egypt) early this year. It is the second such centre to be set up by Unesco as part of its world campaign against ignorance, poverty and disease, the first being at Patzcuaro (Mexico). Fifty "students" from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia and Palestine Arab refugees are being trained in theoretical and practical work. A second course of about 50 students is due to start this month.

The Centre is a co-operative enterprise between Unesco, the Egyptian Government as well as the United Nations, WHO, FAO, and ILO, and is aimed at training leaders for fundamental education in the Arab world, at producing educational material and carrying out a programme of research of rural problems in the Arab States.

The Delhi Public Library, a pilot project organized by the Government of India and Unesco, was greatly developed during 1953.

It served 70,000 men, women and children from all strata of life each month and lent 1,000 books a day. The Library's film showings, discussions, lectures and story hours for children drew several thousand people a month. Small collections of books were set up in literary centres as part of the Library's programme for new literates, and since the beginning of 1953 a mobile unit carrying 3,000 volumes took service to outlying sections of Delhi and nearby villages. During the past two years, the Library has served a total of 1,370,278 persons and issued 533,737 books. This unusually successful project is now exerting a strong influence on the development of public libraries in association with fundamental education throughout India and in other countries of the region.

A seminar held in July and August at Ibadan, Nigeria, on the development of public library services in Africa considered the professional training of librarians and the organization both of stationary libraries and of a network of free public libraries equipped with mobile units.

Unesco has organized, in co-operation with Europeans labour groups, a number of tours for workers in our country to see and study the work and way of life of their counterparts in another. About 850 workers benefited from such visits in 1953, in addition to some 750 in 1952.

A seminar on the production and use of visual aids in fundamental education was held at Messina, Sicily, in August and September. It was the first world seminar of its kind and was designed to bring together the experiences of educators and technicians from all the continents and from international organizations actively concerned with fundamental education. Twenty-eight countries and territories from all parts of the world were represented.

The recommendations made by the seminar were directed toward discovering the errors as well as the virtues of materials already produced, and toward recommending steps to be taken to encourage creative development in the future. Emphasis was placed on teaching methods and on the adaptation of materials for use in areas other than those in which they were originally produced.

Teacher training ranked high in the list of priority projects carried out by Unesco in the Technical Assistance programme during 1953. It is the premanent solution of an important educational problem in many countries and one of the prerequisites of their development.

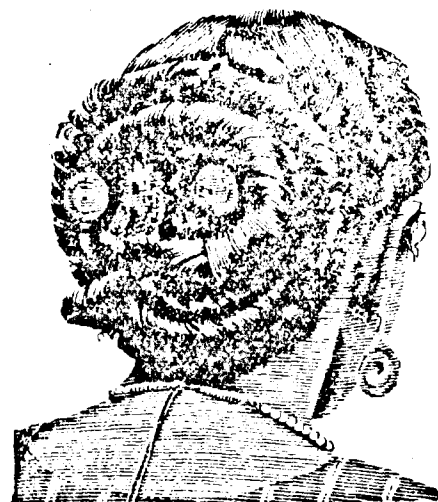
In Libya, an educational and production centre was set up in Tripoli. It has become a well-integrated teachers' college, a women's teachers' group including five units, a men's college with two model primary schools attached, and a centre for the production of educational materials.

Teacher training is also one of the major activities of the educational organization mission sent by Unesco to Costa Rica. This project is a comprehensive one, including rural education, primary education, vocational education, teacher training, and school administration, with special reference to secondary education. After a survey of the general situation, two pilot projects were carried out in the field of rural and fundamental education. Teachers were trained in the techniques of rural education.

Unesco's efforts to help improve the living conditions of mankind in the world's arid and semi-arid zones, inaugurated in 1951 when the Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research was created, were intensified in 1953. Every year the Committee holds two meetings, considers research on one of the major aspects of the arid zones problems; and the following year, an international symposium on this subject is held. The

Wherever they meet...

They discuss about Calchemico's **CASTOROL**, the delicately perfumed Castor Oil.



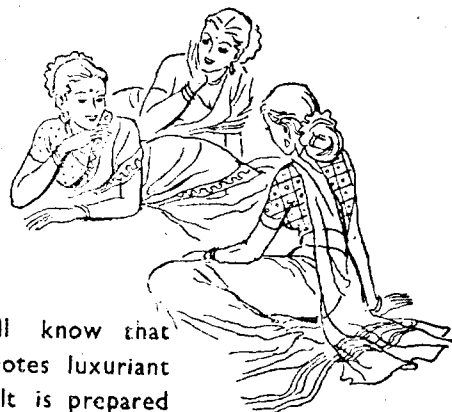
Because, they all know that **CASTOROL** promotes luxuriant tresses of hair. It is prepared from refined castor oil. Its sweet fragrance imparts delightfulness.

In 5 & 10 oz. fancy phials.

Ask for "Kesh Paricharya" leaflet.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LD.

CALCUTTA-29



Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

subjects in 1951 and 1952 were hydrology and plant ecology, while in 1953 it was energy sources. Meetings were held in May 1953 in Paris, and in November at Montpellier, France, in conjunction with an international symposium of plant ecology, organized by Unesco, with the participation of experts from 15 Member States. *Reviews of Research on Arid Zone Hydrology* was published in May, and a directory of institutions engaged in arid zone research was issued in November. The Government of India invited Unesco to organize in India in the autumn of 1954, a symposium on wind and solar energy of the arid zones.

At the suggestion of the United Nations, and more specially, of the Commission on the Status of Women, Unesco carried out this year in a selected number of countries, a study on the political role of women, the way in which women play this role and the factors which promote or hinder their participation in public life. It was decided, in agreement with the National Commissions for Unesco in Norway, France, Yugoslavia and the German Federal Republic to carry out intensive research in these four countries in which women have secured equal political rights at different stages in economic and social development.

The study based upon information gathered from some 15 countries in all, casts light on sociological phenomena which had hardly been studied before, such as the influence of age, social and educational background, rural or urban environment, family ties, professional status, etc. on the political interest and participation of both men and women.

An international seminar on the contribution of the teaching of modern languages toward education for living in a world community was organized by Unesco at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in August 1953, and was attended by delegations from 18 Member States.

Round table discussions were held on such topics as: the cultural aspect of modern language teaching; language teaching as aid to understanding foreign peoples and civilizations; psychological problems of language teaching and language learning; the training of modern language teachers. In addition, there were discussions of the specially urgent language problems confronting certain countries in Asia and certain territories in Africa.

Problems of musical education were reviewed by music teachers from all over the world at meetings in Belgium and Austria. The first studied all aspects of music teaching and called for an international enquiry into musical education. The creation of an International Society for Music Education was also decided. The second meeting considered the exchange of pupils and teachers, the foundation of secondary schools for musicians, and the establishment of an international competition for conservatory graduates. Conservatory directors agreed to form an international association.

A Unesco film, "World Without End," a one-hour study of the creative work undertaken by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the social and economic fields, was directed for Unesco by Basil Wright and Paul Rotha of the United Kingdom. It was shot in Thailand and Mexico, two countries which illustrate effectively the co-operation of national governments and international agencies in social and economic activities. The film was first released at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1953 where it received warm acclaim, and was then televised throughout the United Kingdom. French and Spanish versions are now ready, and arrangements are being made for distribution in all Unesco Member States.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

"HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH MARRIED": 312 pages, Daringly Illustrated, the most talked about practical book in the world. "HEID NOT TO BE OBSCENE" in the Bombay Court. Copies requisitioned for India Office (London) and British Museum Libraries. Available in English, Gujarati and Hindi for married persons only. Price Rs. 15 BEFORE ORDERING SEND FOR FULL PARTICULARS.

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

Of the 73 Technical Assistance projects now being operated in 33 countries, many are concerned with fundamental education, technical education, special educational services, scientific teaching, scientific research, scientific and technical documentation.

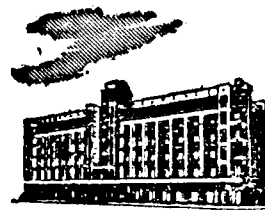
An example of the assistance in the field of science teaching is provided by the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur.

The teaching of theoretical science in India

was on an adequate level but the students who were trained needed guidance in order to apply their knowledge to industrial and other practical problems. Unesco sent experts in mechanical engineering, civil engineering and hydraulics. Equipment came from Unesco, the United Kingdom and Australia, through the Colombo Plan from Point IV Programme, and from the United States Technical Co-operation Administration. Under-graduate and postgraduate instruction in production technology was given during the year. The



Life Insurance is not a fair-weather friend, but a friend in need. It is a protection against the rainy day — a safe and sure coverage for future eventualities. It guarantees security to those who avail themselves of its benefits. And you can as well enjoy these benefits by placing YOUR INSURANCE with the HINDUSTHAN which is your own Company. It has a tradition of 46 years' dependable service to the nation.



THE SEAL OF
SECURITY



**HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.**
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA - 13.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

- | | Rs. aa. |
|--|---------|
| Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (No. 1, to 9 out of Stock) each No. at Rs. 4 82 0 | |
| History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji (Each) 25 0 | |
| Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu 12 0 | |
| Dynasties of Medieval Orissa—Pt. Binayak Misra 5 0 | |
| The Knight Errant (Novel)—Sita Devi 8 8 | |
| The Garden Creeper (Illust. Novel)—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 8 | |
| Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi 8 0 | |
| India And A New Civilization —Dr. R. K. Das 4 0 | |
| Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (Illust.)—P. N. Roy 4 8 | |
| Story of Satara (Illust. History)—Major B. D. Basu 10 0 | |
| My Sojourn in England—Jitto 2 0 | |
| History of the British Occupation in India—[An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.]—N. Kasturi 8 0 | |
| The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee 6 8 | |
| The First Point of Aswin—Jogesh Ch. Roy 1 0 | |
| Protection of Minorities—Radha Kumud Mukherji 0 4 | |

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

Institute achieved such good results that it is to be incorporated in the machinery set up for implementing the Five-Year Development Plan for India.—*Unesco News*.

India's Raw Materials Aid Science and Industry

In its International Section the *American Chemical Society Journal* of June 8, 1953, summarizes India's efforts in the field of scientific and industrial research as follows:

India's latest five-year plan for the development of science and industry will affect every sector of the country's economy—agriculture, forestry, minerals, medicine, and industry. Financial provision has been made for completion of buildings and installation of equipment to enable the existing chain of 10 laboratories to turn out the maximum of work, and three new research institutes will be set up. They are the Radio and Electronic Research Institute, the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, and the Central Salt Research Station.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) which was established in 1942, has been active in the development of processes for producing essential articles from indigenous materials. The function of the national laboratories is to bring the fruits of research within reach of medium and small-scale enterprises and enable them to reduce costs and improve the quality of products. The CSIR contributes to the advancement of fundamental and applied research at a number of institutions and schools and makes surveys of resources, organizes symposia and conferences, and advises industry on specific problems. Among its completed projects are the compilation and publication of *The Wealth of India*, an encyclopedic record of Indian raw materials and industrial products, and the sponsoring of the monthly *Journal of Indian Scientific and Industrial Research*.

The National Physical Laboratory is planning research, in collaboration with the Bureau of Mines, on the properties of Indian mica from different areas. The National Chemical Laboratory is investigating the production of tobacco seed oil, extraction of nicotine from tobacco waste, development of kamla seed oil (as substitute for tung oil) for use in paints and varnishes, improvements in the extraction of oils from oil seeds, processes for utilizing chlorine, manufacture of phosphatic fertilizers, utilization of lime sludge from the Sindri factory, sulfur production by microbiological processes, caustic soda and sulfuric acid from sodium sulfate, sulfur from magnesium sulfate, recovery of gypsum from salt pans, and manufacture of calcium lactate, *p*-aminosalicylic acid, paints, varnishes, and pigments. Fundamental research is being carried out in all branches of chemistry.

The main work of the National Metallurgical Laboratory is on the beneficiation of ores. One of the

proposed projects is the recovery of manganese ore from dumps; an ore dressing section has been organized, and the manufacture of zirconium, titanium, and studies of their alloys are included in the laboratory's magnesium and program.

The Fuel Research Institute is making a physical and chemical survey of Indian coals. Work is also being done on the manufacture of synthetic liquid fuels.

Improvement of the Indian glass and ceramic industries is the goal of the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, which is improving the quality of glass containers and developing containers not locally made at present. A survey of raw materials for the industry is in progress in co-operation with the Geological Survey.

The Central Drug Research Institute has compiled an Indian Pharmaceutical Codex as companion volume to the Indian Pharmaceutical list. It is undertaking a systematic cultivation of such flora.

The Central Food Technological Research Institute assists in the solution of food problems by technological, as distinct from biological and agricultural methods. It is making a series of studies on the nutritive value of local foods and the possibilities of substitution of cereals by processed and fortified tubers. It is also surveying the dietary habits and deficiencies of people inhabiting different regions of the subcontinent. The institute's other lines of work embrace problems of various food processing industries, utilization of food and agricultural wastes, storage of cereals and perishable foods, and preservation of fruits and vegetables.

The Central Leather Research Institute is making a study of indigenous tanning materials and is also investigating materials like wattle bark which are not produced in any significant quantity in India. Improvement of tanning processes, and development of suitable leathers for specialized needs.

The Central Building Research Institute is doing research on building materials and construction techniques so as to bring down costs. Researches on standardization of building components, utilization of raw materials, problems of design and functional needs of buildings, basic studies of structures, nature, and properties of clay minerals and soils are in progress.

The Central Electrochemical Research Institute has as its aim an increase of the productive capacity and efficiency of existing electrochemical enterprises and the fostering of new ones. The country has ample scope for manufacturing calcium carbide, carbon bisulfide, potassium permanganate, potassium chlorate, phosphorus and phosphatic fertilizers, abrasives, and refractories.

Most of the laboratories have pilot plant equipment or financial provision for it. The laboratories and the research institutes are co-operating with the Indian Standards for various raw materials and finished products within their respective spheres. The government is aiding private industry in promoting research by making substantial contributions and offering special facilities.—*India Today*.



At a special meeting held under the auspices of the Sangeet Natak Akadami at the Red Fort, Delhi, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad presents the *Sanad* to Ustad Alauddin Khan



Air-Marshal Subrata Mukherjee and Srimati Mukherjee



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM /

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



THE 'MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1954

VOL. LXXXV, No. 5

Whole No. 569

NOTES

Peace in Our Time O Lord !

Two Conferences are going on now. The first one, at Geneva, has under consideration vital questions that affect the whole world. In the main, the solutions depend on the acceptance of one or the other of the two principal ideologies that tend to obtain complete sway over the world of today. In case there is no unanimity of opinion there shall not be any cessation of warlike activities amongst the opposing camps.

The second Conference, at Colombo, principally concerns five Asiatic nations who are anxious to end the present conflicts and to maintain peace in Asia. Of the five only one, namely, Pakistan, has entered one of the camps of the challengers. It is not yet clear as to how far she is committed to participate, that is to say, how far she would be obliged to proceed, in case of World War III blazing up. The others have not as yet staked their fortunes on either side.

For Pakistan, the main stake is Kashmir. World War, World Peace, all are secondary concerns. She believes that if she can make the proverbially gullible Yankee swallow the bait, she would be able to land Kashmir, by hook or by crook.

Since the forces that are in control of the United States are in a state of unstable equilibrium, Pakistan's hopes have become somewhat brighter. If reason and sanity prevail at Washington, then the prospects would be dimmer. As yet, the spokesmen of the United States, with the exception of some gentlemen whose ignorance about matters Asiatic is about as profound as their faith in the almighty H. bomb, have not completely overstepped the limits of discretion, though sufficient mistakes have been committed to endanger the stocks of goodwill that America had accumulated.

American goodwill is at a discount principally because of the acceptance of the principle that Peace can only be obtained by way of war. This was the

principle on which the text of "Germany and the next war" was drawn up before World War I. And this was the keystone of the House that Hitler built.

"Dream ye of peaceful sway?"

Let them dream who dream may."

It was accepted as an axiomatic truth that the final count is by War and War alone. Peace might follow if the conqueror so pleases!

It may be challenged that nations that have accepted the democratic way of life, as the United States of America undoubtedly has, could never accept such a totalitarian principle. We would then ask as to what has caused such a flood tide of derision and worse, aimed at the devoted head of India, whose endeavours for the cause of peace cannot be challenged excepting by rogues and morons? Highly ornate American gentlemen, whose rank and denomination lend weight to their utterances have made statements, in writing and by word of mouth, regarding India and her statesmen, that even the village idiot in Hickville would be ashamed of, if he could only reason.

The H. bomb seems to have brought some gleams of sanity into the crania of those whose heads have not been hewn out of solid ivory. But they seem to be as yet in a minority, where the West is concerned. And, therefore, the way to World-Peace is being sought by warlike swashbucklers, while the tempo of the armament race keeps mounting!

It is argued—and, we admit, quite correctly—that in a world full of international suspicion and jealousy, the only safeguard against armed aggression is the assemblage of arms and men, equal or superior as a fighting force to the disturber of peace. But does it follow, as a logical corollary, that men of peace, who believe in peace and goodwill being potent weapons, must be forced to become camp-followers of the men-of-war under threat of dire consequences? If the democracies persist in this state of mentality, nothing



HUNTING
By Nilamajou Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

will come out of Geneva. M. Vyshinsky put the matter in a nutshell during the U. N. Disarmament Commission debate on April 19:

"How can you expect any successful work if we cannot reach an understanding on such a simple, elementary question as the membership of the sub-committee?" he asked.

Attempts to brush aside India and Czechoslovakia because they were not members of the Disarmament Commission were doomed to failure, he said.

The world knew of the efforts of the Indian Government for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Attempts to keep India out of the sub-committee were more odd today since Mr. Nehru had made his statement this month concerning the hydrogen bomb.

"In that statement Mr. Nehru stressed that the whole world was profoundly concerned about the consequences of the use of such weapons, but said that mere concern was insufficient and mankind must awaken to reality. On that basis Mr. Nehru said he felt it essential to prohibit atomic weapons."

Mr. Nehru had taken the initiative publicly before the whole world to give voice to the concern felt by the Indian and other peoples. The reply to him was: "We will take it up but without your participation. If you participate, it will be from the back benches and not as a member of the sub-committee with equal rights."

M. Vyshinsky asked whether it was suggested that the Indian Government had nothing of value to offer to the sub-committee.

In his statement Mr. Nehru had made a number of concrete proposals which one had the right to reject.

"After all, India is a member of the Commonwealth, I may recall," M. Vyshinsky said. "It is not our satellite if it is anybody's satellite. It is a great country. But, if it is linked to anybody at all, it is linked to the British Commonwealth."

Turning to Sir Pierson Dixon he asked, "Why do you object to one of your own family? Because I suppose these Indian proposals have left a taste in your mouth. In the circumstances, this refusal to include India in the sub-committee is odd and paradoxical indeed."

Inclusion of People's China, India and Czechoslovakia would "yield positive results," M. Vyshinsky said.

If the sub-committee discussions were confined to the narrow framework of the British proposal, disarmament discussions would be "foredoomed to last year's sterility," he added.

It is useless, at this stage, to analyse the factors and the consequences of this megalomania. What we had better consider is what path we should follow. Colombo will not produce much in the way of a

guarantee of peace. And, further, we have to consider the moves of Pakistan.

Pakistan is not yet a mature and stable State, as the colossal defeat of the Muslim League in East Pakistan has proved. We have met Americans and Britons, who are supposed to be trained observers, who were unable even to pronounce judgement on the results. Even the lady who writes in the *Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian* on matters relating to Pakistan, who is regarded as being singularly well-informed and astute, has had to base her summing up of the results on wrong assumptions relating to the past, and have recourse to sheer frothy vagueness where the future is concerned. The fact is that they took Karachi's word for granted regarding East Pakistan, and now they find that Karachi was as ignorant as they, about what was brewing in East Pakistan.

The Moslem League is in power at Karachi, and the Moslem League has seen the writing on the wall. The King of Saudi Arabia did not send his private royal plane for Maulvi Fazlul Huq to exchange greetings only. He must have sensed the anxiety and strain, in the ranks of the Moslem League Government, as a consequence of the catastrophe in East Pakistan.

Be that whatever it may be, the Moslem League cannot ignore the portents. Being of the same opinion as Omar Khayyam, regarding the futility of piety and wit against the finger that writes on the wall, it has to have recourse to other and more strong measures. And what better than the shouting of *jehad* against peace-loving "Bharat"? We must remember that the Moslem League is against the wall, and we must remember the interpretation to the U. S. Pact given by Mr. Mohamed Ali at the outset. We must be prepared for sinister consequences, and look to our defences.

Visva-Bharati at Cross-roads

The *Vigil* for April 17 contained an editorial under the above caption. We reproduce it *in extenso* because the writer is an old alumnus who, although not directly connected with the Visva-Bharati, keeps a close and keen contact with the affairs of his Alma Mater.

Since that editorial was written lots of intrigue and string-pulling—which in New Delhi means rank flattery—has been done, and at the time of our going to press, it has been announced that the intriguers have won the day in the matter of the appointment of the Upacharya.

Pandit Nehru has plenty of worries and distractions for sure, and we would not in the least minimize them. But that does not alter the fact that the Visva-Bharati has been let-down by him, by allowing it to meander into the foul mire resulting out of the myriad sins of omission and commission of the unworthy successors of Rabindranath.

If Rabindranath's Visva-Bharati is to be saved from utter ruin, there must be a full-scale enquiry.

There can be no question about that. The only alternative is to close this farce of a "Central University" and to hand over the relics to the Archaeological Survey. There is no other way for Pandit Nehru if he wants to keep his conscience clear. The *Vigil* said:

"It is nearly three years since the Act to declare Visva-Bharati 'to be an institution of national importance and to provide for its functioning as a unitary, teaching and residential university' was passed by Parliament. The Act came into force almost immediately—to be exact, on May 14th, 1951. The conferment on Tagore's institution at Santiniketan of the somewhat mixed blessing of the status of a 'Central university' was welcomed specially because it implied the State's acceptance of an obvious responsibility. We refer to the fact that Visva-Bharati had been in sore need of financial support. Not that this was its only need. Since Gurudev's death the institution has shown signs of strain—part of it inevitable—in the sphere of the spirit also. However, it was considered that the most urgent problem was to keep body and soul together and even those who did not quite like the institution's change of status hoped that with the help now assured of grants from the Centre and under the guidance of the Education Ministry its affairs would soon be stabilised though, maybe, at a lower level from the standpoint of inspiration.

"That hope seems not to have been realized yet. On the other hand, the reports current about the state of affairs inside Visva-Bharati are far from reassuring. The existence of internal trouble was reflected in the recent Press reports about the dispute over the holding of the University's first annual Court meeting. Conflict at present appears to centre principally round the question of the appointment of a new Upacharya (Vice-Chancellor) but of course, that serves only as a focal point for the manifestation of the malady which must have a deeper and wider basis.

"The panel of names which was adopted by the Karma-Samiti (Executive Council) for the purpose of the appointment of a new Vice-Chancellor after the resignation of Sri Rathindranath Tagore was rooted in a controversy which has dragged on ever since.

"The nation has a great spiritual stake in Visva-Bharati and in how its cultural and educational ideas are being served. Having turned Visva-Bharati into a 'Central university' and having thereby assumed a certain amount of control over its affairs, the Government has in a special way made itself accountable to the country for the institution's welfare. So far as it lies in its power the Government should see to it that the University does not lose itself in a morass of moral apathy and academic inertia engendered by partisan wrangling. Visva-Bharati can be said to be at cross-roads now. Undoubtedly a great deal depends on who takes charge of it as Vice-Chancellor for the next six years.

"But before a new Vice-Chancellor is appointed it will

be better if an unprejudiced authoritative assessment of the University's internal state of affairs is made. There may be a number of points of dispute awaiting decision by the higher authorities but the questions not of deciding about the validity of this or that particular proceeding. What is needed is a more comprehensive inquiry, covering, if possible, the whole period since the Visva-Bharati Act came into operation. It need not, however, be a prolonged affair. Rather it should be completed quickly, taking into cognizance only vitally important matters of which there must be quite a few calling for a probe. Under Sec. 10(2) of the Act, the Paridarsaka (Visitor), which position is held, ex-officio by the President of India, can cause such an inquiry to be made.

"At this stage some reference has to be made to the position of the Acharya (Chancellor) of Visva-Bharati. This position is now held by Sri Nehru, not in any ex-officio capacity but in his personal capacity and by choice, his as well as others. Sri Nehru as Chancellor is the 'Head of the University.' We can hardly imagine that he likes the way in which the affairs of Visva-Bharati have been handled, at least in some matters. But it becomes a very serious thing if he disapproves but, remaining Chancellor, does not act.

"In the present case, for example, would it not be somewhat awkward for the Education Ministry to advise the President in favour of ordering an inquiry into the affairs of an institution of which the Prime Minister was the 'Head'? Because superficially, this might be construed by some as a slur on his Chancellorship? But let no one think for a moment that we are suggesting that the Prime Minister should resign from the office of the Acharya of Visva-Bharati in order to enable the Education Ministry to deal with that institution correctly. No such resignation is necessary. On the other hand, an inquiry with the concurrence of the Chancellor will be quite right in the present circumstances. We have brought in this point only to draw attention to certain risks which a busy man in Sri Nehru's position may not always be conscious of or have time to ponder over."

Decontrol of Food-grains

One of the greatest of all evils brought in by the last World War would have a period put to it, if the hopes expressed in the following news-item come true at last:

"Bombay, April 13: Mr. Kidwai, Union Minister for Food, said here today that he hoped to lift the remaining controls on food-grains if the food position continued to be satisfactory, as at present.

"Speaking at a reception in his honour by various trade associations in the city at which Mr. Purushottamas Thakurdas, the leading industrialist, presided, Mr. Kidwai said that the main problem was the question of movement of food-grains from place to place.

He hoped that the transport problem would be solved soon, facilitating the easier movement of food-grains to various parts of the country. The decontrol policy was in line with popular demand and its success depended on public co-operation.

"At the time he took office, statistics showed that rice was in short supply. 'But now,' Mr. Kidwai said, 'rice is plentifully available. India has produced enough for all. In Assam, there is a substantial quantity of rice but the State Government told me that it could not be disposed of in view of lower prices in the market.'

"The Minister, who has been advising people to eat as much rice as possible, said that the success of the Government's food policy was due mainly to popular support."

National Plan Loan

This new loan is not only a test of our financial strength, but is also a test as to whether we deserve the fruits of freedom. Those of us who expect the Government to bring in the millennium free of charge, will no doubt scoff at the idea in their petty and inhibited way, but to all others it should mean a chance for the proving of their spirit of freedom and self-reliance.

The Press announcement was as follows:

"New Delhi, April 12: The Government of India have announced the issue of a new loan which will remain open for subscription until further notice.

"The loan will bear interest at 3½% per annum and will be repaid on April 19, 1964. The loan will be issued at Rs. 98-8 per Rs. 100 nominal from April 19 to April 24, and thereafter at prices increasing by nine paise per cent per week, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Finance.

"Mr. Nehru in an appeal to the nation says: 'Both the Central and State Governments issue loans from time to time. The present issue of the National Plan Loan, however, is something different and very special. It is a national loan and it covers both the Central Government and the States. It is a loan especially meant for development purposes and for the fulfilment of the National Plan.

"This loan is addressed to everyone in India. It is an invitation to all of us to join in this mighty adventure of building up new India. It is a way of showing that we shall stand on our own feet and not allow ourselves to be uprooted by the strong winds that might blow in upon us from any quarter. The strength of a nation ultimately depends on its economic and industrial development bringing not only greater production but greater employment. All else flow from this. We are firmly resolved to build up our nation and make India united, strong and prosperous, with friendship to all and malice to none.

"The institutional investors, like banks and insu-

rance companies and others, must, of course, give their massive support to this loan. But this is essentially a popular loan going down to the humblest amongst us, who should bear as much a share in this great adventure as anyone else.

"The world is full of talk and preparation for war, and the latest symbol of this world of ours has become the hydrogen bomb. Do we succumb to this tremendously powerful symbol of evil and destruction? Or do we decide to stand on our own feet and be true to our own principles and cultural inheritance? That is the question which each one of us has to put to himself and find an answer.

"The answer is clear, but that answer has no meaning unless it is translated into terms of action, of building up India with all the resources that we possess, of money, of human intelligence and labour, and of the will for a great, united and co-operative effort.

"We have much to do. But here, in this National Plan Loan, there is an opportunity for all of us to do something. I trust, therefore, that our people, whoever and wherever they might be, in State or district or teshil or village, official or non-official, and to whatever group or creed or party they might belong, will associate themselves in this loan and thus give their answer to the challenge of the time."

The New Companies Bill

The House of People has not finished the discussions on this bill at the time of going to press. We can only give the significant points in Sri Deshmukh's speech in this note.

Dealing with the main provisions of the Bill, the Finance Minister said they related to six main aspects: (i) company promotion and formation of capital structure of a company; (ii) company meetings and procedure; (iii) presentation of company accounts and their auditing and powers and duties of auditors; (iv) inspection and investigation of the affairs of a company; (v) formation of board of directors, their powers and duties; and (vi) terms and conditions of appointment of managing agents, their powers and duties.

In regard to company promotion and formation of capital structure, the provisions of the Bill, he said, made considerable changes in the matter of prospectus, allotment of shares, terms and conditions of floating a company and the share structure of a company. The main changes concerning prospectus were contained in clauses 50 to 59 and the second schedule of the Bill, he said.

This schedule replaces the present Sec 93 of the Companies Act and clearly enlarges the particulars that would have to be disclosed in future by a company's prospectus. For example, the Bill requires that the previous consent of experts should be obtained before their views can be reproduced in a prospectus issued to the public.

In the case of a company managed by managing agents, the subscribed capital of the managing agents should be disclosed. Disclosure was also required of material contracts a company promoter might have entered or proposed to enter into on behalf of the company.

As regards the allotment of shares, the Minister said, a number of provisions had been made which have been designed to improve the machinery of a new issue market. They include the form and manner in which applications for shares should be made and also contain regulations of conditions concerning promoters and underwriters. This was meant to emphasize on the directors others concerned with the promotion of a company a much higher degree of vigilance, and to place the investors in a much better position to assess the intrinsic worth of the issue.

The most important changes relating to capital structure were contained, he said, in Clauses 79 to 82. They provided that in future, share or capital could be only of two kinds—equity and preference. Voting rights should ordinarily be confined only to holders of the former type. These proportionate voting rights were sought to be eliminated excepting in cases where they were considered necessary in public interest by the Central Government, he added.

Provisions regarding company meetings and procedure were contained in clauses 158 to 189. According to them the time, date and manner in which general meetings should be called and conducted in future were set out more precisely. The Bill he said, attempted to remove extraneous obstructions and tried to "hold the balance even between company promoters and shareholders."

Dealing with the question of company accounts and audits, he said that here again the principle of disclosure was applied in the presentation of balance sheets and profit and loss accounts, so that all additional items which were essential for shareholders in judging the true financial position of the company were disclosed. Unlike the U.K. Act, he said, the Indian Acts had always prescribed standard forms of balance sheets. A revised form of balance sheets was set out in Schedule 6 and the new requirements in the profit and loss accounts were enumerated at length in the second part of the Schedule.

The Company Law Committee's recommendations on the subject were based largely on the advice of the accountancy profession, Mr. Deshmukh said. He expressed his appreciation of the help received not only from the committee, but also from the officers of the Government and the accountancy profession. These provisions were calculated to promote sound financial practice by joint stock companies and also to ensure a higher standard of auditing and accountancy.

Referring to the provisions concerning appointment,

qualifications, duties and powers of auditors, the Finance Minister said these were designed to ensure the independence and integrity of auditors and to create conditions under which auditors would be able to discharge their statutory functions without fear or favour.

The Finance Minister said that another controversial matter related to provisions on managing agency. These provisions were designed to ensure (i) constitution of independent boards of directors consisting of representatives of management and shareholders without domination of the former over the latter, (ii) selection of directors who could devote sufficient time and thought to the affairs of the company, (iii) adequate control of directors over the managing agents where day to day management of the company was in the hands of the latter, and (iv) prevention of the misuse by directors of powers which they were entitled to exercise on behalf of the company.

Past experience had shown, he said, that some control was needed over the exercise of power by the directors including powers to make loans, enter into contracts, sell or lease company properties, remit or extend the date of repayment of debts and borrow on behalf of the company.

The House was not unaware, Mr. Deshmukh remarked, that some of these provisions had already given rise to acute controversy. It had been argued on behalf of managements that the provisions unduly restricted their initiative and enterprise and would in the long run prove detrimental to the companies themselves.

"I shall have the support of the House in saying that nothing is further from the thought of anyone here than to impose unnecessary restrictions on bonafide business," he said. "Our proposals in this subject are not to hinder sound and honest managing agents of a company."

Mr. Deshmukh then referred to the provisions relating to the terms and conditions of appointment of managing agents, their remuneration, powers of managing agents vis-a-vis directors and powers and duties of managing agents in regard to borrowings, loans, contracts, sales and purchase. The object of the proposed regulations, he said, was "to prevent the widespread abuse of the powers conferred on managing agents on these subjects which took place all over the country, more particularly since the commencement of the war."

"The Government is in agreement with the unanimous view of the Company Law Committee that, under the present economic structure of the country, the managing agency system will continue to have its use for some time to come, and that, cleansed of the abuses and malpractices which have disfigured its working in the recent past, the system may yet prove to be a potent instrument for tapping the springs of private enterprise. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the system should be purged of the evils which have crept into it as early as possible."

India's Adverse Trade Balance

Since the end of the Second World War, particularly after the partition, chronic deficits have become a normal feature in India's foreign trade (excepting the year 1950). Although the trend of India's foreign trade in 1953 reflects a definitely improved position in certain respects as compared with the trends in 1951 and 1952, the year ended with an adverse trade balance. Due to the Korean war boom in 1951 and 1952, the pattern of our foreign trade had to pass through some abnormal features resulting in the sharp rise in the prices of imported articles like raw cotton, raw jute, food-grains, etc. During the last year a certain degree of stability set in the structure of our foreign trade and as a result there was a sizeable decline in India's adverse trade balance. The year 1953 witnessed the impressive rise in the exports of tea and also higher foreign demand for our jute manufactures and textiles. Imports declined considerably on account of higher production of food-grains, raw cotton, etc.

In 1963, India's total imports by sea, land and air amounted to Rs. 566 crores, as compared with Rs. 801.24 crores in 1952, the decline being 30 per cent. The total value of exports was Rs. 528.63 crores, as against Rs. 619.05 crores in 1952, the fall being 14.5 per cent. The adverse trade balance amounted to Rs. 37.39 crores in 1953, as compared with Rs. 182.19 crores in the preceding year. Taking into account the increased compensatory official financing by way of the US economic aid, loans from the World Bank, the Colombo Plan, etc., the overall balance of payments position was in favour of India in 1953.

Imports: There was a substantial decline in the import of food-grains from Rs. 202.68 crores in 1952 to Rs. 72.27 crores in 1953. Of this amount, imports of wheat and rice accounted for Rs. 52.82 crores and Rs. 14.74 crores respectively. Imports of jowar and bajra also declined appreciably from Rs. 27.56 crores in 1952 to Rs. 4.71 crores in 1953. In regard to spices, while the quantum declined markedly from 9.06 lakh cwts. to 7.69 lakh cwts., the value recorded a small rise from Rs. 5.08 crores to Rs. 5.37 crores.

In the raw material group, imports of raw cotton in 1953 showed a marked fall at Rs. 49.86 crores, as compared with Rs. 115.44 crores in 1952. The actual quantum of imports stood at 1.08 lakh tons, as compared with 2.05 lakh tons in the preceding year. There was a steady rise in the import of mineral oils, the figure for 1953 being Rs. 86 crores, as compared with Rs. 84.35 crores in 1952 and Rs. 71.53 crores in 1951. A substantial portion of these oils consisted of petroleum and lubricating oils for industrial purposes. Raw jute imports declined from Rs. 23.50 crores in 1952 to Rs. 14.40 crores in 1953, the respective volume being 2.64 lakh tons and 2.34 lakh tons.

In the manufactures group, imports of machinery

and millwork, including belting, came down to Rs. 87.04 crores, as against Rs. 94.60 crores in the preceding year, and Rs. 109.86 crores in 1951. The 1951 figure is the highest in the history of India's machinery imports. An important factor for the decline in imports is the steady expansion of domestic engineering industries, some of which have started manufacturing a number of capital goods. But the decline is mainly attributable to a slowed down pace of private investment and the lack of free flow of risk capital to industries. Imports of instruments and appliances moved up from Rs. 21.75 crores in 1952 to Rs. 22.87 crores in 1953. Metal imports stood at Rs. 38.82 crores, as compared with Rs. 44.96 crores in 1952. In this section, the import of iron and steel accounted for Rs. 23 crores and the non-ferrous metals for Rs. 12.63 crores in 1953. The total volume of metal imports in 1953 amounted to 2.79 lakh tons as against 2.67 lakh tons in the previous year. The import of chemicals and drugs declined from Rs. 30.52 crores in 1952 to Rs. 24.38 crores in 1953. Imports of dyes and colours rose from Rs. 12.48 crores in 1952 to Rs. 15.83 crores. The import of electrical goods was somewhat higher at Rs. 14.96 crores in 1953, as compared with Rs. 12.92 crores in the preceding year.

The import of artificial yarn sharply rose from Rs. 7.07 crores in 1952 to Rs. 11.39 crores in 1953. Raw wool and tops moved up from Rs. 4.86 crores to Rs. 7.92 crores, the volume of imports in 1953 being 14.6 million lbs. as compared with 10.1 million lbs. in 1952. Imports of motor cars and motor omnibuses recorded a slight decline from Rs. 6.91 crores to Rs. 5.59 crores, the respective numbers being 10,645 and 9,445. Newsprint imports showed an increase from Rs. 4.65 crores to Rs. 5.09 crores, the respective volume of imports being 9.16 lakh cwts. and 13.65 lakh cwts. The value of paper imports, excluding newsprint, slightly declined from Rs. 6.19 crores in 1952 to Rs. 6.06 crores in 1953, but the volume of imports rose from 8.20 lakh cwts. to 12.19 lakh cwts. The reason being that the price of imported paper recorded a decline in 1953. The import of cycle and cycle parts stood at Rs. 1.90 crores, as against Rs. 3.87 crores in 1952. Imports of cotton manufactures decreased from Rs. 5.38 crores to Rs. 3.32 crores, and the import of manures increased from Rs. 2.88 crores to Rs. 3.71 crores.

Exports: Tea exports in 1953 set up a new record in value and volume, the respective figures being Rs. 103.12 crores and 502 million lbs., as compared with the 1952 figures of Rs. 80.80 crores and 413 million lbs. Although the value of cotton exports declined from Rs. 64.31 crores in 1952 to Rs. 56.39 crores in 1953, the volume rose from 598 million yards to 658 million yards. The exports of jute manufactures declined in value from Rs. 162.85 crores in 1952 to Rs. 110.63 crores in 1953, mainly on account of fall in

prices and the reduction in export duty. But the volume of jute goods exports rose slightly from 7.37 lakh tons to 7.48 lakh tons. Exports of coir yarn and manufactures were higher at Rs. 7.89 crores, as compared with Rs. 7.36 crores in 1952.

In the food and drink group, exports of cashew kernels in 1953 improved from 26,000 tons in 1952 to 28,000 tons. The value of the exports, however, declined from Rs. 12.12 crores to Rs. 11.88 crores. In recent years black pepper has become an important dollar earner for India. But on account of a decline in prices, the value of pepper exports in 1953 was lower at 13.18 crores as against 18 crores in 1952. The volumes of exports also declined from 2.64 lakh cwts. to 2.29 lakh cwts. There was a sharp decline in the export of tobacco from Rs. 18.31 crores to Rs. 12.30 crores in 1953, and the volume of exports also came down from 96 million lbs. to 73 million lbs. Exports of raw cotton came down from Rs. 15.12 crores in 1952 to Rs. 11.00 crores in 1953. Lac and mica exports in 1953 stood at Rs. 6.82 crores and Rs. 8.48 crores, as against Rs. 8.39 crores and Rs. 9.59 crores, respectively, in 1952. There was a sharp fall in coal exports from Rs. 10.92 crores in 1952 to Rs. 7.64 crores in 1953—the respective quantum being 30.63 lakh tons and 20.98 lakh tons. Manganese exports moved up from Rs. 21.63 crores to Rs. 25.70 crores.

Oilseeds, which occupy an important place in the export trade of India, have been steadily losing the export markets. There was practically no export of linseed and castorseed in 1953, and the export of groundnut kernels came down from about 10 lakh tons in the pre-war period to just 10,000 tons in 1953. In 1953, exports of groundnut oil declined from Rs. 9.75 crores to Rs. 2.47 crores, linseed oil from Rs. 6.15 crores to Rs. 1.09 crores and castor oil from Rs. 7.09 crores to Rs. 4.93 crores. Exports of raw hides and skins stood at Rs. 5.88 crores in 1953, as against Rs. 5.85 crores in the preceding year. Exports of tanned hides and skins showed a great improvement from Rs. 19.41 crores to Rs. 12.46 crores.

Regional Distribution of Trade: Indian imports from the UK in 1953 amounted to Rs. 140.43 crores, as against Rs. 148.97 crores in the previous year. Imports from the USA sharply declined from Rs. 272.66 crores in 1952 to Rs. 89.52 crores in 1953. The sharp recession in the value of food-grains and raw cotton mainly account for this decline in the value of imports from the USA. Imports from Pakistan came down from Rs. 29.14 crores in 1952 to Rs. 19.43 crores during the year under review. Imports from Australia rose up from Rs. 15.10 crores to Rs. 26.56 crores. During the year 1953, Italy expanded her exports to India from Rs. 11.46 crores to Rs. 20.90 crores. Imports from West Germany moved up from Rs. 24.19 crores to Rs. 28.79 crores. Imports from Japan declined sharply from Rs. 19.51 crores to Rs. 12.46 crores.

In the export trade of India, the UK and the USA continue to be the main customers. Indian exports to the UK and the USA in 1953 stood at Rs. 148.14 crores and Rs. 95.03 crores, as against Rs. 125.76 crores and Rs. 116.49 crores, respectively, in the previous year. Exports to Pakistan sharply came down from Rs. 47.35 crores to Rs. 7.86 crores and those to Australia from Rs. 23.45 crores to Rs. 15.97 crores. Exports to West Germany, Italy and France were valued at Rs. 10.37 crores, Rs. 5.37 crores and Rs. 5.34 crores, respectively. Exports to Burma were lower at Rs. 20.45 crores, as against Rs. 23.49 crores in 1952.

Finances of the Railways

The 1949 Railway Convention is going to be reviewed by a committee of the two Houses of Parliament, with particular reference to the contribution of the railways to general revenues. The committee will shortly be appointed by the Government of India, with the Railway Minister as the Chairman. The Railway Convention Committee of 1949 made the recommendation that the Convention should be reviewed after a period of five years. The main features of the 1949 Convention were as follows:

(1) The separation of the railway finance from general finance should continue, but the general taxpayer should have the status of a sole shareholder of the railway undertaking, entitled to a guaranteed dividend of 4 per cent on the loan capital invested in the undertaking.

(2) A Railway Development Fund should be constituted for the purpose of financing expenditure on passenger amenities, labour welfare and projects which are necessary but unremunerative at the time of construction.

Since the 1924 Railway Convention, the trend has been towards the separation of the railway finance from the general finance. Under this Convention, however, the day-to-day financial transactions of the railways, such as the framing of the rules of allocation of expenditure, etc., were controlled by the general finance. The 1949 Convention conferred a larger degree of freedom on the railway finance by empowering it to regulate its day-to-day financial transactions. But it did not bring about a real separation of the railway finance from the general finance. Although two distinct accounts are maintained, there is no separation of the ways and means parts of these two finances of the Government. The reserve fund of the railways are deposited with the general finance which acts as the banker to the railways. The general finance is thus free to use the reserves of the railways for its ways and means financing and as a result the railways are handicapped in using their balances to meet their own requirements.

Another important development in this connection is that there has been a steady decline in the railway surplus. During 1952 and 1953, the railway surplus pluses, while the contributions to general finances have

came down from Rs. 28.34 crores to Rs. 13.19 crores, and the surplus is estimated at Rs. 5.14 crores for the budget year 1953-54. But the dividend payable to the general finance has been steadily rising. In 1951-52, the dividend paid by the railways to the general finance stood at Rs. 33.41 crores, in 1952-53, it was Rs. 33.99 crores, in 1953-54, it rose up to Rs. 34.46 crores and for the financial year 1954-55 it is estimated at Rs. 35.50 crores. The increase in capital-at-charge of the railways is responsible for this upward trend in the railways' contribution to the general finance. In 1951-52, the capital-at-charge stood at Rs. 850.11 crores, it moved up to Rs. 857.38 crores in 1952-53 and to Rs. 875.16 crores in 1953-54. It is estimated to stand at Rs. 909.99 crores by the end of the current financial year.

With the falling surpluses, the railways now find it difficult even to make steady contributions to the Railway Development Fund. By the beginning of 1951-52, the balance of the Fund stood at Rs. 19.44 crores. During the first two years of the Plan, the net additions to the Fund amounted to Rs. 7.61 crores, while the net withdrawal from it in 1953-54 was Rs. 8.52 crores. During the current year the net withdrawal is estimated to be Rs. 4.95 crores. The railways are thus in difficulty in following up the programme of new projects. It may be noted here that the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee (1947) adversely criticised the over-capitalisation of the Indian railways. The over-capitalisation arises mainly out of the history of ownership of the railways. The Committee estimated that out of the capital-at-charge of the railways, nearly Rs. 68 crores represented intangible assets, which should be gradually written off through a Debt Redemption Fund. The Fund is to be set up out of contributions from revenue at a rate of 1 per cent of gross receipts.

While the average rate of long-term interest structure rules around the 3 per cent, it is proper that the railways' contributions to the general revenues should be lowered to at least 3 per cent of the capital-at-charge.

Reserves of Iron Ore in India

According to a latest estimate made by the Geological Survey of India, reserves of high grade iron-ore containing 60 per cent and over of metallic iron in India, are as follows:

<i>Hematite Ores—</i>		
Bihar and Orissa	8,000	million tons
Madhya Pradesh	3,000	" "
Mysore	1,000	" "
Sandur	250	" "
<i>Magnetite Ores—</i>		
Madras	1,000	" "
Mysore	200	" "
<i>Limonic and Spethic Ores—</i>		
West Bengal	500	" "

A bulletin entitled *The Iron Ore Deposits of*

Parts of Salem and Trichinopoly Districts, published by the Geological Survey of India, gives detailed description of the different groups of iron-ore deposits in these districts. A number of important bands of iron ore composed of a mixture of magnetite and quartz traverse the eastern part of the Salem district and the north-western districts. Some of the individual bands can be found over a length of more than 20 miles. The best known deposits are in Kanjamalai about 5 miles west-south-west of Salem town. The others occur in the Godumalai, Perumalai, Chitteri Hills, Tirthamalai, Attur Valley near Namakkal, etc. The total reserves of all the ores, which contain a minimum of 25 per cent of magnetite, and within a depth of 100 feet from the surface of the outcrops, has been estimated at 305 million tons. The average ore contains 35 to 40 per cent iron, about 50 per cent silica, up to 0.19 per cent phosphorus, 1.5 to 2.5 per cent alumina, very low sulphur and low titania. The ore being magnetic, it is amenable to crushing and electro-magnetic separation. Laboratory experiments have indicated that it is possible to obtain concentrates containing 55 to 65 per cent iron. The main obstacle to the smelting of these ores is the lack of coal and cheap power in the Madras State. Iron and steel were manufactured on a small scale in numerous tiny indigenous furnaces in the Salem, Trichinopoly and other districts till the beginning of the present century. India's large reserves of high grade iron-ore would enable her to attain a pre-eminent position as a steel producer in the world, particularly as she also possesses very good reserves of other important alloying metals such as manganese, titanium, vanadium and chromium. Chromium is a strategic mineral and India has rich reserves of it.

Sterling Becoming Indivisible?

Before the Second World War, sterling was free and indivisible, that is, it was convertible into any currency and was available for any purpose. At that time Englishmen glowed with righteous indignation at the thought of Dr. Schacht's varied schedule of travel marks, aski marks and the like. With the outbreak of the war, sterling became divisible, that is, convertibility was restricted and Dr. Schacht's pattern of exchange control was more or less adopted by the Bank of England. After the war, the Bank of England divided the countries of the world into five groups for the purpose of making international payments in terms of sterling and these groups were: the American Account Countries, Transferable Account Countries, Scheduled Territories (Sterling Area), Bilateral Account Countries and Residual Account Countries. India also follows this payment pattern.

Two important developments have taken place recently regarding the gold and sterling. These two events are the reopening of the London gold market from 22nd March after a period of 15 years and a large

extension of the sterling transferable area. These two measures are designed to help sterling area exports, encourage the use of sterling in international trade and assist the re-establishment of London as a leading financial centre of the world. The free gold market henceforth will replace the official Bank of England price. Six London bullion dealers will determine daily, in the light of offers and demand, what the price of gold shall be. But though the London gold market can buy gold from all comers, it will only sell its gold freely against dollars including sterling held in dollar accounts and "registered sterling." Registered sterling is sterling which must be acquired against dollars or (outside the sterling and dollar areas) gold. Within the sterling area, however, a licence from the Bank of England will be necessary to buy gold for trade and manufacturing purposes. Otherwise, sterling would have been freely and fully convertible. The price of gold in London will now be determined by supply and demand and the market will operate under the general supervision of the Bank of England. Gold can be sold by anyone to the London market. But purchases are restricted to: (1) those with sterling or dollar accounts, (2) residents of the sterling area with special licence from the Bank of England to purchase the same limited extent as they had bought hitherto for trade and manufacturing requirements, and (3) those who have registered sterling. Registered sterling is a new kind of sterling account which can only be acquired against US or Canadian dollars or against gold by some one who is not a resident of the sterling and dollar areas, for example, a Japanese. The sale of gold in the London market is unrestricted. But the purchase is restricted as the sterling is not yet made fully convertible. The extension of the transferable sterling area (hitherto limited to 18 countries) to all countries outside the dollar and sterling areas has removed the restrictions on the use of transferable account sterling for capital transactions. All countries now in the transferable account group can now use sterling in financing trade and other transactions with any other member of the group. It has also greatly simplified exchange formalities for sterling area traders.

The transferable accounts countries comprise the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Chile, the Dutch Monetary Area, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Iran, Italy (not including the Vatican City), Norway, Western Zones of Germany, Poland, Siam, the Spanish Monetary Area, Sweden and USSR. Payments between various countries within this area are permitted provided payment is made from an account designated as a "Transferable Account." The transferable account system permits sterling accruing to non-residents in respect of current transactions to be utilised for payment over as wide a field as possible. Certain accounts of each of the countries belonging to this group are

designated as "Transferable Account" and sterling held in the transferable account of one country may be freely transferred to a transferable account of any other country in the group.

Under the new arrangement, all transferable sterling is now freely exchangeable between holders of such sterling and with sterling in the sterling area. Transferable sterling is not, however, exchangeable with dollar area sterling, because to do this would be to make sterling convertible. The extension of the transferable sterling area has made all transferable sterling one and the same thing and no longer distinguished by the country in which it is held. The countries of the world, in relation to sterling transactions, are now divided into three groups: the sterling area; the dollar area in which sterling may be held on dollar accounts or as registered sterling; and the non-dollar non-sterling area or the transferable sterling area.

The removal of controls on transferable account sterling will have two important results—first, that the rate of exchange of such sterling becomes free, and secondly, there is no longer any obligation on the countries concerned to accept transferable account sterling from other countries. This step has brought about a limited convertibility of sterling.

Among the six dealers of bullion on the London gold market, Rothschilds are the major sellers. The newly mined South African gold will mainly be sold in London, through the Bank of England. Rothschild will act for the Bank of England and the Bank of England will act for the South African Reserve Bank. South Africa has undertaken to sell a minimum of four million ounces a year (nearly £1 million worth a week) of her current output to London and this gold is now being sold in the open market and forms the great bulk of the metal handled there.

The Middle East and the Far East are the main buyers on the London market. There are still unsatisfied hoarders in these countries willing and able to pay dollars for gold. Gold can only be bought on the London market with dollars or with American or Canadian account of sterling, or with the new registered sterling which can only arise from previous gold or dollar sales and has not yet come into existence. The price of gold fixed by the six London firms was 248s. 6d. per fine ounce of gold. But actual transactions are being held at 248s. 4d. per ounce. The turnover has been small after the initial burst of enthusiasm. Now that the premium market in gold is definitely gone, the free market price of gold will move around the official parity, that is, at \$35 an ounce.

The reopening of the London gold market will not affect India, as gold import is totally prohibited in this country, and as a result, gold prices are maintained artificially at a much higher level.

The Anti-Ahmediya Riots

We append below, without comments, extracts from the Judicial Report on the anti-Ahmediya riots in Punjab (P):

Lahore, April 21.—The Court of Inquiry which investigated the anti-Ahmediya agitation in Punjab (P) early last year, has attributed the spread and intensity of the disturbances to "ideological confusion" regarding what constituted an Islamic state of Pakistan.

In their 387-page report released to the Press today, the Chief Justice, Mr. Mohammed Munir, and Mr. Justice Mir Kayani, President and member of the court, said: "That such confusion did exist is obvious, as otherwise Muslim Leaguers, whose own Government was in office, would not have risen against it and sense of loyalty and public duty would not have deserted public officials who went about like maniacs howling against their own Government and officers. But for this confusion, the common man's respect for property and human life would not have disappeared so that they, with no scruple or compunction, began freely to indulge in loot, arson and murder. Politicians would not have shirked facing the men who had installed them in office. And administrators would not have felt hesitant or diffident in performing what was their obvious duty."

The court expressed the opinion that it was "lack of bold and clear thinking and inability to understand and to take decisions that had brought about in Pakistan a confusion which would persist and repeatedly create situations of the kind which the court had been inquiring into until leaders had a clear conception of the goal and of the means to reach it."

"If there is one thing which has been conclusively demonstrated in this inquiry, it is that, provided you can persuade the masses to believe that a thing they are asked to do is religiously right or enjoined by religion, you can set them to any course of action, regardless of all considerations of discipline, decency, morality or civic sense," the report adds.

Lahore, April 22.—The court of inquiry which investigated the anti-Ahmediya riots in Punjab (P) early last year, has absolved the Ahmediyas of all direct responsibility for the disturbances.

The court says: "The disturbances were the result of the action taken by the Government against the programme which the All-Muslim Parties Convention had decided to adopt in the direct action resolution in support of its demands." But the proselytizing zeal of the Ahmediyas did furnish some cause for the general agitation against them, the court adds.

The court rejected the contention that the Majlis-i-Jamal's (committee of action) direct action was to be a perfectly peaceful demonstration of popular dissatisfaction and was never intended to be a civil rebellion.

A threat of direct action was a threat to constituted authority, it added.

Regarding the Ahrar Party, the court observed: "The conduct of the Ahrars calls for the strongest comment and is especially reprehensible as they debased a religious cause by pressing it into service for a temporal purpose and exploited the susceptibilities and sentiments of the people for their personal ends."

Karachi on Kashmir

We present the following sample of Karachi brand of *hashish* with no further comments beyond remarking that "withdrawing the tribesmen" is a good joke.

Karachi, April 22.—Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, former Pakistani Industries Minister and ex-Governor of Punjab (P), said in Parliament here today: "If war with India over Kashmir is inevitable, then let us go to it and 'Inshallah' we shall succeed because we are in the right. And if we go down, let us go down honourably."

Pakistan committed a "great mistake" by trusting India six years ago *and withdrawing the tribesmen from Kashmir*. Since then, Mr. Nehru had been "shifting his position inch by inch and India has been strengthening her position in Kashmir."

During the Indo-Pakistan negotiations over Kashmir, Pakistan had tried to appease India, but he knew that "Mr. Nehru is a great bluff and loses his temper but the moment you call his bluff he is all right."

Sardar Nishtar said the Security Council should be given a timelimit to act. Failing any action, it should wash its hands of Kashmir.

The Pakistani Government should set up a National Council for Kashmir, which should form a national militia for Kashmir's "liberation."

Sardar Nishtar described India as a 'new imperialism, with eyes on Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and even Indonesia.' India had never really reconciled herself to the creation of Pakistan, he said.

The Foreign Minister, Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, winding up the debate for the Government, said he agreed with Sardar Nishtar except with a slight change of "emphasis." He did not elaborate this part of his statement.

He agreed that India was 'not yet reconciled to the creation of Pakistan.' After tracing the Kashmir dispute, he said: "We desire to live in peace and good neighbourliness with India if India will let us. That is the only way to salvation for both."

Pakistan's prosperity depended on Kashmir but 'India has no stake in Kashmir except sentiments. The presence of India in Kashmir is a grave threat to Pakistan,' the Foreign Minister said.

On U.S. military aid to Pakistan, the Foreign Minister said that despite Pakistani denials Mr. Nehru insisted that Pakistan had given bases to America. He

would like to know where these bases were. Equally 'baseless' was Mr. Nehru's assertion that Pakistan wanted to raise her army to one million. He said he had heard India was afraid that Pakistan might walk into Kashmir. "This is not true. That shall be the action of mad men."

Mr. Nehru's suggestion of a 'no war' declaration, he said, smacked of 'hypocrisy' because Mr. Nehru had rejected concrete proposals for solution of the Indo-Pakistani disputes.

Kashmir in the Colombo Conference

The Prime Minister of Pakistan had a good try-out at Colombo as was expected, in the matter of Kashmir. It fell flat, however.

"Colombo, April 28 : Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan told the South-East Asian Prime Ministers Conference that continuance of the Kashmir dispute "constitutes in this area perhaps the biggest potential danger to international peace."

He said Pakistan was pledged to a policy of peace. They had throughout, Mr. Mohammed Ali said, endeavoured to follow in regard to international issues and disputes which concerned them particularly the "same precept of international justice and propriety as we have preached to others." He cited the example of Kashmir where he said Pakistan had accepted every formula for peaceful solution so far put forward by the United Nations or its representatives but the dispute had remained unsolved for over six years, he said.

"So long as this dispute is not resolved, so long as other causes of conflict and bitterness between some other countries represented here are not removed, it would be idle to hope that we will succeed in establishing mutual understanding and trust among ourselves and perhaps a little presumptuous for us to reach peace to others."

"He was also of the view that any pledge amongst themselves to renounce war or aggression would be 'somewhat unrealistic.' He did not know how it would help to promote the cause of peace or mutual understanding and trust even amongst themselves if "Pakistan on one hand and Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia on the other were to pledge themselves not to go to war or not to commit aggression against each other." There was not the smallest danger of any of these countries going to war or committing aggression against each other now or at any time, Mr. Mohammed Ali declared.

Kashmir and the Plebiscite

This is how the question of the proposed plebiscite is viewed by the Kashmir Premier:

Lucknow, April 25.—Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the Kashmir Prime Minister, said today that information in his possession indicated that a Presidential application Order concerning Kashmir would be issued very soon.

With the issue of this Order, the Delhi agreement between Kashmir and India would come fully into force.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, who was talking to newsmen, said that so far as Kashmir was concerned it had implemented that agreement "100 per cent." Kashmir's Constituent Assembly had already decided to accede to India. The Presidential Order would complete an integral part of India as stipulated in the agreement. There would be common citizenship, and both India and Kashmir would be able to develop their relations in a manner mutually advantageous to them.

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly decision was final. Therefore he failed to understand what was meant by a plebiscite.

Kashmir in terms of the Agreement would enjoy a special status in the Indian Union. This had already been accorded to Kashmir by the Indian Parliament.

The Kashmir Premier was critical of some members of the U.N.'s team of observers. Many of these observers there pursued national policies. They did not always act according to the mandate given to them by U.N. Kashmir had protested on numerous occasions against their activities.

The Kashmir Prime Minister accused Americans in the observer teams of not doing the work for which they were sent but of carrying out their own programmes. Often they were at places they were not expected to be.

He understood that the Government of India had taken up this matter with the U.N. and that the U.N. had decided to replace these observers.

Asked about "Azad Kashmir," he said this part of Kashmir had remained most unstable. The economic condition of the people was terrible. The Government there changed every two or three months. The administration in fact was conducted by Pakistani officials.

Asked about traffic between the two Kashmirs, he said if restrictions at the cease-fire line were removed, people from "Azad Kashmir" would flock into the other part.

"I can only open the door when there is two-way traffic," he said. "Azad Kashmir" was still legally "our own."

Asked about the danger of Communist infiltration into Kashmir he said there were no Communists in Kashmir. The danger of Communist infiltration from the north was not real. The route was long, difficult and hardly negotiable.

French Settlements in India

"Paris, April 10: Foreign Office officials were tonight studying the Indian Government's reply to a Note on French settlements in India delivered on March 26.

"Details of neither Note have been officially disclosed here, but diplomatic quarters said the Indian reply, received earlier today, firmly rejected a French proposal that the future of the settlements should be decided by referendum under international control.

"India considered that pressure exercised by the French authorities would make an impartial referendum impossible and, in view of recent resolutions voted by the inhabitants claiming union with India, a referendum was unnecessary, these quarters said.

"The Note repeated the demand that the territories should be attached to India at once, diplomatic quarters added."

We are glad to learn, indirectly though it may be, that our Foreign Affairs Office is growing a spinal cord. France remains incorrigible.

Portuguese India

The following news-item indicates another phase in Portugal's colonial pipe-dream:

"Goa, April 10: A group of 30 technicians are expected here from Portugal in September to build an aerodrome on the plateau off the port and rail terminus of Marmagao. The aerodrome will have a runway two kilometres (1½ miles) long, permitting the landing of all types of aircraft, including four-engined and jet planes.

"A contractor from Portugal, Senor Cassiano Gomes, was here recently, and he estimated that with some 500 workmen he would be able to complete the work in about a year.

"He expected to receive some equipment from the U.S.A., especially tractors, including a giant tractor with an 8-ton "sacrificator" for clearing dynamited rock."

Indonesia's Future

Democracy with a secular State or a theocracy with demagogues in the Saddle, seems to be the question of the moment in Indonesia.

Up till now this newcomer in the Comity of Nations has tried hard to keep in line with the liberal forces of progress in this world. But political power is a queer corrupting ferment, and who knows what lies in the future if the forces of reaction get the upper hand.

The following extract from the *Worldover Press* for March 5 paints a curious picture:

The Indonesian people have been promised a general election early in 1955. Following this long-awaited event, Indonesia will have for the first time a representative national parliament. The present government and constitution are provisional, dating back to the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands in December, 1949, and to the proclamation of the Republic on August 17, 1945.

Indonesian Christians view the forthcoming election with mixed feelings. While they welcome the idea of a more representative government, they have misgivings lest the number of elected Christians may be few. Largely because of the high literacy rate among Christians, in contrast to the low rate of 10 per cent or less for the nation as a whole, both Protestants and Roman Catholics have held more positions in the present set-up than their proportion to the total population, or about five per cent,

would give them. About 25 Members of Parliament are Christians, out of 212. First Vice-Chairman Tambunan, who probably has chaired half the sessions of Parliament, gave up a promising church career to serve his nation in politics. Dr. J. Leimena has been Minister in most of the Republic's cabinets. He is also Chairman of the Protestant Party, founded to demonstrate to the Indonesian people that Christians were loyal supporters of the revolution, and not Dutch puppets, as some enemies alleged. The members of the present cabinet are Christians.

Another complicating factor is a renaissance in Islam. In the minds of millions, to be Indonesian is to be a Moslem. The most powerful party in the land is the Moslem Federation, the Masjumi, the head of which is the statesman, M. Natsir. Chairman Natsir in an address in Karachi some months ago stated that Pakistan's attempt to establish a Moslem theocracy was the ideal of Indonesia. Many Indonesians would argue that the Pantisila, the five principles on which the Indonesian state is founded, would allow for a higher degree of religious freedom. The future alone will determine whether Natsir the liberal or Natsir the conservative will prevail.

Darul Islam (House of God) with its own rebellious government and army in West Java, seeks by violence and terrorism to establish a theocracy. Many Indonesians agree in principle with this rebellious group, which explains in part why the Republican armies have not been able to suppress the challenge to the government's power.

Turkey After the U.S. Pact

The Old Guard in Turkey, that under Kamal Ataturk made a new and vigorously progressive nation of the "Sick Man of Europe," is in the opposition led by Ex-President Inönü. The Party in power has been cashing in so long on the credits accrued by the Old Guard. Today the opposition is getting stronger, and more difficult to keep out of power.

It is said that the present Government has even evoked the power of the Mullahs in its support, thereby throwing over the reforms made by the Father of the Turks. Even then there is no lowering of the tension and Turkey is said to be contemplating the fettering of a hitherto free press.

The following extract from the *Worldover Press* of March 5 gives the full story:

An old Turkish proverb has it that "You don't burn a blanket to get rid of a flea." But the present government of Turkey, under President Celal Bayar, which has done so much to advance the country, has begun its maneuvering for the spring elections by proposing to do just that. Because there have been annoying attacks by the opposition press, the ruling Democratic Party went all out with a plan to intimidate press writers, a scheme which smacks of totalitarian dictatorship.

When it comes to offenses for which a publisher or a press writer could be punished, there is a dangerous vagueness in the government's reactionary press law. But there is nothing vague about the punishment itself. If over the radio or in the press anyone "insults another's honor, dignity or probity" he can be sent to prison for three years and fined more than \$3,500. One section of the law as drafted by the regime provides similar punishment for anyone who merely threatens to "invade another's private life or family affairs."

A Newspaper Publisher can get an even more severe reprisal—up to \$17,000. Anyone who publishes reports that "can harm the political honor or national repute of the state," or that "can create alarm and anxiety in public opinion," is also subject to drastic penalties. Now may be you know what the Turkish government means by "political honor and dignity," and may be the Ankara political leaders know, but to those who have had to deal with this sort of thing in other countries, it looks very much as if the dominant party wants to have the opposition where it can put on the squeeze according to its own interpretations.

This is an issue, which world opinion can hardly handle as if it were a purely domestic Turkish matter. Must the Turks see their hard-won democratic program suffer this sort of poisoning, and from the top?

It is not new for Turkish governmental leaders to fret about newspaper opposition. In the early days of Turkey's revolutionary change under Kemal Ataturk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, on November 27, 1926, expressed his uneasiness over sins of the reporters and publishers, within and without his country. "Every newspaper," he said, "however independent and unprejudiced it may wish to be, is susceptible to the influences with which it comes in contact."

Turkey is only one country out of many where the opposition press is sometimes stronger than the pro-government dailies. Of the nation's 18 leading papers, 9 tend to back the opposition, mainly the People's Republican Party. The government Democratic Party can always count on 6 papers, and at times, though not so much lately, on 3 independent dailies. With an election on, the government's nervousness is understandable. Besides, the opposition press has lately gone in for some rather unfair tactics, and attempts have been made to exploit anti-American sentiment in order to cut down President Bayar's popularity. Under democratic rule, however, the answer to such press methods does not lie in dictatorial repression. The free world will hope the Turks remember another of their proverbs: "Wash blood with water, not with blood."

The Geneva Conference

The Geneva Conference is in session while these notes are being penned. No substantial movement, either way, has been indicated as yet. We, therefore,

can only give the following extracts, from an USIS brochure, to illustrate the reasons behind its genesis:

The preliminary details of the Geneva Conference were agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and the United States at their conference in Berlin (Jan. 25 to Feb. 17, 1954). In fact, the agreement to hold another conference in Geneva to discuss Korea and Indo-China was perhaps the principal achievement of 24 days of negotiations at Berlin, where the Soviet Union revealed its continued reluctance to acceptance of a plan leading to a democratic unification of Germany or conclusion of a peace treaty for Germany and Austria.

The Geneva Conference is not, as the Chinese Communist regime would like the world to believe, a "Five Power Conference."

No less than 20 nations have been invited to attend, although all of them may not actually participate.

On the question of nonrecognition of the Chinese Communist regime, Secretary Dulles recently elaborated as follows:

"Let me first recall that diplomatic recognition is a voluntary act. One country has no right to demand recognition by another. Generally, it is useful that there should be diplomatic intercourse between those who exercise de facto governmental authority and it is well established that recognition does not imply moral approval. . . .

"In relation to Communist China, we are forced to take account of the fact that the Chinese Communist regime has been consistently and viciously hostile to the United States.

"A typical Chinese Communist pamphlet reads: 'We must hate America, because she is the Chinese people's implacable enemy.' 'We must despise America because it is a corrupt, imperialist nation, the world centre of reaction and decadence.' 'We must look down upon America because she is a paper tiger and entirely vulnerable to defeat.'

"By print, by radio, by drama, by pictures, with all the propaganda skills which communism has devised, such themes are propaganda by the Red rulers.

"Those responsible for United States policy must ask and answer: 'Will it help our country if, by recognition, we give increased prestige and influence to a regime that actively attacks our vital interests?' I can find only the answer 'no'."

Southeast Asia is the so-called "rice bowl" which helps to feed the densely populated region that extends from India to Japan. It is rich in many raw materials and has great strategic value. Southeast Asia is astride the most direct and best developed sea and air routes between the Pacific and South Asia. It has major naval and air bases. Communist control of Southeast Asia would carry a grave threat to the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand and even Japan.

Nehru on Indo-China

Pandit Nehru made a six-point proposal for a settlement of the Indo-China problem in the House of the People on the 24th April for consideration by the Geneva Conference beginning on April 26.

Sri Nehru said that though India was not a participant either in the conference or in the hostilities, she was interested in and deeply concerned about the problem of Indo-China, and, more particularly, about the recent developments in respect of it. India was greatly interested in a peaceful solution of the problem in the Geneva Conference so that the shadow of war which had for long darkened her proximate regions and threatened to spread and grow darker still could be dispelled.

The conflict in Indo-China, despite foreign intervention, Sri Nehru said, still remained basically anti-colonial and imperialist in character. "The recognition of this and the reconciliation of national sentiments for freedom and independence and safeguarding them against external pressures can alone form the basis of a settlement and of peace."

He recalled that the Viet Minh had been organized against the Japanese occupation of Viet Nam. After World War II, a provisional government headed by Dr. Ho Chi Minh had been recognized by the French, who had also entered into an agreement with that Government. But conflicts again had begun in 1947 and had continued ever since. In June, 1948, France had installed Bao Dai as the head of Viet Nam which the French had recognized as an associated State within the French Union. At that stage intervention by the two power blocs had made matters more complicated and negotiations had become more difficult.

The decision of Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of U.S.A., U.K., France and the Soviet Union to have the problem of Indo-China considered by the Geneva Conference had been a welcome move in the right direction. At that time Sri Nehru had made an appeal for a cease-fire which had been welcomed at home and abroad.

Sri Nehru said: "While the decision about the Geneva Conference was a welcome development, it was soon followed by others which caused us concern forebodings. Among these were:

"(1) The repeated references to instant and massive retaliation, to possible attacks on the Chinese mainland, and statements about extending the scope, and intensity of hostilities in Indo-China.

"(2) An invitation to the Western countries to the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A.) and to some Asian States to join in united and collective action in South-East Asia. This has been preceded by statements, which came near to assuming protection or declaring a kind of Monroe Doctrine, unilaterally over the countries of South-East Asia.

"There were thus indications of impending direct

intervention in Indo-China and the internationalization of the war and its extension and intensification."

The Government of India, said Pandit Nehru, regretted and was greatly concerned that a conference of such momentous character, obviously called together because negotiation was both feasible and necessary, should have been preceded by a proclamation of what amounted to a lack of faith in it, and of alternatives involving threats of sanctions.

Accentuated supplies by the U.S.A. to the French-Viet Nam side and the reported supplies by the People's Republic of China to the Viet Minh had led to the stepping up of the tempo of the war.

As an Asian country India was naturally interested in the maintenance of peace in the area and was consequently gravely concerned at those developments. Without claiming for them any special role in Asia but because of the fact that "Peace to us not just a fervent hope: it is an emergent necessity" the Government of India felt that they should try to promote the trends that might lead to a settlement, and in their earnest desire to assist the powers assembled in Geneva to resolve some of the difficulties and bring about a peaceful solution, ventured to make the following suggestions:

First, In order that an atmosphere of peace and negotiation could be promoted, the Government of India appealed to all concerned to desist from threats, and to the combatants to refrain from stepping up the tempo of war.

Secondly, To bring about a cease-fire the Geneva Conference should give it priority on the agenda. The Government of India also proposed the constitution of a cease-fire group consisting of the actual belligerents, viz., France and her three Associated States and the Viet Minh.

Thirdly, The Conference should agree on the independence of Indo-China and get the French Government to make an unequivocal statement placing the termination of French sovereignty beyond doubt.

Fourthly, The Conference should urge the parties immediately and principally concerned to initiate direct talks. "The Indo-China question should be limited to the issues which concern and involve Indo-China directly. These parties would be the same as would constitute the cease-fire group."

Fifthly, the Conference should bring out a solemn agreement on non-intervention denying aid, direct or indirect, with troops or war material to the combatants or for the purpose of war to which the USA, USSR, the UK and China should be primary parties. The UN should desire a convention to which other states would also be invited to adhere.

Sixthly, the UN should be kept informed of the

progress of the conference. "Its good offices for purposes of conciliation under the appropriate articles of the Charter, and not for invoking sanctions, should be sought."

South-East Asia Treaty Organisation

In two moves, the *Economist* writes on April 10, Mr. Dulles had, in fact, made a historic shift in America's policy: "One was his speech last week, threatening to use the military forces of the United States to prevent Communist expansion in South-East Asia, and the other has been his subsequent call for united international action in giving maximum effect to this stand."

Feeling the general reluctance of the European nations to follow up this call for "united international action" the United States Secretary of State had to take a trip to London and Paris to bring her allies in line with U. S. policy. The result of the talks Mr. Dulles had had with Mr. Eden was embodied in a communique issued jointly from London and Washington on April 13. The communique as read by Mr. Eden in the British Parliament said that the Governments of U.S.A. and U.K. were "ready to take part with other countries principally concerned in an examination of the possibility of establishing a collective defence within the framework of the Charter of the U. N. to assure the peace, security and freedom of the South-East Asia and the Western Pacific."

The communique added that the two Governments believed that the prospect of establishing unity of defensive purpose throughout South-East Asia and the Western Pacific would contribute to an honourable peace in Indo-China.

The announcement of the communique was greeted by loud cries of 'shame' and 'another Korea' from the Labour benches in the Parliament.

In reply to a question by Mr. Attlee enquiring whether the Government considered participation of Asian nations in the project essential, Mr. Eden said that they had in mind that "there should be brought into being something comparable to the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) that exists in Europe."

Mr. Bevan declared that the statement of the Foreign Secretary would be deeply resented by the majority of the British people and would be "universally regarded as a surrender to American pressure." He said: "It may be interpreted that we shall assist in establishing a NATO in South-East Asia for the purpose of imposing European colonial rule upon certain people in that area."

Mr. Strachey, a former Labour Minister for War, said that any appearance on Britain's part "to support the untenable French colonialism in Indo-China" would have "the most disrupting effect on the Commonwealth in Asia."

In reply to a question from another Labour Member, Mr. Dugdale, the Foreign Secretary Mr.

Eden said that all the Commonwealth countries, including the Government of India, had been informed of those proposals and would be consulted as the matter developed.

Mr. Donnelly, a Labour Member, told the House of Commons on April 14, that in contradistinction to what was stated by the British Foreign Secretary that India had been informed of the talks, his information was that New Delhi had not been informed.

Mr. Donnelly asked why Mr. Eden's statement on South-East Asia had been made without consultations with the French in advance. "Why was it made after agreement between Mr. Eden and Mr. Dulles so that Mr. Dulles flew to Paris with a *fait accompli* to confront the French?" he asked.

After talks with the U. S. Secretary of State, the French Government also agreed with the plan for talks on defence in South-East Asia evolved by Mr. Dulles with Mr. Eden. Other Governments to welcome the statement were those of Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines.

The *Statesman's* London office reports that uneasiness among Labour members which had greeted Mr. Eden's statement on April 13 on his conversations with Mr. Dulles was also reflected in the leading newspapers.

According to the report, "The general feeling in responsible newspapers is that the idea of Asian NATO (or SEATO as it is being called) has been too hastily conceived and that it does not take sufficiently into account the geographical dispersal of Asian territory to be defended or the political differences that prevail in the South-East Asian region or that several 'little wars' are already going on there." *The Times* wrote on April 14: "An alliance which consisted primarily of the U. S. A., Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand would be suspected even if it was joined by Siam and the Philippines."

The Government of India's position was explained by Pandit Nehru in a prepared statement read out on his behalf by the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Sri Anil Kumar Chanda, in the House of the People on April 17. Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India had not been previously consulted about the proposed "Asian NATO." They had only received a copy through U. K. High Commissioner in India shortly before the communique had been issued in London and Washington.

The Prime Minister declared that the joint communique was only part of the wider and graver problem of the recent developments in respect of Indo-China. The general views of the Government of India and its approach and policy on those matters were too well known to need re-iteration: "It is not the intention of the Government to depart from the firm and well-considered principles of its policy, which is calculated to promote peace and to resolve conflicts by a peaceful approach, and by methods of negotiation and agree-

ment rather than by the accentuation and threat of further conflicts, creating conditions which might appear to one side or the other to be either threats or display of force intended to condition the course of negotiation."

Recalling the Government of India's efforts for a cease-fire in Indo-China which had been welcomed by the Governments of Burma and Indonesia and also by the Prime Minister of Canada, as well as by a considerable volume of opinion in France, both in the country and in her Parliament, the Prime Minister hoped that "no endeavour would be considered too great at the Geneva Conference to bring the war in Indo-China to an end and to negotiate a settlement."

"It has always been our view that negotiations under threats, or military activities being stepped up preceding negotiations and calculated to condition such negotiations, or to give the impression of being so calculated, are not helpful," the statement said.

In regard to the actual content of the communique the Prime Minister said in the statement that the Government of India's views and approach on such collective defence arrangements were well known and they remained unchanged. The Government of India regarded such pacts as likely to increase rather than reduce tension and therefore were not in favour of them.

The American Lobby in Parliament

Prof. Hirendranath Mukherji, Deputy Leader of the Communist Party in Parliament, had made allegations of the existence of an American lobby in the Indian Parliament. In support of his statement Prof. Mukherji had referred to a despatch by Mr. Robert Trumbull, New Delhi correspondent of the *New York Times* to that paper.

Mr. Trumbull in his despatch had spoken of the existence of an American lobby of long standing among influential Indians and had said that though it was not very much vocal, "considering the suspicious Indian character where the West is concerned, this may be just as well." He had also referred to alleged differences in the Indian Cabinet over Nehru's stand demanding the withdrawal of American observers from Kashmir.

The political correspondent of the *People* in New Delhi writes that Mr. Trumbull had cast a serious reflection on the matter and whether he was right or wrong, Parliament must call upon him to throw light on the "lobby," which in the American sense meant graft, bribery, corruption, self-interest.

"What is this 'American lobby'?" The correspondent writes: "If we prepare a list we shall find in it some of the former ruling princes who have made a habit of taking away their money and jewels from India and depositing them in America. A section of the Indian capitalists, who believe in the private sector

pathetically and who want to go shares with American investors, make an easy second." There were other disgruntled politicians, who were keen on gaining American friendship to fight Communism and to put India on top of Pakistan. On the outer fringe were some journalists who were welcome at the United States Information Service, and some Indians educated in the U.S.A.

"Mr. Trumbull's revelation about Members of Parliament in American Lobby," he writes, "adds a new category to the list."

These remarks are very cogent, we would say, but we should have liked some light on another foreign lobby in Parliament, of whose existence we all know, which is exceedingly vocal on all occasions.

U.S. Intrigues in Nepal

The atmosphere of suspicion is thickening around the American diplomats in the countries neighbouring India. This is due on the one hand to the exceedingly stupid malaprop handling of affairs by the new set-up, in charge of matters Asiatic, in Washington, and to the equally ignorant and unfortunate utterances and writings of some gallant but solid ivory topped warriors of the same ilk.

"Insaf" writes in the *Hindusthan Times* that the role now being played by certain American diplomats and their agents in Nepal showed an unfortunate change in the angle of vision of officials representing Washington in different countries. He writes: "Schools and hospitals opened by them in that country, it is said, are becoming centres of anti-Indian propaganda. Americans are working as doctors, research scholars and teachers in many places and the recent agreement between Nepal and the TCA will bring in more American personnel. Will these men restrict their activities to the schemes embodied in the plan?"

The columnist writes that India's desire of non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal was perhaps helping others to exploit the situation. Mr. B. P. Koirala's party and the Gorkha Parishad were developing contact with Americans.

"The accident of the arrival of a senior U. S. diplomat in Kathmandu is being connected with Mr. B. P. Koirala's refusal to join the present coalition Ministry. There are even rumours that the coup in Teheran may be repeated in Kathmandu."

"The situation in Nepal," "Insaf" writes, "is explosive, and India has to act with care and caution, for, she cannot allow this important frontier State to fall into the hands of foreigners."

Foreign Missionaries in India

That the Government of India has been following a liberal policy with regard to the foreign Christian missionaries in India will be evident from the figures laid before the House of the People by the Home

Minister, Dr. Kailashnath Katju. According to him, the number of foreign missionaries in India had more than doubled since 1947. In the five years from 1942 to 1947 there had been 2271 foreign missionaries—1951 Protestants and 820 Catholics—while in the following five years their number had increased to 4683—2814 Protestants and 1869 Catholics.

Discussing the nefarious role some of the foreign Christian missions numbering more than a hundred were playing in India, "Observer" writes in the *People* that even the continued conversion of Indians by foreign missionaries "would not have ordinarily attracted any serious attention but for the recent political developments in the sub-continent."

"The trouble they are creating in Assam has given serious headache to Delhi. The demand for independent Nagaland is 'missionary-inspired' and the sinister hand of U.S. foreign policy is clearly visible behind it. Recently a large number of these missionaries have entered in Nepal where they are busy preaching—instead of the Gospel truth—the dirty double-dealing commandments from the 'Bible' of the 20th century American Messiah of Doom—John Foster Dulles."

In Uttar Pradesh, their numbers had increased of late and they were apparently feverishly busy "converting the people, enticing them with money, jobs and the romantically inclined with dames." Most of those missionaries along with a large number of foreign research scholars in Indian Universities were mostly busy in remote border areas enlarging the network of their nefarious activities amidst aboriginals and backward people.

The writer is not sure that the State's move to encourage tourist traffic in the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh had been initiated at a very happy moment and suggests that foreigners must be asked to stop proselytization work forthwith. "Specially must they be debarred from operating in border areas of strategic significance, which must be immediately declared out of bounds for them—better to kill the serpent in the egg!"

In this connection the writer attaches some significance to the mass entry of Muslims from Pakistan. In his view the compulsion of purely economic factors was not sufficient explanation for their coming back after four long years. "What guarantee, in fact, is there—we have every right to ask this question in our present mood of national caution—that they will not act as so many Pakistan spies?"

In the meanwhile the Government of Madhya Pradesh have appointed a committee to enquire into the activities of Christian missionaries in the State. The committee includes a Christian representative. The *Hitavada* writes that the action taken by the State Government had "not come a day too soon," and expresses the hope that the committee's findings would

lay before the public "a fair and impartial account of the activities of missionaries."

Asian Premiers' Conference

The proposal to hold a conference of the Prime Ministers of a number of Asian countries to discuss matters of mutual interest was first suggested by the Ceylon Premier Sir John Kotelawala during his visit to India earlier this year. At the suggestion of the Indian Prime Minister the date for the conference was fixed during the last week of April. The conference begins on April 28 in Colombo.

According to the *Statesman's* Colombo correspondent, the Government of Ceylon was likely to put forward the following ten-point proposal for consideration by the Prime Ministers' assembly there:

- "1. A no-war declaration among the participating countries;
- "2. A Monroe Doctrine for this area;
- "3. A declaration denouncing colonialism in any part of the world;
- "4. A declaration calling for the outlawing of atomic weapons;
- "5. An appeal for an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China with Colombo Conference nations guaranteeing the integrity of Indo-China;
- "6. Support for Burma's demand for the unconditional and early withdrawal of KMT troops;
- "7. Support for Indian and Indonesian demands for the liquidation of foreign pockets in their territories;
- "8. The forging of a United Front on as many problems as possible;
- "9. A scheme for closer economic co-operation;
- "10. A scheme for closer cultural co-operation."

Speaking to pressmen on his arrival in Colombo about his views regarding "some kind of Monroe Doctrine," Pandit Nehru said: "It can be interpreted in many ways. I have referred to that phrase in another connection. What I favour is live and let live in the largest measure of national freedom consistent with co-operation with all countries, no country interfering with others as far as possible."

India's Reply to Salazar

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports that the Portugal Prime Minister, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar had declared in a radio speech on April 12 that it was repugnant to Portugal "to consider any cession of Goa and the Portuguese citizenship of its inhabitants" and that Portugal would watch over Goa's defence "to the limit of our force" to protect Portugal's "purely moral interests" there.

The report further states, Salazar added that "the categorical declaration made in the Indian Union Parliament that the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the Atlantic Pact did not have anything to do with Goa cannot be considered as well-founded."

He maintained that the Anglo-Portuguese decla-

ration of 1899 guaranteed the Portuguese colonies. He also said Article 4 of the Atlantic Pact envisaged consultations among member-States in case of any threat to the territorial integrity and political independence of any of them.

Referring to that speech of the Portuguese Premier, Pandit Nehru declared in course of a statement before the House of the People on April 15 that the Government of India wished to state in categorical terms that they were not parties to any of the treaties under reference, new or old, and were in no way bound by them directly or indirectly, and that as a Sovereign State, India could not be bound by any international or regional agreement to which she was not a party.

Sri Nehru said: "The Government of India reaffirm their view in the most categorical terms that they regard the foreign colonial enclaves in India as anachronisms which should come to an end and that their existence is inconsistent with the historic developments that resulted in the termination of imperial rule in India itself. The use of these enclaves as bases by foreign powers will meet with opposition from us. The Government further denies the right of any foreign power to establish such bases in these enclaves on the ground that they are the territories of a colonial power with which it is in alliance as the Government do not recognise the right of the colonial power itself to continue there and to impose its rule on our people.

"The Government of India have further noted that the views alleged to have been expressed by the Prime Minister of Portugal have not been endorsed or supported by any of the leading participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The Government are glad to note that the Government of Canada have expressed their views to the contrary. Statements have been made on behalf of other governments also to this effect."

Pandit Nehru suggested a *de facto* transfer of authority in Goa to the Government of India to be followed later by *de jure* changes. Referring to the Portuguese Prime Minister's assurances that Portuguese territories would not be used as bases against India Sri Nehru suggested that an immediate step to that end would be the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Goa.

He made it clear that the Government of India had no intention to affect in any way the cultural traditions of Goa and that India would maintain the special cultural and religious position of Goa.

Supporting the stand taken by the Indian Prime Minister, the *Bombay Chronicle* editorially writes: "We hope—against hope perhaps—that Dr. Salazar tries the difficult task for him of studying Mr. Nehru's statement in a sober and objective frame of mind."

The paper further notes with satisfaction that

several NATO members had rejected Dr. Salazar's interpretation of the North Atlantic Treaty. "But the duty of his allies and patrons only begins there. In the interests of Portugal herself they should induce some sobriety into Dr. Salazar. His insistence on holding Goa and his reported activities like building of air bases cannot prevent the return of Goa to the motherland. Salazar, however, can create a lot of trouble not only for Portugal but also for the West."

Welcoming the Indian Prime Minister's statement the *Hitavada* writes on April 19 that "the very fact that Dr. Salazar attached so much importance to a treaty that was signed 300 years ago is a sign that a reasonable approach to the problem of Goa cannot be expected from the Portuguese authorities." The paper is of the opinion that since argument and discussion had no place in Portuguese diplomacy, "India should waste no further time in trying to convince them that it is time to relax their hold on Goa, Daman and Diu. 'Quit Goa' should be the order of the day." It suggests that India's demand for the withdrawal of Portuguese troops should now be backed with action, rather than by new re-iteration of that demand. It was up to Sri Nehru, writes the paper, to give the "Quit Goa" movement the fullest support on the lines of the freedom struggle now being waged in the French Indian Settlements.

The paper adds that after the Indian Prime Minister's categorical statement guaranteeing non-interference in the cultural life of the people of Goa, all fears of any cultural oppression that might have been generated by the lying Portuguese propaganda should now be set at rest.

Hydrogen Bomb Tests

The position of the Government and the people of India on the Hydrogen Bomb and its consequences was stated by Prime Minister Nehru in a speech before the House of the People on April 2. Pandit Nehru put forward four immediate suggestions for the control of the destructive energy.

Pandit Nehru in his statement referred to the fact that both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. possessed H-Bombs and had during the past two years effected test explosions. Recently the U.S.A. had effected very powerful explosions and more were reported to have been scheduled to take place. "A new weapon of unprecedented power both in volume and intensity, with unascertained and probably unascertainable range of destructive potential in respect to time and space that is, both as regards duration and extent of consequences, is being tested, unleashing its massive power, for use as a weapon of war." It threatened the very existence of man and civilisation. It was stated that there was no effective protection against the Hydrogen Bomb.

"These are horrible prospects, and it affects us,

nations and peoples everywhere, whether we are involved in wars or power blocs or not." People of diverse political views had expressed their concern at the dreadful prospects of the H-Bomb. Prof. Albert Einstein, Mr. Lester Pearson, the Canadian Minister for External Affairs and the Soviet Prime Minister, M. Georgi Malenkov had said in effect that modern war with such weapons in use, would destroy civilisation.

But mere concern was not enough. And panic was no remedy against disaster of any kind, present or potential. "Mankind has to awaken itself to the reality and face the situation with determination and assert itself to avert calamity."

Continuing, the Prime Minister said that India had always advocated the prohibition of such weapons, by common consent and immediately by agreement amongst those concerned. She had made repeated attempts at the U.N. to secure the adoption of that view and approach.

"At the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1953, as a result of amendments moved by our delegation to the resolution on disarmament, there were incorporated in the resolution that was adopted:

"(1) An 'affirmation' by the General Assembly of its earnest desire for the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, bacterial, chemical and other weapons of war and mass destruction and for the attainment of these ends through effective means.

"(2) A provision for setting up of a Sub-Committee consisting of the Powers, principally involved, to sit in private and at places of its choosing to implement the purposes of the Disarmament Commission."

The latter suggestion had lately engaged the attention of Powers principally concerned and talks had taken place and were continuing. Time, however, was very short.

The Government of India, Sri Nehru said, was of the considered opinion that the experiments should cease at once. They would like to propose immediate and continuing private meetings of the Sub-Committees of the Disarmament Commission pending decisions on prohibitions and controls taken by the Disarmament Commission.

Moral Climate of New Delhi

"Vivek," the well-known columnist, writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that the mental and moral climate in New Delhi was fast deteriorating.

New Delhi was essentially the city of government. Ministers, legislators and Government servants comprised the bulk of the population there. Others not falling within those three categories were there because of them or to cater to their needs. "The mental climate of New Delhi is the climate of opinion of these classes; the moral climate that of their behaviour."

An average Indian was apt to look upon the men constituting the Government of India as a band of able men, completely disinterested, above all petty-mindedness, preferring always the public good to their own. But in reality, he was shocked to find "a body of men not particularly distinguished by most of the qualities with which he had imagined them blest."

The bulk were selfish, machine-bred politicians, mediocre in ability and "with an inherent tendency to equate their own good with the country's."

"Intrigues for ascendancy, pushing up one and pulling down another, these are as the breath of their nostrils to most of them." They were far behind the Prime Minister; against the background of his dominating personality most of them were mere pigmies. "Policy, then, in almost all matters in which he cares to be interested, is a reflection of his views," with all the merits and defects they might imply.

The legislators were none the better. Nepotism and selfishness were rampant among them. "So low indeed have legislative reputations sunk that ordinary citizens are even prepared to believe the allegation that not a few Members of Parliament profit from the quarters allotted to them at low rates by sub-letting them at higher rents; and by living during the period of the session as the guests of their sub-lessees."

The intellectual attainments of most of the legislators were not very high; and no desire on their part to learn and improve by study was evident. An air of cynicism pervaded many; and any feeling of being engaged in a great and noble task was absent. Even those among the better elements often had recourse to a shrugging of shoulders and lifting of hand in helplessness when the occasion called for recognition of facts, determination to act, and stout expression of honest views.

But, according to the writer, the conscientious officials were, perhaps, the most pathetic figures in the capital. An official, accustomed to objectivity of approach and dauntless in expressing his views without favour or any attempt to slant it according to the views of his superiors, was generally frowned upon, though his usefulness sometimes prevented him from being dispensed with.

"Success is more and more apt to come to the official who in his conduct of affairs often crosses the line that separates the official from the politician and who happily introduces into his behaviour a strong tendency to sycophancy."

The columnist notes, however, that still there were gleams of brightness in a greatly overcast Delhi sky is the shape of some men of integrity in all spheres. While he hopes that the number of such men would increase, he strikes a chord of anxiety that "even these little candles may be extinguished," if those in the highest rung failed to recognise the existence of dis-

tasteful conditions thereby militating against their removal.

Nothing can be done unless the highest rung in the "High Command" be rid of the vermin that infest it.

All-India Radio

Referring to the vitriolic attack on the workings of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting made by Sri Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, M.P., and Dr. D. V. Keskar's replies to the debate on the All-India Radio, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article that "although invective may not be instructive Ministers should not be over-sensitive to criticism, however vigorous and personal, on subjects like broadcasting which are a favourite target of opposition broadsides in most democratic countries."

Broadcasting had no doubt made steady progress in recent years. The impact of technical improvement was already felt in many parts of the country. According to Dr. Keskar, within two years two-thirds of the country would be covered by a strong medium wave network. Some improvements in the selection of radio fare and its tone were also undeniable.

It would, however, be unwise to believe, the *Hitavada* writes, that broadcasting in India "is all that it should be or to belittle, as Dr. Keskar tries to do, the listener-appeal of foreign stations like Radio Ceylon. This is precisely where A.I.R. tends to go wrong. It lacks a capacity for self-criticism and is rather disinterested in what the average listener thinks on the service provided. Such an attitude, we regret to say, will only promote rather than allay public apprehension about the conservative policies followed by A.I.R."

In contradistinction to the half-hearted policy followed by the All-India Radio in initiating a Listener Research Service, the newspaper cites the vigorous efforts of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to perfect that branch. The BBC had gone to the extent of setting up Listener Panels in Asia to discover how its programmes were being received. Listeners were invited to join the Panels and to become critics of the programmes. Every two months a questionnaire was sent and from the postage paid replies a serious attempt was made to gauge the appeal of different programmes.

The *Hitavada* expresses the hope that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would take a leaf out of BBC's book and would be "more receptive to the wishes of listeners and more open to genuine criticism" and would make a sustained study of listeners' opinions, tastes and habits. They could try any method for this—random sampling, interviews, postal

questionnaires or Listeners' Panels. Once contact was established with the listeners "we are sure that A.I.R. will get on the right track," the editorial concludes.

We agree with the *Hitavada* in this matter. The All-India Radio has improved in many ways during the last two years, but that is not saying much if we take into consideration the miserable state it had fallen into, with regard to its broadcasts. Dr. Keskar has been ill-advised in some of his decisions, and the *Hitavada's* suggestion regarding the gathering of criticisms and opinions from a wider circle is just what he should do if he wants the A.I.R. to come up to a par with foreign first-class stations.

Tax Evasion

The *Hitavada*, in an editorial article in its issue dated the 9th April, writes that the report of the Income Tax Investigation Commission for the year 1953 adequately showed that "big business, with honourable exceptions, was practising tax evasion on large scale." The report stated that payment of income taxes was evaded by resorting to a reduction or omission of the income or incomes, inflation of the expenses or the outgoings, or a combination of both.

Many of the assesseees often resorted to delaying tactics to avoid the Commission, whose life was being extended from year to year. In that context the paper welcomes the Government of India's decision to extend the life of the Commission by two years at a stretch up to the 31st December, 1955; as, in the opinion of the paper, the assesseees would, henceforward find it difficult to resort to such tactics. It goes even further and suggests that, considering the fact that tax evasion especially on the part of a section of big business was not likely to cease in any foreseeable future, the Commission could profitably be given a permanent status on a reduced scale of expenditure.

"The financial aspect of the Commission's work is interesting," the paper continues. "Out of a total tax of Rs. 24½ crores levied on the basis of the Commission's reports up to the end of 1952, a sum of Rs. 8.85 crores has already been collected by the Government." The low collection figure, according to the Commission, was due to the fact that Government had allowed the payment of the tax in easy instalments without serious detriment to the industries in which the assesseees were engaged.

The total expenditure on the Commission till the end of 1952 had been Rs. 3,311,487, the actual collections working out to over 25 times the cost of the Commission. The *Hitavada* writes that the "average cost of the regular Income Tax Department is 1.55 per cent of the tax involved. The cost of the Investigation Commission gives an average of 1.36 per cent."

BASIC IDEALS OF HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY*

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

THE spirit of India was born of its religion and philosophy. Besides influencing the life and thought of countless millions of people on the Indian subcontinent for the past five thousand years, it has left its impression on the Asian culture in general. The religious life of Tibet, China, Burma, Thailand, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, and Ceylon received a great impetus from Buddhism, which originated in India. Many of these countries still recognize India as their spiritual homeland. Hindu culture also travelled to the West and influenced in varying measure the civilizations of Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and some of the Mediterranean countries.

Political, religious, and cultural ideas are often propagated by physical pressure or even by the sword. But true to her tradition of non-violence, India never sent an army of invasion outside her own borders even during the days of her political power. Hindu thought, like the gentle dew from heaven, has shed its influence in a less obtrusive, more peaceful manner.

Both geography and nature helped in the development of Hindu religious and philosophical thought. On account of impregnable boundaries on all sides, India for a long time was free from foreign invasion, which otherwise might have altered the political and cultural life of the country. But the land routes through the northwest and northeast and the sea route connected India with the outer world, giving her facilities for the exchange of both cultural ideas and material goods. This peculiar geographical position helped the Hindus to develop a homogeneous culture and preserve its native purity for many centuries. In addition, India's tropical climate was favorable to the practice of introspection. Nature was bounteous. Men needed no great toil or trouble to extract from the soil the requirements of living. The country was materially prosperous. It was the "wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" that lured foreign invaders from time to time. The presence of forests and big trees stimulated the spirit of contemplation. Contentment reigned in the hearts of the people.

Hindu philosophy first developed in the Indus and upper Gangetic valleys. Thence it gradually moved to the south, where it encountered the highly evolved Dravidian culture. In the east it came in contact with primitive peoples. In matters of race relationships, the Indo-Aryans followed the method of assimilation through cultural exchange, and not that of annihilation or superimposition of culture by force. Many of the religious beliefs and social customs in the Hindu society of the present day—especially the diversity of castes and subcastes—are the result of the assimilation

of non-Aryan elements. The Saks, Huns, Beluchis, and other tribes who entered India from outside were gradually assimilated into the melting-pot of Hindu society. Though the Moslems, Jews, Christians, and Parsees retained their individuality, yet they too, like the vegetables in a salad-bowl, received the cultural flavor of the mother country. Thus India reveals even today a deep, fundamental unity which transcends the numerous differences created by blood, color, language, dress, food, and religious beliefs. The ideal of unity in diversity, the keynote of Indian culture, is reflected in the tapestry-like pattern of Indian society.

Hindu philosophy not only originated but in a certain sense attained its maturity in the prehistoric age. The hymns of the Rig-Veda, for instance, which contain both the germs and some of the conclusions of the Hindu philosophical speculations, were composed at least thirty centuries before the birth of Christ. The concept of the unity of existence, beyond which human thinking cannot possibly penetrate, is described in the Vedas. Hindu philosophy, which continued to develop till two hundred years ago uninterrupted by foreign thought, has produced two world religions, namely, Hinduism and Buddhism, and also provided the foundation for several indigenous philosophical systems.

Hindu philosophy is characterized by both rigidity and flexibility. It has not allowed any change in essential doctrines, whereas in non-essential matters it has adapted itself to the changing conditions of the times. This fact is, in part, responsible for the immense influence which philosophy has exerted upon Hindu society. It is not possible to write a history of Hindu philosophy in the Western sense, because the Hindus have always been careless about dates, and also because very little is known about the lives of the Hindu philosophers. It appears that they considered ideas more important than personalities. Furthermore, a general feeling that the phenomenal world was unsubstantial may have cooled off the zeal of the Hindus for history. In the realm of ideas, philosophy shows uncommon richness and variety; almost all shades of opinion expressed by philosophers anywhere have been discussed to a greater or lesser extent in Hindu philosophy. There is no lack of emphasis on the reality of the world or the optimistic view of life. Therefore it would not be correct to characterize Hindu philosophy as pessimistic or negative.

Hindu philosophy can be broadly divided into two groups: orthodox and unorthodox. The former accepts the Vedas as the final authority and includes the six systems known as the Purva Mimamsa of Jaimini, the Uttara Mimamsa of Vyasa, the Vaisheshika of Karada, the Nyaya of Gotama, the Samkhya of Kapila, and the Yoga of Patanjali. The unorthodox group repudiates

* Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture delivered on January 12, 1954, in the McBride Auditorium, at the State University of Iowa, U.S.A.

the Vedic authority and includes Jainism and Buddhism. The materialistic philosophy of Charvaka, denying all authority except sense perception, has disappeared as a school and is known only through fragments. The unorthodox Buddhism and Jainism emphasize pessimism and advocate the ascetic view of life for the realization of the highest goal.

The Vedas are the final authority of the orthodox Hindu in all matters pertaining to religion and philosophy. They deal both with eternal truths and with the changing phenomenal universe. They are considered to be without beginning or end, and their teachings are not ascribed to human authorship. This means that the knowledge embodied in the Vedas has always existed but is revealed in every cycle or world period, to certain seers called *rishis*, endowed with spiritual insight cultivated through such disciplines of *yoga* as meditation, detachment, and self-control. The Vedas speak of the real nature of the Godhead, the soul, and the universe as supramental; but the knowledge of these is not opposed to reason. Knowledge is based upon experience. The criteria of truth laid down by the non-dualistic philosopher Gaudapada are that it must not quarrel with or contradict any other truth and that it must be conducive to the welfare of all. Truth without charity often becomes an instrument of destruction and thus frustrates its own purpose.

The Hindu methods of philosophical investigation consist in the study of Vedic evidence (*śruti*), in reasoning (*yukti*), and in experience (*anubhava*). Ultimate Reality being supramental, the Vedas supply the student with a kind of working hypothesis, which, however, must be tested by reason and realized through inner experience. Sole reliance upon scriptural authority, without rational investigation, tends to make a philosophical or religious system dogmatic, authoritarian, and exclusive. Mere reasoning may be the rationalization of desire; it may also be a tool of emotion. Experience by itself, unsupported by reason and scriptural evidence (the latter being merely the recorded experience of the illumined seers of the past), may be the projection of one's subconscious thought. But when these three—scriptural evidence, reason, and experience—point to one and the same conclusion, a man can be sure of having arrived at truth. The Upanishad says that by the knowledge of truth one knows all things. It is only little truths that meet with contradiction, but not the great truth.

Hindu philosophers put the utmost emphasis on experience. The Sanskrit word for philosophy, *darsana*, means *seeing*, not discussion aiming at intellectual knowledge. To know is to become. Thus philosophy is more a way of life than a way of thinking. A Jain philosopher has well expressed this idea in the statement that a man should not live only to know, but he should know how to live. Thus the qualifications for the student of Hindu philosophy are not simply truthfulness and intellectual honesty; they also comprise other disciplines,

such as discrimination between the real and the unreal, detachment from the unreal, control of the senses, and the mind from the enjoyment of transitory physical objects, forbearance, reverence for sacred things, concentration, meditation, and, above all, an unceasing desire for freedom from bondage to the phenomenal world.

The Hindu mind is well known for its catholicity and spirit of accommodation. Reality, according to the Hindus, can be viewed and studied from different standpoints, and the conclusions arrived at will be different aspects of the self-same reality. The doctrine of "either-or" has never been encouraged by the Indian thinkers, their ideal being unity in diversity. Man, as Swami Vivekananda said, does not proceed from error to truth, but from truth to truth—from lower truth to higher truth. Thus freedom of thought is one of the characteristic features of Hindu philosophy. The different philosophers have merely approached the problem of reality from different standpoints and levels of experience. Let us give a few examples.

When our percepts and concepts are colored, to a great extent, by our individual imagination and feeling, we get a distorted view of the subject we are considering. Thus, for instance, a stump of a tree in darkness will be regarded as a ghost, or a lover, or a policeman, according to the observer's inner feeling for the time being. A dream experience may be real to the dreamer but it may be negated by his waking experience. Vedantists give other examples of common illusions, such as seeing water in the desert, or a snake in a rope, or silver in mother-of-pearl. This is called by the Hindu philosophers illusory reality (*pratibhasika sattva*).

There is also the kind of reality with which we deal in our daily practical life. We all see the same physical world with the same objects in it. One can get rid of factors which cause individual illusion; but there are certain categories such as time, space, causality, substance, attributes, identity, and change, through which all relative minds function. People subject to these limitations see the same objects; which, however, may be negated from another level of experience.

Lastly, there is the thing-in-itself, which cannot be grasped by the ordinary mind but only by a higher faculty which is potential in all men and which can be manifested through the disciplines of *yoga*. This faculty is called direct and immediate perception, intuition, or inspiration (*aparokshanubhuti*). This is Ultimate Reality, which transcends both the illusory and the empirical reality, but which is the unrelated substratum of them both.

A philosophical system can be based upon any of these three levels of experience. Further, reality can be studied from the standpoint of waking, dream, and deep sleep, which together cover all of human experience. The investigation of reality from the waking state alone gives us the physical sciences and the various systems of materialistic philosophy. If our investigation is confined to dreams alone, we obtain the philosophy of

subjective idealism. Likewise, the study of the experiences of deep sleep gives a kind of mysticism in which reality appears as a featureless unity, just as all cows appear black in darkness. These are different facets of Ultimate Reality, which can be known only through the study and integration of the experiences of the three states. It also may be stated here that the dream reality is negated in the waking state; but both dream and waking experience are negated by the knowledge of Ultimate Reality.

In the Hindu tradition there is no conflict between religion, philosophy, and science. They represent three aspects of the same reality and also three methods of arriving at it.

Though religion and philosophy have developed in India along independent lines, yet they are not divorced. They cross each other's path at many points. The common goal of both religion and philosophy is the discovery and knowledge of reality and the application of this knowledge to man's daily life. The Hindu religion is not satisfied with mere *dogmas* or *rituals*; it aims at an experience which shows the way to right living. Nor is Hindu philosophy simply the ratiocination of logic, consisting of academic theories detached from life. Its goal is not the mere pursuit of intellectual knowledge, but rather the attainment of *moksha*, or liberation from the ills of life.

The origin of Hindu philosophy was not in wonder or curiosity. The recognition of certain moral and physical ills ever present in the phenomenal life stimulated the philosophical speculation of the Indian thinkers. Such ideals as freedom, peace, knowledge, and immortality, of which everyone gets a glimpse at a certain stage of evolution, cannot be realized in the phenomenal world held in the iron grip of time, space, and the law of causality, nor through the physical body, afflicted by disease, old age, and death. The very yearning for freedom produces the idea of a state which is absolutely free and also the possibility of its attainment by the human soul. Religion anthropomorphizes his state and calls it God, endowed with personal attributes.

Religion emphasizes the role of feeling and faith in the attainment of the Highest Good, whereas science lays stress on reason and intellect. But all these are different functions of the mind, and their harmonious functioning is necessary for the apprehending of reality. Faith without reason leads the aspirant into a blind alley, and reason itself ends in doubt. The intellect points out the obstacles and barriers to spiritual growth, while emotion gives the urge to move forward.

There is no conflict between science, religion, and philosophy. No scientific thinker was ever persecuted in India for his convictions. Knowledge in all its phases was prized in India. One of the most sacred Vedic prayers says: "May He awaken our understanding." According to the Bhagavad Gita, "Nothing is more sanctifying than knowledge." And this knowledge is to be acquired "through prostration to the teacher, service to him, and intelligent

questioning." According to the Hindu view, there does not exist any unbridgeable gulf between mind and matter, human and non-human beings. One fundamental law governs the universe of matter and spirit. In the physical world it operates as scientific law and in the spiritual world as religious law. Scientific law is discovered through reason, and spiritual law through introspection. There is no gulf between God and man. If any exists, it can be crossed by personal evolution. Even an ant will some day realize its potential divine nature.

According to the non-dualists, *moksha*, or liberation, need not be an eschatological experience. Even while dwelling in the body, a man can attain freedom (*jivan-mukti*) from the ignorance which conjures up the vision of apparent multiplicity. According to the Upanishads, when a man attains freedom in this life, then alone is freedom real for him. Further, "when all the desires that dwell in the heart fall away, then the mortal becomes immortal and *here on earth* attains freedom." Even those who accept the view of after-death liberation (*videhamukti*) say that the sole condition of its attainment is the complete transformation of the ego and the destruction of selfish desires. Liberation being the goal of philosophy, each philosophical system prescribes rigorous disciplines for its students. Such virtues as chastity, self-control, faith, austerity, and truthfulness are common disciplines in all philosophical systems in India. The purpose is to train the seekers in the ultimate discipline of renunciation. Buddhism and Jainism ask for immediate and total renunciation; according to them, none but a monk can be liberated. Hinduism prescribes renunciation by stages. According to the rules of *asrama*, boyhood should be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, youth to the enjoyment of legitimate physical pleasures, the third stage of life to contemplation in the forest, and the last stage to total renunciation. In Buddhism the highest truth is taught by a monk, whereas in Hinduism, for instance in the Mahabharata, the same truth has been taught through the mouth of a married woman or an untouchable hunter. In Hinduism all the gods and goddesses are married; among them there is neither a virgin nor a bachelor. But when on the threshold of the realization of truth, the seeker must completely renounce attachment to the physical world.

Hinduism denies the ultimate reality of the phenomenal world and emphasizes the sole reality of the Spirit. Therefore in the long run the student transcends moral laws. But for the beginner, who regards the physical body and the universe as real, observance of moral laws is obligatory, as is compliance with social customs and religious rules. The perfect man transcends good and evil, but it is not possible for him to do any evil. He does not strive to do good, yet virtues cling to him like so many jewels.

Following are a few important concepts of Hindu philosophy which also in general are common to Hindu religion:

(a) Ultimate Reality is Spirit, self-existent, non-dual, uncaused, without beginning or end. All else belongs to the domain of phenomena, which is controlled by the causal law and endowed with beginning and end.

(b) Ultimate Reality is all-pervading, and the ground of all things. Nothing can exist independent of it. Any other reality that one may see is only a relative reality.

(c) Ultimate Reality is both transcendent and immanent; only a portion of it is seen as the visible universe. Though pure and unconditioned by nature, it appears, through its inscrutable power called *maya*, as the Creator God (*Isvara*), the individual soul (*jiva*), and the universe (*jagat*).

(d) When regarded as a person endowed with personal attributes, the Absolute becomes known as the Personal God, worshipped by the different religions as the Father in Heaven, Jehovah, Allah, Vishnu, and so on. He is regarded as the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the universe, and also as man's Savior. According to both Hinduism and Christianity, the Godhead, in times of human crisis, is born as a man for the protection of the virtuous and the destruction of the wicked. Christianity accepts only one Divine Incarnation in the person of Christ, whereas Hinduism declares that the number of such Incarnations cannot be limited.

Ultimate Reality is the cause of the universe, the word *cause* being used by different philosophers in different ways. But all agree that creation is a spontaneous act without any logical necessity from within or compulsion from without. The Vedas describe the creation and destruction of the universe as the breathing out and breathing in of the Cosmic Soul. Some speak of the creation as the sport (*lila*) of the Godhead, and some speak of it as *maya*, or the illusory superimposition of names and forms on the Pure Spirit. Both theories imply the inability of the finite mind to fathom the mystery as to how the One appears as many or the Absolute as the world. They also suggest the freedom of the soul to quit the world of phenomena in order to regain its innate divinity. All the Hindu philosophers agree that the universe is a spiritual entity projected from the Spirit and supported by the Spirit, and that it will ultimately merge in the Spirit. In projecting the universe, the Spirit does not lose any of its inner substance, and when the universe merges into the Spirit, nothing is added to the Spirit. From the standpoint of reality, the Spirit alone exists, and what the ignorant call the material universe is nothing but the Spirit seen through the prism of time, space, and causality.

The non-dualists do not deny the existence of the universe. As Brahman it is real. From the phenomenal standpoint it is an appearance of Brahman. Multiplicity is the product of *maya*. As the Upanishad says: "Duality disappears when reality is known." The nature of the universe is indescribable, being neither real nor unreal. For those who take names and forms to be

real, the universe is real, and Hinduism formulates for them ethics, theology, and various physical sciences. But the ultimate truth, according to non-dualistic Vedanta, is that "nothing is ever produced" (*ajatapada*).

(e) The individual soul, in its true nature, is identical with the Spirit (non-dualism), or intimately related with it (dualism). It is birthless, deathless, without beginning or end. Through *maya* it identifies itself with a body and thus becomes subject to birth and death, which really affect the body and not the soul. At death, the soul discards the body like a man giving up an old worn-out garment. The embodied soul, also called the apparent soul, is born again and again, being governed by the law of *karma* or action. There are two kinds of *karma*. One kind is that which has started to bear fruit in the present body; it will last as long as the momentum given by the *karma* endures. We must patiently bear with such *karma*. Another kind is that which will produce results in a future birth. This *karma* is destroyed by the knowledge of Reality. The soul's repeated births afford us the disciplines necessary to get rid of egotism and attachment and cultivate spiritual virtues. Every soul will attain perfection.

(f) The law of *karma* does not imply fatalism. "As we sow, so shall we reap." Our future is governed by the present, while the present is governed by the past. The law of *karma* emphasizes the fact that man is the architect of his own fate. He should accept the present, which is of his own creation, with calm resignation, and build up a happy future by right living. Through ignorance, man has attached himself to a physical existence; now he must liberate himself from this bondage. The performance of unselfish action is an effective discipline by which his lower nature is controlled and his higher nature becomes manifest.

The spiritual discipline for the attainment of perfection is known as *yoga*, which is of various kinds and is practised according to the inner nature of the aspirant. For the philosophical temperament the austere discipline of *jnana-yoga* is laid down; such a seeker must constantly discriminate between the real and the unreal and renounce the unreal. For the emotional is provided *Bhakti-yoga* which prescribes the worship of the Personal God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment; it is the worship of God through love which seeks no return but only God's satisfaction. *Raja-yoga* is suitable for the introspective, and its discipline consists mostly in meditation and concentration. *Karma-yoga*, or the discipline of unselfish action, has already been mentioned.

(g) Hinduism believes in the harmony of religions. It is easy for a religious faith which regards the Impersonal Spirit as Ultimate Reality and the Personal God as its manifestation to show respect for all faiths. The Vedas say: "Reality is one; sages call it by various names." In modern times, Ramakrishna declared, from his personal experience: "The different religions are so many paths to reach one and the same goal." Religions are not contradictory but complementary. Because of the existence of

many religions, aspirants are free to choose their religious disciplines according to their temperaments and tastes.

(h) The attainment of perfection or liberation means the realization of man's true, divine nature. Before the attainment of liberation a man is part of the phenomenal world. At that time he cannot treat the world as unreal. He must discharge his social and other obligations. Freed from ignorance, the illumined soul devotes himself to the welfare of others as long as his body lasts. After death the individual spirit created by ignorance becomes one with the Supreme Spirit, which is Ultimate Reality. According to the dualists, even after death the liberated soul retains his individuality, transformed by the knowledge of God, and lives as God's eternal companion.

(i) The microcosm and the macrocosm reveal the same pattern; the knowledge of man is the key to the knowledge of the universe. There is nothing in the universe which does not exist in man. If any such element existed, it

would remain for ever unknown. The universe is intelligible because there is a desire on the part of man to understand it and also because there is the possibility of the fulfillment of that desire. When a man fully understands himself, he understands the universe. The desire to know the universe led the Hindus to the study of man.

(j) Both man and the universe have physical, mental, and spiritual elements. The spiritual element, which can be known only through introspection, is unknowable through reasoning based upon sense experience. Therefore physical science, through its rational and empirical method, will never know either the complete man or the complete universe. Hindu philosophy advocates the study of both science and religion, which it calls "super-science." The Upanishad says: "By means of science, man conquers physical limitations, and by means of super-science he attains to immortality."

—O—

THE POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA

By Mm. VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

WITH the dawn of independence, some of us have been thinking of offering better facilities, for the learning and teaching of Sanskrit. But there are highly talented and patriotic men in the country, who have declared that it should be left out of the course of studies for the School Final Examination. There is no doubt, that these friends have the welfare of our students at heart, and it cannot be said that we love our Sanskrit language and literature more than they. But they look upon the problem in another light. They are perhaps thinking how, in these days of hardships, our students may easily earn their livelihood. But, with the greatest respect, we must confess that we cannot see eye to eye with them. We shall give our reasons later on. But before doing so, we must make an attempt to examine the importance of Sanskrit in view of its profound influence on the culture and civilisation of our country.

Supposing that Sanskrit is banished for ever from the land of our birth, what will be the consequence? There will be no harm at all, they tell us, from the worldly point of view. We shall still be enjoying the good things of life in a land flowing with milk and honey. Let science flourish and we shall have no wants. There are many countries in the world where the people are ignorant of Sanskrit. Yet, they are rich, contented, and prosperous. Sanskrit, they say, is a dead language and let the dead pass, bury its dead. But, we feel as warmly as ever, Sanskrit is the life-breath of the literature, philosophy and sciences of ancient India. It is our faith that, if there is no Sanskrit, there is no India. It will be like 'the play of Hamlet with

Hamlet's part left out' or rather more fittingly Ramayana without Rama.

Undoubtedly we cannot live ignoring the present. But it is the past that brings about the present. We had a rich and glorious past, and certainly we do not want to go back to the condition of aboriginals, steeped in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Even in the early days of British rule in India, the unity of the country was based on Sanskrit. At that time, not only the language of the learned (*sistas*) but also the medium of communication was Sanskrit. And it must be admitted, that it is impossible for a man to write correctly only a few lines in any of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, if he has no knowledge of Sanskrit at all. Moreover, if Sanskrit is abandoned, the source of our regional languages will be choked and the living current of literature will cease to flow prosperously.

I may here refer to an incident in my own life. I was then in Santiniketan. There the Poet once told me, "The teachers for Bengali who do not know Sanskrit have no place here, for one who does not know Sanskrit knows not Bengali as well." And, on his strong recommendation, every teacher had to read *Laghukaumudi*, in order to enrich and perfect his knowledge of Bengali.

It pains me to recall that even a professor of a Government college does not know if, in the sense of dawn, the right word to be used in Bengali is *Uṣa* or *Uṣas*.

Setting aside all other questions for the present,

let us take up that of language. If we consider the mutual relationship of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, we shall find how closely they are allied to each other. And indeed a man who knows one of them, can easily master them all, with a pretty fair knowledge of Sanskrit. This is possible because each and every one of them is connected with Sanskrit through the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. It cannot be ignored that there is a ceaseless flow of words into the provincial speeches from this perennial fountain of beauty. Again, if a speech of one province is easily understood in another, it is no small gain to the country. It fosters a spirit of unity among all the people of India—a unity which is most essential to a country which has just emerged into independence.

There is, to my mind, another point of view from which the importance of Sanskrit can be apprehended very clearly. We often talk of our cultural unity, but we hardly realize it as it should be done. Many of us do not know our old and intimate relations with Persia—relations which are clearly revealed in the sacred languages of the two countries, our Sanskrit of the Vedas and the Avesta of the Parsees. The similarity of the two languages is so striking, that one is simply filled with wonder when one realizes it fully. Indeed, it was mainly due to the similarity between these two languages that I made a few friends among the Parsees of Bombay, whom I am still happy to remember, and with whom my intimacy is still as fresh as ever. There is no doubt much difference between our religious and social observances. Yet, they have not in the least impaired our friendly and cultural relations.

Again, no nation on earth can ignore the spiritual side of life. It is my faith that every Indian will have to turn to Sanskrit for the consolations of religion and philosophy.

In an age of science and political conflicts, we have forgotten much of our cultural relations with other countries in the past. But these are now coming to light gradually through the efforts, mainly of our French and Dutch friends. I mean our cultural relations with Indo-China and such other lands as Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali and so on. The deep and abiding influence of Indian culture on those peoples, through the medium of Sanskrit literature, is simply exulting to an Indian who loves his motherland. This is all the more evident in Java. The relation between India and Java may be traced back to the fourth century. The old language of that land, called *Kawi* or *Kavi*, is closely related to Sanskrit, words from 40 to 50 per cent being exactly Sanskrit. The following line in that language from the inscription of Simhasarin may be quoted here: "Srisaka varsatita (varsatita) 1273 vesaka (vishakha) masa tihi pratipada suklapaksha povar (vara)."

In a work called *Nagarakritagama*, we may learn much about India. There are still many Sanskrit works, and Levi has published some of them in a volume called

Balidvipa granthah, in the Gackwad Sanskrit Series. There are works called Vedas, but, in fact, they are *Puranas*, such as *Brahmanda*, etc. There are however Atharvana Upanishads. Besides many such other works the great Epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which are respectively called there in the Javanese language *Ramayana Kaham* and *Mahabharata Kaham* (the word *Kaham* here being for *Katha*) are very popular. A detailed description cannot be expected here. It goes without saying that, if Sanskrit had vanished from the face of the earth, these invaluable documents compiled by modern scholars would remain absolutely useless.

Modern researches in the domain of Comparative Philology reveal the unique position of Sanskrit therein. In a word, it may be stated without hesitation, that Sanskrit is the key to World Philology.

We must not think, however, that the labour of love undertaken by these savants in foreign lands is finished. There is, indeed, still much more to be done. It is a shame that we have done very little in this line and have to depend mainly on a noble band of French and Dutch scholars, to whom we are much indebted for many things of interest to India. If that is so, should Indian scholars ignore the study of Sanskrit? I am sure that an Indian will hardly know himself if he does not give his days and nights to the study of Sanskrit.

Let us now view the problem from another angle. Scholars know much about the most valuable discoveries, in Central Asia, of many glorious works of art, literature and inscriptions. If anyone desires to understand them, is it possible for him to do so without a sound knowledge of Sanskrit? Certainly not. Sanskrit is a great language that, in days long gone by, entered on one side, into Tibet, China, Japan and on the other, Central Asia, and Mongolia, and many other countries of the East. If Sanskrit is abandoned, what else is there by which we can clearly understand and explain the things that have come to light through the ages? Moreover as scholars know, many thousands of original Sanskrit works are now supposed to be lost. Yet, they have their translations in Tibetan and Chinese, from which one may reconstruct them in Sanskrit. This is a most significant thing that deserves respectful consideration. Further, it was through Sanskrit, or sometimes a Sanskritic language, that India was once linked with many parts of the world in ties of love and admiration. She can do the same thing still, through Sanskrit, a literature which has deeply influenced all the civilised nations of the world.

The question is also to be considered from another point of view, which is equally important. It is *Dharma* or 'Law' popularly known as religion, which is the essence of human well-being. Certainly it is not a matter of derision. All over the world men follow their own ideals of religion. They may be different in form, but they are the same in spirit. If we realise this eternal truth, many of our doubts and misgivings will be dispelled, and we shall be able to live our days on earth in

faith, love, peace and happiness. In our Upanishads there is a short story that may be briefly told here. We read that, in the beginning of the world, there was the Creator and Creator alone. He began to create different things, one by one. Yet, he was not satisfied and created Dharma or Law, in the form of the good (*shreyorupa dharma*). In a word, there is no real good where there is no law. Similarly where there is no good, there is no law, but a phantom of law. It is needless for me to dwell on this question any more. If a blind man does not see a peg, it is he and not the peg that is to blame.

In India the language of religion is Sanskrit or a language allied to it. Indeed, Sanskrit is the fountain at which we must drink deep and for ever, if we desire to live in the long history of mankind. We shall fail, faint and die, when this fountain is choked for ever. Rightly do the Upanishads declare, "It is religion on which everything is based," and "the highest of them all is religion." If we are to live, as we will live, we must love our religion, which alone will bring peace and goodwill to men on earth. And it is Sanskrit which reveals this truth to us more than anything else on earth. We feel that the religion or philosophy, which gives us high and noble ideas, is the best and noblest. There may be brilliant colours in a picture, or sweet sounds and thoughts in a poem. But if they fail to express the highest ideals of love, truth, and religion, they are not music or poetry at all. There is no soul, no rhythm of life in them. We may feel nobly, though we may not be able to prove all that we believe. There is no authentic history of the *Ramayana*. Yet, every one knows how the whole of India has been charmed and inspired by this great epic, from age to age. Its tales of heroism, noble idealism, and glorious poetry will live for ever.

Many of our friends are inclined to think that there is no need of learning Sanskrit, as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* may be read in translations, whose number is legion. But there is a grave risk in doing so. Let us cite an instance. There was a very great and popular story called *Brihatkatha* in Prakrit by Gunadhy. It was celebrated among scholars. But unfortunately, as time went on, it was lost, only three or four words of it being found quoted in a book. We have, however, three Sanskrit redactions of that Prakrit version, viz. (i) *Katha-sarit-sagara*, (ii) *Brihatkathamajari*, and (iii) *Brihat-katha-sloka-samgraha*. These three books are still extant and published. But the original Prakrit is lost. This is because the people lost their interest in it and discontinued its study. But their love of Sanskrit was not lost and they did not forget the language, which continued to have its sway in one or other part of the country all along. There were scholars all over the land, who cultivated it with love and devotion.

I should like to add here very briefly a few words mainly with regard to our ancient scientific literature.

This was known in Sanskrit as *Sastra* or *Vidya* 'science,' as it will enable one in forming an idea of the vast fields of knowledge covered by this great and noble language.

The sciences are as follows: Grammar, Phonetics, Etymology, Philology, Astronomy, Astrology, Architecture, including Town-Planning, Engineering (*Silpa* or *Vastu-Vidya* or *Sastra*), Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Botany, Zoology, Medicine, including Surgery (*Ayurveda*, *Salya-sastra*), Politics, Polity, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Archery, Arts, including Music, Dance, Painting, Dramaturgy, and so on. There were also sciences of Elephants and Horses, of Love (*Kama-sastra*), of Hawking (*Syanika-sastra*) and even of Theft (*Chauryasastra*), there being an existent text, *samukha-kalpa* (readers know something of it from the *Mricchakatika*). Most of these sciences have not yet been exhaustively or satisfactorily explained or explored, as they should be done.

Here are to be added the two great subjects, Philosophy and Religion, with their multifarious branches and subdivisions, contributed not only by Brahmanic but also by Jainist and Buddhist authors. But we cannot dwell on them here within the short time at our disposal.

In this connection we may refer to Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, in the light of which one may discuss a subject in Sanskrit, that still awaits scientific explanation.

With regard to the work mentioned above, one may observe that the author "reads new ideas into the old texts." Its authenticity depends on its merits, and so long as it is not refuted, it cannot be rejected. It is clear that the influence of Western science has evoked a great reaction in our country. It is not a bad thing; true interpretation is always desirable whatever be the source from which it comes. We have yet much to learn and much to do. It may be of interest to you to hear that, in 1812, Franz Bopp devoted himself to the study of oriental languages and learnt Sanskrit. Gradually he became the founder of a new science, Comparative Philology in 1816. Who can say that a similar thing may not happen now, if Sanskrit studies are carried on sincerely, earnestly, and laboriously?

Sanskrit literature is full of high and noble ideals of life that lead one along the paths of truth and peace, and bring him rewards that are coveted by one and all. Look at the piteous and miserable condition of the world today. What do we see? Is it not man's inordinate ambition and desire for wordly enjoyments, that have brought about all the strife, unrest, and unhappiness among the men of our times? What is the remedy? Sanskrit offers the reply very clearly. I may quote here a verse without any comment, with the simple request that you will think over it deeply. It is from a great Vaishnavite work, i.e., *Sri Bhagavata* (VII-14-8).

"Yavad bhriyeta jatharam tavat svattvam hi dehina, Adhikam yo'bhimanyeta sa steno dandam arhati.

It means: "One has a right to that quantity of food with which one's stomach is filled; but he who claims a

right to anything more is a thief and deserves punishment." This is one of the most invaluable teachings of the scriptures of India, meant for the welfare of mankind. And this noble ideal spread to other countries of the East and the West through the medium of Sanskrit.

It is not for preaching any religion that Sanskrit was welcomed in the West. It was the intrinsic merit of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, that won for it a place of honour in the countries of the West. That is why Sanskrit is now being studied vigorously and reverently in many lands, where its very name was unknown for centuries in the past. Indian scholars, who are acquainted with the researches of these great savants of other lands, will realize that their own works are generally far inferior in depth and quality. While this is the condition of Sanskrit in its ancient home, what are our great leaders going to do about? If they do not change their present attitude of apathy, the glory of Sanskrit will vanish for ever. This is a possibility about which they should think seriously.

It may however be argued that, in these days of stress and strain, there are many things to be done, and the study of Sanskrit may wait—a study which is simply useless in the present context of world affairs.

These gentlemen talk loudly of scientific methods of education, but where have we reached in the long run? How is it that vast millions of our men and women cannot have a full meal a day? Again, is it not a fact that, even now, in many parts of the world, food-grains are much dearer than in prewar days? Why are they suffering like this? How is it that the present system of education and the elaborate lists of books, discussed and adopted by our Universities and School Boards cannot avert the sufferings of our people? Certainly the vast majority of them are not reading Sanskrit! Indeed, it is wrong to think that a student who reads Sanskrit will have to suffer in life.

I shall not speak here about the way in which Sanskrit is now taught in our University and its constituent colleges, or in Sanskrit *pathshalas*, though there is much room for improvement in this sphere. For the present, I should like to put before you one and only one question, which is the gravest and greatest of all. I feel that, without answering this question, all our efforts will end in failure and deep disappointment.

The question is whether the present system of education has been able to bring peace and happiness to the world.

I am afraid I have already tried your patience with a fairly long address. That is why I shall not dwell any further on the manner in which the teaching of Sanskrit is carried on in our schools and colleges. It is evident that the system of education, which is now working in our country, has failed to bring peace and contentment to the teeming millions of India. Science has worked wonders in our worldly life. We can fly in the air, dive deep into the sea, and listen to the voices of our fellow-men in far-off lands across the waters. But it has not been able to give peace to the world. It has given us stones when we are crying for bread. It is, I feel, time for us to cry halt, and devise some other ways for giving the light of knowledge and the joy of life to the men and women of this ancient land.

This proves, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the need of a complete reorientation of our educational system. The greatest evil of our time is that a student does not practise in his own life what he learns from his teachers or the books he has read. He does not see before him an ideal teacher, pure in thought, word, and deed, to whom he may turn for light, love and inspiration.

To my mind, the revival of the ancient Hindu ideal of *Brahmacharyya* is the only way out of this present crisis in our national life. *Brahmacharyya* means a close association between the teacher and the pupil—an association that exercises a profound influence on the character of the young learner. Here is a system which does not ignore any single aspect of education, social, intellectual, or spiritual. And it is regulated with so much care, tenderness, and sympathy that it makes each and every one of our young hopefuls, happy, enlightened, and peaceful.

Before I resume my seat, I beg of you all to think seriously over these stray thoughts in building the future of Young India. Let us remember today, in all humility, the words of our national poet, "Things that I longed for in vain and things that I got—let them pass. Let me but truly possess the things, I spurned and overlooked."

Svasti Svasti Svasti!

* Presidential address, Sanskrit Section, All-India Educational Conference, 28th Session, Calcutta, 1953.



INDIA'S POPULATION PROBLEM Census Commissioner's Analysis

By ASHISH BOSE

THE elaborate census of 1951 and the illuminating report of the Census Commissioner have thrown a floodlight on the population problem of India. The wealth of statistics collected in the census which has been presented in 17 volumes and 63 parts can keep a demographer busy till the next census of India; and the solutions of the population problem offered by the Census Commissioner can keep the Government planning for the next few decades.

In the lengthy report of the Census Commissioner there is not even a casual reference to Malthus. Yet the report is a brilliant exposition of Malthus' principle of population and I have not come across any better or more convincing proof of the Malthusian theory. If Malthus were to come out of his grave today he would have surely patted Mr. Gopalaswami on the back and said, "Well done!"

In a press interview shortly after the publication of his report, Mr. Gopalaswami maintained that he was neither a statistical expert nor an economist. But the way in which he has marshalled the statistics and drawn his conclusions leaves no doubt about his exceptional capacity for tackling the subject. He is, in fact, much ahead of Malthusians and Neo-Malthusians. He seems to me an ultra-Malthusian.

It may be true of Malthus that he did not foresee the tremendous technological improvements brought about by science but we cannot say this of Mr. Gopalaswami, for he asserts that his "conclusion is reached after taking full account of the technological possibilities of development of agricultural productivity." Of course, one may say that he has taken a rather pessimistic view in the assessment of future possibilities but he made it clear in his press interview that it was not "legitimate optimism to hope that science would take care of the population problem of the country." He characterized as "unjustifiable Micawberism" the contention that the country could increase agricultural production corresponding to the population growth with the help of science. And in his report he condemns this belief in science as "scienolatry" and goes on to say that "this new religion comes in handy for a school of thought, which is on principle, opposed to admitting that the shortage of land could be an operative cause of poverty at any time."

Like Neo-Malthusians Mr. Gopalaswami emphasizes the need for scientific birth control but he does not stop at that. He defines "improvident maternity"

and suggests the precise extent to which such maternity should be reduced.

That Malthus anticipated Mr. Gopalaswami over 150 years ago will be clear from the following parallel passages: Says Malthus in his celebrated *Essay on Population*:

"In an endeavour to raise the proportion of the quantity of provisions to the number of consumers in any country, our attention would naturally be first directed to the increasing of the absolute quantity of provisions; but finding that, as fast as we did this, the number of consumers more than kept pace with it and that with all our exertions we were still as far as ever behind, we should be convinced that our efforts directed only in this way would never succeed. It would appear to be setting the tortoise to catch the hare. Finding, therefore, that from the laws of nature we could not proportion the food to the population, our next attempt should naturally be to proportion the population to the food. . . . We are not, however, to relax our efforts in increasing the quantity of provisions, but to combine another effort with it. . . ."

Says Mr. Gopalaswami in his report:

" . . . we should make up our mind to face the fact that our effort to keep pace with unchecked growth of population is bound to fail at some point."

And he concludes that

"A combined approach to the solution of our problem calls for the following targets: (i) increase of agricultural productivity from the present level of approximately 700 lakhs of annual tons to about 940 lakhs of annual tons; (ii) reduction of improvident maternity from over 40 per cent (its incidence at present) to under 5 per cent."

Improvident maternity is defined as "a child-birth occurring to a mother who has already given birth to three or more children, of whom at least one is alive."

To Malthus the alternative before mankind was restraint or starvation. To Mr. Gopalaswami also the alternative before India is restraint or starvation. He says, "What follows—that starvation is our lot? No. It follows that we should make up our mind that we shall not go on increasing in numbers as we do."

Mr. Gopalaswami's report deals mainly with the "population-land-food problem." The year 1921 is a fateful one in the demographic history of India, and Mr. Gopalaswami calls it the "Great Divide." Before 1921 population was checked repeatedly by famine and pestilence, after 1921, except for the Bengal famine, population has been growing unchecked.

Before 1921 cultivation had more than kept pace with the growth of population; since 1921 cultivation has been lagging far behind the growing population. Before 1921 there was a surplus of food in India, since 1921 there has been a shortage of food and this shortage has been steadily increasing.

Mr. Gopalaswami has a warning for the future. If agricultural production does not catch up with increase in population, if a strict control over the supplies and prices of food-grains is not maintained "the drift towards eventual breakdown will have started." And "if, while this drift was proceeding, a world war should begin and external supplies get cut off—the blow will have fallen. The people in all parts of the country must pass through the Valley of the Shadow as the people of Bengal did in 1943."

Today in many quarters there is a feeling that our food problem has been solved and that we may even export food in the near future. Optimism is good for the morale but it should be tempered with caution when it is a question of life and death for millions of men, women and children. A study of the exports and imports of food-grains in the closing decades of the last century and at the beginning of the present century shows that exports were taking place even in times of famine though millions were dying in many parts of the country for want of food. Our Government should see that this tragic history does not repeat itself.

Mr. Gopalaswami maintains that

"Free trade cannot function in a market which is genuinely short of food-grains—however small the shortage."

This sounds strange against the recent statement of Mr. Kidwai, the Union Food Minister, that "the ultimate aim of the Government was not only to decontrol rice but also to abolish the Food Ministries at the Centre and in the States." Mr. Kidwai maintains that "there is no shortage of food-grains in the country now" while Mr. Gopalaswami maintains that there is a genuine food shortage in the country. According to his calculations the imports round about 1951 should have been 100 lakh tons against the actual 34 lakh tons. His explanation for this difference in figures is that

"When population grows in number in conditions of growing food shortage the average level of food consumption does tend to fall."

It has been said that the Indian budget is a gamble in rain, varying with the vagaries of rainfall. I would say that the continued existence of an Indian on earth is a gamble in statistics depending on the varying moods of statisticians.

One may ask, "Why bother about the food shortage? Can we not industrialize our country and import food as Great Britain does?" Mr. Gopalaswami anticipates the question and says:

"Industrialisation is not the answer to the food problem; the widespread belief to the contrary is a fallacy based on a misreading of history."

The case of Great Britain indicates "an exceptional phase of human history" and "it seems most unlikely that any other country with a larger and growing population will develop in that way hereafter." And it is also unlikely that "the food-exporting countries of the world will increase agricultural productivity at a faster rate than their own rate of growth of population and produce increasing surpluses to match increasing deficits in India and Europe."

But in maintaining that "industrialisation will not help to solve our food problem, except indirectly to a limited extent in so far as it can provide the materials needed for the development of agricultural productivity" Mr. Gopalaswami has taken an unduly narrow view of industrialization. The improvement of agriculture is linked up with the tempo of industrialization. Apart from helping mechanization of agriculture, industrialization should help in reducing the pressure of population on land by diverting the surplus population to industries, large and small. Further, as Dr. Pei-kang Chang points out in his book, *Agriculture and Industrialisation*, "Industrial development is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition of agricultural reform and improvement Moreover only an appreciable rise in people's income which is to be secured from industrial and commercial expansion can raise, though at a decreasing rate, the demand for farm products and stimulate the improvements in agriculture." Mr. Gopalaswami has obviously overlooked this aspect.

Mr. Gopalaswami has successfully exploded the idea of Bountiful Nature and the faith in "potential plenty." Those who believe in the comfortable proposition—"If only we could develop our vast natural resources, etc., . . . we could easily support many times the present population" should do well to read the report twice over. It will disturb their complacency. Has not Hayek said, "Whosoever talks about potential plenty is either dishonest or does not know what he is talking about?"

Mr. Gopalaswami says:

"It is scarcely credible but nevertheless true that the First Five-Year Plan includes major irrigation projects which are calculated to bring more area under new irrigation than the entire area brought under new irrigation by all major irrigation projects which were constructed during a century of British rule."

We are on the threshold of this spectacular progress, yet "the contribution secured from all the major irrigation projects will fall short of one-fourth of the total (increase in agricultural productivity) needed" to overcome current shortages and keep pace with the growth of population. We should

not forget that "if the scale of our effort is unprecedented, the magnitude of our growing need is even more unprecedented."

Mr. Gopalaswami has done well in presenting before the country a scientific appraisal of the population problem. But as Mr. Nehru has rightly said there is no need to take "an alarmist view" of the situation. After all, in the world today there are far more dangerous things to be afraid of, than the birth of babies!

II

The Census Commissioner, Mr. Gopalaswami has made in his report an excellent study of the "population-land-food problem." The problem is becoming more and more acute as the years go by. The already high pressure of population on land is continually increasing, the per capita land area is decreasing, an increasing number of people are working on the same area of cultivated land, and non-earning dependency is on the increase; "the law of diminishing returns is in effective operation and every acre of new irrigation has to be subsidised by the general tax-payer."

The land area of India is made up of 11 per cent of mountains, 18 per cent of hills, 28 per cent of plateaus and 43 per cent of plains. The per capita agricultural area in India is 97 cents against 153 cents (92 cents of arable land and 61 cents of meadows and pastures) in Europe (excluding European U.S.S.R.). Since 1921 the area of cultivated land per capita is continually declining in India as will be evident from the following table (the statistics about per capita land area relate only to those areas for which comparable statistics of good quality are available):

Year	population in crores	area of cultivated land per capita (in cents) 100 cents=1 acre
1891	23.59	109
1901	23.55	103
1911	24.90	109
1921	24.81	111
1931	27.55	104
1941	31.28	94
1951	35.69	84

Mr. Gopalaswami observes that "in relation to the natural resources available for the production of food, India is even more heavily over-populated than Europe." This conclusion is based on the following facts:

- (1) Europe (which is the most densely populated continent of the world) is less densely populated than India. The average European has more land per capita than the average Indian.
- (2) The average European has brought only 30 per cent of his land under the plough. The average Indian on the other hand, has brought under the plough 43 per cent of his land even though it has a far larger proportion of thin and poor soils and a less adequate and less evenly distributed rainfall. Only thus is the average Indian able to get 97 cents of cultivated and

fallow fields against 92 cents of the average European. (3) Because he has got more and better land and has used only a smaller fraction of it for cultivation, the average European is able to have and does have in addition 61 cents of agricultural land under permanent meadows and pastures."

It is often supposed that if India can have European standards of farming her food problem will be solved. But Mr. Gopalaswami thinks differently and rightly too. He says:

"Even in the absence of any difference in farming efficiency, Europe can produce more plant food per capita than India because much the same area of arable land per capita is available in Europe as in India but with more favourable rainfall and soil conditions. In addition Europe has got more permanent meadows and pastures which must provide a supply of milk, milk products, beef, mutton and other food stuffs of animal origin—for which there can be no parallel in India."

It is generally observed that economic progress lies in an occupational shift from agriculture to industry and in a lowering of the percentage of population dependent on the primary sector of the economy. In India 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture and "the relative weight of dependence on agriculture for gainful employment has not declined in the country as a whole. It is possible that it has increased slightly. The result has been an increase in non-earning dependency." In India 29 per cent of the population is self-supporting, 11 per cent earning dependents and 60 per cent non-earning dependents.

Another disquieting feature has been an increase in the number of cultivators and cultivating labourers working on the same area of cultivated land. For example, in Travancore-Cochin in 1931 the number of cultivators and cultivating labourers (including unpaid family helpers) working on 100 acres of land was 41; it increased to 57 in 1951. Apart from indicating an increasing pressure of population in a literal sense, it shows that under-employment is growing.

A high rate of dependency and a preponderance of children in the population are characteristic features of an under-developed country. In India, on an average, 1,000 self-supporting persons support by their exertions themselves as well as 2,504 others. In the U.S.A. the corresponding number is 1,547 and in Great Britain 1,207. Part of this difference is due to the high proportion of infants in India's population but even after persons under 14 are excluded, the remaining burden of dependency is still heavier in India than in the U.S.A. or Great Britain. The conclusion follows:

"Even people of working age are less fully employed in India than in these countries." In India 33.3 per cent of the people are under 15 years of age while the corresponding percentage in the U.S.A. is 27.1. "This means—even if an average Indian married couple had the same resources to

spend on bringing up their children as an average American married couple, each Indian child can only get a much smaller share of these resources than each American child, because the same resources have to be spread over a larger number. Actually the resources available to the average Indian couple are very much smaller. . . . The dry figures tell the story quite clearly—in terms of food, shelter, care, and attention during illness, education and every kind of preparation for life the Indian child is handicapped unmistakably and of necessity."

Let us look to the future now. By how much need we increase production to keep pace with the growth of population? Mr. Gopalaswami calculates that round about 1951 the average total productivity was 700 lakhs of Annual tons. (He devises the term 'agricultural productivity' "in order to emphasise the fact that we are not referring to the production of particular years" but to "the average level of production"). He has also forecast the increase of population for the next thirty years and has calculated the increase in productivity required to "overcome existing shortages and maintain current levels of consumption without deterioration." The following table will make the position clear :

Year	Population in crores	Agricultural productivity (in lakhs of annual tons)	Needed increase in ag. product (in lakhs of annual tons)	Percentage increase 1951-100
1951	36	700	..	100
1961	41	850	150	121
1971	46	960	260	137
1981	52	1080	380	154

After considering all major and minor irrigation projects included in the First Five-Year Plan and after taking account of all methods of improving productivity (there is, however, no mention of the record of *Krishi Pandits*) which will be utilized in the years to come Mr. Gopalaswami concludes :

"At the end of all this, our estimate of increase of agricultural productivity is still only 240 lakhs of Annual tons ; of which one-sixth is to be secured by increase of acreage under crop ; one third by increase of acreage under irrigation ; and one half by all methods of increasing yield per acre other than irrigation. The increase will fall short of our needs before 1971. It will be just sufficient to overcome the present shortage and meet our growing needs until our number reached 45 crores—which will occur round about 1969."

Hence Mr. Gopalaswami recommends that our population should be stabilized at 45 crores.

Our population can be stabilized at 45 crores if the birth rate which is of the order of 40 per thousand is reduced to 25 per thousand, in about fifteen years. By that time the death rate is expected to go down from the present level of 27 per thousand to about 23 per thousand. If these targets are achieved our population will increase at the rate of 2 per cent per decade

instead of the present rate of 13 per cent per decade.

Postponement of marriage is not of much help in this direction. From statistics collected in Travancore-Cochin about mothers who completed the reproductive age, the effect of postponement of marriage on the fertility pattern can be studied. Those who commenced child-bearing during the ages 15 to 19 had on an average 7.3 children while those who commenced child-bearing during the ages 20 to 24 had on an average, 6.4 children. Mr. Gopalaswami concludes : "There is a diminution in the total number of children born when the age of commencement of child birth is postponed but the difference is not very striking."

The real solution lies, according to Mr. Gopalaswami, in a curtailment of "improvident maternity" (which he defines as "a child-birth occurring to a mother who has already given birth to three or more children, of whom at least one is alive"). The incidence of improvident maternity is 42.8 per cent in India, 33.9 per cent in Japan, 19.7 per cent in France, 19.2 per cent in the U.S.A. and 14.3 per cent in the U.K. Mr. Gopalaswami advocates the reduction of improvident maternity in India to five per cent only within some fifteen years. A permanent solution of the population problem lies, according to him, in an increase of agricultural productivity of the order of 240 lakhs of Annual tons and the reduction of improvident maternity to about 5 per cent.

I feel, however, that Mr. Gopalaswami has gone a little too far in condemning improvident maternity. He says :

"The occurrence of improvident maternity should evoke social disapproval as any other form of anti-social self-indulgence."

And why on earth he wants India to secure "the lowest incidence of improvident maternity among all the countries of the world" is not quite clear. Even statistically speaking, the mere fact that the birth rate exceeds the death rate by a small margin is no sure proof that the population will continue to increase indefinitely. It all depends on the age structure and the "net reproduction rate." It appears that in suggesting so drastic a reduction of improvident maternity as he has done, Mr. Gopalaswami was more actuated by arithmetic than by any other consideration. Moreover, he has not studied the likely effects of this reduction in improvident maternity on the generations to come. There is no law which says a stable population will remain stable ; it may even decrease.

One may not share the views of Mr. Gopalaswami about the targets for future, but there is little to disagree with in his study of the past. His analysis of the population problem of India is both penetrating and provoking.

WHERE STANDS SARVODAYA ?

By D. R. PENDSE, B.A. (Cantab.)

MORE than fifty lakhs of rupees have already been spent on the Sarvodaya activities in the Bombay State so far, and another Rs. 15 lakhs sanctioned for the current year. For four years the Congress ministry in our State is thus trying to translate into practice Gandhiji's ideals of Sarvodaya and thus paying homage to the Father of the Nation. In a State's budget, fifty lakhs of rupees spent over four years may sound a mere trifle ; but more important than the amount spent are events like a mass meeting alleged to be held in one of the Sarvodaya areas to declare entire non-co-operation with the centre. Far more tragic and strange is the very unfortunate fact that a very popular Congress constructive worker as the late Shri Dadasahib Chawdhary of E. Khandesh was, was to be murdered inhumanly, while he was faithfully following the ideals of Sarvodaya. This is an expenditure which we will never re-earn. On the other hand, tribes as illiterate and as notoriously criminal as the Berads of Belgaum District, are now learning to live in a more civilised fashion. They have now obtained land for cultivation and are starting on a new era of human living they never knew for years together.

The results of Sarvodaya have been widely different in different areas. The Bombay Government started Sarvodaya first as a four-year experiment. Now that the four years are over, it is the right and duty of every citizen of Bombay State, if not of the whole of Indian Union, to pause for a while and to think: Where stands Sarvodaya today? Have they been able to put in such results as can be reasonably expected from them? If they have not, why? If this experiment is to be continued, these are the questions that must be faced in order to ensure that in the next four years Sarvodaya would have gone a much longer way towards its ideals than it did in the last four years.

GANDHIJI'S IDEALS

Let us therefore start with seeing as to what exactly is happening to Sarvodaya schemes which are a special feature of Bombay State in our country. They were launched in 1949 by its sponsors, among whom Shri V. L. Mehta, Bombay's then finance minister, was the most prominent. Since the Congress ministry was in power then, they thought it a fitting occasion to spend one crore of rupees on these schemes in order to promote the aims of Gandhiji. The central idea behind Sarvodaya is, as is well-known, the all-round development of the backward; the uplift of the oppressed; and the improvement of the depressed. There are at present about 29 centres of Sarvodaya. In general there is one for each district—with the exception of Broach district where there is none; and of Poona (2), Surat (2), North Satara (2), and Ratnagiri (2). Sometimes, but not often, there is a change in the area selected, or additions or subtractions to this list. Out of the one crore of

rupees that were sanctioned, more than half the amount is actually spent during the first four-year period for which the amount was sanctioned, and another Rs. 15 lakhs are sanctioned for the current year.

COMPACT AREA

A typical Sarvodaya area is a compact area of about 40 villages. However, in practice they vary from those having only 14 villages to those including as many as 73 villages. The main criterion in selection of the areas is, as seen at the outset, their backwardness. Thus, e.g., in Thana district, or in W. Khandesh, the areas are mostly inhabited by Adiwasis (Warlis and Bhils respectively) ; in Belgaum district it consists of the criminal tribes of Berads. Though this is so, there are other examples where the areas are not at all backward, but where entirely different considerations have made themselves effective in the selection of the areas ; e.g., the inavailability of some key figure, very often the Sanchalak, in the areas outside those at present selected, has been decidedly the factor in the selection of at least three out of the eight centres which I visited personally. The same flexibility applies to the selection of the head office of the areas. In general it can be said that the head office is in the area itself. This is obviously useful for quick administration. But in some cases, the head office is outside the area selected, and then it is usually the normal residential place of the Sanchalak. In these cases, again a main centre is opened in the area and a Deputy is appointed to work there. The Sanchalak then visits this centre occasionally and stays there for a few days and gets himself acquainted with the working of the centre and discusses matters with the workers.

THE SANCHALAK

The staff of a typical Sarvodaya centre is headed by the Sanchalak. He is directly appointed by the Bombay Government, and is entitled to a honorarium up to Rs. 200 p.m. Some of them take no honorarium at all, while some others as much as Rs. 200 which is the normal upper limit. Their ages vary from 25 to 65 years. As for their University education, they vary from those knowing no English whatever, to M.A., LL.B.s and M.Coms. The Sanchalak, as the head of the scheme, is responsible for the working of the centre in all its aspects. He appoints such other persons as he thinks desirable for the efficient working of the centre, either functionwise or areawise. All these workers also receive a similar honorarium fixed up by the Sanchalak.

THE STATE COMMITTEE

There are seven heads on which all the centres are expected to work : viz., Education, Agricultural Development, Cottage Industries, Health, Water Supply, Communications, and Social and Cultural activities including

Prohibition activities. To examine the year to year matters of importance at the State level, a 'State Sarvodaya Advisory Committee' is at present functioning. It consists of the ministers and departmental secretaries whose portfolios are directly related to Sarvodaya matters. In addition it includes three well-known Congress constructive workers, one each from the three linguistic regions of Bombay State. Shri V. L. Mehta is also included, while the Registrar of Co-operative Societies acts as the member-secretary. During its occasional meetings, about seven per year, it discusses and sanctions the budgets of all the centres for the forthcoming year, and acts as a supervisory and advisory body.

THE HUMAN CRITERION

It will be obvious that the idea behind Sarvodaya, by definition, contrasts it with the Community Projects. Though both in Sarvodaya and in the Projects the essence is certainly to get the people to work, the former is based on primarily humanitarian grounds, while the latter on economic grounds. It is the most backward and neglected people where Sarvodaya is to work, while the Projects were to be started in potentially surplus areas with the aim of transforming them into actually surplus areas. Here the areas were to be those that were technically sound, where some development expenditure would change them into economically surplus, at any rate self-sufficient areas. The cultural and social uplift of the people is not to play a decisive role in selecting the areas of the Project, as it undoubtedly has to in Sarvodaya.

So it will be readily seen that in judging the success of Sarvodaya the measuring rod of economics is not applicable. Economically speaking it is evident that those areas must be selected for development where a given expenditure will yield the maximum results, or where a given yield can be obtained from the minimum expenditure. Hence, as long as there are undeveloped areas where a certain expenditure would make them developed and surplus, it is not legitimate, if a strictly economic view is to be taken, to select other areas where the yield is likely to be much less.

But in a cultured society, economics is not the only criterion to be used; though of course, it must never be done away with. Sarvodaya-sponsors therefore claim that every person with his heart in the right place will support that the backward must be no more backward. It is this humanitarian criterion that lies at the root of Sarvodaya. Indeed, it is this that lies at the root of most of the problems which Sarvodaya is inherently facing today.

II

WASTED EFFORT

If one visits a number of Sarvodaya areas personally and tries to understand the working thereof, the one thing that usually meets the eye unmistakably is that the efforts are one-sided. It is always maintained that the chief business of Sarvodaya is 'change of heart.'

But so far as it is tried to achieve by actual development works, help of technical personnel must be sought. For example, if one Sanchalak is convinced that building *bandharas* would be a very promising activity, forcing the people respect Sarvodaya ideals and help towards its attainment, the first thing to do is to get the services of an engineer or an overseer to explore the possibilities of building these *bandharas*. It is hardly of use to start with the activities without taking technical advice, only to find the *bandharas* shattering one after another.

In another centre it was proposed to prepare Gur out of Shindi trees. The Sanchalak thought that it would be cheap. But he did not care to investigate rationally whether it would be sold. The result was only that the people, though backward, had such a strong preference for sugarcane-produced Gur that they would rather go without it than purchase jaggery. The latter had poor storage capacity. Hence the entire project had to be abandoned. In still other cases, workers were sent for training in handlooms, bee-keeping, etc., but when these activities were introduced it was found that the geographical conditions of the areas were unsuitable for them. Such instances can be added to a large number. But the long and short of it is that the will of the Sanchalaks to improve the backward is not particularly helpful as it is not often coupled with technical advice or even a thorough investigation of all aspects of the problem.

TECHNICAL HELP

Such a neglect for seeking technically sound help results in very strange issues. Only one specimen to which most centres are subjected will explain what I am trying to point out. The government have laid down certain aspects of Sarvodaya activity where a certain proportion of the estimated cost must be collected by the people either in money or in labour terms. Thus, in constructing approach roads they are to contribute about 50 % of the cost. A majority of Sanchalaks were commonly found to have a very simple but faulty method of evaluating peoples' co-operation. They simply noted the number of persons present on each day and added them up to be multiplied by the prevalent daily wage for manual labour. But almost always this overestimates the peoples' share. For, unskilled manual labour is often, and rightly so, paid by piece rates. The daily earnings of a typical labourer in these cases is the result of hard, sincere work for at least eight hours a day; he works there to earn as much as he can. When he is contributing his share in this co-operative effort he is prone to do as little work as he can do with. Where skill and quality are not important, the value of the peoples' co-operation must be judged by the actual output and not by the mandays worked. This mistake is committed in a good many of centres, in most places without knowing the fault therein. It is ample evidence that in only one out of the eight centres that I visited, I found that a person

of engineering qualifications was at the disposal of Sarvodaya. And he was the only person who had taken into account the actual output rather than the mandays worked in calculating the villagers' co-operation.

A CURIOUS IDEA

Another instance, rather funny to think seriously about, was one of a Sanchalak who thought the only solution out for India's rural problem was to follow a five-year plan which he had himself prepared and whereby Rs. 4 lakhs were to be contributed by the villagers of each single village of 1,000 inhabitants for the development of their village; together with Rs. 1 lakh from the government for each of the villages. But without caring to get these views examined by an expert regarding its practicability, he kept harping on the same string that was the only solution out!

The same is true in some other respects too. Few centres have the services of persons who know something of budget-making. In some centres, there was not even a proper typist. So that, the annual and other reports of the work done, which are sent to the government for approval, etc., contain innumerable typing mistakes in them.

Thus, one after another, a number of projects selected by Sarvodaya Sanchalaks are often subjected to a severe handicap. Were they blended with proper technical advice and help they would have achieved a far more spectacular success than at present. It must be pointed out that this does not mean that none of the Sarvodaya projects have come off successfully. Far from it. I am trying to think the why and how of those types of projects that are frustrated.

III

Thinking on the same basis let us next move to the more fundamental problem of the co-operation of the villagers. Here, as before, I am concerning myself primarily with those cases where co-operation is not sufficient and am trying to see why this is so.

BACKWARD PEOPLE

One of the inherent characteristics of Sarvodaya areas is that they are inhabited by very backward people. Sarvodaya is indeed a very daring experiment of mixing with these people and of trying to improve them. The people are not only backward, but at times they are criminal; and often a prey to age-old vested interests. No doubt the work requires a great deal of courage. Many readers would probably remember that the late Sanchalak of E. Khandesh Sarvodaya centre had to surrender his life to the whims of the murderers for the cause of his mission. But all this only underlies the grave fact that the people whom Sarvodaya is trying to improve are not at all innocent and easily subject to improvement. Many of them still lead their lives in precisely the same way as their ancestors did hundreds of years ago. There is no change. They know little

of the external world. The Warlis in Thana Dist., for example, were even glad to give up one seer of corn for two seers of salt simply because of the larger volume that they received. They have all been living in utter poverty and sheer ignorance. They understand little beyond earning just enough to live at a very meagre standard. Is it not a herculean task to sow in them the seeds of self-help, the principle of co-operation, and the ideal of Sarvodaya? This indeed is a natural handicap. In the beginning the Sanchalaks of some centres had first to dispel the villagers' suspicion that they were government spies or some other selfish persons aiming to exploit them still further. This they have done with great success. And it can be said safely that, as far as my own experience goes, the villagers in almost all cases are by now fairly convinced that Sarvodaya has definitely no intention of giving them more trouble; that, if anything, they might help them out of their difficulties.

D.D.T. SPRAY

Even if this is true, the magnitude of success in this field must not be exaggerated. All that the villagers at large are now ready for is to accept something if Sarvodaya awards it at its own initiative and expense. They are far from willing to pay even a small part of the cost. One of the Sarvodaya activities in some cases has been the D.D.T. Spray to combat the dreadful Malaria in their respective villages. Without exception the villagers in all these cases agreed that they were tremendously benefited by this annual activity. Then my question to them was whether they would be willing to contribute a small amount, say 4 as per year per house, for this spray. And, in the presence of the Sanchalak and other Sarvodaya workers (for they were generally kind enough to accompany me personally during most of my visits to Sarvodaya villages), the villagers flatly told they were accustomed to Malaria from their ancestors; so they did not think it worth-while to pay anything for that purpose. If Sarvodaya wanted to continue with it at its own cost, they did not mind; that was all! This case well illustrates the extent of mental preparedness with which the villagers co-operate.

PRIVATE MATTERS

Nevertheless it is true to say that the initial hatred, or fear, has almost vanished. But there is one big obstacle in furthering the element of love that is now peeping up in the villagers' minds about Sarvodaya. This is the insistence on the part of some Sanchalaks to interfere into matters which the villagers take as strictly private. Thus one Sanchalak launched a campaign to change the names of the adiwasi children in his area because the meanings of their existing names were 'bad.' He also tried to convince them to change the manner in which they celebrated Divali because that was not 'civilized.' His convictions might be correct. But the adiwasis seemed to take this as an offence and

interference into their personal affairs. So they gradually tended to develop a sort of feeling that instead of helping them out of their difficulties, Sarvodaya was going to thrust its nose into their private lives: a feeling which no Sanchalak will nourish affectionately.

PROHIBITION

More important than this are perhaps the prohibition activities of Sarvodaya. These are conducted from two radically different approaches. The advocates of the first went on with ceaseless propaganda against drinking by lectures, films, and what not. If this was not sufficient they took the help of the police force and got the persons concerned arrested. The followers of the second, first thought of what the villagers want most, e.g., improved seeds, better implements, wells for drinking water, etc. They then helped the villagers to the best of their capacity in these respects and thus qualified themselves for the confidence and the friendship of the villagers. It was only after this was achieved that they started expressing their views on prohibition, illicit distillation and such other matters which the villagers would not normally like outsiders to indulge in. But Sarvodaya Sanchalaks being no more 'outsiders' they could come off with unexpected success, as compared with their colleagues who spent far more energy, time, and money towards the same aim, but who returned with poor score.

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY

I have already said about the one-sidedness of the efforts of some of the Sanchalaks. It is obvious that this has to do much in hindering the public co-operation to the Sarvodaya activities. Almost all the Sanchalaks whom I personally met were well-known Congress constructive workers. Some of them came from a very close circle of Gandhiji. Their sincerity of purpose cannot be doubted. But unfortunately many of them had little experience of quick administration of some organisation or other, and of coping with the innumerable problems, small and big, that inevitably arise when one gets to it. At times, the Sanchalaks are shy of routine responsibilities; they prefer to leave the tussle of politics alone and to continue with their Seva activities. Now it is one thing to have certain ideas of the all-round development of the depressed, it is quite another to face and solve their administrative problems. Not only the Sanchalak but most of the Sarvodaya workers too, in some centres lack this administrative ability of getting things done. Perhaps administration is an aspect for which some of the Sanchalaks are not made. Audit reports, terminal reports to be submitted to the government, when imposed on Sarvodaya, makes the Sanchalaks a bit harassed though they know it for certain that not much of it can be avoided. Drive, personality, perseverance to get something by hook or crook, are not their best virtues. They are sincere but not always daring. They are selfless but not always practical.

However the fact remains that they have no powers behind them. Hence not all the blame for this goes to the Sanchalak and the other Sarvodaya workers; and it is to this question of Sarvodaya and the Government that we must finally turn.

IV

A UNIQUE STATUS

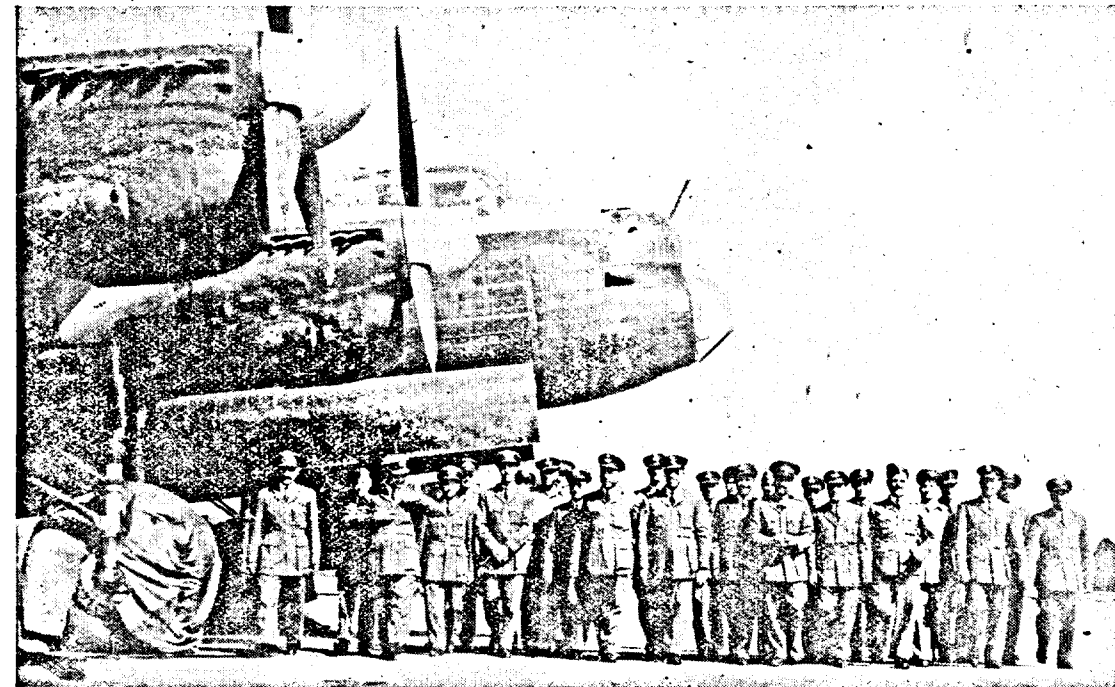
Sarvodaya organisation in Bombay State has a unique status. Firstly it must be remembered that it is not a government department in any way and that Sarvodaya workers are not government servants. Yet, Sarvodaya has the fullest backing of the present and the past Congress government. On the other hand, since their finances come entirely from *ad hoc* government grants annually, they have to subject themselves to audit checks, to send annual reports and the coming year's budget for approval. The Bombay government, through the Sarvodaya Advisory Committee (mentioned above), has a right to sanction or not one or more items of the budgets thus forwarded. The Sanchalaks are expected not to change even the distribution of expenditure under the various budget-heads and its subheads without the express permission of the Committee.

CONTROLS RIGID

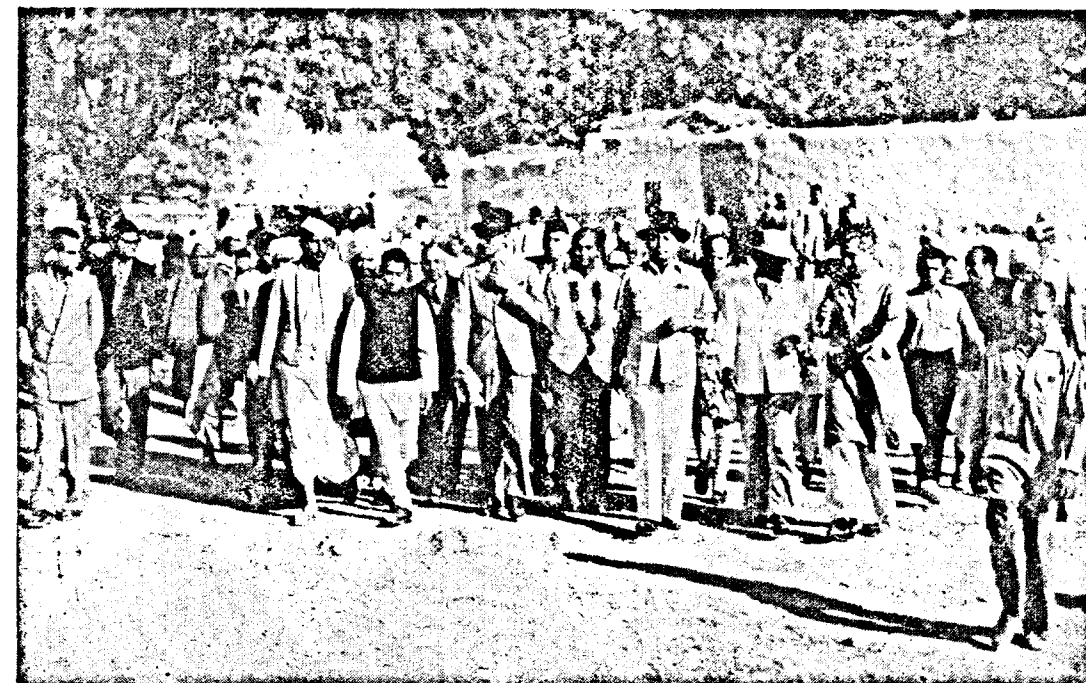
This machinery of government control is a bit too rigid. I have myself come across some instances where for want of discretionary powers to the Sanchalaks regarding the re-appropriation of funds, money and effort initially spent was threatened to be wasted. In one Sarvodaya village, almost newly inhabited, last year there was a severe famine and the villagers were left with no grain to use as seeds this year. Sarvodaya decided to give these seeds to them, with a view to obtaining them back after the cutting season. The government authorities, had, the Sanchalak told me, informally agreed to sanction it. But after repeated requests and reminders the formal sanction was still not received when the sowing season was busily started elsewhere. The monsoons were good; but the villagers had almost lost the hope of reaping the harvest and thereby starting on a respectable life, only due to the bureaucratic management of the governmental affairs.

BUDGET SURPRISES

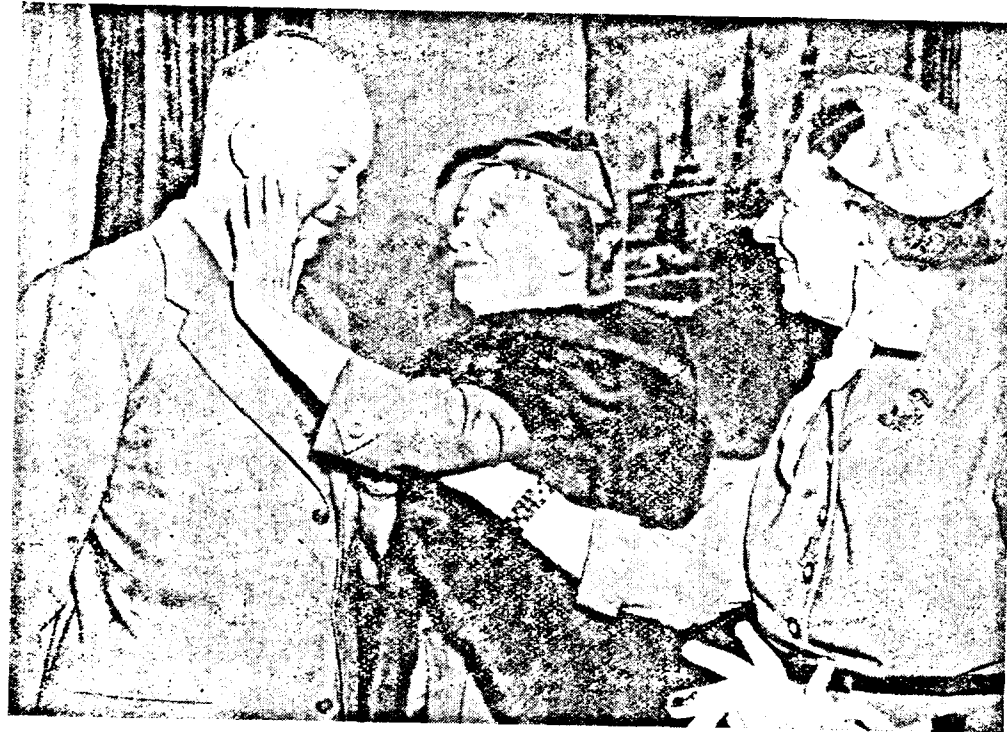
This bureaucracy of the government machinery also comes in the way of Sarvodaya in matters of sanctioning the budgets. These budgets are sent (some fifteen copies of them) to the government well in advance, and in the budget meeting of the Committee, they are sanctioned, revised, and amended if the Committee so thinks fit. When the Sanchalaks receive the sanctioned budgets, it is not rarely that they receive shocks of surprise. Many rather humorous examples can be cited. In one case, the request for an implements' shed was sanctioned, but that for the implements was not granted. In another case, the request for an oil ghani was



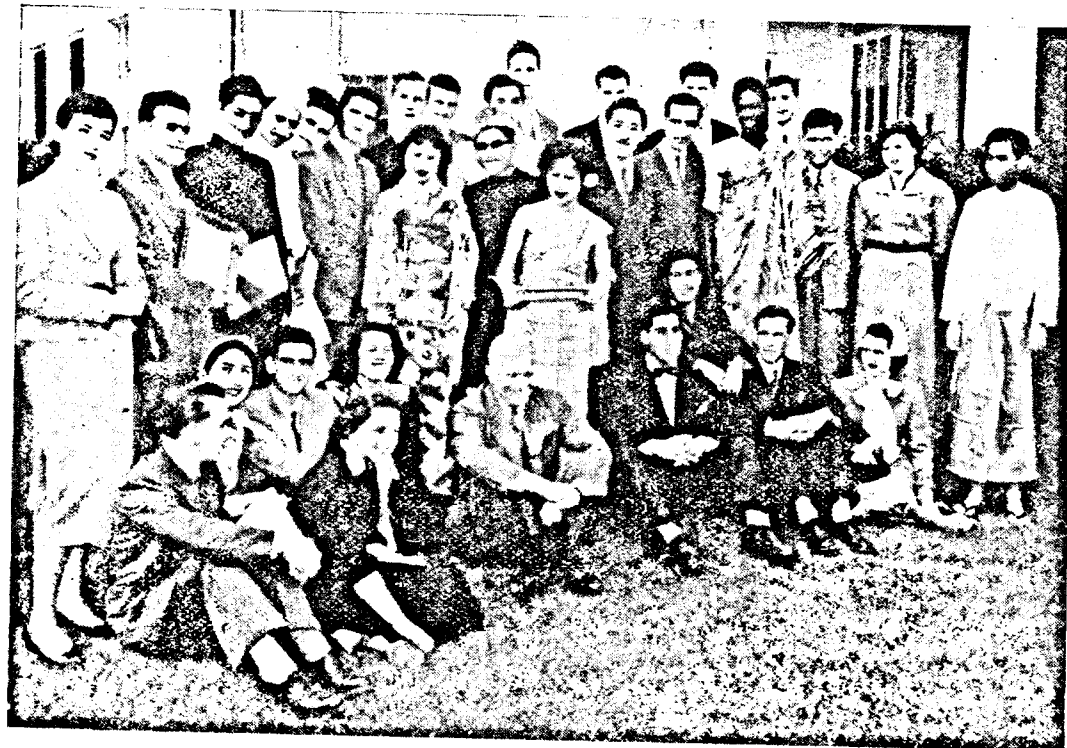
Officers and airmen of the Egyptian Air Force paid a visit to India last year. Here the visitors are seen with the I.A.F. officers near one of the Egyptian aircraft at Palam



The members of the Ceylon Parliamentary Delegation were shown a Community Centre at Village Mukhlempore about 10 miles from Delhi



Helen Keller (centre), world-renowned educator of the blind and herself blind and deaf since infancy, "sees" with her sensitive fingertips the smile of Dwight D. Eisenhower



Delegates to the current *New York Herald Tribune* Youth Forum pose informally with President Eisenhower during their visit to the White House. Standing third from left, wearing black, is Vangala Jaya Ram, from India

sanctioned; but the one for the shed, for the services of a man to be in charge of it, and for the purchase and maintenance of a bull were all flatly rejected. The Sanchalaks are helpless, often they get embarrassed. But they can't do much about it. Apart from these examples there are others where the revisions in their budgets show a total lack of appreciation for the local conditions on the part of the Committee. Some Sanchalaks have themselves expressed surprise at this attitude.

Why and how this could be happening is rather a guesswork. What is exactly true is difficult to be said for certain. The only thing that can be said safely is that those who pass the budgets have no permanent connections with those concerned with the actual expenditure.

SHAMEFUL NEGLECT

The reason for this is not far to search for. At present, the centres have remained pitifully solitary. One minister or another at times manages to spare a few hours to their centre in one of his tours. But in such cases, far from being useful to them to discuss problems, they have to make elaborate arrangements for his reception, so that little time is left for informal

discussions. I was rather astonished to find that during the last four years, except for a centre or two, no Sarvodaya centre was visited by anybody with a serious intention of studying its problems. This is indeed a great pity. In face of such a shameful neglect it is hard to imagine how this novel and worthy experiment can be synthesized.

What must be done then? What *must* we get the government to do if Sarvodaya is to put in better results in the future? These questions will take me astray from the central theme of this article. So I must conclude here by once more pointing out that to transform the life of the backward, and to show them glimpses of happiness is essentially a slow process; and change of heart is perhaps slower still.*

* This is the first comprehensive survey and a first-hand study of Sarvodaya. The Delhi School of Economics has recently undertaken an enquiry into some aspects of rural co-operation in Bombay State. The author of this article as a Research Fellow of the School was working on this project. He has personally visited eight Sarvodaya centres. The subject of the present article is, however, not the result of the enquiry of the Delhi School. Hence the opinions expressed in this article are strictly those of the writer. However the author wishes to express his sincere thanks to the Sanchalaks concerned, and to the Delhi School of Economics for their respective help rendered to him regarding the present article.

—O:—

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND THE STATES IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

A Review

By P. L. SAHGAL, M.A.,

Lecturer, National Defence Academy, Dehra Dun

THE Government of India Act of 1953 had more or less intended the establishment of a federation in India. A distinct claim had been made that the Provincial Autonomy had been conceded and that the component units will be to a large extent independent in all provincial spheres. Considering that Federalism suits a big country, the framers of our Constitution accepted the idea of a federation for the country, with a strong centre.

In this paper an effort has been made to analyse that

This paper, however, does not seek to solve any problems, it only poses a question—what if Central and State Governments are formed by different political parties? Will the Centre be able to direct and dictate? Will the Centre be able to suspend the Constitution in a State if needed? With the Congress Party increasingly losing its hold on the people, will the Constitution be able to have a smooth run in view of almost constant Central interference over the State Governments?

To a casual observer, a written Constitution, a distinct distribution of powers between the Centre and the States, a provision of a Federal (Supreme) Court for resolving, *inter alia*, conflicts of jurisdiction, are all obvious signs of federalism. A detailed examination, however, shows that even conceding that the framers of the Constitution wanted a federation with a strong Centre, in actual practice they have sown seeds of a centralised and unitary State.

- (i) Constitution of India is federal only in name, in actual practice, it is unitary;
- (ii) From the legislative, administrative, judicial and financial points of view there can be a real and absolute control by the Central Government over the State Governments *even in normal times*.
- (iii) Encroachments by the Centre over the States are within an easy reach of possibility, more so if the Central and the State Governments belong to different political parties.

The Parliament (Central Government) of India derives its powers under the following heads:

- (i) Union List (Art. 246).
- (ii) Concurrent List (Art. 246).
- (iii) Residuary Powers (Art. 248).
- (iv) Part 'C' and Part 'D' States legislation subject to the Part 'C' States Act.
- (v) Emergency Powers (Art. 250).
- (vi) If the Council of States desires by a two-third majority, Parliament has powers to legislate on 'State List' even. (Art. 249).
- (vii) Parliament can legislate for States on their own request. (Art. 252).
- (viii) Parliament can legislate for giving effect to International Agreements. (Art. 253).

Some of the above subjects warrant a little detailed examination to see how far the Centre can sway or even encroach illegitimately on the States' sphere.

THE UNION LIST vs. THE STATE LIST Legislative Relations

(i) The subject of *Industries* is mentioned in the State List (para 24), but paras 7 and 52 in the Union List give the Union Government power to take over any industries.

Para 7 reads, "Industries declared by Parliament by law to be necessary for the purpose of defence or for the prosecution of war."

While Para 52 says, "Industries, the control of which by the Union is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in public interest."

Thus what autonomy and surety in the matter of industries is left to the States, one may ask. The point has quite been rubbed in. Para 7 in view of the sweeping Para 52 was, in fact, redundant.

(ii) *Effective Demobilisation*, after the end of war is provided for in para 1 of the Union List. But what is "effective"? Cannot the Union Government encroach on the normal powers of the States to achieve this?

(iii) Justice (para 3) and prisons (para 4) are in the State List but "Preventive Detention" for defence and foreign affairs is in the Union List (para 9).

(iv) In the sphere of *Education* again, apart from the Universities of Benaras, Aligarh and Delhi (para 63), 'institutions of scientific and technical education,' even financed "in part" by the Government of India can be taken over by the Parliament (para 64 Union List). Other universities are in the State List but the Union can have an effective control over them also is evident from para 66 of the Union List—"Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions."

(v) *Ports* can be declared 'major ports' and can be taken over by the Centre (para 27).

(vi) *Elections*. Para 37 of the State List reads, "Elections to the legislatures of the States subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament," but

as if to reduce even this guarded provision to nonentity, para 72 of the Union List says, "Elections to Parliament, to the legislatures of States or to the offices of President and Vice-President; the Election Commission." The reader can draw his own conclusions. In no ambiguous language the election to the legislatures of States is the responsibility of the Centre specially when the Election Commission has an all-India jurisdiction.

(vii) *The Council of States*: By Article 249, the Parliament can legislate on the State List even, if so demanded by the Council of States by a two-third majority. This permission holds good for one year extendable for another year. What havoc such a provision can play on State Powers can be evident if it is realized that two-third of the Council of States being dominated by a single political party is a very practical possibility.

(viii) *International Treaties*: Another sphere in which the Centre can encroach on the States' rights is under the plea of carrying out of international obligations. Article 253 of the Constitution provides, "Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provision of this Chapter, Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body."

ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS

(i) Article 256 of the Constitution says, "The executive power of every State shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the 'laws' made by Parliament and any existing laws which apply in that State, and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to States as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose."

Nor can the States 'impede' or 'prejudice' the exercise of 'executive' powers of the Union. The Union Government has been given the power to give direction to the States in this regard, (Article 257) and the necessary sanction has been provided for in Article 365 which clinches the issue. "Where any State has failed to comply with or to give effect to, any direction given in the exercise of the executive powers of the Union under any of the provisions of this Constitution, it shall be lawful for the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution." This tantamounts to the invoking of Article 356, under which the President will take over the administration of the 'disobedient' State, as any emergency measure.

What should the situation be, one may again pause to ask if the Centre and the concerned State are under different party governments? What guarantee is

there that the Central Government won't advise the President to take over a State, the various actions of which they do not very much relish? That the Central Government can give a dog a bad name and bury it, is not very difficult to imagine. What will be the answer to such a problem?

(ii) *Communications* is a subject in the State List but under Article 257, the Union has been given the power to give directions to the States as to the (a) Construction and (b) maintenance of means of communication (highways and waterways) declared to be of 'national' or 'military' importance. All this action be it noted is unilateral and any State with a different political complexion can resent being given orders to this effect doubting the honesty of the Central Government in defining a highway as of national importance.

(iii) That fresh all-India services common to the Union and the States can be created if the Council of States so desire is provided for by Article 312(i):

"If the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-third of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest so to do, Parliament may by law provide for the creation of one or more all-India services common to the Union and the States, and subject to the other provisions of this Chapter, regulate the recruitment, and the conditions of the service of persons appointed to any such service."

Thus certain States may find certain State servants forced upon them from outside their States against their wishes.

(iv) To reduce the status of the States further, the appointment of Governors, the fixation of their emoluments, allowances, privileges and rights, extending the life of State legislative assemblies during emergencies, have all been made central powers. Thus there is a possibility that a Governor who does not toe the line even though appointed for five years can be got rid of under Article 156(i) if he ceases to have the "pleasure of the President." This implies that on the advice of the Central (party) Government an honest Governor can be shown the door if he, say, upholds and assists his State Government belonging to a party hostile to that at the Centre. A clear central encroachment, in striking contrast to the elected State Governors in U.S.A.!

(v) Under Article 200, the Governor of State can reserve a State Bill for the consideration of the President. But the Constitutional practice being that the Governor will never act except on the advice of his ministers creates several problems. If the Governor acts on the advice of his ministers, in actual practice, he never will reserve a bill for the President. Thus possibly he may incur the wrath of the Central Government (advisers of the President) ruled, say, by a different political party who do not like the provisions of the said bill. A situation may arise which may render him liable to be sacked for no more enjoying

"the pleasure of the President." If, however, the Governor acts independently and ignores the State Cabinet and over their head, reserves a bill for the President's consideration, he may lose face with the majority of the peoples' representatives in the State and thus a situation may arise for which he may have to resign for want of co-operation.

EMERGENCY POWERS

War, internal disorder, Constitutional break-down, financial break-down are positions in which the Centre can take over the States. Thus while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, the executive and legislative powers of the Union shall extend to the State or any part thereof.

One misses Section 93 of the Government Act of 1935, wherein in case of Constitutional break-down (in deference to provincial autonomy), the Governor used to take over the State (province), but under our new Constitution, the President has been given this power with obvious implications. Pepsu is a pointer. While the only correct decision regarding Pepsu was taken, the ruling party did throw itself open to the objection that it has suspended Constitution in Pepsu since its Government was the only non-Congress Government in India. An important matter is to realise that not only justice should be done but should appear or seem to have been done also.

The Unitary picture of the Constitution is complete when we look at more examples provided by the judiciary and finance.

The Constitution and organisation of the State High Courts' appointment of their judges, determining the number of the judges (Articles 216 and 217) lies with the President. Parliament can extend or restrict the jurisdiction of the High Court (Article 230).

(ii) The power of appointment of the finance commissions under Article 280 has been given to the Centre and the qualifications for the members of the Commission and their mode of selection has all been left to the Parliament. The States have thus no voice in regard to the appointment of these commissions and their work.

To sum up, if a single political party dominates all the governments in the country, no rubs may come in but as education spreads and public opinion becomes more discerning, several fresh political parties and alignments are bound to follow. And thus the possibility of a Centre-State conflict arising out of problems, the examples of which have been quoted above, are quite likely.

Will this conflict spell the failure of the Indian Constitution, the future only can tell.*

* A paper read at the XVI Indian Political Science Conference held at the University of Sagar, Sagar, in December, 1953.

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

By C. J. S. BINDRA, M.A., LL.B., Advocate,

Registrar, Labour Appellate Tribunal of India

THE VISA SYSTEM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BENGAL

By PROFESSOR D. N. BANERJEE

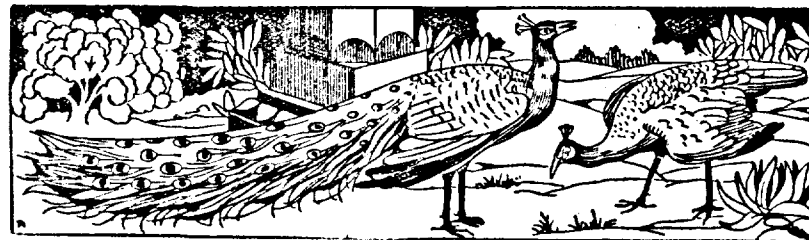
It is very likely that the Government of East Bengal will soon press for the abolition of the Visa System of travel between East Bengal and West Bengal, and that, in view of the new political situation in East Bengal as a result of the recent General Election there, the Government of Pakistan will eventually agree to it. And it appears from the gist of the talks which Shri M. J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, Government of India, has been reported by *The Statesman* on the 6th of April to have had at Calcutta with the Chief Minister of West Bengal, that "Delhi would give due consideration to proposals emanating from Karachi" in this matter; that "the suggestion for the abolition of the Visa System of travel would not be unacceptable" to it; and that "the only point that might come up for consideration was its possible effect on the employment situation in West Bengal."

I should like to take this opportunity of seriously warning both the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal that they would be extremely ill-advised if they agreed to the abolition of the Visa System of travel between the two Bengals. The abolition of the Visa System would mean a heavy and virtually unrestricted influx of all types of people from East Bengal into West Bengal, and this is bound not merely to endanger the security of this border State, but also to intensify greatly the problem of unemployment which has already become very acute in it. People living in splendid isolation and in the midst of comforts and luxuries in the city of Calcutta, can hardly appreciate the seriousness of the economic distress of the lower middle classes, in particular, in the rural areas of West Bengal. And I doubt very much if the Government of West Bengal itself yet realizes the intensity of the bitter feeling against it amongst the rural people of West Bengal, for the policy it has been systematically following for some years in connexion with the question of employment. Indeed, these rural people are sometimes made to feel that this Government is not their own, and that they themselves are strangers in their own land! We

often forget that Calcutta and its neighbourhood alone are not West Bengal, as some people foolishly think. Further, it is no use ignoring the patent economic fact that the presence of about 25 lakhs of refugees in West Bengal has enormously added to the acuteness of the problem of unemployment in this truncated State. And if, on the top of it, the Visa System of travel is abolished, thus permitting in effect an uninterrupted flow of people from East Bengal into this State, the miseries of the local people would greatly increase, and the subversive elements in the State, now reinforced by fresh blood from East Bengal, would fully exploit the situation for their own political ends.

Nor should the Government of West Bengal yield to any pressure from interested quarters here, and thus sacrifice the interests of the local people who constitute about 91 per cent of the population of this State, to those of its 9 per cent immigrant population, many of whom want to enjoy "the best of both worlds." If, however, the Government imprudently agree, upon any pressure or otherwise, to the abolition of the Visa System, it may, I am afraid, invite its own doom at the next General Election, if not much earlier. I should, therefore, also like to invite in this connexion the attention of the West Bengal State Congress Committee and the West Bengal Assembly Congress Party to the dangers inherent in the abolition of the Visa System. And I sincerely hope and trust that these bodies will seriously apply their mind to this question and warn the Government of West Bengal against the dangers.

Some Muslim leaders of East Bengal are naturally anxious, on economic grounds, for the abolition of the Visa System. But they should remember that the Muslims of East Bengal, almost to a man, demanded the partition of India. They have got this partition. The passport and the visa are some of the necessary corollaries to it in these days. This cannot be helped, and the East Bengal Muslims have got to put up with it in the present political set-up. They cannot have it both ways.



CITIZENSHIP in ancient Greece and Rome indicated the fact of having arrived and being socially and politically approved. It also conferred the right to a voice in moulding the policies regarding war and peace, and in choosing leaders who were to be entrusted with the affairs of the community. The two factors that determined citizenship were the parentage and the place of birth. Social consciousness developed in the West first among the Greeks, and Athens set an example of representative rule in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. The citizens constituted themselves into an assembly, which controlled all the affairs of government including the executive, the courts, and even the army. Citizenship was the highest mark of distinction from which foreigners and slaves were excluded.

During the five centuries that followed Rome developed from a city state and a monarchy to a republic. In the beginning all power was monopolised by the patricians. They were landed aristocracy, which debarred plebians from citizenship, high office in State, ownership of land, and marriage outside their own class. Gradually the plebians gained strength and increasing power in the government, till practically all class distinction was abolished. Roman citizenship was broadened to include not only them all but also the residents of other towns. Eventually it extended to all free men among the conquered peoples. All the same in the Roman empire it remained a minority right. Later with the abolition of slavery, serfdom and other forms of subjugation, and with the division of the world into several sovereign political States having fixed boundaries, within which inhabitants owed definite allegiances, there came an enormous extension of citizenship rights. At present it is almost universal.

The two factors that have continued to determine citizenship are the place of birth and the nationality of parents and ancestors. A conflict of these sometimes results in dual or multiple nationality as in the United States of America. To begin with, the inhabitants of various British colonies in America and their children were deemed to be British subjects, but with the declaration of Independence of the States, their residents acquired the citizenship of the respective States in which they resided. There was no national citizenship as such, till the constitution was adopted, which conferred Federal citizenship on the citizens of the various States. Federal and State citizenship implied distinct rights and obligations. Detailed provisions about citizenship were first made in the Fourth Amendment, which came as late as 1868 and declared that all persons born or naturalised in the States and subject to their jurisdiction were the citizens of the

State in which they resided and of the Union. Any person of whatsoever race or colour, who is born within the States, acquires American citizenship, unless if he be a child of a foreign sovereign, his minister, or of an enemy and is born in a territory in hostile occupation. An American citizen can expatriate himself by naturalising in a foreign State or by making an oath of allegiance thereto except when the country is at war. An American woman does not lose her citizenship by marrying a foreigner unless he be an alien ineligible to American citizenship.

The British law of citizenship also is well-defined. A person becomes a British subject by birth in British territory, naturalisation or denization, conquest of his territory by or cession of it to Great Britain and by marriage, in case of a woman, to a British subject. A person who is not a British subject is an alien, but still he has certain citizenship rights according as he is a friendly or enemy alien. Even an alien going abroad on a British passport continues to enjoy protection of the Crown and privileges of British subjects because of the passport, and in return is liable in United Kingdom for treason committed abroad. After the Independence of India her inhabitants would have become aliens but for the India (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1949, enabling them to retain certain property rights. As it is, Indians are now neither British subjects, because they owe no allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, nor aliens. A new citizenship, that of the Commonwealth, has been created by India's peculiar position.

The law of citizenship in India, however, remains undefined to a great extent. The Constitution here provides only as to who became Indian citizens at the commencement thereof. As to who may acquire Indian citizenship after that, is left to the Parliament of India to determine. Inclusion of the permanent law of citizenship in the Constitution has been considered undesirable, because it could not be foreseen what problems might arise later as a result of interpretations adopted by the courts. Accordingly till this permanent law of citizenship is enacted by Parliament, nobody who had not become Indian citizen on the 26th January, 1950, will be able to acquire citizenship rights in India. This in turn is also likely to create certain problems.

Four categories of persons were admitted to Indian citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution. First, those who were domiciled in the territory of India on the 26th of January, 1950, and were themselves, or any of their parents was, born in that territory. They constitute the bulk of Indian citizens. Secondly, those who were not born in the territory of India but have resided therein for not

less than five years before the commencement of the Constitution and were also domiciled in India at the time. Thirdly, those who migrated to India from Pakistan and either of whose parents or grand-parents was born in pre-partition India. They include the majority of displaced persons from Pakistan. Fourthly, those who were residing abroad at the commencement of the Constitution but were themselves or any of their parents or grand-parents was born in India, and they had registered as Indians in the prescribed manner. Those Indians who migrated to Pakistan and did not return before the 19th of July, 1948, were not eligible to be Indian citizens, as also those who acquired citizenship of a foreign State voluntarily.

In case of the first two categories it was necessary to be domiciled in the territory of India on the 26th January, 1950. To acquire domicile mere length of residence in a place is not sufficient. There must also be the intention to settle there permanently. In case the intention to reside there permanently is present, it does not matter how short the residence is for purpose of constituting domicile. Intention of a newborn child is presumed to be that of his parents at the time of birth and is referred to as the domicile of origin. It continues till a different domicile of choice is acquired by actual residence in another place with the intention of settling there permanently or for an indefinite period. Where a change in domicile is claimed, the burden of proof lies on the party claiming it. To acquire domicile in India a person has to make a declaration of his intention to do so and to deposit it with the appointed officer as prescribed by section 11 of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, after having resided in the country for one year; and a wife's domicile is presumed to follow that of his husband.

In addition to being domiciled in the territory of India one must have been born in that territory, or either of his parents must have been born there. Domicile in the territory of India relates to the time when the Constitution came into operation and constituted the territory of India as defined in article 1 of the Constitution. Before that date the territory of India as such did not exist: what existed was only the territory corresponding to the territory of India. To avoid an absurdity it is therefore essential to interpret the phrase, 'territory of India,' in Article 5 as territory corresponding to the territory of India; though the Supreme Court of India has refused to allow such an interpretation for this phrase in connection with article 132 by holding that the High Court of Hyderabad before the commencement of the Constitution was not within the territory of India (*Janardhan Reddy and others vs. State of Hyderabad and others*: 1951 S. C. R. 344). Thus to be included in the first category of citizens one must be domiciled in the area now included in the Union of India on

the 26th of January, 1950, and must have been himself born in that area or one of his parents should have been so born. One's presence in this area of the crucial date was not essential, as long as the domicile in this area was there.

The second category consists of those people who were domiciled in the territory of India at the commencement of the Constitution, and had been ordinarily resident in that territory for not less than five years immediately preceding such commencement. The phrase, 'ordinarily resident,' has to be distinguished from usually, most of the time, exclusively and principally, on the one hand and from occasionally, exceptionally, and now and then on the other. 'Ordinarily' implies a regular course of one's life adopted voluntarily for settled purposes. Only voluntary residence in a place does not make a man ordinarily resident thereof, as in the case of a man residing in a place because of exigencies of his business. He would no doubt be residing there voluntarily for the time being but he may not be deemed to have settled there as his ordinary place of residence without any intention of shifting from there at all. To be ordinarily resident in a place there must be absence of intention to shift therefrom to another place. It is, however, not necessary that one should never leave the place. A temporary absence is immaterial and such periods are not to be deducted in computing the period of five years of residence required under clause (c) of Article 5 of the Constitution of India.

The third category of citizens provided for in the Constitution are those who migrated to the area now included in the Union of India from areas now included in Pakistan. They should have migrated to India before the 19th day of July, 1948, and should have been ordinarily resident in this country ever since. In addition the person concerned or one of his parents or grand-parents should have been born in pre-partition India, defined in the Government of India Act of 1935 as originally enacted. On the date mentioned above a system of permits for entry into Indian territory was introduced, and all those who migrated to India after that date should have got themselves registered as Indian citizens. This restriction was adopted to check the infiltration of undesirable persons into Indian territory.

The influx from Pakistan (Control) Ordinance was accordingly promulgated in 1948 to take effect from the 19th day of July. All those who came to India before that date are entitled to Indian citizenship automatically if they were resident in the Indian territory ordinarily. Those who migrated to India from Pakistan after that date had to get themselves registered as Indian citizens. The application for such registration should have been made before the commencement of the Constitution, though the

registration order itself may have been made subsequently. Another condition precedent for this registration is that the individual should have resided in the Indian territory for six months immediately preceding the date of application for registration. As a result of this condition nobody who entered the Indian territory after the 25th day of July 1949 would be eligible for registration as Indian citizen. This excludes from Indian citizenship all those who have migrated to India after the date mentioned above. Also the registering officers were vested with wide discretion to refuse registration where they found that the object of migration was not bonafide.

Just as a large number of Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India from Pakistan, some Muslims also moved in the reverse direction. By their act of migration to Pakistan they renounced Indian citizenship and cannot be deemed to be Indian citizens though they may fulfill the conditions laid down in article 5 and 6 of the Constitution of India. This is provided for specifically in article 7. There is also the provision for those who in the first flush migrated to Pakistan, but soon realised that their true advantage lay in India. Such a person is entitled to Indian citizenship if he returned to India under a permit for permanent settlement in the old country before the 26th day of July 1949 and had applied for registration as Indian citizen before the commencement of the Constitution, having resided in India ordinarily for six months before the date of his application. Accordingly an Indian citizen who migrated to Pakistan and did not return before the 26th July 1949 or was not granted registration on his return would lose his Indian citizenship.

Even an Indian citizen who did not go to Pakistan with the intention of renouncing his Indian citizenship had to secure a permit for permanent return and to get himself registered as above. This provision, though a restriction on the fundamental right to reside and settle anywhere in India, has been deemed to be a reasonable restriction under Article 19(5) in the larger interests of the country. Even the cancellation of permanent permit for return to India has been ruled to be constitutional because the right to cancel a permit is inherent in the power to grant it. Where a permit for permanent return to India was cancelled before the commencement of the Constitution, the holder of it would not be entitled to the protection of Fundamental Rights, because the provisions of Article 7 override those of Articles 5 and 6. An Indian citizen migrated to Pakistan and came back on a temporary permit to marry his bride, who refused to accompany him to Pakistan. He was not allowed to settle permanently in India and was held to be liable to conviction under the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act.

Lastly, there are the people who have been

residing in other countries ordinarily and were not domiciled in India at the commencement of the Constitution. Such persons are entitled to Indian citizenship if they had applied to the diplomatic or consular representative of India in the country of residence and got themselves registered as Indian citizens. The application for registration in case of these people could have been made either before or after the commencement of the Constitution. This is the only category indeed in which people may be admitted to Indian citizenship after the commencement of the Constitution. The only conditions necessary for this category of people are that the applicant should be ordinarily residing outside India, and either he or any of his parents or grand-parents should have been born in India as defined in Section 311(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, as originally enacted. This definition covered British India, i.e., all the territories comprised within the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces, together with all territories of any Indian Ruler under the suzerainty of the British Crown, all territories under the suzerainty of such an Indian Ruler, the Tribal Areas, and any other territories which may have been declared to be part of India. Such an applicant should have been residing ordinarily outside India as defined above, so that a person who was residing in Pakistan would not be eligible for registration as Indian citizen under this provision.

No person, however, who has voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign state, can become a citizen of India. Foreign state according to article 367 (3) of the Constitution of India means any state other than India, and with the exception of those states which may be declared by the President of India not to be foreign states. Under this power all the countries in the British Commonwealth have been declared to be not foreign countries. Thus a citizen of United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan or Ceylon would not be barred from Indian citizenship if he was qualified under the provisions of Articles 5, 6, or 8 of the Constitution of India. It does not, however, say as to what happens if an Indian citizen acquires citizenship of another state subsequent to his acquiring Indian citizenship. Law in respect of it has yet to be enacted by Parliament. A person who acquired Indian citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution or thereafter continues to be an Indian citizen. It would be notwithstanding his acquiring the citizenship of another state subsequently.

Parliament in India has been given plenary powers to make all legislation for the loss or acquisition of citizenship. It can deprive any class of people of the right of Indian citizenship and can confer it on any other. Until this law is made by Parliament, except for those ordinarily residing out-

side India, nobody can become an Indian citizen. Even the children born after the 25th of January, 1950, are not Indian citizens, and are thus not entitled to any of the protections of fundamental rights which are reserved for Indian citizens, e.g., prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, or freedom of speech, assembly, association, or that to acquire and hold property, carry on any trade, occupation or business, or that of movement and residence, or the right to equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. This applies equally to those who have migrated to India from Eastern Pakistan after the 25th of July, 1949.

—:O:—

ECONOMICS OF THE HYDROGEN BOMB

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

RECENT explosions of the Hydrogen Bomb in the Pacific have sent a wave of terror, nervousness and resentment throughout the world. It is claimed that the destructive power of the H-Bomb is six to seven hundred times greater than the Hiroshima bomb. Details of the explosion in the little island of Bikini are not yet known to us; nobody knows how many people have suffered or may suffer hereafter. Reports indicate that a number of Japanese fishermen have suffered as a result of the horrible explosions; people in Japan and the neighbouring islands are afraid to eat fish because of the radio-active substance which might injure them. It is evident that the Hydrogen bomb is the deadliest weapon of mass destruction invented so far and threatens the very existence of man and civilization. We are told that there is no effective protection against this new bomb and that millions of human beings may be exterminated by a single explosion and that many more injured, and perhaps still many more condemned to slow death, or to live under the shadow of the fear of disease and death. Some time ago, Prof. Albert Einstein stated publicly that if the Hydrogen bomb was successful "radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere and hence an annihilation of any life on earth, has been brought within the range of technical possibilities." We also learn that whereas the Atom bomb could be used both for destructive as well as constructive purposes, the H-bomb was wholly destructive in its effects and was incapable of being utilised for civil or industrial purposes. In the course of a statement in the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister made an appeal for some kind of a "Standstill" agreement for stopping further explosions of this ghastly weapon of war and mass annihilation. This appeal has rightly evoked world-wide response and 'respectful attention' and deserves the serious consideration of all those who are anxious to avert another globe-shaking war for promoting lasting world peace and international co-operation.

While we may discuss the scientific and technological aspects of the Hydrogen bomb, we should not forget the essential fact that this latest weapon symbolises the dangers of the inherent conflict of economic ideologies in the world today. Speaking at a public meeting on Chowpathy grounds in Bombay the other day, Shri Nehru

observed that both Russia and America were pursuing their economic ideologies "with the same zeal, fanaticism and bigotry as the medieval crusade." "Russia and the United States," said Shri Nehru, "represent two different ideologies and are afraid of each other." "If their different ideologies were peaceful, it would be possible for the people of the world to make a choice between the two. But they were using means other than the peaceful and each believed it was carrying on a crusade against the other." The Hydrogen bomb, therefore, represents this Titanic struggle between the two basic economic concepts of Capitalism and Communism, of laissez faire and totalitarianism. The United States of America is frantically and almost hysterically trying to stem the tide of Communism by economic aids to underdeveloped countries, through military assistance to "friendly" nations and by inventing fierce weapons of war for destroying the enemy countries. The U.S.S.R. talks loudly about peace but has no intention of lagging behind the U.S.A. in forging deadly weapons of human destruction. Reports indicate that Russia has been trying its hand at some kind of a Nitrogen bomb which is expected to be more powerful than even the H-bomb. Each bloc thinks and fondly hopes that the invention and explosions of such bombs would promote the necessary climate for world peace by frightening and "cowering down" the enemy. Prime Minister Churchill, in the course of a recent debate in the House of Commons, observed that the Hydrogen bomb would be helpful in averting the third world war and preserving international peace. Nothing could be more fantastic and suicidal than to think that violence could succeed in promoting non-violence and mutual good-will. Mahatma Gandhi always told us that wrong means could never achieve right ends and objectives. The Hydrogen bomb can never succeed in convincing any individual or a nation of the efficacy of a particular economic ideology; nor could it claim to uproot another ideology from the minds and hearts of the people who swear by it. Ideological conflicts can never be resolved through force and coercion; they can be solved only by mutual discussions to understand the other man's point of view. If the United States of America honestly believes that private enterprise and the capitalist order is more beneficial for the economic

welfare of mankind, let her try to carry conviction to the other peoples who believe otherwise. Similarly, if Soviet Russia sincerely believes that the Communist economic order alone can succeed in bringing prosperity to mankind, let her try to demonstrate the efficacy of her ideal through concrete results, frank discussions, and open policies without the "Iron Curtain."

So far as India is concerned, she has always kept an open mind and has tried her best to imbibe the good qualities of all systems of thought. As Gandhiji remarked once, he wanted India to keep her windows open for the breeze to flow inside from all directions but not be swept off her feet by a gale from any quarter. From time immemorial, India has been the home of small village communities or republics on the basis of decentralised democracy and cottage industrialism. These village panchayats should never be regarded as the "relics of tribalism;" they were the result of mature thought and experience through the ages. Gandhiji emphasized the same ancient traditions and wanted India to evolve a healthy and balanced system of self-sufficient and self-governing rural communities on a co-operative basis. He wanted to eschew the evils of both capitalism and communism by striking a golden mean. Decentralised economy leaves the initiative in the hands of the individual or a group without allowing much scope for economic exploitation. It strikes a balance between the merits and demerits of laissez faire and regimented economic planning of the Soviet pattern. It is essentially based on the principle of non-violence and respect for human personality. To Gandhiji, man was much more important than machines and any system which reduced men to automatons and cogs in a big wheel was to be shunned as undesirable. We have always regarded the two extremes of American capitalism and Soviet

communism as unhelpful for the healthy growth of human personality and co-operative living. Both these systems are, more or less, economic crudities which India should try to avoid in the best interests of the nation and the world at large. In place of the capitalist or the communist economy, we want India to develop a *balanced or middle economy*—by the way, we do not relish the word 'mixed'—in accordance with her true genius and culture. In such a balanced economy, we shall care not for the "greatest good of the greatest number" but for Sarvodaya or "the good of all." In place of economic exploitation of the labour of others, we shall promote the philosophy of "bread-labour" or the eating of one's bread in the sweat of one's brow. Instead of merely attempting to raise the "standard of living," we should try to raise the "standard of life" of the people.

It is, therefore, imperative for all of us to understand the economics of the Hydrogen bomb in order to be able to delve deeply into its far-reaching implications. The only effective answer to the Hydrogen bomb could be the Gandhian ideology of non-violence, decentralisation, Sarvodaya and Soul-force. Without removing the root causes of economic conflicts and ideological frictions, it will be impossible to ban these bombs which are the symptoms of a deep-rooted disease. We are also convinced that in this Age of science, non-violence could be the only practical proposition. The combination of science with violence would surely lead to total destruction of humanity. The combination of science with non-violence would pave the way for a better and happier world. The Hydrogen bomb is, indeed, a challenge to the conscience of all peace-loving peoples. It is a sin against humanity. It is blasphemy against Divinity.

—:O:—

IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGES

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

A bright morning in mid-October! The notoriously severe winter of the Punjab was in the offing. The mercury had begun to climb down. Mornings and evenings were agreeably cold after long months with their dust and scorching heat and with the mercury not infrequently ranging between 110 deg. and 120 deg. Fahrenheit.

We three—myself and two Sikh teen-agers, both college students—were in an overcrowded compartment of a Bombay-bound train from Amritsar of the Golden Temple fame and the Jalianwallah Bagh notoriety. Our destination, Ludhiana, was about 3 hours' run from Amritsar. We detrained at 12 o'clock. Ludhiana, so called from the Lodis, who once ruled over Northern India, is the headquarters of the district of the same name. Ludhiana claims a place of pride among the districts of the Punjab. It has

the highest percentage of literacy—43, according to the last census returns,—in the Punjab.

After a hurried lunch in the house of Sardar Santokh Singh Deol, we made ready for the second stage of our journey—to Raikote about 27 miles away. The Punjab can boast of road and land transport facilities much more developed than many other parts of the country. Villages in the interior are in many cases connected by regular motor services with towns, centres of trade and railway stations as far as 40 or even 50 miles away. The Transport Department of the Punjab Government does a brisk business, not at a loss, we presume.

One of the company dropped off at Ludhiana. The depleted ranks were however strengthened when Jagjit Singh put in an appearance. The idea of a venture into the rural Punjab was his. The itinerary

too was drawn up by him. Not a few friends and well-wishers had thrown out warnings against the foolhardy (!) enterprise of venturing into the countryside. Their misgivings are not perhaps wholly unfounded.



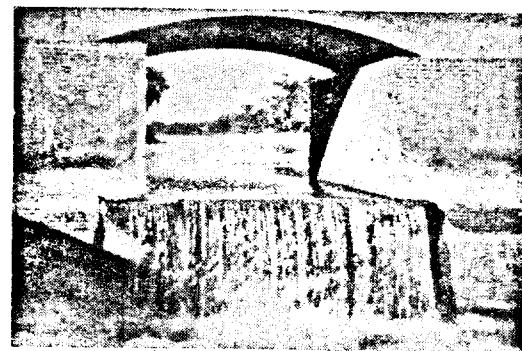
Typical Punjabi villagers

Raikote was reached at sun-down. Sardar Gur Charan Singh, once an athlete of great promise, was our host for the night. Raikote is neither a town nor a village in the ordinary sense. It is what they call a township. A rural town or an urban village would be a better name however. It has a Hindu-Sikh population of 10,000 in round numbers. The communal proportion is 50:50. Refugees from Western Pakistan account for about 40 per cent of the total population. Raikote had a Muslim population of about 4,000 before the Partition. Many of them perished in the post-Partition holocaust or migrated to Pakistan. The non-Muslim refugees from Western Pakistan have occupied the migrants' properties. Raikote has almost all the paraphernalia of a modern town, namely, High English Schools—for boys as well as for girls,—a Post and Telegraph Office, a Police Station, a municipality, a charitable dispensary and a veterinary hospital.

Gurudwara Tali Saheb, associated with the memory of the Great Guru Govind Singh, the last and tenth of the Sikh Gurus, is the principal attraction of Raikote. Guru Govind paid a visit to Raikote early in January, 1905. On arrival, the travel-weary Guru first took his seat under a Dalbargia, Sisoo (Tali or Shisham in Punjab) tree just outside the town. Raikata, the Muslim Governor of Raikote and an admirer of the Guru, hurried to the spot to pay his respects. The latter being very thirsty, expressed his

desire for some milk. No milk was immediately available however. Tradition has it that on being informed that no milk was available, the Guru gave a pat or two on the back of a she-buffalo that was grazing in the field nearby. Dry as she was, the Guru's touch made her wet. The problem of milk was solved. To find a container was the next problem. Again, the Guru himself came to the rescue. He brought out a small porous vessel from under his clothes and handed it over to Raikata. The milk of the buffalo that was dry till a short while ago was offered to the Guru in a leaky vessel. He made a present of the vessel since called the 'Ganga Sagar' and also of a dagger known as the 'Khanda Sahib' to Raikata, whose descendants lived at Raikote till 1947 when they migrated to Pakistan. They removed the 'Ganga Sagar' to Pakistan. The 'Khanda Sahib,' I was told, had been removed to the British Museum long before like so many of our treasure-troves of historical importance and cultural significance.

The sad news of the tragic end of Jorwar Singh and Fateh Singh, the two youngest sons of the Guru, reached him during his stay at Raikote. The former, still in their early adolescence, were buried alive in a wall under orders of Bazid Khan, the Muslim Governor of Sarhind, for their refusal to apostatize. The Guru received the shocking news with perfect equanimity. No sigh was heard, no tear-drop seen. Slowly, in a fit of absent-mindedness, apparently, he pulled out a blade of grass. On Raikata's enquiry as to the implication of the act, the Guru replied that the Mughal empire would perish ere long like the blade of grass uprooted by him. Guru Govind went away after about two months' stay. The Gurudwara Tali Sahib was built in 1922 to commemorate his sojourn to Raikote.



An Irrigation canal

We set out for the Gurudwar Tali Sahib after a heavy breakfast. At the entrance we met a white-bearded Sikh of pleasant manners. Sardar Deva Singh—that was his name—introduced himself to us. He is the Headmaster of the Boys' High School run by the Gurudwara Committee. The school, a few months old, runs at a heavy deficit, which is met out of the

Gurudwara funds. Religious organisations and institutions can maintain and even enhance their popularity if they march with the times by taking up the work of social and humanitarian service instead of confining them to the so-called religious activities alone. Sardar Deva Singh walks with a limp, which he explained, is due to Sciatica, an after-effect of the bullet he had received at Jalianwallah Bag in 1919.



Cultivators at work

The feet must be bared and the head covered before entering a Sikh temple. We, therefore, left our shoes at the door—I covered besides my head with a kerchief—and squatted on the cemented floor inside.

Idols and images have no place in Sikhism. A copy of the Sikh scripture—the Adi Grantha (the Granth Sahib)—is preserved in every Gurudwara. Placed on an elevated platform under a canopy, it is recited every day by the "Granthi" (priest) or Granthis employed by the Gurudwara concerned. The Granthi and all other employees of the more important Gurudwaras are appointed and controlled by the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.), the central religious organisation of the Sikhs, an outcome of the Akali movement, once a close ally of the Indian National Congress. A plate on the ground in front of the raised platform mentioned above is meant for the visitors who generally put some money in it. There is no hard and fast rule, however.

An orthodox Sikh family must have a copy of the Adi Grantha. Well-to-do families generally set apart rooms for the Holy Book and engage Granthis for its daily recital.

The last day of the month (*sankranti*) and the first, the full moon and the new moon days are regarded as highly auspicious by the Sikhs. The day of our visit, being the first day of the month of Kartik, the attendance in the Gurudwara was comparatively large. The young Granthi was reading the scripture. The language was all Greek to me. The tune, however, was very melodious and quite familiar.

After a while he started a poem—rather a series of them—known as the "Bara Maha" composed by the fifth Guru Arjun. The "Bara Maha" describes what a true devotee of God should do in the different months of the year. The poems are sincere outpourings of an honest soul giving vent to an all-consuming yearning of the individual soul for constant communion with the Universal Soul, "the rootless root of the universe beyond the three categories of time, space and causation" (vide *The Sikh Religion* by M. A. Macauliffe, Vol. III, pp. 124-30) and are permeated with *bhakti* (devotion to God). *Prasad* was distributed after the recital. Sardar Deva Singh took us round the temple. We were invited to take food in the free kitchen (the *langar*) of the Gurudwara. We declined with thanks. Every Gurudwara, by the way, has a free kitchen.

After lunch, we motored to Halwara, ten miles away. The next lap of the journey—Halwara to Dangon—we did on cycles. We wheeled on what is not a road proper, but a foot-track through open fields. It passes through villages at places. Evening was fast approaching. The monotony of open fields bordering the track is relieved by a sprinkling of villages here and there. Pedestrians, cyclists and



The 'rath'

camel-riders passed by occasionally. The inventor of the bi-cycle certainly meant it for use by one at a time. But two, three, or four on one cycle are quite common, and five, not very rare, in the Punjab. Believe it or not. Flocks of cattle were being driven home. These, like their keepers, were healthy-looking. Tiny tots and comparatively grown-ups with little or no clothes were at play on the way. Their romping

and jumping raised dust-storms which made visibility poor and cycling difficult at places. Thick rows of tall trees with dark green foliage and golden flowers line the track for a considerable distance. The air was laden with fragrance. Memories of childhood days in rural East Bengal welled up with many a heavy sigh for 'what is not' and what would never come back. The sun had already gone down. The cultivators were still at work.



The sleeping village (Dagon)

We reached the journey's end a little after night-fall and put up for the night with Sardar Hukum Singh Deol, the 'Sarpanch' (Headman) of Dagon. Sikhism does not recognise the caste system. Not a few of its followers are, however, still prisoners of caste-traditions and use their pre-Sikh Hindu surnames—Bedi, Sodhi, Sood, Bhalla, Gill, Ahuja, Randhawa, Chopra and the like—after Singh, the common surname for all Sikhs.

Dagon is a small village with a population of a little over a thousand. The Government revenue from the village is a little over three thousand rupees a year. A 'Lambardar' appointed by the Government, collects the revenue. The 'Lambardar' gets no salary, but a commission on the total collection. The Ramdasias, hereditary cobblers and shoe-makers, constitute about 25 per cent of the population of Dagon. Religious injunctions notwithstanding, untouchability still prevails among the Sikhs. No Sikh—we mean an orthodox Sikh, however,—particularly in a village, would drink or dine with a Ramdasia or a Mazhavi (sweeper) Sikh. Matrimonial alliances between Ramdasias and Mazhavis on the one hand

and 'good' (!) Sikhs on the other are out of the question.

The Ramdasias of Dagon earn a precarious living by working as day-labourers and by their hereditary trade. The dead cattle are removed from the village by the Ramdasias. They take the hides in return. There are about half a dozen Hindu families in the village. The rest of the population is Sikh—Ramdasia and otherwise. Dagon had a Muslim



An unknown martyr's tomb (Dagon)
population of about 300 in pre-Partition days. Some 70 or 80 were butchered during the post-Partition carnage. A number of girls and young women were abducted by their non-Muslim neighbours. The rest have escaped to Pakistan in quest of shelter and security.

Villages in the Punjab are scattered and isolated. At least a mile or so separates a village from its nearest neighbour. Houses in villages are compact rows of structures. One house begins just where another ends. No open space is left between two houses. This is done, I was told, to keep down the cost of house-building and I think also to make available for cultivation as much land as possible. 'Kutchra' roads with houses on either side run through the village. Water used in the houses finds its outlet on these roads, which have no drains. They are therefore filthy and stinking. Long patches of stinking slime on the village roads are by no means rare. Mud as well as bricks are used for house-building purposes. Latrines in houses are almost unknown. Both men and women ease themselves in the open fields. Good as the practice may be from the agrarian point of view, it is repugnant to the more sophisticated. The present writer

has been told that water is not used in all cases after evacuation. In the busy season menfolk in peasant families go out to the fields very early in the morning after a heavy breakfast. They do not come back home before night-fall. Mid-day meals for them are taken to the fields, generally by the womenfolk. The latter look after the household work and work at the spinning wheel in their spare hours. Each peasant family has its own spinning wheel or wheels.

Women of poorer families work as day-labourers. Their more fortunate sisters of comparatively well-to-do families help their menfolk in the outdoor work in the fields by supervising the work of hired labourers. Even the rich peasant families do not engage cooks and servants for household works. Our host at Dagon, for example, who owns 80 acres of land with his brothers, has none. A group of villages jointly owns a stud buffalo (*chota*) and a stud bull.



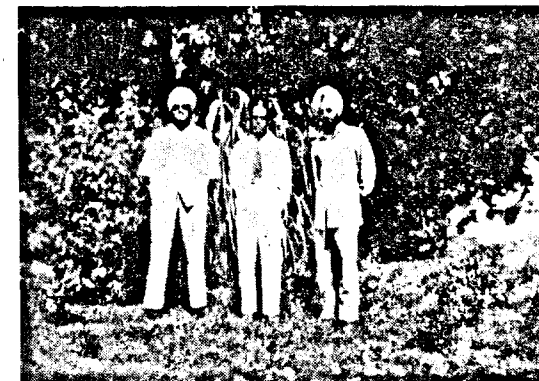
A prosperous peasant's house at Dagon.

Punjabi meals are a plain and simple affair. The food is however quite nutritious. Milk and milk products form a more important part of the Punjabi dietary than they do in many other parts of the country. The Punjab peasantry is prosperous on the whole. Its standard of living is perhaps higher than that of the peasantry anywhere else in India. Punjab's wounds of partition seem to have been completely healed, thanks, to the initiative and enterprise of her people. Drinking is wide-spread. Not a few of the villages have their own breweries, unlicensed, of course. 'We have it on the authority of a Sikh leader that during the year 1952-53, the Sikh-majority areas alone consumed liquor and other intoxicants of the total value of nearly four crores of rupees! Hindus and Sikhs live side by side in peace and amity both in towns and villages. Interested parties however seem to be out to disrupt this harmony. Here is a formidable challenge to every patriotic Punjabi. The Punjab has had enough of fratricidal conflict in its worst form in recent years. May she be spared the ordeal of repetition! All genuine well-wishers of the Punjab and the Punjabis must

be on the alert. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed" is an age-old saying.

In course of our wanderings through Dagon we saw a *rath* (chariot), which is the de-luxe edition of the bullock cart. The 'rath' was a popular means of transport in the Punjab till the early years of the present century. Thanks to the mechanised transport and changed taste it has now been discarded and relegated to past history. It is now used only on rare, ceremonial occasions.

The return journey to Ludhiana was done in motor bus on a stretch of 17 miles of 'Kutchra' road. The mid-day sun blazed on the fields bordering the road. There were little standing crops. Camels were drawing ploughs at places. The use of camels reminded us that the Thor Desert is not far from the Punjab borders. A fairly large crowd had collected at one place on the road. People from the villages



The writer (in the centre) in the fields

around had assembled to celebrate the 'Dusserah.' Burning of the effigies of Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghanad and display of fire-works followed by eating and drinking are features of the celebration. Ludhiana was reached a little after 3 in the afternoon. Heat and dust, over-crowding in the bus and jerking had long taken the last ounce of energy out of me.

The train for Amritsar was due to leave at 6 p.m. The interval was spent in sight-seeing. Truth to tell, there is little to see at Ludhiana. The old town is dirty and dusty. The Civil Lines is much cleaner and better kept. The streets were overflowing with holiday-making crowds out to see the "Dusserah" fair. Visitors—men and women—from villages far and near had flocked to the town on the occasion of the Dusserah. I felt nostalgic. Cut off from one's own people and away from home, one is almost overwhelmed with an all-pervading loneliness on occasions like these. One feels oneself out of tune.

The train was a little behind the schedule and it was about 10 p.m. when I reached home.

rebellious French city. Heyeres is a large resort abounding in palm trees and full of gardens of flowers and marks the beginning of the lovely chain of small watering places under the hills of Maures and later Esteral. Lavandor Trayas, the popular city of Cannes was reached. It is



La Ciotat

evidently derives its name from the fragrant lavender, found in abundance in the locality. It is the most important resort between Heyeres and St. Tropey, which is a quaint old fortified little seaport and fishing village. Frejus was once on a seaport, but is now situated well inland.

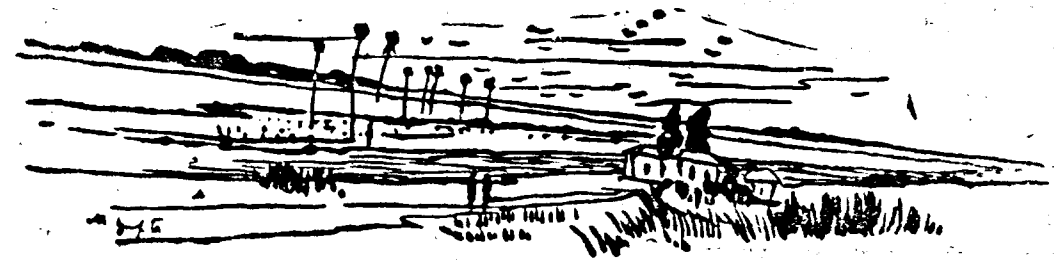
Here a diversion of a score of miles inland from Frejus, may be mentioned. With letters from the British Consul at Marseilles, the writer visited the silk filature at A'Trans (3 miles from Dragignnon) of Mr. Sirmakechin and the grainage at Less Ares of Mr. Demuth. They were most courteous to the writer and proposed to have lived only for the visit. It was a matter of regret that earlier a visit to the Silk school at Montpellier to the West of Marseilles, they did once upon a time). The Palm Beach must have had to be dropped, as it was closed then.

The real Riviera begins from St. Raphael, more of a large village than a town, but a delicious place. Bernard



Toulon

Shaw once stayed near the little lagoon at Agay. It is common to have permanent structures for trailing plants for flowers raised in summer. By the striking cornice at under the hills of Maures and later Esteral. Lavandor Trayas, the popular city of Cannes was reached. It is said to be the most elegant city of of the world, where the rich congregate. Having expressed a wish for some fried fish, having none for some days, *soles* said to be brought from some Belgian port, were served in a cafe and, charged at 10 francs a piece, which proved to be an expensive luxury at the time. The town is a great sporting centre (casinos or clubs mainly for gambling, horse racing, polo, tennis, golf and specially yachting) and very cosmopolitan is character—time, conventions and dress mean nothing under the velvety blue sky sprinkled with stars. From the Croisette near the harbour, it looked as if the palm trees came straight rom North Africa (as indeed



SHILLONG—THE BEAUTY SPOT OF NORTH-EAST INDIA

By JOSEPH MINATTUR

SHILLONG, the Queen of Hill Stations in India, is unique in that it does not go to sleep, like a polar bear, for six months in the year. Being the Capital of the State of Assam and the headquarters of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills District it is kept glamorously busy throughout the twelve months.

It is probably the gayest of all hill stations in India. There is more life, there are more people and better amenities than in any other hill station.



Ward Lake

It is the most cosmopolaitn of all hill stations. One can find here an American technician, an Australian Sociologist, a Burmese adventurer, a Chinese carpenter, a German dentist, an Irish educationist, an Italian confectioner, a Malayan teacher, a New Zealand nun, a Norwegian Padre, a Welsh surgeon, a Bengali grocer, a Lushai clerk, a Malayali Professor, a Marwari merchant, a Naga student, a Napalese porter, a Parsi businessman, a Sindhi Governor, a Tibetan artisan, a Tamilian officer—so goes the endless list. In fact, every State Transport Bus which pulls into Shillong from Gauhati brings in a miniature Babel of tongues.

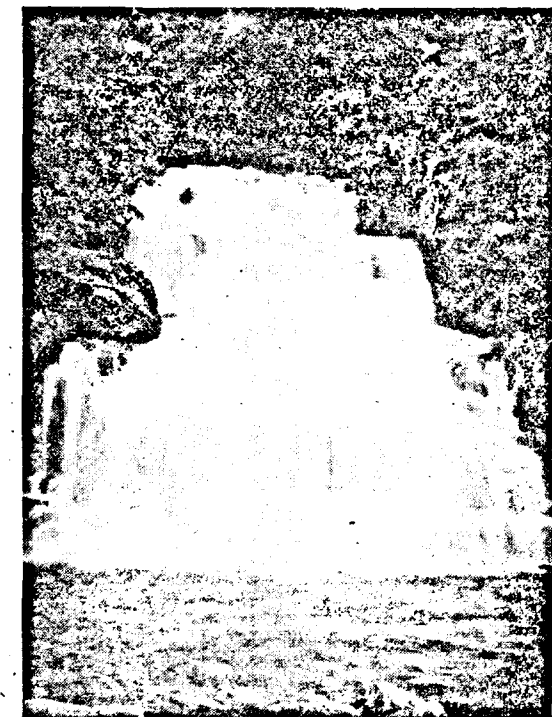
The road which meanders along between serrated crests of everlasting hills to the capital of Assam is a marvel of engineering skill. As it ascends with unending twists and turns, it unfolds multitudinous miracles of sight and sound and touch and smell, splendid views of many things from tiny to tremendous, views of range upon range of hills, of deep gorges and lovely glens interspersing hills and crags, of hill slopes overspread with shadowy pines, of sparkling streams trickling down the slopes or rushing down precipices.

Shillong, like Oxford, lies in a cup, surrounded by stately hills. It is nearly 5,000 feet above sea level. The town derives its name from a Khasi, U, Shillong, who, according to tradition, met a god on the peak—the Shillong Peak—which overlooks the town from the south. Shillong in the Khasi language means 'One is.' Can it

be a reference to the god whom U. Shillong met on the peak?

Shillong is a dreamland. It is a land of fairies and abode of various religious beliefs. Of an evening, one hears the chiming of the Church bells from the Cathedral at Laitumkbrah, sees Khasi belles strolling along the streets in their warm variegated clothes, looks in wonder at the flicker of a thousand lights from Barabazar and listens to the whistling of the wind among the pines from almost everywhere.

When the dusk peeps in on a day of fair weather, Shillong presents one of the pleasantest sights on God's good earth. As His hand sprinkles the sky with stars, hundreds of luminous electric bulbs from houses on hill-tops look up to their companions above, while insects prayerfully sing their vespers in thicker and pine wood. When the moon knocks at her door and waits with a smiling face, Shillong puts on her cream-coloured blouse and comes out wearing all her stars.



Elephant Falls

The Khasis, who form the majority of a population of 64,000 in the town, are charming, not only in looks, but also in manners. They are as friendly as friendliness itself, and are courteous to a fault. They are a freedom-loving people with democratic institutions going back beyond the memory of man. The Khasi

THE FRENCH RIVIERA

The New Riviera : Marseilles to Cannes

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

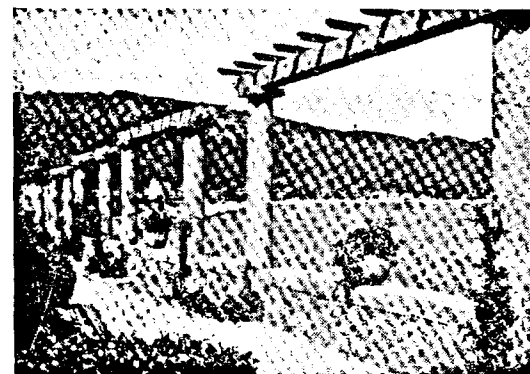
THE seaside resorts from Marseilles to St. Raphael are of recent development forming the New Riviera. It is decidedly cooler and cheaper to live in, than the real old Riviera further beyond. La Ciotat is a ship-building

French tailor thought, he was referring to Toulon and Tolouse (another town on the west side of Marseilles). It was at Toulon that Napoleon first gave evidence of his energy and genius in directing artillery in the seize of that



Trayas

centre and the writer having once travelled in a boat named after the place, which was sunk during the war, thanked his stars that he was not in it at the time. This recalls the story of the Irishman, who having sat on his hat left on his chair, exclaimed, "Thank God, my head was not in it." Bandol has a beautiful beach. Toulon, the premier naval port of France with its grim cruisers and battleships is yet a picturesque place. It reminded the story of an Englishman who was finding fault with his trousers as being "too long" and "too loose," while his



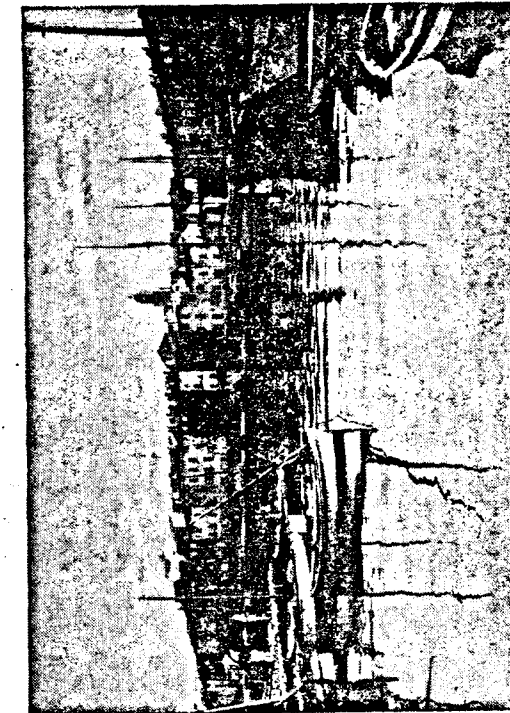
Agay



St. Raphael



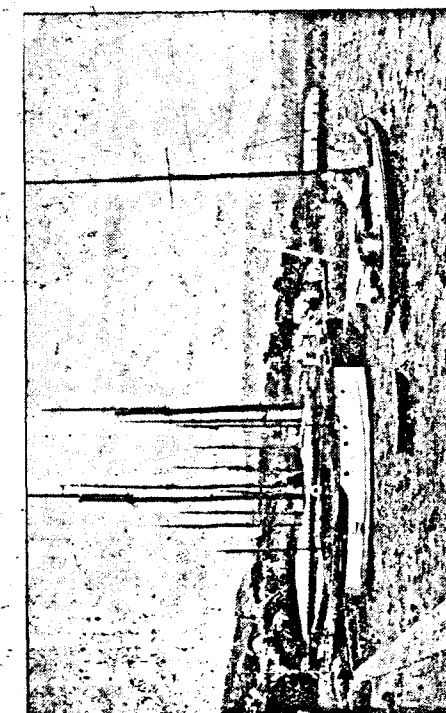
Heyeres



St. Tropez



Cannes



Bandol

woman is probably the most modestly dressed woman in the world, barring *pardanashins*. Belonging as she does to a matrilineal social system, she is independent and self-confident. She manages the household, and also goes out and works for the family.



Beadon Falls -

The weather in Shillong is as unreliable as the people are reliable. Sun and shower, like weal and woe in human lives, play a perpetual game of hide and seek. Even in winter, once in a while, shower wins the game.

In Spring, Shillong with its thousand varieties of flowers and its many-coloured raiments, presents all the colours of the rainbow and a few that the rainbow missed along the way.

The suburbs of the town are dotted with vegetable gardens, potato fields, and groves of oranges, pears, plums, peaches, apples and apricots.

Shillong has four first-grade University Colleges. Three of them are situated in the Laitumkhrah area, probably the neatest part of the town. The three Colleges—St Edmunds, St Anthony's and St Mary's—and the Catholic Cathedral lend Laitumkhrah a dignified and lovely appearance.

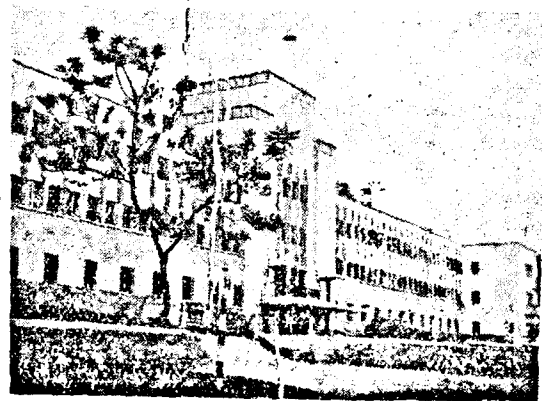
The Welsh Mission Hospital, renowned as the best hospital in the State, is situated at Jaisaw, the north-western part of the town. With its up-to-date scientific equipment and the self-effacing zeal of its doctors and nurses, it speaks volumes for the work of the Christian missionaries in Assam. The Civil Hospital, Ganesh Das

Hospital, the Reid Chest Hospital and the Pasteur Institute are other important medical centres.

The Police Bazaar, with various Government offices near by, including the newly-constructed Secretariat buildings, is the pulsing heart of the town. Of an evening it is the resort of fashionable people. Brisk shopping goes on till late in the misty night. The Shillong Club, frequented by the wealthy, the fashionable and the official classes, is situated there, as also the most artistically constructed Ward Lake, with its strolling paths and inclined lawns. The roads of Police Bazaar are as narrow as the road to heaven and on both sides of them there are inelegant houses looking askance at the glamour and glory of the town.

Barabazar is an unlovely scar on Shillong's shining face. On an evening, with its thousand lights, it presents a glorious picture from a distance. But as one approaches it, one finds it as filthy—well, one must have recourse to a figure of speech in Sanskrit and compare it to itself. Every eighth day, people from the neighbouring villages come to the market with their loads of raw materials for sale. With its heavy traffic and its bustling crowds of people, the Barabazar day is something of an event in Shillong.

The race course and the golf-links, the finest open air expanses of the town, with their green lawns and smooth motor drives, provide of an evening football and cricket grounds for children and parks for idle gossips. It is a most beautiful night in Shillong when the great moon with all her silver splendour dips in and out of soft cloud fleecings above the emerald golf links that bares the bosom to her.

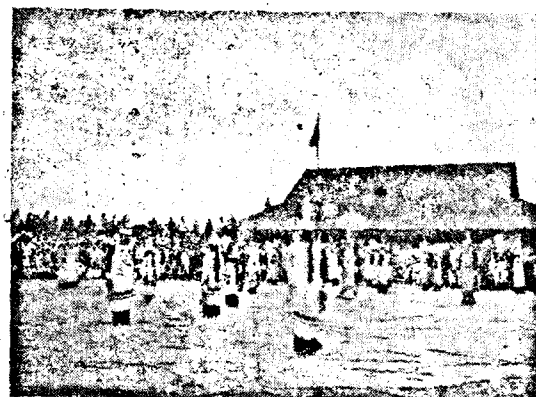


The New Secretariat

Happy Valley, the military head-quarters of the State, is just around the corner of the town, and is linked with it by a beautiful motorable road bordered with pines.

The town is not innocent of a few slums, which are as congested as a Sanyasin's tangled hair. But these do not substantially detract from the beauty that is Shillong.

The many picturesque roads of Shillong are like blue ribbons thrown over piles of green silk. There are about forty roads criss-crossing the town. Besides these



Nonkrem dance

and the two main roads leading to Gauhati and Sylhet, there are four other roads running to places of interest or importance within the District. One is the Shillong-Cherra Road, leading to Cherrapunji through scenes of exquisite natural beauty. Cherrapunji is famous all over the world for its heavy rainfall, and is universally loved

for its Mawmai Falls. Another is the Smit Road which leads to the headquarters of the S'iem (Raja) of Khyrim State, about seven miles from Shillong. In Smit village is held the Nongkrem Dance, the annual national festival of the Khasis. A third road goes to Jowai, the Sub-divisional headquarters of the Jaintia Hills. There is still another which branches off from the Shillong-Cherra Road and goes to Mawphlang, fifteen miles from Shillong.

The visitors' weakness for Shillong lies in its various waterfalls. The Bishop Falls, with a height of about 400 feet casts a spell on the visitor. He stands charmed as he looks at the cream-crested crescendo of sparkling water, unmindful of passing hours. The Beadon Falls, the Sweet Falls, the Spread Eagle Falls, Elephant Falls, and the Crinoline Falls are equally enchanting, especially when they dazzle delight down shining space with the laughter of the sun on them.

It may be that now, sitting by the fire-side in their homes far away across the seas, many American and British soldiers who sojourned in Shillong during the war, sing to themselves in reminiscence:

"Whatever befall, I'll oft recall
That sunlit mountain-side."

Photographs by Ghoshal Brothers, Shillong.
Copyright reserved by the author.

PRESERVING A GREAT HERITAGE

Conservation Work at Ajanta

The conservation staff of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India is engaged today in a battle with the corrosive forces of time, for the preservation of the paintings of Ajanta, which in recent years have won increasing recognition as a precious heritage not only of India but of the world.

A PRECIOUS HERITAGE

It is worthwhile recalling how much of beauty is enshrined here, in order to realise what is at stake. The latest paintings at Ajanta date back to 1300 years ago and the Ajantan tradition itself sweeps back by close on another millennium. Tarnished by time, yet incarnating the perfection of loveliness, these paintings have survived several centuries to give us the intimations of a unique vision of the world.

The caves of Ajanta are excavated in an almost perpendicular cliff about 250 feet high, sweeping in a semi-circle of half a mile. Bare in the dry season, clad in the most luxuriant green during the rains, this amphitheatre guards a lush valley, at the bottom of which the Waghora pursues her course through clear light and green shade. The halls of some of these caves measure 60 feet square, affording surfaces

for painting not only on the roof and walls but on the massive pillars as well. On the shadow-laden surfaces of the walls of these caves, unknown artists of the lost centuries depicted innumerable incarnations of the Buddha, in which he repeatedly gave his life or made other sacrifices, and gave the world the message and example of a boundless compassion towards "all living things, weak or strong, small or great, seen or unseen, near or far."

A broad, integrated vision of the world emerges at Ajanta. Untouched by the regressive asceticism of the European middle ages, the feminine form is here idealised to its most perfect level. There is a rare affection for plant and animal life. Lotus flowers are depicted in all stages, from bud to full-blown blossom. Birds, insects and wild animals, drawn with a perfect sense of form, decorate the granite walls. The life of the Great Ascetic is depicted, not in isolation, but in action right in the midst of the teeming everyday world. Architecture, costumes and jewellery, furniture, utensils, etc., depicted in these paintings are valuable data for the historian.

Ajanta has everything that is required to lift art out of the order of transience into a realm of imperishable beauty and meaning. It has anatomy

handled with a superb decorative sense, a sensuous intuition of form and colour and above all, the whole processional movement of man's story, the child at the mother's breast, the infant at play, the youth at his pleasures, then the sickening of the senses and turning away from the sheltered domestic hearth, the torments of the soul and the final tranquil enlightenment and the return to the fold of men. It is this final descent from the lonely summits to the



Conservation staff of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India removing the dust, after scraping the edges of the damaged portion of the frescoes at Ajanta

valleys where ordinary people dwell, this reconciliation to the devious ways of the world and the endeavour to transmute it by kindness that have proved to be the most precious quality of Ajanta art. And when Buddhism, during a period of more than a thousand years, radiated into the continent of Asia and to the sea-girt lands of the South, the chisel and the brush accompanied the message of peace. The result has been that the idiom of Ajanta has inspired the art of far-flung lands. This influence can be seen even today at Bamian in Afghanistan, Sigiriya in Ceylon, in the banner paintings of Tibet and Nepal, in the Tung Huang caves of China and at Horiuji in Japan.

CONSERVATION WORK

The principal cause of the decay of the paintings has been the destructive action of insects in the vegetable matter mixed in the clay-plaster coating on which the paintings have been executed. In order to arrest the further action of the insects, painted areas

are now being given protection. Where damage has occurred, the edges of the surviving areas are first cleaned with metal scrapers of various sizes. The dust is then pumped away by a dust pump. A thick solution of shellac diluted in spirit is applied with a brush to strengthen the original plaster round the painted areas. Finally, the edges are fixed with plaster of Paris, which is mixed with colour in order to harmonise with the tints of the original background.

When a layer of painting is likely to peel off, protection is given to it even before further treatment, by binding it with strips of muslin and glue. This strengthens the layer on which further action can be taken. If the layer is thick, a solution of casein is injected by pump or metal syringe between the layer and the plaster base. It is then left, pressed to the base with a piece of card-board supported by thin bamboo ribs. After about 12 hours, this support is removed and the layer will have become firmly adhered to the base. If the layer of painting is thin, instead of casein, a thick solution of shellac in spirit is injected by glass syringes.

The dust of the centuries had accumulated over these paintings when the caves were first discovered in 1819. Varnishing by the pioneers who worked on the preservation of these frescoes was not always thorough, with the result that dust particles sometimes were fixed to the surface of the paintings along with the varnish. The surfaces are now being cleaned by rectified spirit and fixed with bleached, colourless shellac. Apart from preserving the paintings, this process also removes the glare emanating from the coloured surfaces.

Another enemy of the paintings has been the monsoon which has damaged them in several ways. The cleavages, faults and cracks in the body of the rock gave rise to a system of channels for the rain water to seep through. Water being an excellent solvent, the mineral contents of the trap rock, like felspar and hornblende, were gradually dissolved until the texture became too cellular to stand by itself. This gave rise to the danger of collapses. Areas where the overlying rock had thus become unsafe, have been given protection.

Secondly, the percolating water sometimes seeps down to the painted roofs of the caves and spreads over the coloured surfaces, making them moist and liable to disintegration. The plaster base has been opened up by drilling small holes, in such areas, so that the water which leaks through falls directly below and does not spread over the painted areas.

Monsoon water flowing down from the overlying rocks used to fall on the facades of several caves in its downward course, damaging the columns, architraves and friezes of the latter. To meet this danger and also as a protection against the seepage of water, five surface drains have been constructed over

the caves to divert the course of rain water away from the areas where they may cause damage. These drains were built by drilling the rocks, as blasting might have proved a great danger to the security of the caves themselves.

The sculptures in the caves are also being given protection. They have been cleaned with a solution

of soap and ammonia applied with a thin brush. And a modeller, recently appointed, is now making sketches of all damaged sculptures, door jambs, architraves, columns, etc. When the survey is completed, the question of how best to restore the damaged portions will be taken up.—*PIB*

—:O:—

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Christian Missionary Work in India

[A critical appreciation of Dr. A. C. Bose's article]

By C. S. KIRBY, B.A.

I would like to thank the learned Principal of the S. N. College, Khandwa, for his thought-provoking article published in the January issue of *The Modern Review*. He has analysed therein the various methods of Missionary work in India. In order to help to clear up the atmosphere of confusion, he says that "many apologists have confused the issue by speaking of the Mission work, when the Home Minister, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, spoke of the foreign Missionaries." And yet much of the Doctor's article contains more about the Mission work than about the Missionaries. This is evidently because the two are so closely and inseparably interwoven that one cannot criticise or appreciate the one without criticising or appreciating the other. Although every organisation has its black spots as well as its beauty spots, the Missionaries, both Indian and foreign, should be thankful to the learned Doctor for pointing out some drawbacks in the system of evangelisation, so that they may take a lesson in order to avoid them and put their system on better and sounder bases.

In his survey of the three periods of development of Christianity, the Doctor has taken considerable pains to trace the history of Christianity in India during (a) the first, (b) the sixteenth, and (c) the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We need not here review the work of the Missionaries in the first two periods since the author of the article himself excuses the Missionary work in Kerala during the first century as being "of the ordinary religious type." The second period refers to the work done in Goa, a Portuguese territory and need not be discussed here. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the third period, viz., the work done in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in India under the British rule.

The six methods of work adopted by the Missionaries have been given serially and discussed in detail by Dr. Bose. Let us deal with them point by point and see how far they are well-founded.

(a) The publication, distribution and sale of religious books is certainly better and more desirable than the sale of spurious and demoralising literature. And it is wrong to say that the Missionaries "engaged public speakers to prove the superiority of the Christian religion to that of Hindus and others." We shall be glad if Dr. Bose can cite a few instances to show which of the public speakers were engaged on hire and when and where and by which foreign Missionary organisation. One who knows what evangelisation means will agree that the superiority of Christianity finds no room as the main subject of his talk; but at the same time, it is not difficult to realise how an individual preacher in the evangelistic campaign would, in response to the enquiries of the audience, be led into a comparison of religions, though as a matter of general policy, he is advised to avoid such comparisons as far as possible. And if after hearing and/or reading about the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, they feel persuaded to follow Him, they are quite welcome to do so, even by renouncing their creeds.

(b) (c) (d) Surely the Doctor cannot take objection to the starting of schools, colleges, hospitals and orphanages; but his chief objection seems to be that Christian principles are taught in these institutions. But as a matter of fact many prominent Hindus have not only complimented the Missionaries on their exemplary spirit of sacrifice, service and zeal, but have also taken full advantage of such institutions by voluntarily, and without persuasion or compulsion, sending their children to them in preference to their own institutions. While discharging the noble duty of imparting the knowledge, healing the sick and caring for the orphans and destitutes of Society, would they have been justified in withholding what they strongly believed to be, the most urgent need of the precious soul under their care, namely, the love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and His redemptive plan for the whole of humanity? Certainly not, in view of the irresistible force of conviction apart from their Lord's Command to preach the said Good News to the uttermost parts of the world. The implications of Dr. Bose's argument that all these institutions are used as a means of getting a large number of converts to Christianity stand refuted if only one looks at the

percentage of conversions from the students of these educational institutions and from the patients of these hospitals. Furthermore, one should not forget that these activities are carried on even to this day at a considerable expense and self-sacrifice despite such poor quantitative results, because of the inner urge and the Master's Command referred to above.

(e) & (f) The discerning Hindu friends cannot take exception to the noble and wonderful work which the Missionaries have done and are doing amongst the scheduled classes and aborigines. If it were not for their humble and self-sacrificing services to save the last, the least and the lost, they would have continued to be the depressed, oppressed and suppressed classes according to the rigid and inexorable laws of *chaturvarnas* (the four classifications of Hindu Society) divinely ordained as laid down in the Bhagavad-Gita, IV:23 (Annie Besant's translation), viz.,

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागज्ञः ।

तस्य कर्तारमपि मां विद्य कर्तारमव्ययम् ॥ १३ ॥

If they were left to their own fate by allowing them "to live their own picturesque tribal lives by a form of tacit courtesy" as Dr. Bose puts it, would it not be tantamount to adding insult to injury? If Gandhiji were asked to quote any particular *sloka* or verse in any of the Hindu scriptures which inspired him to revolutionise the time-honoured practice of untouchability and God-ordained system of inequality, by his bold and well-known programmes of Harijan uplift and temple-entry, etc., and furthermore if he were asked on what authority of the said scriptures in particular he derived his inspiration even to suggest the possibility of a Harijan becoming the President of the Indian Union, I am sure that he, a sincere and frank truth-seeker and truth-speaker as he was, would have admitted that it was the Spirit, Life and the Teachings of Jesus Christ that so inspired him. The principles of Equality, Fraternity and Liberty on which the Constitution of our Indian Union rests, are the direct result of the potent and leavening influence of the spirit of Christ throughout the history of the East and West, despite the various deplorable and tragic events that marred, under the influence of the dark and evil forces, the history of mankind.

The article suggests that the foreign Missionaries adopted these above-mentioned methods, one after another, as each one proved a failure, in its turn. But one who knows the history of the Missions in India will readily admit that these and several other methods have been, and are being, used simultaneously. Evidently, the Doctor does not object to the Missionaries carrying on their social, educational and humanitarian work in India, but he would like to have all these benefits without the evangelistic programme of the Missionaries. But he forgets that there is an underlying urge which impels and compels them to carry on the aforesaid activities against heavy odds and personal sacrifices. But as Hinduism is not a proselytising religion, perhaps, a Hindu finds it very difficult to appreciate the force of such inner urge of the universal religion of Christianity which

must needs carry the Good Message of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God to one and all whether he be a Jew or Gentile, Civilised or Barbarian, Free or Slave.

And after all, what exactly does the Doctor mean by proselytisation? If he means the conversion by unfair means, such as, the offer of material help or education or employment as a condition precedent to conversion, then we are one with Dr. Bose in wholeheartedly condemning such malpractices; but on a careful analysis of this question, a different picture would reveal itself. Let us approach this question from the point of view, of a sincere and genuine convert. His conversion means civil death in his own joint Hindu family; he will be treated not only as an outcaste, but even his *shraddha* (death ceremony) would be performed and he would be deprived of his share in the family property in practice, though not in law. No Hindu family would ever countenance or tolerate such apostasy! To quote one glaring instance out of many, the very parents of Sadhu Sunder Singh poisoned him as, evidently, death, in their opinion, was better than conversion to Christianity. But it was by a sheer miracle that his life was saved.

In these circumstances what can such a convert do when he is driven out of his own home and ostracised from his own Society? And what would be the duty of his newly-found Christian friends and sympathisers? Would they be right in driving him away and throwing him to the mercy of the winds? If the love of Christ constraineth them to do all that they can do for him, would our Hindu friends be justified in uncharitably accusing them of using unfair means as a condition precedent to conversion and thereby in putting the cart before the horse in order to support their preconceived theory? Even in these days of enlightenment, tolerance and liberty of thought, speech and action, is the Hindu society or Hindu family prepared to treat such a genuine convert from their own family on the same terms of love, affection and equality, as before? Let Dr. Bose dispassionately answer this question.

So far as the statistics of the Indian Christian community are concerned, we must admit that the percentage of converts is not as satisfactory as it should be. The elucidation of the reasons for this state of affairs requires a separate article by itself. But if, on the other hand, conversion is, as it should be, taken in its broader sense to mean the influencing and overhauling of the thoughts and actions of men, then surely Christianity has worked, and is working, wonders as a silent but nevertheless a potent and revolutionary leavening force in the educational, social, political, traditional and even in the religious outlook and practice in the whole of our Motherland. The institutions, such as, rescue homes, remand

homes, after-care associations, backward-class welfare organisations, asylums for lepers, jail reforms on the basis of humanitarian spirit and of treating criminality as a pathological case and the ideal of the Government being a Welfare State and even the wonderful work which our revered Acharya Vinoba Bhave is doing in respect of the re-distribution of land and wealth on the doctrine of man's stewardship of God's gifts, bear eloquent testimony of the leavening influence of Christianity.

The quotation from Dr. Radhakrishnan's Oxford lecture, by Dr. Bose, is irrelevant and out of place in the present context of his argument. And as regards Dr. Radhakrishnan's remark that Jesus Christ "founded no organisation but enjoined only private prayer" is, with all due respect to the eminent philosopher, entirely wrong. Jesus Christ came to found and laid the foundation of the Kingdom of God designed to embrace the whole of humanity and His last Command to His disciples, to go and preach the Good News all over the world, is in complete consonance with it.

The British Government has also come in for a lot of criticism at the hands of Dr. Bose for having given help to the foreign Missionaries by way of grant of lands and aid to schools and railway concessions and maintaining the Ecclesiastical Department. The grant of vast properties and lands by way of *inams* to temples, *maths* and mosques by the various Governments of the day is a familiar feature to any student of Indian history. If the British Government granted a few acres of the then barren and waste lands, they only followed the examples of their predecessors. The aid to institutions was generally common and uniform to all communities. The maintenance of the ecclesiastical department and the grant of railway concessions for travel, were the inevitable obligations arising from the fact that the reigning Sovereign of England was the "Defender of Faith" and was consequently responsible for the spiritual care of the British soldiers and the Civil Servants and their children residing in India. This feature was not peculiar to India, but was found in other British Colonies as well. It does not befit us to point out the instances where the Governments of the day spend large amounts of money from the public

treasury on items which, in the last analysis, cannot be strictly justified.

The article by Dr. Bose is really an eye-opener so far as the social and communal life of the Christians in India is concerned. We must admit with great shame that all is not well with us. There are Christians and Christians; and several of them are Christians only in name, while a good many others are exemplary Christians. The relationship between the White and the Coloured Christians is not always cordial and happy. The administration in our Churches is often far from satisfactory. The schemes of integration of the Church and Mission work, have not been all placed on sound lines or with broad outlook or foresight. Knowing these and other defects from within, I must appeal to my Christian friends, both Indian and foreign, to first set their house in order before launching out on an evangelistic campaign. But I am aware that some efforts are being made in that direction. The learned article of Dr. Bose will have served its purpose, if it accelerates the desired progress.

We have made it sufficiently clear that the citizenship of the world, the solidarity of humanity, and the cosmic unity knit in the Brotherhood of Man and Fatherhood of God proceed from Christianity. We hope that Dr. Bose would revise his opinion that "Christianity strikes a note of disharmony not only for a secular democracy but also for the ideal of one world." A true Christian can certainly and easily cherish "the spirit of equality and fraternity for a fellow citizen whom one believes to be doomed to hell" and love him all the more for that very reason by being so constrained by the redeeming love of Christ.

We are glad that Dr. Bose is a strong believer in the final triumph of Truth. Right-minded persons would readily agree to meet on such a platform of Truth where we can exchange and share our thoughts and contribute towards the common task of building up, in our Motherland, the Kingdom of God or *Rama Rajya* in Hindu terminology, if the connotations of both the terms are the same. It is then that Truth and Truth alone will save and unite us all in the bond of Supreme Love.—*Jai Hind! Jai Christ!!*



EDUCATION AND LIFE

By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,
Principal, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta

THE problem of bringing Education and Life together is the most baffling one in the field of learning today. For, the main cause of the general failure of the present educational systems of our country has been our inability to relate education to life. This has, in its turn, resulted in the following four main kinds of failure in the holy field of Education:

- (i) Theoretical or Intellectual Failure,
- (ii) Practical or Economic Failure,
- (iii) Ethical or Humanistic Failure, and
- (iv) Cultural or Personalistic Failure.

Thus, first, from the theoretical or intellectual standpoint, there seems to be a wide gap between education and learning, as between learning and wisdom, now-a-days: we are being educated, but we do not appear to learn anything much of the subjects taught, much less to be wise in any real sense of the term. Secondly, from the practical or economic point of view, there seems to be a still wider gap between education and practical efficiency and the resulting economic success. Education is not, by any means, increasing our power of doing things well, or providing us with suitable means of employment. The ever-increasing number of mere lotus-eaters, star-gazers or dreamers of dreams in the field of education, as well as of the educated unemployed, is a convincing proof of this. Thirdly, from the ethical or humanistic standpoint, from the standpoint of real character-building, no less, the complete failure of education to produce not only scholars but saints, not only learned men but virtuous men, is perhaps the most regrettable, but at the same time undeniable, feature of our modern over-intellectualistic systems of education. Fourthly, from the cultural or personalistic point of view, the divorce of education from culture seems, unfortunately, to be complete in the modern world, as the full development of the personality of the student is indeed a far-off cry now-a-days.

In fact, if we really want to relate education to life, we should see that all the sides of life are fully and equally developed by education. Just as water permeates every smallest part of the soil, penetrates into and fills every single pore of the sapling which, thus, draws its sustenance from it and is thereby developed into a full-grown sylvan beauty by it, so too should education permeate the very core of our being, developing and perfecting it internally as its very life-blood, as its breath of breaths, soul of souls.

The problem of problems, therefore, is how to secure this internal, essential relation between education and life. Corresponding to the three sides

of life, intellectual, emotional and moral, there are three great ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, beautifully characterised in Indian philosophy as *Satyam*, *Sivam* and *Sundaram*. How education can enable us to attain the full manifestation of these three fundamental sides of our lives and thereby approach nearer, if not reach, these three supreme ideals of human life is the most baffling question today in the field of education.

We hope to be forgiven if in this connection, we refer very briefly to our ancient systems of education. We, lovers of ancient learning, have often been accused of vainly trying to put back the clock of time. But, we are convinced, and many would agree with us with regard to this point, that our ancient treasure-troves of wisdom contained not a few gems of 'purest ray serene,' the peer of which can never be found in the world. It is fit and proper that, in Free India specially, due use should be made of our ancient treasures, so long neglected and kept in cold storage.

Regarding the intellectual failure of education, there is no doubt that the present system of mechanical, lecture-type teaching is to be blamed. Here, we may draw a distinction between Instruction, Education and Culture. What students receive from their teachers is *Instruction*. Their response to it is *Education*. Their attitude to life as its result is *Culture*. Now-a-days, we are laying the whole stress on Instruction only, practically ignoring the other two far more important elements. The result is that the so-called education has become wholly a mechanical affair, characterised by a kind of sterile universalism. But in ancient India, education was always regarded as an individual affair, not something to be derived in a class-room mechanically, but something to be imbibed in one's own self through one's own individual effort. The ordinary lecture-type of education, in vogue in the world today, is really foreign to the very spirit of Indian system of education. Education, India always recognises, should be more of the seminar-type where each student has to meet the teacher separately and learn from him through separate instruction, guidance and discussion.

Another commendable characteristic of ancient Indian educational system was its equal stress on the absolute necessity of a personal relation between the teacher and the taught. In a mechanical, stereotyped system of education, the relation between a teacher and his pupils is no more intimate than that between speaker in a large meeting, and his audience, and accordingly lacks entirely the feeling of living fellowship, the spirit of loving give-and-take that alone

can make education with its two sides, teaching and learning, fruitful in any real sense of the term.

A third remarkable feature of ancient Indian educational system was its recognition of the great truth that there cannot be anything compulsory, anything forced or super-imposed in education, that a man can control and lead himself only by his own efforts. He, of course, needs guidance and instruction. But that guidance and instruction, to be of any use, is to be transformed into self-guidance, self-introduction from inside. Hence, we have the great saying of the Gita:

उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम्

If amongst a host of many other praiseworthy features of ancient Indian systems of education, only the above three are revived in modern India,—i.e., if smaller, seminar-like classes are arranged, if a closer, personal contact is established between the teacher and the taught and more individual attention given to the students, and if the students are taught the art of self-help—there is no doubt that Education will end in real learning, real learning in deeper wisdom, and deeper wisdom in the fructification and blessedness of Life itself.

Secondly, as regards the practical failure of education, no less, we can take a leaf out of our glorious Indian tradition of education. The curse of our present systems of education is that very few courses of training are open to the students, so that practically all of them, irrespective of their inclinations and capacities, are compelled to undertake the same courses of study, with the result that the few channels of employment are always over-crowded and filled with inefficient persons. But in ancient India, special pains were taken to provide for the numerous grades of human beings by recommending different paths for different individuals of different inclinations and capacities. Hence, in ancient systems of education—not only the highest philosophy, but also ordinary subjects like science and literature, as well as vocational training, find place. The distinction between the *para-vidyas* and *apara-vidyas* is a case to the point. Hence, those who were found to be unfit to proceed straight to the path of highest knowledge, were directed to their proper vocations, but not condemned as hopeless.

In this connection, we may note another laudable characteristic of the ancient Indian system of education, viz., that it always upheld the dignity of labour. Hence, even a student, aiming at the highest philosophic knowledge, was duty-bound to do some manual labour daily, such as, collecting fuel, tending the cattle, maintaining the sacred fires, begging, etc. That the cultivation of the mind may end, in many cases, in an absolute aversion to any kind of physical labour is an undeniable fact, as we know, to our

cost, from modern experience. Our ancient educationists were, however, wiser, and provided, from the very beginning, against such a regrettable contingency.

In modern India, too, if we want education to be practically useful, as capable of increasing practical efficiency, as well as of providing suitable means of employment—knowledge and work should go together from the very beginning.

Thirdly, if we take into account the absolute failure of modern systems of education from the ethical point of view, we cannot but be amazed at the breadth of vision of our ancient Indian educationists who designated the state of studentship most appropriately as "*Brahmacharya*." A student is a *Brahmachari* or one who not only knows Brahman, but also practises the way of Brahman; as well as a *Vratachari* or one who undertakes not a mere course of study for securing a degree, but also a great vow, a supreme penance to reform his whole life in the light of the new knowledge, the new vision gained. This is further clear from the sacred ceremony of Upanayana which initiates one to *Brahmacharya* or religious studentship. Through this ceremony, the pupil becomes a *Dvija* or a twice-born; that is, being impregnated with the spirit of the teacher, he gives up his prior selfish, narrow, thoughtless, purposeless existence, and starts afresh a new dedicated life of noble thoughts, sublime sentiments and unselfish acts.

Exactly same should be our aims today also. If Education cannot change our lives and elevate us from a mere animal sphere to a spiritual, rational level, it cannot be said to have any real relation with Life itself.

Finally, the very regrettable failure of modern systems of education from the cultural standpoint is due, we think, to a narrow, over-realistic, bias that seems to have assailed us more or less today. Over-realism and over-practicalism are just as bad, or even worse than, over-idealism and over-theorising. After all, the aim of education is the full and perfect development of the soul, neither the attainment of degrees nor the securing of jobs. Education in ancient India has never been objective or practical in the narrow sense of the term, being confined only to mundane subjects, and objective arts and crafts. These should be studied, no doubt, but the final aim of education is *moksha* or *mukti*, emancipation from a narrow, selfish life's ills and imperfections. Hence, it is that in India, the final goal of education has been declared to be the attainment of *moksha*, of a Life Immortal and a Life Perfect, and not of worldly success and prosperity.*

Thus, if we want to relate education to life—then intellectually, practically, ethically and culturally,

•विद्यया चिन्दतेऽमृतम् (केनोपनिषद्)

education should be able to mould our whole lives and elevate them to a higher spiritual sphere of perfect knowledge, work and morality.

In fact, the aim of Education is the fulness of Being, expansion of personality, greatness of Life. Hence it is that right at the dawn of human civilisation, venerable sages of India declared in one voice:

"What is great and full alone is Bliss, there can be no Bliss in the small and the limited—the great and full alone is Bliss. The great and the full alone should be enquired into."*

• "यो वै भूमा तत्सुखं, नाल्पे सुखमस्ति, भूमैवं सुखम्, भूमात्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्य इति ।" (छान्दोग्योपनिषद्)

If education can secure such a greatness of life, then only will its eternal goal be reached, its holy mission fulfilled. The aim of human life is to shine forth in its own light, like a lamp, very beautifully expressed in the inspiring invocation of Lord Buddha:

"Be a light unto thyself."†

If the lamp of education can thus light the lamp of life, then only will education come to have a real relation with life in any real sense of the term, and not otherwise.

† आत्मदीपो भव

—:O:—

"MERCHANTS IN VEDIC AND HEROIC INDIA"

By SWAMI SANKARANANDA
Vidyabhavan, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

THIS is not to contradict the article* of Mr. Niyogi, in which he has nicely represented the case of the merchants of ancient India. This article is intended to add some new facts and to put forward other probable interpretations of the facts discussed in the article.

THE PANIS

The Panis, a merchant people of ancient India, is one of the topics of the article. It is true that they were a trading people, but, there is no indication in the Rigveda that they were aliens. It is rather clear from the Vedic texts that they formed a very useful and important class in the society. They were the artisans, cattle raisers, and traders. As such they were always within the social fold, in which the Vedic people lived.

The Indian history, as it stands, has been based on the assumption that a class of people, the reciters of the Vedic Hymns, formed the entire society. As a result, the entire Hindu society save and except the priests, remained unrepresented. In the place of a society, composed of all sorts of people, we hear of a "Vedic Society," a "Vedic Culture," and the like. As if the reciters of the hymns, the priests, constituted the entire society!

But as a matter of fact, the priests constitute a very minor section in every society. India was not an exception. The Rigveda, a book of the priests, which belongs to the priests alone, and deals with matters relating to priestly rituals, cannot depict the entire picture of the society. So, the Vedic India is not the entire India. It is 'Arya' India which is the India in its entirety.

The mention of non-priestly people in the Vedas is very rare. In certain hymns, the gods of the priests are invoked to punish or reward some of them. So, the Vedas, as they stand, depict only a part-picture of the society. The part cannot be taken as the whole. It does not depict the entire society in which the Vedas grew. So, there may have been other religious practices, which are not recorded in the Vedas, and which in some

places are actually condemned by the priests.

These non-priestly and consequently non-Vedic cults were practised by the great mass of people outside the fold of the priests. Nevertheless, they were as good Aryas as the priests themselves. They lived in the same society with the Vedic people. So, the Panis as well as the Dasyus, Dasas and other non-priestly people mentioned in the Vedas were not aliens.

The exaction of money by trade and usury was a normal affair with the merchants. So, by condemning the Panis, the Rishi really condemned the trading people in general. The character of the traders, I am afraid, has not changed much since the days of the Rigveda. We may say the same thing regarding the modern merchants of all countries. Are not all of them "rich and enterprising, solely devoted to the cause of gain either by trade or usury"?

It is true "that they were very rich and did not give any offerings to Aryan gods, hence, they were an object of intense dislike." The cause of such dislike must be sought elsewhere, not in their niggardliness. The Panis and all other non-priestly people did not like the bloody sacrifices of the priests. On the other

* The Modern Review for June, 1953, pp. 479-480.

"MERCHANTS IN VEDIC AND HEROIC INDIA"

hand, they were probably the worshippers of a compassionate and loving God, who is known as Vishnu. Instead of sacrificing animals with 'Soma' offerings, they offered bread and butter, fruits, etc., as offerings. This view is supported by a Rik which Indra is cajoled not to go over to the Panis, who do not distil Soma-juice. (RK. 4.25.7)

The word Vishnu is of doubtful derivation. The Sanskritists derive it from the root 'Vis' 'to encompass' by 'nuk.' But we think that the non-priestly worshippers of the god could not derive the word in this way. Most probably, the word was derived by combining two words, one part representing the name of the people and the other the name of the god.

The general mass in India was known as 'Vis.' Among them the Panis were most important. This word was probably derived from the name of their god. Pani, is derived from the root *pan*, meaning 'to adore.' As a noun, *Pan*, therefore means "adorable one," consequently the god. "Pani" is the worshipper of this god. The priests adding 'Pan' to 'Vis' got the word *Vispan*, the God of the people.

In Greece, there was a people's God named *Pan*. He was the God of shepherds, seafaring men, fishermen, honey-collectors and collectors of wood. From the analogy of the Greek-God *Pan*, we may infer that a god with the name *Pan* is not unusual.

It is most probable that by a philological change "Vispan" was transformed into *Visnu*. The transitional forms are probably *Vispan*—*Visban*—*Vishun*—*Vishnu*. The form 'Vishun' is still being used in dialects.

The word *Vishun* also occurs in Rigveda. It appears from the context that the term has been used for the God of the people. The expression is "Sa Sardhat Arya Vishunasya Jantoh." The meaning of the expression, appears to be "He killed that Arya (cultivator) who belonged to the 'animal Vishun.'" (Rg. 7. 21, 5).

The term 'animal Vishun' is very significant. From this it may be inferred that the people in general in ancient India worshipped God in animal forms. *Vishnu*, the God of the people, actually has a number of animal forms. He is the fish, the tortoise, the boar, the lion, the unicorn, the garuda, etc.

The earliest known Indian civilization of Mohen-jodaro and Harappa shows that most of the forms of *Vishnu* were worshipped there. His tortoise, boar, unicorn, and garuda forms are discernible.

Thus we find, how side by side with the ritualistic practices of the priests grew the non-ritualistic cult of the mass. God *Vishnu* was the centre of all their devotions, fastings, vigils, and festivities. During the festivals of their beloved, the people were wont to go mad in joy and hilarity. The God was carried in procession with flags and branches of trees. The worshippers of Unicorn of the Indus valley carried the unicorn-form of the God *Vishnu* in procession with *Dhvaja* and *Pataka*.

The two distinct types of religious practices observed by the two sects of the same group of people still retain

their individual characters. But during the passage through ages, both of them have been modified and a tendency of cohesion and fusion may be observed now and then. It will be sufficient to indicate that the modern cult of the Tantras is a synthetic one. It is comprised of the rituals, Yoga, Vedanta and Bhakti cults.

It should be remembered that the gradual cohesion or fusion in the society took place due to the loss of the hold of the Vedic rites and sacrifices on the priests themselves as well as the upheaval of the popular religions in the names of Vaishnavism, Saktism and Saivism, etc.

By reading the *Purusha sukta* of the Rigveda one may be misled and may think that the entire Indian society was turned to a compact body due to the propagation of the Vedic cults among the masses. The favourite expression for this propagation is "gradual Aryanisation of the non-Aryans".

But the actual fact was quite different. The priests never allowed their practices to be imitated by the non-priests. The beheading of a *Sudra* by *Ramachandra* for the crime (?) of practising the priestly rites and the very benevolent injunctions of *Manu* to cut the tongue and pour boiling lead in the ear of a *Sudra* guilty of reciting or hearing the recitation of a Vedic Rik respectively, speak for themselves.

So, there was never a conversion to the Vedic cult. The non-Vedic non-Aryans (?) were not allowed to be converted into 'Aryanhood,' because the Vedic religion was never a proselytising faith like Buddhism and Vaishnavism. Hence, it is the victory of the people's cult that has brought about cohesion and fusion.

The students of Indian social history should note that the Vedic cult of the priests is no longer the guiding spirit in the life of the priests. The Vedic cults which are still practised are nothing but vestiges of a forgotten and forsaken cult. For instance, the *Vedio Diksha* in *Gayatri* now holds a secondary place to the *Tantrika Diksha*, in the spiritual life of the Hindus. The *Tantrika Diksha* is now supreme and the highest illumination is deemed to be attained by the *Tantrika Diksha* alone.

Thus we find that the picture is quite different from what we find in the history of India narrated by foreign scholars or written under foreign tutelage.

Instead of a gradual Aryanisation of the people by a foreign invading Aryan people (?) we find a complete and perfect swallowing of the priestly minority by the vast ocean of the popular cults, propounded by the Panis and other non-ritualistic, non-Vedic people, mentioned in so humiliating terms in the Rigveda.

THE PANIS AS DASYUS

Macdonnel writes in the *Vedic Index*: "In another theory Panis are called *Dasyus*, and styled *Mridhravac*, probably 'of hostile speech,' and *Grathin*, a word of uncertain origin."

In the *Aitareya Brahmana*, *Dasyu* has been used

as the term for the clan of Viswamitra. There is a big list of the Dasyus in the Manusamhita. From the list of the Manusamhita, the Dasyus appear to be a very diffused tribe. They lived in different regions speaking quite different dialects. The Persians were called Dasyus, they were the Dahyus. Dahyu is the Persian form of the word Dasyu. Thus Panis being Dasyu was an Aryan-speaking people and lived in the Arya society together with the priests. The most important factor is that they belonged to Viswamitra, a composer of Vedic hymns.

The second word was Grathina. This word was probably derived from 'granthana,' to stitch together, as in the case of a garland. Consequently, Grathina may mean 'one who makes garlands of words' a poet. The word Gathina, used as the qualification of Viswamitra in the Rigveda, was probably derived from Granthina. Gathina means, one who recites Vedic hymns in Gatha notes. In Sangita Ratnakara and other musical works, Gatha has been interpreted as a kind of song sung only in two notes. So, the Panis as Granthinas are again traced to Viswamitra clan.

Two of the words related to the Panis, having been traced to Viswamitra, the third, Mridhravacha also may have some relation with the Rishi or his clan. It has been given out in Manusamhita that the people of Viswamitra spoke both in Arya and Mleccha dialects. On this ground we may take the word Mridhravacha as the prototype of the word Mlecchavacha. The forms are Mridhra, Mliggha, Mlichha, Mlechha.

Thus we find that Dasyu, Grathina and Mridhravacha Panis were the Aryan people, who lived together with the priests in the same Aryan society.

THE PANIS AS CATTLE RAISERS Macdonnel says :

"In some passages the Panis definitely appear as mythological figures, demons, who withhold the cows or waters of heaven, and to whom Sarama goes on a mission from Indra."

The story that the Panis stole the cows of the Vedic people could not be traced in the Rigveda. On the other hand, we find that, Sarama, a messenger from Indra went to the abode of the Panis to beg some cattle for Indra. (Rv. 10. 108. 2).

It is clear from the Sukta in question that the Panis did not know who Indra was. They lived on the bank of a river. No sooner Sarama landed than she was accosted by a Pani and was asked about her purpose in hazarding the crossing of the dreadful river. (Rv. 10. 108. 1). Sarama replied that she was the messenger of Indra and was on a mission to secure cows for him.

This is a very important Sukta for the study of the life and habits of the Panis. From this Sukta it appears that the Panis were a peace-loving people. They reared cattle and lived peacefully. Indra and his people, on the other hand, depended a great deal upon these peace-loving people for their maintenance. In this very Sukta

Sarama was threatening the Panis. They were told that unless they concede to the request of Indra, there will be a grave danger. For, then, Indra will come with Angirasa Rishis and take away their cattle by force. This is the only Sukta where Indra and his Rishis have been shown naked, unmasked. We learn from this Sukta that Indra and his party of Rishis were the worst type of bullies and robbed the people for their own sustenance. Sarama was a fit accomplice of them.

The party of Indra did not hesitate to butcher the people when they were in want of food and the composers of the Vedic hymns gloated over the atrocities (Rv. 1.83.4; 1.184. 2. etc). The atrocities committed by Indra and his band of Rishis were no war. It was a simple plundering of the peaceful people.

From the discourse of Pani and Sarama, we gather that, instead of Indra and his people, the vilified Panis were hundred and thousand times more Arya—Arya meaning civilized, cultured, etc.

In spite of the vilification of the Panis in the Vedic literature by the priests, they could not forget the rich and the envious position they (Panis) held in the society for their wealth. And the Rishis were found to appeal to their deities for the softening of their hearts so that they might contribute money to their sacrifices (Rv. 6. 53. 3, 5-7). It was a pretty business after all! In the same breath they called the wrath of the Heaven to fall upon the Panis, as well as Heaven's mediation!

But they were not decried everywhere. They had supporters among the Vedic Rishis as well. Though the Panis were found to be unwilling to part with riches in the sacrifices, they were generous in cases where an individual Rishi was concerned. Such a case has been recorded in the Rigveda and a Rishi has praised Brihu, a carpenter Pani, for giving them one thousand cows. (Rv. 6. 45. 31, 33).

In the Manusamhita the anecdote has been elaborated as :

"When Rishi Bharadwaja was awaiting death from starvation, in the deep forest, Bridhu, a carpenter offered him one thousand cows, which the venerable Rishi accepted with gratitude." (Manu. 10. 107).

From all these discussions about the Panis, it is now clear that the Panis lived in the same Arya society with the Vedic priests, the Rishis, and were a very useful limb of the society, being the sole bread-earning class. Instead of being enemy of the Vedic people, they were their support and mainstay.

THE PHOENICIANS AS PANIS

Mr. Niyogi mentioned as an authority Prof. Niyogi of the Hindu University, who "from linguistic ground thinks that Panis were the merchants from Phoenicia."

I do not know on what ground Prof. Niyogi has based his conclusions. As far as is known, the language of the Phoenicians is still unknown. Being a Hamitic people, it is pretty sure that they did not speak in Semitic tongue. As about the language of the Panis, we know nothing.

According to Herodotus, the Phoenicians were the immigrants from the shores of the Erythrean sea. The early historians located the place of the original home of the Phoenicians somewhere near the coasts of the Red Sea. The modern historians try to locate it somewhere on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Ramaprasad Chanda identifies the Panis with the founders of the Indus valley civilization. If his view be correct, then we may assume that the Panis were present in the Euphrates Valley in the third millennium B.C. They lived there using seals engraved in Indus characters. In this case we are faced with an exodus from India.

It is now easy to assume that these Indian Panis, living in the Euphrates Valley penetrated to the Eastern Mediterranean shores and in course of time founded the Phoenician Empire. A probable origin of the Phoenicians from the Indian Panis has been supplied by the fact that the people of Carthage were called Pani or Peoni. Thus we find instead of a Phoenician immigration to India, as propounded by Prof. Niyogi, there was a probable Pani exodus from India.

INDUS MERCHANTS AS FOUNDERS OF EMPIRES

After the discovery of the Indus cities, we are in possession of materials for narrating a history of pre-historic Greater India. The Indus seals discovered from Mesopotamia show that the people of India were living in the Euphrates Valley five thousand years ago. They formed a very influential community of people there, so much so, that they were capable of using seals engraved in their national characters. This was the story of 2500 B.C.

Five hundred years later, an Indo-Aryan people made their appearance in that region as conquerors. They were the Hittites. These people used Indus characters in their inscriptions.

Now, taking the two facts together, we may well assume that the people who used Indus characters in the seals and the people who used the same characters in inscriptions in the Euphrates valley, cannot but be of the same race.

Moreover, Hittite was a corrupt form of the word Khatti. Khatti in its turn was from Greek Xetiaioi, a probable derivative of the Sanskrit word Kshatriya. We may assume from this finding that both the Panis, the trading folks and the Kshatriyas, the warriors, were living side by side in Mesopotamia.

Western Asia was not the solitary instance of the colonies of the Bronze Age India. The people went out in batches and colonised, Egypt, Libiya and Crete in

their boats. Traces of the Indus culture are still discernible in those places. As for Libiya it was a bilateral influence. The Indus Unicorns are found painted in the Libiyan rocks and the African elephants in the Indus seals.

As to the relation of the Indus to the Aryan culture, the present writer has shown elsewhere (*The Rig-Vedic Culture of the Pre-Historic Indus*, Vols I, II) that the religious emblems of the Indus valley indicate the presence of the Vedic people there and the decipherment of the seals by a new method has brought out the names of the people mentioned in the Vedas, viz. Katha Upanishad. Pakta, Yama, Panaya (probably the prototype of the word Baniya). Consequently the presence of the Indo-Aryans in the locality has been proved. So, the conquest of the different countries by the Indus people was the conquest of the Indo-Aryans. The presence of the Indo-Aryans in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa has been noticed by other scholars as well.

Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, in his ably written foreword to the *Rigvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus*, Vol I, by the present writer, concludes his fact-findings with the words :

"We arrive at the conclusion that, in the Indus Valley civilization, the Indo-Aryans were not strangers. The anthropological finds cannot deny their existence there. It is only a matter of opinion what bio-type will be identified as the representation of the Vedic people. The ethnic and other cultural similarities warrant the conclusion that the presence of the Indo-Aryans cannot be denied in the Indus Valley Civilization. At Harappa, their presence is clearly discernible."

Thus we find that the comment of Dr. Bhupendranath Datta on the nationality of the Indus valley people has supplied the proof that the Xetiaioi, Egyptians, Cretans and Libiyans were Indo-Aryans. These people who went with the Panis, the merchants of Mohenjo-Daro, founded jointly the Hittite, Egyptian, Cretan and Libiyan empires.

It is clear from the discussion that the people other than the priests mentioned in the Vedas were not aliens. They lived in the same Arya society as the Vedic reciters of hymns were. The mention of clashes between some people and the reciters of the hymns are nothing but internecine feuds between the clans of the same group of people due to clash of interests. They should not be and could not be interpreted as the wars between the invading Aryans and the autochthonous non-Aryans.



PLACE OF EASTERN ASIA IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

By PROF. S. G. KASHIKAR, M.A.

THE countries to the east of India are known variously as 'the Far East,' 'the Far Far East' and 'the South-East.' They are so only in relation to the West. For us, they are all 'the Near East.' But, as there is no 'Far East' or 'Middle East' for us, we may aptly call them only 'the East.'

These Eastern Asian countries, which stretch from Korea in the North to Indonesia in the South, are very important from the point of view of Indian Foreign Policy. For a number of reasons, it appears that we can have our most reliable allies in this region, and that, while we cannot afford to neglect our relations with the Big Powers and other important countries of the world, we can, in the very nature of things, build up some of our closest possible relations of the most enduring and mutually beneficial nature in this region.

Geography is one of those factors that have perpetually bound India and this region together. History and culture are the other. Our historical contacts with the eastern Asian countries date back to the hoary past. The Manusmriti mentions China. The Mahabharata says that the Chinese army fought on the side of the Kauravas in the famous Mahabharata war. Buddhism reached China in the 1st century A.D. and spread to other countries like wild fire. In the ancient Indian literature, southern Burma is mentioned as Suvarnabhoomi, Siam as Shyam-desh, Annam as Champa, Sumatra as Shri-vijaya, Cambodia as Kamboja, Java as Yava-dwipa and China as the country of the Rathakrantas. Indian dynasties, e.g., Sailendra, Shrimar, Bilwatika, etc., ruled for centuries between 100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. in Cambodia, Annam, Siam, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, etc. More important was the impact of Indian philosophers, missionaries, artists, architects, etc. They influenced very profoundly every aspect of the life of the eastern Asian people—their form of government, culture, philosophy, religion, commerce, astrology, mathematics, dance, music, architecture, literature, paintings, languages, customs, manners, rituals, etc. Indian influence percolated so deep into the life of these peoples that distinct and indelible marks thereof are observable even to this day. Buddhism has become the life-blood of many of these peoples. Famous Hindu temples exist at Pegu in Burma, Angkorvat in Cambodia, Silla in Korea and Borobudur, Dieng Plateau and Prambanan in Java, which are some of the finest monuments of Indian architecture. Their languages and 'mantras' contain a number of Sanskrit words. Rivers and places and even countries and persons bear Indian names, e.g. Indo-China, Indonesia, the Mekang, (Ma-ganga), Amravati, Pandurang, Shrivijaya, Soekarno (Shubha-karna), etc. Of all these places, the island of Bali in Indonesia is typically Indian even today, though it is separated from India by a sea of 3000 miles. Indian customs and manners are followed there. They respect and study the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vedas and the Gita. They are mainly devotees of

Siva, but Vishnu and Brahma are also worshiped there. Their philosophy is Indian. Sanskrit is still studied there. Their 'mantras' are predominantly Sanskrit and their marriage system, festivals, arts, system of cremation of the dead and other rituals are typically Indian. (For details, see *Hindu Culture in Greater India* by Swami Sadanand, 1949).

Our economic relations with these eastern Asian countries are equally deep-rooted. In the past there was a constant and considerable flow of men and materials from and to these countries. And it has in no way diminished even in the modern period. Modern emigration of Indians to these countries began in the early part of the 19th century. The present Indian population living in these countries is as follows:

Name of the Country	Indian Population	Year of Estimate
Burma	700,000	—
Malaya & Singapore	604,508	1947
Indonesia	27,638	1940
Indo-China	1,310	1949
Sarawak	2,300	1949
Br. North Borneo	1,298	1947
Siam	20,000	—
The Philippines	1,258	1948
Hongkong	1,900	1946
Japan	170	1940

(*Indians Overseas* by C. Kondapi, Appendix I)

Most of these Indians are agricultural and factory labourers; and the present developed economy of most of the above countries is largely the fruit of their labour. They are also indispensable for the further economic development of these countries. Besides labourers, there are traders, money-lenders, barristers, doctors, soldiers and government servants. There are also owners, managers and assistants of rubber estates, coconut estates, tin mines, etc. Indian emigration to the Eastern Asian countries has been found mutually very advantageous. It has, furthermore, linked India and these countries together. India can count upon her sons and daughters now adopted by these countries to be her unofficial ambassadors there.

Unfortunately, the condition of Indians and their relations with the natives and other immigrant races of these countries need improvement. But, considering the abundant good-will that now so happily exists between the Government and people of India and the governments and people of these countries, this does not seem to be difficult of attainment.

The flow of commodities between India and the Eastern Asian countries is also a very important economic factor for consideration. Indian exports to these countries are: Cotton twist and yarn, cotton piecegoods, jute bags, betel nuts, tobacco, pulse, coal, iron, steel, cigarettes, groundnut oil, tea, butter, shoes, opium, hides and skins, wax, rope and twine; while India imports rice, pulses, mineral oils and timber from Burma; rice and teak wood from Indo-China and Siam; canes, medicines, fruits, vegetables, dyeing and tanning articles, rice, metals (tin, etc.), spices and silk from Malaya;

PLACE OF EASTERN ASIA IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

403

sugar, liquors, tea and mineral oils from Indonesia; medicines, grains, sugar, tea, silk, silk goods and cotton piecegoods from China; cotton hosiery and piece goods, glassware, hardware, instruments, chemicals, cutlery, earthenware, porcelain, machinery, paints, silk piecegoods, paper, rubber manufactures, stationery, toilet requisites, toys, game requisites, woolen manufactures, etc., from Japan and cordage and hemp from the Philippines. (*Economic Relations of India with South-East Asia and the Far East* by N. V. Sovani, 1949, pp. 75-137.)

In 1950-51, the value of Indian imports and exports was as follows:

Country	Imports (Rs. millions)	Exports (Rs. millions)
Burma	187.8	218.9
Malaya	165.8	353.2
Indonesia	65.8	89.1
Japan	100.4	89.6

(*Hindustan Year Book 1952*, p. 401)

The above figures show favourable balance of trade with Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. The same is the case with regard to trade with China, Indo-China, the Philippines and Siam also. (See *Economic Relations of India with South-East Asia and the Far East* by N. V. Sovani, pp. 75-137.)

The future of Indian trade in this region appears to be still brighter. The Western powers are gradually loosening—though reluctantly—their political hold on this region, but they are fighting desperately to retain their economic hold. But it seems clear enough that the flag which formerly followed the scales, will now be followed by the latter. National feelings of the eastern Asian people are growing so high and their prejudices against the western powers so great that it seems impossible that they would tolerate for long any vestiges of their domination. This will surely afford a greater market for Indian goods along with those of other great eastern countries like China and Japan. With every step of economic and political development, their demand for foreign goods will increase; and, owing to their low purchasing power, the comparatively inferior but cheaper Indian goods will sell better than the European or American goods. Of course, Indian goods will have to compete with the Chinese and Japanese goods, but the overall effect, it seems, will be more advantageous to India than at present.

From the political and military point of view, the importance of this region can hardly be exaggerated. It possesses one-third—and including India, one-half—of the world's man-power. If united, it will be quite a powerful block in international relations. Of the strategic materials, this region produces 90 per cent of world's rubber and 66 per cent of tin besides a large quantity of mineral oils, sugar and quinine. Again, from the strategic point of view it is said that "whoever controls the Straits of Malacca and Singapore, dominates a sea route and strategic key point that is comparable in importance with the Panama Canal." (*The New World of South-east Asia* by Mills and Associates,

1950, p. 6.) Is is the principal entrance into the Pacific from the west and vice versa. All sea-routes converge there. Important naval bases are built at Port Arthur, Hongkong, Bangkok, Manila and Batavia. Furthermore, there exists a network of submarine cables and radio communications in this region. It is not without reason that the western powers attach so much importance to this region. But the initial Japanese conquest of this region during World War II, has given a fatal blow to the myth of White invincibility; and their prestige and power are definitely on the wane. But the small countries of eastern Asia will not be able to stand the brunt of modern national and international problems alone. They will need help and protection from outside. In the absence of western powers, India, China and Japan can fulfil this historic role. Perhaps, the alignment of countries will be determined largely by the political philosophies which these countries ultimately adopt, the democratic countries looking to India and the communist ones to China for leadership. Japan's position is rather difficult of determination; for, it is as yet too early to say anything definitely about the final form of her political philosophy. Perhaps, she will share leadership with India or China or both in so far as her final political philosophy resembles that of the one or the other or the both.

Will there be, then, a rivalry for leadership between India, China and Japan? While its possibility cannot be completely ruled out, yet, on account of the strong historical and cultural bonds and the common economic, political and military interests, the chances are more of their working together in co-operation, notwithstanding differences in political philosophy. And, from the point of view of lasting peace, security and progress, this alone will be a wise step. Certainly, India cannot afford to have powerful rivals on her borders, merely because their political philosophy happens to differ from her own.

It will be clear from all the points considered above that 'Friendship' should be our guiding principle in our relations with the eastern Asian countries. It is, therefore, very gratifying to find that the Indian Foreign Policy, under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru, is wedded to maintaining the most cordial relations with the peoples of eastern Asia and helping them in their struggles against foreign domination. India's recognition of Communist China and insistence on her entry into the United Nations, her successful efforts to secure independence for Indonesia, her moral support to the national struggles in Malaya and Indo-China, her refusal to be a party to an unequal treaty with Japan, the expert and economic aid that she gave to Burma, her co-operative efforts under the Colombo Plan, the leading part that she played in the Asian Relation Conferences and her present honest efforts to bring peace in troubled Korea—all these are steps in the right direction, which will ultimately benefit India in a number of ways and also strengthen her voice of peace in the comity of nations.



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 GOSPEL OF THE PYRAMIDS: By Duncan Greenlees. *The World Gospel Series, Vol. 9. The Theosophical Publishing House, Madras. 1953. Pp. 322. Price Rs. 7-8 (wrapper) and Rs. 9 (cloth).*

The aim of this valuable and now well-known series is to offer to the general reader "in a cheap and attractive form, the essence of each of the world's great scriptures" based upon the authors' belief that "all the great religions and their scriptures come from one Divine Source, the Authentic Word of God to man" (Preface, pp. v-vi). The present monograph follows the plan of the two volumes of this series, *The Gospel of the Guru-Granth Sahib* and *The Gospel of Narada* noticed by us in two earlier numbers (April and May, 1953) of *The Modern Review*. The work consists of a Preface, an Introduction, a Catechism and translations of selected texts with an accompanying commentary and explanatory footnotes. By far the greater portion of the translated extracts consists of selections (forming about 37 per cent of the whole) from the Pyramid texts which are so called because of being written in hieroglyphic characters on the walls of the pyramids of certain kings and queens of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (2750-2610 and 2610-2470 B.C.). The Pyramid texts consist of four great types relating to funerary rituals, magical spells for the king's protection, hymns and prayers for the king's union with God and allusions to myths (Introduction, pp. civ-cvi) and their special purpose as a whole is to ensure the king's felicity in the hereafter (*ibid.*, p. evii). The great significance of these texts consists in the fact that they record humanity's earliest supreme revolt against the great darkness and silence from which none returns (*ibid.*, cviii). The author's translations of the texts, as he tells us in his Preface (p. xvi), have been checked with the works of the best authorities in the field. The distinctive feature of the author's work, however, as he observes in the same context with justifiable candour, is his appreciation of the real significance of the texts as distinguished from their pure language-study. Of the Pyramid texts, for instance, he observes that they belong to the world's greatest scriptures and that "like the almost equally undatable Vedas they are the gift of seers who describe in their own way what they actually saw of the inner worlds and of the stages of deification in the Great Man typified by the newly-dead king." In the result, he says that while no scholar so far has made any real attempt to throw light upon the ideas of the great minds of those times, he has offered through his commentary and footnotes an interpretation which fits in wherever it has been applied in the surviving texts of that age. In the Introduction which

extends over a hundred pages, the author follows his preliminary sketch of the physical features of the land and its history down to the end of the Eighth and Ninth Dynasties with some valuable critical studies of the religious ideas of Pyramid Egypt. We have only space enough to mention here a few points. Describing the greatness of the Pyramid Age, the author says (*ibid.*, p. lix), "It was an age of material and moral progress in no way less remarkable than that the evening of which we seem to be now witnessing in the West." It was therefore "no wonder that the religion of this age was full of confidence and pride, full of the sense of boundless and ever-growing glory, which would expand to infinity in total union with the Divine (*ibid.*, p. lxiii)." Referring in the next place to the principle of the king's divinity which is palpably in complete conflict with the democratic ideas of our days, the author quotes with approval (*ibid.*, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv) the following words of another writer: "In Egypt, the king was a God. . . . He was not the representative of God; he was God. . . . He stood for perfection, he was the highest attainable achievement in human form. He personified the supreme aspirations of the people and as such he was throughout all history the chief subject of their art." Dealing in the next place with a problem of ancient Egyptian archaeology, the author (*ibid.*, pp. lxxix-xc) states his grounds for believing that the Pyramids were primarily intended not for burial of the kings, but for their initiation into certain important rites performed during their lifetime and possibly also after their death. The author next analyses (*ibid.*, pp. xciv-ci) the four basic concepts of the Pyramid religion comprising belief in the creative word, in the absolute oneness of all life, in the king's divinity and in survival after death. Again, he says (*ibid.*, pp. xc-xciv) that the two great religious streams which merged in the Egyptian religion are the Osirian Faith of Reliance on the Saviour and the Solar Faith of Reliance on the Self. "As the pressure of Osirianism opened the celestial future to all, so the royal cult of Re (the Sun-God) spread the ethical content of purity and aspiration." The author next describes (*ibid.*, pp. cxvi-cxxix) the influence of the Pyramid religion upon subsequent ages and other lands under the heads of general culture, philosophy and religion. He concludes his valuable Introduction with a vigorous defence (*ibid.*, pp. cxxix-cxxxvi) of the Pyramid Religion against the charges of obsolescence, savagery, valuelessness and falsity.

Of the main portion of the work, it is enough to state that the translations are eminently readable, while the accompanying explanation in the commentary and footnotes is marked by clarity of expression and insight into the inner significance. It

remains to mention that this valuable work is adorned with a portrait of King Khufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid (c. 2825 B.C.), while it concludes with five appendices containing translations of selected texts from the Book of the Dead, a short but valuable Index and a good bibliography classified under five heads.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PEASANT REVOLUTION IN BENGAL: By Jogesh C. Bagal, with a Foreword by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar. *Bharati Library, Calcutta. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1-4.*

How the unarmed "timid" Bengali peasants in 1860 rendered European Indigo planters' rule over Nadia and Jessore villages impossible, is told in this collection of the (anonymous) press reports of Sisir Kumar Ghose, best known as the founder of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The editor has done a service to that truly great patriot's memory, and to modern Indian history by rescuing them from oblivion. His tone is moderate and his accuracy is scholarly.

N. B. ROY

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY: By Uday Shanker, M.A. (Lond.), Psychologist, Central Institute of Education, Delhi, with a Foreword by Humayun Kabir. *Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. Price Rs. 6.*

Within a compass of 260 pages only the author has very ably dealt with almost all aspects of the development of personality. There is no confusion in his utterances and no attempt has been made to make the subject of personality appear as a mysterious phenomenon to be understood only by the metaphysicians, religious men or statisticians of the factor school. Problems of needs, concept of development, learning, maturation, processes of socialization, individual differences and all important questions have been elaborately discussed and a vast wealth of materials both in favour or against particular theories has been presented. The reviewer, however, feels that a little more space could have been devoted to the psychoanalytical concepts and to the description and evolution of the statistical approach to the study of personality. The book will prove highly useful to the students to whom I recommend it wholeheartedly. The teachers also will find in it a comprehensive resume of all that has been said particularly in the modern times about personality. I congratulate the author for the eminently readable book that he has produced. The get-up of the book, however, it must be mentioned, leaves much room for improvement. Its form quality falls far short of its material contents.

S. C. MITRA

THE RELIGION OF THE HINDUS: Edited by Kenneth W. Morgan. University Chaplain and Professor of Religion, Colgate University. *The Ronald Press Company, New York. Price \$ 5.*

It is rather difficult to appreciate the inner spirit of the religion of an alien people without the help of persons professing the religion and capable of interpreting its basic principles. This is especially the case with Hinduism which has 'a great complexity of worship and belief' making it rather difficult to distinguish its essentials from its non-essentials, as has been rightly pointed out in the beginning of the work under review. As a result it is not unoften that we meet with inaccuracies and misrepresentations in the works on the life and feligion of the Hindus of

which so many have been produced by Western writers. It is, therefore, a happy idea to have a book in which different aspects of Hinduism are dealt with by eminent Hindu scholars. The idea has been given a concrete shape in the nice book we are noticing here. It consists of seven chapters contributed by seven scholars as follows: "Nature and History of Hinduism"—D. S. Sarma; "The Hindu Concept of God"—Jitendra Nath Banerjee; "The Hindu Concept of the Natural World"—Radha Govinda Basak; "The Role of Man in Hinduism"—R. N. Dandekar; "Religious Practices of the Hindus"—Sivaprasad Bhattacharya; "Hindu Religious Thought"—Satis Chandra Chatterjee; "Introduction to the Hindu Scriptures"—V. Raghavan. We have here mainly an account of Hinduism of the scriptures as practised by strictly orthodox people. Sufficient notice does not seem to have been taken of the tendencies and conditions of the present times with special reference to the ignorant mass and the usually indifferent educated community. A close scrutiny may reveal stray defects here and there of the nature of which the learned editor appears to be conscious. But on the whole the work written in a narrow compass gives a beautiful picture of Hinduism which will be welcome not only to the people of the West for whom it is primarily intended, but also to the people of the East—may even to the Hindus themselves, who will have their ideas cleared and outlook widened through a perusal of the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ON WINGS TO THE ANZACS (Illustrated): By Govinddas, M.P. *Published by Adarsh Publishers, Gopalbag, Jabalpur. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Australia, New Zealand and Fiji are mere names to many in India. Seth Govinddas, the leader of the Indian delegation to the Wellington (New Zealand) Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 1950, gives a lot of information about the above countries in the volume under review. We have it on his authority that poverty does not exist and that unemployment is unknown in Australia. Wages are fixed by law and "they are higher than those in other countries" (p. 49). The working week of 40 hours has been enforced from January 1, 1948.

New Zealand too is very prosperous. When arrogant racialism runs rampant in so many countries, it is gratifying to learn that the Maoris, the aborigines of New Zealand, "enjoy equality of social, political and economic status with the White people" (p. 92) and that, "In no other land, probably, the primitives are treated so liberally as the Maoris in New Zealand" (p. 80). We are also thankful to the author for the detailed information about the Maoris. Equality of wages prevails in New Zealand and "except the few who can be counted on finger-tips, the people form a classless society" (p. 118). Unemployment is unknown as in Australia. At the time of the author's visit in 1950, 30,000 situations were vacant for want of workers. The Social Security Scheme and the Housing Scheme of the New Zealand Government seem to have made life worth living for the under-dog.

Seth Govinddas, who paid a visit to Fiji also, tells us much about Fiji and its peoples. The Indian settlers in the island constitute 47 per cent of its population of 269,274. The most important problem of the former is the land problem. A nefarious attempt is afoot to squeeze the Indians out of the land they have developed and made fit for cultivation. They have no proprietary right to land. With a view to

encouraging separation between the Indians and the Fijians separate schools are maintained. Fiji is a British colony. Its Government is, however, so completely controlled by the local Sugar Company that it is locally known as the "Sugar Company Government." Mutual jealousies and discussions among the Indians make their position worse. The author's description of the life and society of the Fijians is informative and well-written.

It is a pity that an interesting and informative work as the one under review is vitiated in not a few places by bad English, hurried or careless proof-reading, bad history (pp. 55; 63, 179) and the evidence of lamentable ignorance (pp. 171, 211, 212).

2. THE PARTY SYSTEM: By Sir Ernest Barker.

3. WORLD CO-OPERATION IN SCIENCE: By A. W. Haslett.

4. MARXMANSHIP: By W. N. Ever.

5. COMMUNISM AND HOME LIFE: By David Tuavev.

The above-mentioned books are published by the Casement Publications Ltd., Oak Chambers, 11, Oak Lane, Bombay-1. Price six annas each.

The above are Casement Booklets No. 13-16. No. 2 tells in broad outlines every thing a general reader would like to know about the party system and rightly points out that a party must rest on "a basic foundation of devotion to the general national interest" and must be "consistent with a feeling of common loyalty to the country." No. 3 discusses how the principle of international co-operation is being applied to science and gives some idea of co-operation between Governments and governmental organisations in the application of the result of research under the U. N. auspices to help underdeveloped countries. Nos. 3 and 4 are propaganda stuff. While the one is out to prove that the 'Dictatorship of the proletariat' has evolved into a dictatorship over the proletariat, the latter represents an attempt to prove that the Soviet Constitution is a colossal hoax and that life in the Socialist Fatherland is drab, dull and dark.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

THE HANDICAPPED CHILD: Edited By A. R. Wadia: Published by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay; Pages 171; Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 4-8.

As the Great Nehru has rightly said, "It is the human beings that count, and it counts much more as a child than as an adult." Human beings with the powers of their body and mind fully developed and with the proper attitude towards life, society and state are the real resources of a country. The success of democracy depends on the all-round development of men and their mental make-up. Government of the people have naturally the welfare of the people as their objective, and in a progressive State every effort is made to help boys and girls grow into useful citizens. Unfortunately, no society is free from handicapped children—children disabled in the eye or in the ear, in the mind or in the limbs. Left uncared for, they form a burden on the society and often constitute a problem in the shape of anti-social elements unable to be fitted in the framework of a peaceful and progressive society. Hence, not only from the humanitarian but also from the social, political and economic points of view handicapped children have got to be looked after properly

and effectively with a view to making them grow like the normal as much as possible.

The volume under review contains ten illuminating articles written by experts dealing with a variety of handicaps, physical, mental and social, under the following captions: Social Adjustment of Mentally Deficient Children; Education of the Mentally Retarded; The Delinquent Child; Children with Behaviour Problems; Care and Education of Deaf Children; Blind Children and their Rehabilitation; Homeless Children and their Rehabilitation; Social Case-worker and the Physically Handicapped Child; Education of Hospitalised Children; Treatment and After-care of Handicapped Children.

The titles of the articles will show that almost the entire field of human disabilities has been covered, and the writings being from the pen of persons in the practical spheres, the book presents a true study of the handicapped and suggests effective remedial measures.

We would like to draw pointed attention of the general public and the hospital authorities in particular to Dr. J. M. Kumarappa's article 'Education of Hospitalised Children' in which the writer has narrated the pioneer work undertaken by the Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital of Bombay in arranging special courses of study and entertainment for the long-term convalescent children in the hospital. In the interest of the ailing children who are also a kind of handicapped budding citizens, educational facilities should be provided, as advocated by Dr. Kumarappa, in hospitals in all parts of India, consistent with the nature of ailments, mental and physical equipment and their future place in society in the post-ailment adult life. The book is a welcome addition to the literature of this type and an inspiration to the social worker.

The neat volume with fine printing and attractive get-up is a pleasant and profitable study.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

SELECTED SAYINGS OF BASAVA: Translated by Sri C. S. Bagi. Published by Vachana Mantapa, Belgaum. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

Sri Basava was the immortal reformer of the Veerashaiva sect of Hinduism prevalent in Kanara, South India. He appeared in the twelfth century in the district of Bijapur and became the prime minister of King Bijjala at Kalyan. He was born at a time when religious orthodoxy hindered powerfully social security and material progress as well as encouraged meaningless ceremonials and fussy rituals. The spirit of the time cried for a religious reform and tolerance. As a Brahmin boy of eight Basava refused to undergo upanayan ceremony and embraced Veerashaivism. By his spiritual greatness and intellectual brilliance he checked the strong tide of inter-communal jealousy and established religious tolerance and harmony.

All his teachings are available only in Kannada language. In order to acquaint the non-Kannada public of our country with the profound wisdom of Basava, this humble work has been undertaken by the devoted experts. The learned translator who is the Vice-Principal, Lingaraj College of Belgaum, has reproduced as much of the sense and fervour of the originals as was possible at a first venture. Rightly the poet says that the words and languages are jealous and have to be wooed assiduously before they surrender their best treasures. Sri Bagi's assiduous and sincere wooing has compelled Kannada to surrender its best wealth to English. The board-bound and nicely got-up

book under review contains Basava's 226 selected sayings of which the last ninety-four are set to metre. According to the first sayings the unnameable in man is like the fire in wood, sweetness in sugar, fragrance in flower and love in maiden. Like this, all the other sayings are instructive and inspiring. Life and teachings of Sri Basava should be compiled in Indian vernaculars to pave the way for country-wide Hindu solidarity.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA: By Angshu Dutt, M.A. Published by the Republic Book Syndicate, 65/8; College Street, Calcutta 12. Pages 121. Price Re. 1-14.

Even an educated person has a very imperfect knowledge of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Russia has solved her many difficulties and met many obstacles in the unification of peoples, cultures, nationalities and languages by a constitution which requires a serious study by the students of political science.

The author has divided the subject into fifteen chapters, viz., Evolution of the Constitution and Its Salient Features, State Structure, Fundamental Rights, Legislature, Presidium, Executive, Judiciary, Electoral System, Amendment of the Constitution, Communist Party, Federation and Sovereignty in U.S.S.R., Separation of Powers, and Solution of the Problem of Nationality.

It must be remembered that U.S.S.R. is a State of workers and peasants and as such no other class is recognised and its object is to liquidate Capitalism and propertied classes in all aspects and establish Socialism in all spheres of national life. U.S.S.R. has no separation of powers as we understand it, nor Legislature competent to sit in judgment in the matter of interpretation of the Constitution. The author's presentation is comparative and suggestive and as such the book will be found suitable for study not only by students but the readers in general.

A. B. DATTA

KNOW THE ANSWERS (Series 2): By Frank Lamb. Published by S. Viswanathan, "Acton Lodge," 11, McNichol Road, Chetput, Madras. Pp. 244. Price Rs. 2-8.

It is a collection of short articles in the form of Questions and Answers that had appeared in *The Hindu*, the premier daily of Madras. The book may be called a Hand-book of useful knowledge for the edification of laymen as well as students and educationists. Within the narrow compass, not even covering a whole page, these short articles dealing with a wide variety of current topics on all branches of human knowledge, are presented before the reader in the form of questions and answers with concise factual details. The topics are arranged under the following heads: The Universe and the World, The Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, Body and Mind, Food and Drink, Society, World of Ideas and Feeling, Matter, Motion and Measurement, Man-made Things and Odds and Ends. The book will be appreciated alike, we hope, by the general public and students curious to learn things worth knowing about the present-day world.

B. K. SEAL.

CAGES OF FREEDOM AND OTHER STORIES: By Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1952. Pp. 106. Price Re. 1-8.

This little book collects ten short stories from the pen of Abbas, the well-known Indian journalist and

columnist. The stories generally impress one as the work of a vivid and deeply sensitive soul which instinctively detests communalism, the oppression of man by man, the untouchability and the many ills that still scourge Indian society. Essentially, it is a sad, depressing world that Abbas looks out upon. His credit lies in the fact that he infuses the reader with some of his own feeling of compassion for the tormented. Of particular interest and charm are "The Flag," "Revenge," and "Letar fraum a Child to Mahatma Gandhi."

LIFE GOES ON: By Vimla Kapur. Associated Publications, Lahore. 1946. Pp. 274. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is an insipid tale of two people—childhood friends—growing up to love each other. After a brief interlude, Fate brought them together as teacher and student at a college. Love blossomed but soon withered and ultimately floundered and the two people had to separate. The bare shell of the story, although commonplace, is not perhaps improbable. But it is the padding which gives the story all the authentic characteristics of a cheap stunt film. There is, for example, the father of the girl who, in the approved Congress fashion, holds weekly "spiritual lectures" and takes up close on fifty pages of the book in the process. There is also the interesting device by which the girl sought to forget her love, viz., by sitting up in the night and writing a six-page essay on communalism, "the elusive Pakistan scheme," "the Azad Punjab scheme," and "the untouchability question"! As regards the author's diction and style, here are some random gleanings: "Woman is man's moral support, without her he is not, as zeros unpreceded by one" (p. 127). "This forgetfulness . . . had conferred equal 'anaestheticism' on both the minds" (p. 46), and "Nature . . . made Jagdish's car bump (sic) into the lorry and took the consequences in her own hands" (p. 132).

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

HINDI

HAR KI POIRI: By Viraj. Published by Sahitya Mandir, Kankhal. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.

Standing on the bank of the holy Ganges at Harwar, the poet watches the kaleidoscopic scene before him and is spell-bound by its romance in its twin aspect: by the varied beauty of Nature in the background and by the colourful gaiety of humanity, particularly of womankind in the foreground. His word-pictures have both vivacity and verisimilitude, while his description "love-effects," so to speak, though touched at places with sensuousness, has sanity as well as sensitiveness. There is something of the flow of the Ganges in his style.

KASHMIR KI SAIR: By Satyawati Malik. Published by Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Chandni Chauk, Delhi. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-8.

A delightfully vivid account, in the form of a dialogue between two children with all the curiosity, emotional intensity and exuberance, frolicsomeness and fun, of travel in Kashmir,—that "paradise on earth"—with illustrations. It is intended for the young and, as such, it is a valuable addition to juvenile travelogue literature. The author's love for the "paradise" and for those whole dwell in it,—the children—is patent on every page of the book, while her style has the method and magic of the mother-heart.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KAVYA SOURABH: By Himatlal Ganeshji Anjaria, M.A. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 324. Price Rs. 3.

The predecessor of the compilation under notice, called *Kavya Madhurya*, contained selections of Gujarati poems between A.D. 1885 and 1909. *Kavya Sourabh* continues the same as between 1910 and 1948, and what a valuable selection it is. Those who are shaping the literary life of present Gujarat by falling in with its lines of development in social, political and ethical matters, are all represented here with their handiwork, touching, full of feeling and sentiment. A wide study of and reading strenuously the works of more than a score of composers have helped Mr. Anjaria in producing this microcosm of Gujarati poetry. Useful notes at the end testify to the scholarship of the compiler. Kavi Nanalal's poems do not appear there, because his heirs would not give permission for reproduction of his verses. Mr. Butadkar's poems should also have found a place here, but the compiler could not obtain permission from his heirs. These are drawbacks. Otherwise it is really *Fragrance, Sourabh*.

MHARI NONDHPOTHI (My Diary): By Jyotindra H. Dave, M.A., Oriental Translator to the Bombay State. Published by the Gandib Sahitya Mandir, Surat. 1949. Illustrated. Thick card-board. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 4.

Mr. Jyotindra Dave is the most humorous and witty speaker and writer of present-day Gujarat. He has published more than a dozen works in the same strain, the recent ones being *Pare Nan Bidan* (1946) and *Alpatmanun Atma Puran* (1947). The book under notice is the second edition of a number of humorous contributions to Mr. K. M. Munshi's magazine called *Gujarat* (now defunct), between 1927 and 1932. The pieces are really humorous and laughter-raising. Even the titles are such. One of such titles is "To the Beloved Peeling Potatoes." His humour is genuine and still continues bubbling up. Jyotindra Dave is the pet of Gujarat.

PARISHILAN: By Professor V. R. Trivedi of the M. T. B. Arts College, Surat. Published by the Gandib Sahitya Mandir, Surat. 1949. Thick card-board with a photo of the Professor. Pp. 238+8. Price Rs. 4.

Prof. Trivedi has established his place as a sound critic and twenty-one of his reviews out of many more have been published in this volume, which is a present given to him by his friends and grateful pupils on the occasion of his being invited by the University of Bombay to deliver a series of lectures on Gujarati language and literature in the Thakkar V. M. Lecture series. They are all of the highest order and betray the wide reading and sound powers of judgment and expression. We expect plenty more of such work from his pen in future.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The March 1954 issue of the PRABUDDHA BHARATA, is a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It contains a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number: Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukharji; Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A.; Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthalakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C. T. K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C. C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A. and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

Printed on Foreign Imitation Art Paper

Pages 160

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 3

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

(Only Annual Subscriptions Accepted)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Gandhian Way to World Peace

The chief contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to our era was the discovery of a moral substitute for war. M. A. Venkata Rao writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Let us examine the word "truth" first and see how we are to apply the use of it to the world situation. Truth in Gandhiji's life mission seems to me to have been largely used to indicate the truth of freedom, the truth that Indians should rule themselves. Secondly, it included all those psychological and moral attributes necessary for Indians to recover their independence and become a social organism within which each class would look after the welfare of the others—in fact, the ethos of good men in a good society. It is, I think, the same as Mazzini's idea at its purest. Furthermore, Gandhi having been a child of Indian religion and culture, uses the word Truth as equivalent to God. To his mind social truth flows from Divine Truth and derives its meaning from it. Truth in this sense was clear to the vast majority of his followers and opponents and was therefore effective.

Russia, as the embodiment and champion of the Communist system of society and state, confronts America as the protagonist of free enterprise, economy and Democratic government. The cold war between these two colossal power blocs threatens to break out any day into an actual war; which, with the advent of atomic weapons, will bring with it the possibility of the total destruction of civilization as we know it today.

If there were a Gandhi today, as young as the one who began the South African *Satyagraha* campaign, how would he deal with the present situation? In the first place, he would search for truth. Russia claims that she is only on the defensive and that it is the Western Powers that are war-mongers, that they are preparing the peoples of the world for war in order to prevent the spread of Communism amongst themselves and to be able to continue to exploit the poor. The Americans claim that Russia is expansionist and is sowing the seeds of discord in all countries to weaken them, with an ultimate view to conquer the whole world.

If Gandhi were with us he would, no doubt, ask the best and the most honest minds of the world to appraise this situation and evaluate these claims and counter-claims. His application of the power of Truth would not this time be to national needs; it would be global, embracing all human relations. He would use the power of Truth to influence men to respond to it. In India, Gandhi used fasting, prayer and vows to tap this power. But other means might be necessary to appeal to the moderns of Western societies. We will assume that the demand for unbiased investigations would evoke the devoted service of a sufficient number of self-dedicated men and women

from most countries. They could then constitute themselves a grand jury and review the available data impartially, eschewing all nationalistic or communistic bias. They could travel round the world to study public feeling and opinion and look for genuine evidence to substantiate the various mutual charges, including the one that Communists are directed by Moscow to organize subversion. They would look for evidence of the charge against Americans that they, too, are pouring dollars into a campaign for winning peoples' minds and souls and poisoning them against their Russian opponents.

These *Satyagrahis*, as we may call them, could assess the economic grounds for war: They could study how the Russian annexation of east European countries and their consequent disappearance from free trade has upset the economic balance between the industrial west and the agricultural east of Europe. They could study the loss suffered by world trade through this annexation with its repercussions on the problem of world unemployment. They could also study the productive capacity of America and the consequences of an American effort to capture world markets. Besides this, they could study the operation of pressure groups, such as, those of the armament manufacturers in industrial nations and their activities to influence the minds of men towards war. They could study also the sources of class and group tensions in leading societies. They could study the history and technique of Marxism as developed by Lenin and Stalin; and develop sufficient knowledge of the world situation to be able to see through the propaganda of the rival blocs, assess facts and inform the world of their assessments. They should acquire such a reputation for truth and just appraisal that the people would believe them rather than their national politicians.

Obviously this task, so world-wide in its scope and so complex in its ramifications would need the organized services of a large number of *Satyagrahis*, living a simple life as Gandhiji did and developing a true world outlook. This would require *ashramas* or study retreats in most countries.

At the time for action they could initiate a reform campaign, choosing a simple abuse like the salt tax one in India, one that the common man could easily understand. Perhaps, they could choose two abuses, one a manifest evil in the Russian bloc and another an equally manifest evil in the American bloc.

We cannot determine the objectives or the programme that the *Satyagrahis* would follow but for purposes of illustration, I would suggest the following: A *Satyagraha* could be launched to elicit information about the rumoured slave-camps in Siberia. *Satyagrahis* could go in batches to the Russian border and request permission to see these camps. They would naturally be prepared to suffer whatever might come to them from the Russian guards. If one batch disappeared, another could follow and this could go

on until the outcome would become the most burning question before the world. These *Satyagrahis* would need to know Russian so as not to have to depend on interpreters. Other *Satyagrahis* could try to enter Russian occupied countries like Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland to see the nature of the autonomy reported to be enjoyed by the people.

A simpler plan would be to request the Soviet Government to give facilities to a group of *Satyagrahis* to study the condition of the working classes in the U.S.S.R. The appeal which the Russian Revolution made to sensitive minds was that the Russian revolutionaries did really establish a workers' paradise. Therefore investigation and a plain, unbiased, truthful account of the workers' position in present-day Russia would be desirable. Of course, the chances are that the Russian government would not allow investigation, but a refusal could not be accepted by the Gandhians. They would persist in their attempts and face all the resultant consequences with non-violence. The essence of Gandhism is non-violent action and resistance. If screened slave camps in Siberia and enslaved workers in Russia are matters threatening world welfare, it is right that some should attempt to remove them on behalf of the world. Any such action taken by America or by the other governments outside the Russian bloc would entail war, but international *Satyagrahis* could demand explanations on behalf of humanity at large. Self-dedicated groups, working on behalf of humanity, with no axe to grind, could organize their resistance in the manner of *Satyagraha*. The details of the campaign would spring from the genius of their leaders when confronted by the situation created by their challenge and by the world's reaction to it.

A second evil infecting the whole world is imperialism. America accuses Russia of a new and ruthless kind of imperialism, but America is doing nothing to rid the world of this evil. On the other hand, it seems that she has reversed her own war-time idealism and is forming alliances with imperialists like France and Britain in order to strengthen her own position in a possible war with Russia. The *Satyagrahis* could start a series of campaigns to draw the world's attention to this. There can be no peace in the world until powerful nations renounce the temptation to rule backward peoples and exploit them. The way in which the stronger powers are behaving in Africa is scandalous. The doctrine of trusteeship there, is a doctrine in name only.

Satyagrahis could similarly champion sound causes, such as, those of workers or others when unjustly treated by employers or governments. They could choose issues carefully and only after convincing themselves of the righteousness of the cause. But *Satyagraha* is self-correcting, hence, the *Satyagrahis* would be ready to confess their mistakes and retrace their steps if any action on their part could be proved unjustified on fuller information.

Satyagrahis would work for an open, progressive society. They would study all spheres of life in which privileged classes were obstructing the betterment of defenceless people. Perhaps, in India, the movement would concern itself with the lot of farmers or even of the untouchables. In other countries, other urgent problems could engage them. They could periodically pool information and deliberate on world problems as a whole and intervene on crucial world questions like the control of atomic energy or the seeking of air bases. The rightness of this latter procedure is not clear. If America seeks to defend herself, she is entitled to have defences along her own border. But to build bases encircling the Russian zone round the world and yet profess peaceful intentions is not convincing. In any case, the actual abuses chosen for resistance by the *Satyagrahis* can only be chosen by themselves.

Such action might liberate forces of peace in both blocs. If war should break out in spite of their efforts, *Satyagrahis* could relieve suffering on both sides and work to mitigate the horrors. On cease-fire day they should be ready to present to the warring nations a plan for peace and this plan would be free



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG

CALCUTTA



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893

from the defects of peace settlements imposed upon the defeated by the victors.

Gandhism derives its power from a sanction of the conscience, a resistance to evil without adding to it in the process. This, to me, is the meaning of the second aspect of Gandhism, namely, Non-violence. Non-violence is an organic element in a resistance-to-evil programme. The real war is, therefore, not on the physical plane but on that of the soul or the higher mind.

Dr. C. E. M. Joad

(August 12, 1891—April 9, 1953)

Dr. Prem Nath writes in *Careers and Courses* :

No one who had not known Dr. Cyril Edwin Mitchinson Joad would take him at first to be a university professor. Usually rather shabbily and carelessly dressed to his heart's content with thick layer of mud fresh from the country-side sticking on his shoes and occasionally an unwieldy bag hung on his shoulder, lofty and satisfied Dr. Joad would walk into his classes and with dignity, ease, will and clarity deliver himself of his philosophy which he had so assiduously and wittingly conceived. Happy and enviable must have been the lot of his students.

CONTENT OF HIS PHILOSOPHY

Joad had philosophy as his first love in rivalry with literature but was driven by the conspiracy of circumstances to the Civil Service where he struggled for fifteen long years—full of varied experience—to return to Philosophy. And he succeeded. He was a colourful personality. A laughing philosopher, a charming conversationist, an hospitable thinker, a profound and witty writer, a lover of nature, music and art, a despiser of women for their inferior brains but occasionally seeking their company at the point of loneliness or youthfulness, a hearty caterer of fine taste who went to Paris to satisfy his gustatory impulses and tastes, a believer in varied and planned life to keep the demon of boredom at a safe distance.

The content and the style of Joad's philosophy may broadly be attributed to the interaction of the following factors of his life-history.

(i) Sound schooling in English literature which gave him his characteristic style of saying the most obtruse things of philosophy in a simple, lucid and witty manner. That is why his writings are not dry but interspersed with lively anecdotes and references all clothed in ravishingly beautiful language.

(ii) His feeding himself largely on classical Greek philosophy gave him a specific centre in thought and a ruling view-point. That explains the idealistic bias, Platonic to be sure, in his thought and unqualified reverence for the Greek philosophy, which he liked every neophyte to assimilate, to be able to quit himself creditably as a student of philosophy. So much was he anchored to this philosophy—he considered Athens as his spiritual home—that he could not bring himself up to appreciate Indian philosophy. In fact, he made no secret of it that Indian philosophy of spiritualism was something beyond his comprehension by which perhaps he meant that he had no patience for it.

(iii) Personal varied life gave him myriad of experiences which his philosophic-cum-literary mould of mind was easily capable of luring into the main streams of his philosophic thought. This is not with

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL**: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA**: MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

"HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH MARRIED": 312 pages, Daringly Illustrated, the most talked about practical book in the world "HEID NOT TO BE OBSCENE" in the Bombay Court. Copies requisitioned for India Office (London) and British Museum Libraries. Available in English, Gujarati and Hindi for married persons only. Price Rs. 15 BEFORE ORDERING SEND FOR FULL PARTICULARS.

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

him a case of mere accident of life. He vigorously believed in 'crossing' the self with 'not-self.' That is to say, with lots of things to gain proper perspective in life. And restrictive life, however, efficient and methodical, was just the negation of it. The realisation of this principle in early life made him largely the famous Dr. Joad that he was.

(iv) His love for the country-side—particularly English country-side—gave him the freshness and vigour as well as intimate touch with nature all of which find adequate reflection in his writings. Regularly he would escape to country-side to avoid nerve-racking town life, to enjoy and to philosophise. Some of his haunts as such are not known to the people for he took meticulous care to guard the places of his visit from the public notice lest these become infested with the town nuisance. His regret for the outrage of modern civilization on country-side was any time more than an emotional reaction. In his intellectual set of thought countryside occupied a central place, as promoter and guarantor of healthy life. But in keeping with his principle of variety—perhaps a modified form of Aristotle's principle of golden mean—he would itch to go back to town to do some conversation, to eat hearty dinners and make after-dinner speeches and turn calculating businessmen and practical executives into a bit of philosophers!

HIS RATIONALISM

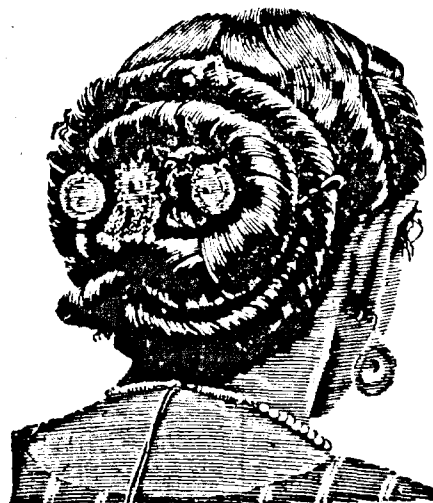
Joad is primarily a rationalist. In his *Return to Philosophy* he makes a very strong defence of reason or intellect, if you choose. Emergence of disinterested reasoning in contradistinction to practical reasoning, he thinks, is the source of all scientific knowledge and inventions for which he gives credit to the Greeks for their having set the ball rolling. Reason is the

tool of philosophy and life and it can be kept intact by keeping it immune from the rust of bias, prejudice and subjectivism. This objective can be successfully achieved by developing the philosophic discipline which helps to synthesise the various faculties of mind and to produce synoptic view of life in contrast to that of the narrow departmentalism of sciences. Philosophy as such, he believes, can attain to objective truth and can help us out of idiosyncrasies of subjectivism. Besides, reason can graft us on to the life of enlightened self-interest in harmony with social welfare such as was achieved by the Greeks in the hey-day of their philosophy.

Joad, by reason, is a believer in immaterial world which is neither temporal nor spatial. It is to this world that values—Truth, Beauty and Goodness—belong, the knowledge of which as well as that of God, who is the source of these values, is the end of metaphysical pursuit. These values are non-human in so far as their existence is concerned, for these are not created by man. These are immutable and eternal fixities which are reflected in objects and at best discovered by humans. To the trinity of values handed down traditionally by Greeks, he adds the fourth one, i.e., Happiness. He spares no philosophic pains to prove that the values would exist as objective reality whether or not man lived. That is a part of the scheme of Universe which is rational. So much is his conviction in the objectivity of values that he calls them—perhaps, with vengeance against extreme subjectivism and licentiousness of the modern age—as objects. Mark his argument, as representative of his thought on this point, with regard to, say, Beauty: How could we appreciate and partake of Beauty if it did not exist already? And so in regard to other values.

Wherever they meet...

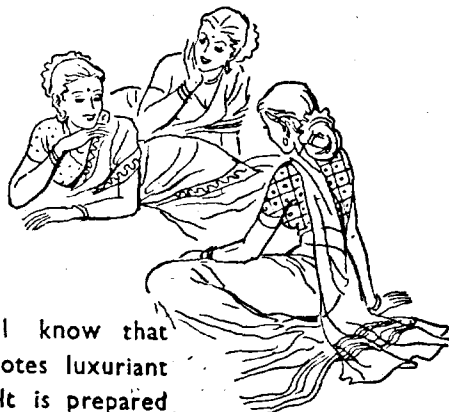
They discuss about Calchemico's **CASTOROL**,
the delicately perfumed Castor Oil.



Because, they all know that **CASTOROL** promotes luxuriant tresses of hair. It is prepared from refined castor oil. Its sweet fragrance imparts delightfulness.

In 5 & 10 oz. fancy phials.

Ask for "Kesh Paricharya" leaflet.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LD.

CALCUTTA-29

DECADENCE IN MODERN AGE

The tragedy of our times is, Joad laments, that we have gradually lost our faith in objectivity of values and have made friends with the extreme licentiousness of Individualism with the result that our standards are most whimsical and undependable. Result: Decadence all over in our moral, religious, aesthetic and scientific judgments—and the elevation of personal experiences even of most questionable nature to the level of values. This forms the subject matter of his *Decadence*, a closely reasoned book throughout substantiated by examples from various fields of life to prove his thesis that there is marked decay in the different phases of our present day life. Our conduct is not marked by the sweet reasonableness of the Greeks; it flows—rather overflows—in the direction of personal whims and weaknesses. There is too much of 'psychologizing' of morals towards indifference and irresponsibility. Our art and music have sunk low in content and technique whatever their success might be in pandering to commercialism. Architecture fares none the better. Modern stone does not bear the print of master minds of old who were steeped in the culture of leisure and beauty. Our architecture is at the mercy of the whirlwind of science and technology and thus disabled to draw on the permanent paradigm of Beauty. All in all the literary culture of our time—Joad goes on in the same strain, quoting instances of points and pieces from a large variety of literature—is markedly hollow.

The standards in literary writing have gone down considerably, however much the volume might have gone up. The moral purpose and the essence of beauty are gradually thinning in our literature. There is more of emphasis on the 'abnormal' for which the climate of modern psychology—in particular psycho-analysis has to share about the major responsibility, for it has forged the 'abnormal' into the forefront of life relegating the healthy potentialities of mind into backwaters. Similarly our politics has degenerated. Power as end is madly pursued in national and international spheres alike. In administration, within the framework of politics, it is efficiency and organisation which have emerged as more attractive ideals than the noble ideal of humanity squeezed out of the fundamental values presided over by God. Generally speaking centralization in administration and specialisation in various departments of knowledge and life—in sciences, in education, in art etc.—have bred narrowness of interest and a subjectivist view.

To conclude the point or better reaffirm it: The decadence in the modern age is due to our brutal neglect of universal values or what Joad styles as "dropping off the objects." Lest the impression should gain ground that his philosophy embodied in the foregoing lines is negative it may be sooner affirmed that that is not. In fact, by advancing his recipe of adhering to universal values and exhaustive methods shown for that with reference to education, art, morality and religion he has made valuable contri-

bution of surely constructive nature—whether or not one agrees with him is a different point; as an illustration of sharp contrast to his philosophy may be taken the philosophy of Social Reconstruction of John Dewey.

The morbid scepticism of our age, Joad cries out, is our undoing. There is an urgent need to believe. To believe in God, in religion, in 'the need for Community' for this gives miraculous support and satisfaction without which—apart from other things—sound mental health and virile culture are rather not possible. A confirmed rationalist, Joad makes the staircase of his reason, as it were, to go up to see the life of Spirit and what he sees is partly reduced to the following words: "... while thought reveals to us the structure of reality, spirit brings us into communion with it."

'To hell with civilization!' may be the shorthand for the curses—so artistically elaborated and punctuated with humour, satire but above all with deep meaning that Joad showers. To hell with 'the cult of speed, and noise,' with specialisation or 'advance to insect-hood,' with 'the amusement of the fortunate,' with 'the snobbery of anti-culture,' with the cult of power and 'disparity between power and wisdom.' I better stop, for it will make an endless list.

Whether Joad is a creative philosopher or not is an open question. But there is no doubt that he is a prolific writer with playful pen who immensely delights and instructs the readers by putting every throb of his personality on paper. One has only to glance at what undoubtedly makes a huge catalogue of books written by him and pick up any one of them at random for reading, to be convinced of his intellectual gifts. That his writings are most controversial goes to his credit when he so diligently proves the genius for winning his argument patiently, artistically and logically.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | Advocate |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted

Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum

Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum



Europe's Responsibility to Africa

Rev. Michael Scott writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

In Africa only a multi-racial civilization can survive. A white civilization based upon the narrow doctrines of racial domination by which one racial group exploits another, on the pretext of preserving its own integrity, is doomed to failure. It degrades the oppressor no less than those who are oppressed.

It has often been said that there must be equal opportunity for all civilized men; to that we must add there must be equal opportunity for all human beings to become civilized.

That may sound an impossible ideal in a country where peoples of different races are at present at very different levels of development, but that should be the aim. That is the meaning of the Declaration of Human Rights. The Charter of the United Nations is not merely a scrap of paper. It has taken 6,000 years of civilization and arduous effort by the human race to produce it. These ideals may seem remote; it is possible nevertheless to chart our course by them. This is of prime importance in planning the new society which is beginning to emerge in Africa, where the old order has begun to disintegrate rapidly.

Economic aid to underdeveloped countries is not enough. What matters most is the spirit in which the aid is given. It is of the first importance that the African people should be taken into full consultation from the start of any proposed economic development. This can be done through consultation with their competent leaders, not necessarily only those in the immediate areas to be developed but also those from neighbouring lands.

The projects, even pilot projects, should be their projects, with proper guarantees regarding their land, so that they will have no fear that when the improvements have been carried out, the Europeans will want to take it away. What is needed is a successful partnership between Europe and Africa. The success of such a partnership requires that the European technicians and administrators help lay the solid economic and social foundations with the Africans for increasing their prosperity and increasing control over their own destiny. Much depends upon the integrity of the officials and experts and upon their sense of vocation.

Progress cannot be imposed on a people, and speed has sometimes to be sacrificed to gain the full understanding and training of the Africans. The partnership lies in providing capital and knowledge from the Western world and human and material resources from the underdeveloped territories.

The aims of democracy are articulated in the Declaration of Human Rights. However, the task of carrying them out involves more than a theoretical declaration. It requires a faith which can be translated into practical action and which applies itself to the actual social and economic problems of providing an earthly environment in which human beings can live together as children of God.

Such a faith will have a negative as well as a positive application. In addition to its prophetic vocation it must have power to overcome the false barriers of man-made law by methods and means compatible with its beliefs in the nature of the Universe. Negatively it will unequivocally condemn and actively resist injustice and oppression. Positively it will apply itself with infinite patience to the detailed economic

and social tasks of building homes and families and communities within a system of orderly relationship with one another.

But in Africa no more than anywhere else can we escape the consequences of past human folly. The disintegration of primitive African society goes on apace. The growth of the migratory labour system leaves in its wake not only a broken tribal system, broken families and broken homes, but an increasingly embittered race of human beings whose bitterness can no longer be appeased with fine words and phrases.

In the faith of Christ there was a quality of recklessness in the face of life which institutionalized Christianity has almost succeeded in eradicating.

The revolutionary impact on Africa and the world of Christ's mission is being lost in a sea of metaphysics through the false separation of the spiritual from the physical, of eternity from time, of prayer from practice, and thought from action.

Disillusioned and impatient, men and women are turning from religion to apathy or the path of wrath and hatred because the thing they had revered proved too respectable and ineffectual to provide solutions to the many problems besetting them. Yet the problems confronting democracy in Africa can hardly be solved without people who are captivated by a faith, that is at once destructive and constructive. Many of our efforts and plans in Africa are in danger of failing, many have failed, through lack of people having a vocation to disinterested service in Africa. There is a need of responsible people whose detachment from the things of the world, from self-interest, professional jealousy, or racial pride, enables them not only to plan objectively, but to gain the confidence of the Africans and inspire them with confidence in themselves and with enthusiasm for the development of their own land and people.

ESTATE DUTY LAW

For Most Up to date information on Estate Duty Law, subscribe to the "Indian Estate Duty Journal" issued monthly, containing all new changes, Press Notes and Latest Caselaws. Annual Subscription Rs. 10 Only.

Estate Duty Manual 1954. An indispensable Manual for Estate Owners, containing entire law and rules with exhaustive notes, commentaries, Charts etc. Rs. 17-8 (3 parts in two volumes)

and

For any literature on any special estate duty topic or any information to suit your special requirement, write to :-

TAXATION PUBLISHING Co. (India) Ltd.

Dept MD/1, 3, Daryaganj,
DELHI, 7.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Is The U.S. Alienating India?

Dr. Taraknath Das makes the following remarks in the *Jewish Frontier*, February 1954, as regards the U.S.-Pakistan Treaty of aid of military equipment to Pakistan:

The possibility that the United States will grant large supplies of military equipment to Pakistan has created considerable uneasiness in India. Prime Minister Nehru has declared that India "was watching the developments of a possible military agreement between Pakistan and the United States with very great and serious concern." And the All-India Congress Party, at its annual conference held at Kalyani, near Calcutta, on January 25, 1954, adopted a resolution which reads in part:

"The Congress has learnt with grave concern that there are certain proposals for military aid to be given by the United States of America to Pakistan. . . .

"In view of history of Asia during the past few hundred years, military aid and intervention by foreign powers in Asian countries, is a reversal of the process of liberation which had led these countries, after long struggle, to a measure of freedom.

"The United States of America have a long record as champions of freedom and democracy. On them rests a very great responsibility today because of their great power and influence. The Congress earnestly trusts that the U.S.A. will not take any step which will tend to reverse the process of history in Asia and create doubt and apprehension in the minds of Asian peoples, who wish to pursue the path of freedom and democracy in their own way."

The fear that Pakistan may use American military aid against India is not without foundation. After the partition of India, Pakistan used military force in an effort to annex the state of Kashmir. Its attempt was frustrated by the army of India. During the ensuing six years the United Nations have vainly tried to solve the dispute and the resulting state of tension between the two countries came to resemble closely the state of near-war which exists between Israel and the Arab countries, with Pakistan playing the Arab role. Even the dispute over the Jordan waters has its parallel in the dispute over the water of rivers which originate in Kashmir and are used for irrigation purposes both in Pakistan and India. Mr. Nehru has repeatedly asked for a peace pact with the Moslem neighbor, and his offer has been consistently rejected. On the other hand, high Pakistani officials have often reiterated their intention to declare a "holy war" on India for the purpose of "liberating" the Moslems in Kashmir and in India itself. On January 20, 1954, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, who twice represented Pakistan's case regarding Kashmir before the United Nations, declared: "If no settlement (of the Kashmir question) has been reached by the end of April, Pakistan would continue for eight months more to pursue peaceful means. After that we would be forced to resort to an alternative method."

Outright warfare between Pakistan and India has been avoided in the past few years perhaps largely because Pakistan was aware that it was no match for India. An increase in Pakistan's military potential may tip the scale from peace to war. In the present tense world situation such an outbreak may have repercussions reaching far beyond the two countries initially involved.

Before leaping into a military understanding with Pakistan and sending direct military aid the United States should also consider the probable effects of such a move on still another Asian country—Afghanistan. Pakistan has already annexed certain disputed territories on its Afghan frontier. The depth of Afghan feelings in this regard can be gauged by the fact that when Pakistan applied for membership in the United Nations some years ago, Afghanistan was the only country to vote against its admission. Afghanistan has now also protested against the proposed grant of military aid to Pakistan and has made diplomatic moves to cement its relations with the Soviet Union to counteract such a development. Very little attention has been given to the effects on Afghanistan of Washington's proposed policy. Yet we are faced here with the potentiality of another Korea in Central Asia, should Pakistan, emboldened by U.S. aid, seek to enforce its ambitions by military might. Afghanistan would undoubtedly seek Russia's assistance.

But even if the justified fears of India and Afghanistan are disregarded, it is doubtful whether military aid to Pakistan would in any way strengthen the position of the free world in the struggle to stem communist expansionism. It is frequently overlooked that Pakistan is a country consisting of two parts that are nearly a thousand miles removed from each other. East Pakistan, which has the larger part of the population, could not possibly come to the aid of its western twin. West Pakistan, with a population of 35 million, is surrounded by neighbors which rightfully fear its intentions. As an area of strength for the free world Pakistan may thus become a liability instead of an asset.

It has been argued that since Pandit Nehru is a sincere opponent of communism he would never make any agreement with Soviet Russia or communist China. But alignments of nations do not depend only on common ideologies. The United States, too, is opposed to communism and yet in the face of the threat from Nazi Germany and Japan it allied itself with the Soviet Union. India, though opposed to communism, might similarly seek support in Russia or in China in the face of an armed Pakistan whose increased strength could hardly serve as a deterrent to world communism but might very well be an effective weapon against India.

Those interested in granting military aid to Pakistan have fostered the myth of Pakistan's power. Yet as things stand today both the actual and the potential strength of Pakistan are no more than one-fourth of those of India, based on industrial development and potential. It is also not generally known

that the government of Pakistan under Moslem League leaders is not popular and serious opposition to it exists, especially in East Pakistan where the majority of the population lives. The opposition is directed against the theocratic, Moslem, character which had been imposed upon the country. Cultural factors, such as the demand for equality for the Bengali language, and the desire for greater autonomy from the remote capital of Karachi, also figure prominently.

The people of India are sympathetic to the United States. This sympathy stems from the knowledge that the American people had been friendly to them during the many years of their struggle for independence. The economic aid which the United States extended to India at various times in recent years was deeply appreciated and strengthened the feeling of friendship. That is why so many people in India are now amazed at the proposal to arm a neighboring country that has come into being as a result of partitioning India and that has not shown a genuine desire to live at peace with its mother country. "Has the United States turned against India?" they ask. And if, for reasons of its own the American government has decided to bank on Pakistan, does it not realize the effects on the future developments in all of Asia of a policy that tends to alienate the sub-continent of India?

Dr. Frederick Kettner's Open Letter To Pope Pius XII

Dr. Frederick Kettner calls for a re-reformation in religion in America, and challenges the dogmas and creeds of orthodox religions in *An Open Letter to Pope Pius XII*, published on December 29, 1953 in *The Biospherical Review*. Professor Anton J. Carlson and Dr. Leroy Waterman are among those who are in accord with Dr. Kettner's views.

"Spiritual Christianity is the essential basis for world peace...we have therefore started the Re-Reformation in America," says Dr. Frederick Kettner, President of the school for biospherical peace research within man, in an "Open Letter to Pope Pius XII," published December 29th, 1953 in the magazine *The Biospherical Review*.

Dr. Kettner asks Pope Pius XII to "join him" in "creating the Religion of Friendship on earth as a great example to the rest of the world."

Prior to publication the letter was sent to the Vatican. The letter points out how the dogmas of the Catholic Church have strayed from the teachings of Jesus. "Neither the Communist Russians nor the Catholics are allowed to think for themselves...Communist dictators from the Kremlin determine what the people of Russia and their satellites think and do. You and the Catholic hierarchy from the Vatican do likewise to your followers," writes Dr. Kettner.

Dr. Kettner, noted authority on character education, asks the Pope: "Would it not benefit humanity much more if you made the decision to become a real student of the spiritual ideas in Jesus' teachings, instead of compelling millions of human beings to regard themselves as sinners who are driven by fears rather than activated by their own spiritual intelligence?"

The following questions are directed at the head of the Vatican:

"Would it not be more in harmony with the idea of Christ for the millions of Catholics to become liberated from their mythological mirages and fantasies?"

"Why can you not as the Pope and head of the Roman Catholic Church, value Jesus' teachings...?"

"In order that civilization should even continue, man needs to work for soulization, or spiritual democracy. Is not civilization, minus soulization, modern barbarism, with its wars in each century?"

Dr. Kettner calls for "a new education of man's brain," and writes: "The biospherical teachings of Jesus could be made the basis for this new education...Did not Jesus want to help people become liberated from the theological superstitions of his day?"

Dr. Kettner, who is the Editor of *The Biospherical Review* and President of the Institute for the advancement of Cultural and Spiritual Values, as well as a foremost authority on the writings of Benedict Spinoza, has divided his letter to the Pope into eight parts.—From *The Biospherical Review* published by The School for Biospherical Peace Research Within Man, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

U. S. Medical Achievements of 1953

The development of a promising vaccine against infantile paralysis, which succeeded last year's discovery that the blood derivative gamma globulin is capable of providing temporary protection against polio, was rated by experts as the top U. S. medical achievement of 1953. Mass field trials of the new vaccine, developed by Dr. Jonas E. Salk, are planned for next year. Preliminary tests indicate that it may protect inoculated children, for three years or longer, against the three known types of polio virus.

Another important advance in the fight against viruses—the minute causative agents of polio, the common cold and a variety of other diseases—was scored through the development of a new technique for culturing the germs. The new method, worked out by Prof. Renato Dulbecco and Dr. Margaret Vogt, enables scientists to study the effect of drugs on individual viruses, and makes it possible for first time to observe directly the action of the micro-organism on living cells.

In the field of biochemical research, experts believe that the chemical synthesis of oxytocin, one of the body's important hormones or "chemical regulators," represents an achievement of far-reaching significance. The substance, secreted by the pituitary gland at the base of the brain, plays a vital role in childbirth and may have other essential functions. Oxytocin is the first hormone belonging to a group of complex substances called polypeptides ever to be produced outside a living body. Its synthesis, a feat that culminates 20 years of research was accomplished by a team of scientists headed by the renowned biochemist Dr. Vincent du Vigneaud.

A major development in basic research is also represented by the discovery of the mechanism whereby the body converts fats into energy, one of the most fundamental of physiological processes. This accomplishment, which is expected to shed light on many important medical problems related to body chemistry, was announced by Dr. David E. Green and his colleagues.

Continued progress in the therapy of infectious disease was marked by the discovery of new types of antibiotics and other infection-fighting agents. For example, a drug highly effective against schistosomiasis, a worm infestation which is rapidly becoming one of the world's top public-health problems, was revealed by Drs. Sidney Archer and C. M. Suter. The drug is related to the German anti-schistosomiasis compound Miracil D, but is said to be 16 times safer and more potent.

In relation to antibiotics, the major emphasis fell upon broad range drugs such as terramycin, which continued to score striking successes against a host of infections ranging from pneumonia to dysentery. In addition to broadening their horizons in human medicine—as exemplified by the report that in 1953 the list of diseases known to yield to terramycin passed the 100 mark—antibiotics entered a new area of usefulness through the conquest of hitherto-incurable plant diseases by terramycin and streptomycin.

An operation for the repair of defects in the wall between the two lower chambers of the heart was one of several important achievements in heart surgery announced during the year. The procedure, which uses a hollow nylon needle to close the defect, was developed by Drs. Harris B. Schumacher and Harold Kind.

High doses of X-rays from a new 2,000,000 volt X-ray machine were found to show particular promise against advanced lung cancer. According to Drs. Hugh F. Hare and John Trump, promising results were observed due to this therapy in more than half of 23 "hopeless" cases.—*Medical and Pharmaceutical Information Bureau, New York.*

Population of France in 1953

The French National Institute of Statistics has just published the provisional figures for the population of France in 1953. They show a total of 43 million of inhabitants. The last census, taken in 1946 under difficult conditions left behind by the war, had shown a round figure of 40 million on January 1, 1946.

Two important demographic facts come out of the latest census. First, since 1951, the rate of birth is remaining virtually constant, and, secondly, the death rate is stabilized at a rate decidedly lower than the pre-war figure. It is in regard to infant mortality that the decrease in deaths is seen as a regular and progressive trend.

The strength of the age groups reveal interesting trends. The population below the age of fifteen represents 23.6% of the total, as against a proportion of 21.4% for the same age group in 1946 and 24.7% in 1936. The strength of the 15-64 years group is 65.9% as against 67.5% in 1946 and 65.4% in 1936. The group comprised by people of 65 and above make up 11.4% of the total, as against 11.1% in 1946, 9.9% in 1936. Thus the proportion of children has increased and nearly gone back to the pre-war level, thanks to increase in the birth-rate. The proportion of old men on the other hand has also increased, owing to the decrease in mortality. The result of this double trend is that the proportion of the active population is lower than it has ever been. It will be only from 1960 onwards that the increased birthrate since 1945 will make its effect felt on the active population. For some years to come therefore the present active generations are likely to bear great strain.

Some other general statistics of the demographic situation may also be cited. In 1953 births numbered 800,000, deaths 555,000, and marriages 305,000. In 1951 the figures for marriages were at the level of 1930-32. Since then a slight decrease has shown itself, but this is due to the coming of age of the generations since 1933, when the birth-rate was relatively low.—*News from France, January 1954.*

NEW HEIGHT IN PROGRESS

From height to height and from strength to strength THE HINDUSTHAN marches ahead every year recording in 1953 the highest increase in New Business of over 2 crores 42 lacs.

1953

NEW BUSINESS COMPLETION EXCEEDS

18 crores 89 lacs

This is a living demonstration of continued public confidence.



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA
Branches:
ALL OVER INDIA AND OUTSIDE

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.,

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI

Phone 33-1019

Israel

FROM A BROADCAST BY FANNY HURST

"The strip of land which contains Israel is parched and eroded, and its soil is reluctant to yield. Under conditions back-breaking but not heart-breaking, Israel is irrigating and producing day after day, accomplishing the impossible by way of sweat, some tears, some blood and something else not easy to define.

"That something else is the theme of my talk. You can neither see, smell, nor taste it. It is an invisible, gem-like flame which burns over Israel. I suppose you might call it the spirit of Israel. It is a kind of exaltation.

"Israel is a state. Israel is a state of mind, a spirit, a spiritual climate, a dedication of bone and sinew, sweat and idealism. But how, you ask, can a nation struggling to contain the soul and body-weary refugees who flock to her, sustain that glowing spirit in the face of too

little money, too little food, too little water, too little of practically everything? It seems almost impossible, beset with such problems of holding body and soul together, that they can sustain the ecstasy of such dedication to ideals and the ideals of democracy. I mean that, and the astonishing anomaly is that they do. Harassed by enemies who virtually break down their necks, meagrely fed and housed, Israel sits precariously on the wobbly lap of destiny, sustained as much by the invisible and the intangible as by the nourishment she manages to coax from her reluctant soil. Compared to most of the nations of the world whose eye-lids are weary, the gem-like flame of this tiny and harassed new nation burns curiously bright. The people of Israel, whatever their difficulties, know the words of the struggle for the freedom of man, and they also know the music."—*News from Israel.*

The Village School-Teacher : A Force For Progress

A recent survey of forty-eight countries representative of the world's major geographical regions showed that only one had not yet voted compulsory education into law. This is very comforting at first sight but, in practice, there is a long, hard road between statute books and school-books. Without a doubt, the most difficult obstacle on this road is the world's shortage of qualified teachers, a shortage afflicting virtually every country no matter what is stage of economic development.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the concept of compulsory education has few opponents. More and more people are aware that democracy will remain a meaningless word so long as the average man has not learned how to practise it. As long as workers and farmers are kept prisoners of traditional methods because ignorance prevents them from finding a way out, economic progress is bound to be shackled. Improvement of sanitation and the fight against epidemics are basically the work of preventive medicine—they must begin with individual awareness of the principles of healthy living.

As a serious stumbling block to better living, illiteracy is one of the factors generating misery and, since misery and ill-health drain the vitality of a people, it always goes hand in hand with low productivity. This illiteracy cannot be combated merely by stuffing teachers into schools. The present-day school teacher has to be capable of giving his pupils an education based on the needs of their communities and their country.

Many countries, hampered by limited budgets but still anxious to bring as many school-age children as

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
TELEPHONE: 34-1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B. RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

possible into classrooms, have been forced to press into service teachers without specialized training or, at best, insufficient training. It takes money to train a teacher and it takes money to pay qualified men and women salaries high enough to keep them in education.

The problem, in these countries, can be summed up in this dilemma: since financial resources are limited, is it better to create schools without worrying too greatly about the quality of the teaching offered or is it preferable to give teachers thorough training even if this means opening fewer schools? The only other alternative is to try to expand schools and train qualified teachers at the same time, but at the price of slowing down a compulsory education programme.

Before teachers can be trained, there arises another question: exactly what are they to teach? If education is too formal it may well become inoperative, delaying rather than stimulating intellectual growth and, in general, destroying the very incentive of children to attend school. Equally harmful are curricula out of touch with every-day reality, especially in rural regions where economic development is not well-advanced. Under such conditions, should rural school programmes differ from programmes in urban schools? This brings up a related question: should rural schoolteachers receive special training stressing community needs and preparing them for social service, or should all teachers receive the same training with only a few slight modifications for rural teachers?

Opinions are divided. Some authorities hold that rural schools have a mission to raise the living standards of their communities by becoming village cultural centres. The teacher, destined to serve as the leader of a rural community, should be prepared for his role by studying agriculture, practical hygiene, village industries, methods of organizing recreation, the administration of co-operatives, methods of sociological investigation and similar subjects. He should be qualified to carry out campaigns against illiteracy and to run adult education courses in his village. In other words, the tasks awaiting him after he has completed his studies are so different from those of an urban teacher that they justify specialized training.

There is another factor to support this argument. In most underdeveloped countries, a city-bred school-teacher has difficulty adapting himself to village life and living conditions. Not only is he unhappy, but he often moves heaven and earth to wangle a transfer.

This is held to be an excellent reason for recruiting teachers among young men and women who have grown up in rural environments where they feel at home. Since classes in village schools seldom go beyond the primary level, rural school-teachers therefore can be given a different type of training than their urban counterparts.

On the other hand, the proponents of a uniform programme for rural and urban schools—which implies identical training for teachers, of course—maintain that any other policy might sap national unity by creating two different outlooks in a country's population beginning at childhood.

Last summer, this question was discussed thoroughly in Geneva at the 16th International Conference on Public Education which took, as its theme, the question of the status and training of primary school-teachers. The debate at Geneva demonstrated that many countries are at crossroads where they must choose between the two policies.

In industrialized countries, where road systems are well-advanced and where country villages live as well, if

not better, than industrial cities (because agriculture itself has become a mechanized industry), the general belief is that the difference between urban and rural regions is too small to warrant two distinct programmes of education. A few minor changes are all that is needed.

But then there are nations where poverty covers the countryside, where peasants lead a precarious existence with misery and disease never far off. Obviously, these countries must adopt a programme of improving rural living conditions—which logically leads to special training for rural teachers. In certain countries whose economy is basically agricultural and whose cities are really big market towns, it would seem that primary schools and teacher training schools alike could adopt programmes with an accent on the needs of rural living. The problem is most delicate of all for the inbetweens—the countries which are now on the road to industrialization.

In other words, there is no overall formula applicable to this problem. Each country must develop a system based on the progress that achieved in its own industrialization. This is the conclusion reached in a recent study published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *The Training of Rural Teachers*, which covers Brazil, the Gold Coast, India and Mexico.

Even though the experiments carried on in these four countries during recent years differ greatly, they reflect a certain common goal. All four are countries where agriculture is the major element of the national economy. While in training, rural school teachers are invariably taught methods of giving their pupils practical training and at the same time, the need for conducting effective social welfare work.

In underdeveloped countries, there is a human problem as well. There, the village school-teacher not only lives far from a big city (or from a road which might take him to one), but satisfactory housing conditions are rare.

There is no medical care for himself or for his family. A balanced diet on his dinner table is often an impossibility—to say nothing of the absence of books, newspapers, magazines and all other influences which might broaden his intellectual horizon.

Teachers in isolated villages often receive extra pay, yet it does not solve the problem. The fact is that the career of the rural school-teacher is growing more and more unpopular, and as a corollary, the application of compulsory education laws in rural communities is hamstrung by a shortage of teachers.

Not only do city-born teachers shy off at the idea of working in the country, but even natives of small villages tend to hunt city jobs if they have completed their training at urban normal schools. This seems to be a strong argument for recruiting and training prospective village school teachers in rural regions. As far as women teachers are concerned, the situation is even more complicated. In many areas of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa, parents are reluctant to let their daughters settle alone in isolated villages to teach.

There is no denying the tight relationship linking the increase in the number of rural primary schools to the nature of their programmes and to the existence of a sufficient number of normal schools. Most of the world's regions where illiteracy flourished and where educational opportunities remain limited are rural regions. They represent a problem which must be faced by educators and enlightened public opinion in any country which intends to make its laws on free and compulsory education a living reality.—*Unesco Bulletin*.

THE Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJEE

VOL. LXXXVI. NUMBERS 1 TO 6

JUNE TO DECEMBER

1954

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD

CALCUTTA

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

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
Agrarian Indebtedness in India		Indian Journalism	
C. B. Mamoria	279, 367	C. L. R. Sastri	288
Akbar through His Buildings (<i>illustr.</i>)		Indian Periodicals	74, 159, 242, 326, 407, 494
M. Yasin Siddiqi	137	India's Message to the World	
All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarodamoni Devi (<i>illustr.</i>)		Rezaul Karim	481
Roma Chaudhuri	53	India's New Pattern : Its Origin and Development	
American Watercolour Exhibition in Calcutta, The		K. M. Munshi	447
X	480	Influence of the Ramayana on Bengali Literature	
Austria—The Land of Music		Narendra Dev	150
Indira Sarkar	227	Is Man Reborn	
Basic Education—The Need of the Day		C. L. Banerjee	318
B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	273	(Dr.) J. C. Sinha (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Bengal in Manbhum, Dhalbhum and Adjoining Areas		S. K. Bose	145
Chuni Lal Ray	122, 295	Jury System in India	
Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury (<i>illustr.</i>)		P. C. Raichoudhuri	125
Peter Carson	51	Kailas and Manasa-Sarovar (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Bhudeb Mukherji		D. V. Rege	466
Suresh Chandra Deb	211	Land Reform in Burma	
Boat Festivals of Kerala (<i>illustr.</i>)		Bandhudas Sen	110
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy	215	Mahabalipuram (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Book Reviews	69, 155, 237, 322, 407, 489	Satya Das	46
Comment and Criticism		Matisse	487
"Rajeswar Das Gupta"		Jacques Grellet	
Cult of Swadeshi, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		(Prof.) Max Muller and the Contemporary Indian	
Jogesh C. Bagal	478	Savants	56
Deficit Financing and Unemployment		Surath Chakravarty	
K. C. Chakravarti	43	M. N. Roy: Revolutionist and Thinker	314
Dylan Thomas		Arvind Malaviya	
Joseph Minatru	397	(The) Modern Chamber of Commerce—Its Economic Role	
Dynamics of Industrial Location in India		Dayanidhi Tripathi	463
Y. P. Pant	402	Munich University Honore Dr. Taraknath Das (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Economic and Social Customs of the Rajbanshis (<i>illustr.</i>)		Music of the Spheres	486
Jyotirmoy Roy	129	Sochi Raut Roy	
Economics of Small Industries in India		Mysore—The City of Eastern Splendour (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Education in Developing International Understanding, The Role of		G. Srinivas Rao	213
Khagendra Chandra Pal	147	Notes	1, 85, 169, 253, 337, 421
Eraniel and Colachel (<i>illustr.</i>)		Pakistan Hits the Headlines Again	
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy	475	C. L. R. Sastri	105
Eternal Values in Ancient Indian Culture		Parents Co-operate to Establish Independence, (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Paresh Nath Mukherjee	405	USIS	392
Folk-Dances of Rajasthan (<i>illustr.</i>)		Philippine Fish Culture (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Manohar Prabhakar	48	Wallace E. McIntyre	299
Foreign Periodicals	79, 164, 248, 322, 414, 499	Poem	
Foreign Possessions in India		F. R. Stanley	124
A. B. Shorawal	39	Political Development in Indonesia Since 1945	
Formosa—Harbinger of World War III (<i>illustr.</i>)		Anadi Bhushan Maity	116
H. L. Saxena	441	Politics Around the World	
Foster Father to 150 Boys (<i>illustr.</i>)		Taraknath Das	357
USIS		Prime Minister's Mission to China	
French-India "Empire," The (<i>illustr.</i>)		S. N. Agarwal	449
H. L. Saxena	34	Problem of Minorities, The	
French Indo-China		Victor S. D'Souza	207
Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji	27	Problems of Industrial Finance in India	
French Riviera and the Alps, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		V. K. Shrivastava	153
A. N. Sen	309	Rationalisation of Industry in India	
Glimpses of Pre-Historic Malwa (<i>illustr.</i>)		S. N. Agarwal	206
V. S. Wakankar	303	Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Guatemala (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Historical Research in Orissa		H. L. Saxena	199
N. B. Roy	59	Revolutionary Woman in Macedonian Poetry (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Hyderabad: City of Promise (<i>illustr.</i>)		R. P. Singh	44
G. Srinivas Rao	382	Relics of Jahangir's Reign (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Indian Civil Service, The		N. C. Bhattacharya	221
G. P. Srivastava	21		

INDEX OF ARTICLES

Religion and Human Progress		Our Educational Problems	
Satkari Mookherji		Overseas Handicrafts Impress U.S. Merchants	
Rise and Fulfilment of Nationalism in India		Newspapers in Ceylon	223
Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji		People's Daily on Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China	458
Scientists Discovering New Facts about America's Indians (illustr.)		Qazi Nazrul Islam—Poet of the People	
USIS		600 Million People—China's Great Force for Socialist Construction	
Sepulchral Urns of Ancient South India		Social Unrest an Obstacle to Peace	232
J. A. Koilpillai		Tasks of Israeli Youth, The	
Seven Years of Freedom		Teacher, The	291
S. N. Agarwal		Unesco : Where Every Nation Benefits	
Simla in Summer (illustr.)		U. S. Library of Congress Treasures Folk Songs	385
Maniklal Mukherji		Yugoslavia	
Social Adult Education			
Raiharan Chakravarti			
Some Aspects of Our Constitution			
D. N. Banerjee	189, 374		
Some Suggestions for the Improvement of Our Electoral Laws			
Bodh Raj Sharma	31	Admission of China to U.N.	
Some Englishmen Who Nursed the Congress		Aftermath of Decontrol	
P. C. Roy Choudhury	312	Agrarian Finance in India	
(A) Survey of British Investments Abroad		Agriculture and the Reserve Bank	
Raghubir S. Bhatia	234	Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.	
Swami Anandacharya in Europe		Anglo-U.S. Relations	
Swami Jagadiswarananda	316	Assam Tripura-Manipur Conference	
Towards a New Taxation Policy		Atoms for Peace Plan	
S. N. Agarwal	24	Awards and Titles	
Towards International Understanding—II		Background of Geneva Talks	
Krishna Bai Nimbkar	61	Bank Tribunal Award	
Wordsworth in India		B.C. 3000 and A.D. 7000	
Amarendra Datta	66	Bhakra-Nangal	
		Blurred Vision	
		Bombay Government Prizes	
		Bombay State Financial Corporation	
		British Atrocities in Kenya	
		Calcutta's Police Administration	
		Ceylon Government in Crisis	
		Ceylon Indians and U.S. "Aid"	
		China's New Constitution	
		China and Soviet Russia	
		Chinese Belligerence and the U. S.	
		Co-existence	
		Comet Vs. Bullockcart	
		Congress Legislator's Party Dues	
		Cottage Industries in Uttar Pradesh	
		Child Kidnapping in Calcutta	
		China Visit. The	
		Commonwealth Development Finance Company	
		Community Projects in West Bengal	
		Currency and Finance	
		Cyprus Flares up as World Issue	
		Defamation of Public Servants	
		Defensive Alliance in the Balkans	
		Deposition of Huq Ministry	
		Development of Small-scale Industries	
		Diplomatic Relations with S. Africa	
		Disarmament	
		Dulles the Wizard	
		"Dust and Dead"	
		E.D.C. Accord	
		Education and Progress	
		Election of New President of U.N.	
		(Prof.) Einstein and U.S. Democracy	
		Eisenhower-Churchill Communique	
		Events in Guatemala	
		Finance for Private Sector	
		Financing Industrial Development	
		Financing of the First Five-Year Plan	
		Floods in E. Pakistan, The	

	Page		Page
Foreign Aid and Investment	350	Pakistan Politics	341
Formosa, The Question of	180	Pandit Nehru's Letter	338
France and E.D.C.	184	Pandit Nehru's Peace Mission	337
"Free Asia" Committee, The	353	Peace at Last!	93
"Freedom of the Press" in India	425	(The) Parting of the Ways?	253
French Cost in Indo-China War	185	Pattern of Unemployment in India	435
French Militarism	426	Peking Press Conference	339
"(The) Frontiers of Survival"	428	Police Atrocities in U.P.	353
Future of Atomic Energy in India	433	Philately in India	356
Gandhiji on Hindi	20	Politics of Cow "Protection"	271
Ganga Bridge Project	174	Portuguese Diplomacy	266
Golden Lanka	175	Portuguese in India, The	92
Government and Unemployment	175	Press Commission Report, The	169
Guatemalan Victory—For What?	179	Press Commission's Recommendations	86
Gujarat Leaders Oppose Hindi	9	Press Commission's Work	86
H. Bomb, The	9	Probe into West Bengal Congress	270
How Far Socialism?	432	"Progress with Grace and Glory"	421
India and Events in East Pakistan	13	P.S.P. Facing Crisis	269
Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters	11	Racial Segregation in the U.S.	426
India Puts Its U.N. Votes on Record	179	Rate Cut in Wheat	175
India Security Press	356	Reactions to Nehru-Chou Meeting	3
India to Manufacture Tanks	19	Revival of Muslim Communalism	19
Indian Delegation to U.S.S.R.	268	(Mrs.) Roosevelt on Freedom	8
Indian Shipping	172	Roots of Corruption	270
India's North-East Frontier	351	Science in U.S.A. and USSR	438
Indo-Ceylon Accord	352	S. E. Asian Defence Conference	187
Indonesia and W. New Guinea	267	S.E. Asia "Defence" Organisation	258
Indonesia Today	267	"Should Pakistan be a Secular State?"	440
Indore Tragedy, The	88	Small Industry in Community Projects	269
Industrial Credit Corporation	429	Soviet Government on SEATO Treaty	260
Industrial Finance Corporations	257	Sterling Convertibility	181
Industrial Policy of Pakistan	181	Suez Canal and Britain	93
Iranian Oil Settlement	183	Suez Canal Agreement, The	349
Irrigation Rates in Uttar Pradesh	173	Sugar Problem	18
Juvenile Crime in USA	266	Sugar Profits	433
Labour Delegation to China	272	Technical Aid from Russia	265
Land Reform	355	"(A) Time of Stress"	262
"Let's Thank McCarthy"	7	Tito on His Visit to India	351
Manila Agreement, The	254	Turkey and Syria	264
Market for Cottage Products	18	Two Months of Nadar Ministry	19
Middle Class Housing	434	Undergrowth Students in Calcutta	89
Morocco and Tunis	263	University Presses in the USA	186
Movement of Foreign Capital	15	U.S.A. and East Pakistan, The	13
M. P. Ban on I.M.A.	271	U.S. Aid in Asia	349
Naga Question, The	97	U.S. and Indo-China	5
Nationalisation of Text Books	90	U.S. and Spain	264
National Plan Loan and Bank Finance	171	U.S. Elections	437
Nehru-Chou En-Lai Statement	2	U.S. Intrigues in Nepal	12
New 55-mile Railway Line in U.P.	104	Viewpoints on International Affairs	186
Other Side, The	261	"Waters of Affliction"	265
(Dr.) Otto John, The Case of	185	Working of Indian Embassies Abroad	346
Pakistan and Anti-Indian Propaganda	268	World in Travail, The	1
"Pakistan Not One Nation"	268	World Tension, The	262

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

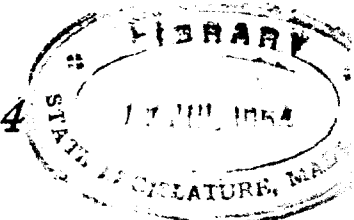
	Page		Page
Agarwal, S. N.		Bhatia, Raghubir	
Economics of Small Industries in India	114	A Survey of British Investments Abroad	234
Prime Minister's Mission to China	449	Bhattacharya, U. C.	
Rationalisation of Industry in India	206	Relics of Jahangir's Reign (illustr.)	221
Seven Years of Freedom	291	Bhubaneshwar Prasad	
Towards a New Taxation Policy	206	Agrarian Finance in India	451
Bagal, Jogesh C.		Boce, S. K.	
The Cult of Swadeshi (illustr.)	478	Dr. J. C. Sinha (illustr.)	145
Banerjee, C. L.		Carson, Peter	51
Is Man Reborn	318	Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury (illustr.)	51
Banerjee, D. N.		Chakrabarti, Raiharan	
Some Aspects of Our Constitution	189, 374	Social Adult Education	484

	Page		Page
Chakravarty, K. C.	43	Ray, Chuni Lal	
Deficit Financing and Unemployment	43	Bengali in Manbhum, Dhalbhum and Adjoining Areas	122, 295
Chakravarty, Surath		Rege, D. V.	
Prof. Max Muller and the Contemporary India Savants	56	Khas and Manasa-Sarovar (illustr.)	466
Chaudhuri, Roma		Rozaul Karim	
All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarodamoni Devi	53	India's Message to the World	481
Datta, Amaresh		Roy Chowdhury, P. C.	
Wordsworth in India	66	Some Englishmen Who Nursed the Congress	312
Das, Satya		Roy, N. B.	
Mahabalipuram (illustr.)	46	Historical Research in Orissa	59
Das, Taraknath		Roy, Jyotirmoy	
Politics Round the World	357	Economic and Social Customs of the Rajbanshis (illustr.)	129
Deb, Suresh Chandra		Roy, Sochi Raut	
Bhudeb Mukherji	211	Music of the Spheres (poem)	486
Dev, Narendra		Roy, Naresh Chandra	
Influence of the Ramayana on Bengali Literature	130	No University Degree—What Then?	398
D'Souza Victor S.		Sarkar, Indira	
The Problem of Minorities	207	Austria—The Land of Music	226
Ganguly, O. C.		Sastri, C. L. R.	
Ahanindranath Tagore	230	Indian Journalism	288
(Dr) Gupta's History of the Indian Stage	487	Pakistan Hits the Headlines Again	105
Justice A. N. Sen—A distinguished Judge and Collector (illustr.)	395	Saxena, H. L.	
Grellet Jacques		Formosa—Harbinger of World War III? (illustr.)	441
Matisse	487	French Indian "Empire," The Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Guatemala	34
Jagadiswarananda, Swami		Sen, A. N.	
Swami Anandacharya in Europe	316	The French Riviera and the Alps (illustr.)	309
Koilpillai, J. A.		Sen, Bandhudas	
Sepulchral Urns of Ancient South India	232	Land Reform in Burma	110
Maity, Anadi Bhusan		Sharma, Bodh Raj	
Political Development in Indonesia since 1945	116	Some Suggestions for the Improvement of Our Electoral Laws	31
Malaviya, Arvind		Shorawal, A. B.	
M. N. Roy: Revolutionist and Thinker	314	Foreign Possessions in India	39
Mamoria, C. B.		Shrivastava, V. K.	
Agrarian Indebtedness in India	279, 367	Problems of Industrial Finance in India	153
McIntyre, Wallace E.		Siddiqui, M. Yassin	
Philippine Fish Culture (illustr.)	299	Akbar through His Buildings (illustr.)	137
Mina'tur, Joseph		Singh, R. P.	
Dylan Thomas	396	Revolutionary Woman in Macedonian Poetry (illustr.)	45
Mookherji, Satkari		Sitaramayya, Dr. B. Pattabhi	
Religion and Human Progress	223	Basic Education—The Need of the Day	273
Mookherji, Sudhansu Bimal		Srivastava, G. P.	
French Indo-China	27	The Indian Civil Service	21
Rise and Fulfilment of Nationalism in Indonesia	458	Sanley, F. R.	
Mukherji, Maniklal		Poem	124
Simla in Summer (illustr.)	385	Tampv, K. P. Padmanabhan	
Mukherjee, Paresh Nath		(Eraniel and Colachel (illustr.)	475
Eternal Values in Ancient Indian Culture	405	Boat Festivals of Kerala (illustr.)	215
Munshi, K. M.		Tripathy, Dayanidhi	
India's New Pattern: Its Origin and Development	447	The Modern Chamber of Commerce—Its Economic Role	463
Nimbkar, Krishna Bai		USIS	
Towards International Understanding—II	61	Foster Father to 150 Boys (illustr.)	142
Pal, Khagendra Chandra		Parents Co-operate to Establish Independent School (illustr.)	392
The Role of Education in Developing International Understanding	147	Scientists Discover New Facts About America's Indians (illustr.)	472
Pant, Y. B.		Wakankar, V. S.	
Dynamics of Industrial Location in India	402	Glimpses of Pre-Historic Malwa (illustr.)	303
Prabhakar, Manohar		Wilson, J. N.	
Folk-Dances of Rajasthan (illustr.)	48	Foreign Missionaries and the Christian Church and Community in India	292
Raichoudhuri, P. C.			
Jury System in India	125		
Rao, G. Srinivas			
Hyderabad: City of Promise (illustr.)	382		
Mysore—The City of Eastern Splendour (illustr.)	213		

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

JULY

1954



VOL LXXXXVI, No. 1

WHOLE No. 571

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page		Page
Akbar through His Buildings (5 illustrations)	136-40	Jawaharlal Nehru Visits the Young Pioneers' Palace in Shanghai (Dr.) J. C. Sinha	421 146
All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Saradmoni Devi (2 illustrations)	53-54	(Sri) J. M. Desai and Sri D. P. Parthasarathi left the Palam Airport at New Delhi for Indo-China on September 2	253
All-India Exhibition of Hand-printed Indian Textiles	36	Kailas and Manasa-Sarovar (6 illustrations)	466-69
A. N. Sen, Justice	395	Kathakali Dance performance (2 half-plates)	85
Blaskar Roy Chowdhury (3 illustrations)	51-52	Mahabalipuram (3 illustrations)	47
Boat Festivals of Kerala (12 illustrations)	215-21	Mahakal—Lord of Eternity (in colours) Priyaprasad Gupta	421
Bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi, made by Malvina Hoffman	1	Members of the Ceylon Parliamentary Delegation with Sri G. V. Mavalakar	36
Bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi, made by Malvina Hoffman for the Chapel of the Ramakrishna- Vivekananda Centre of New York	1	Munich University Honors Dr. Taraknath Das (2 illustrations)	55
Buddhist Temple at Penang, Malaya	337	Mysore—The City of Eastern Splendour (7 illustrations)	213-15
Chennakesava Temple at Belur, Mysore	204	National Malaria Control Programme	37
Cooch-Behar Flood	288	New England Mountain Landscape Winslow Homer	457
Cult of Swadeshi, The Bhola Nath Chandra	478	On the Village Road Parimal Goswami	372
Pramatha Nath Bose	479	Palms at Saltillo Edward Hopper	457
Dal Lake at Srinagar	121	Parents Co-operate to Establish Independent School (4 illustrations)	392-93
Dasara Procession, Mysore	204	People of a Community Project Village Philippine Fish Culture (5 illustrations)	37 299-302
DVC's Bokaro Thermal Station	169	Pipelines Connecting the Butcher Island Marine Terminal and Trombay	121
Economic and Social Customs of the Rajbanshis (14 illustrations)	130-36	Relics of Jahangir's Reign (1 illustration and 2 inscriptions)	221-22
Eight American Students arrived in Bombay recently	337	Representatives of the Governments of Canada, Poland and India in New Delhi	205
Emanuel and Colachel (3 illustrations)	475-76	Revolutionary Women in Macedonian Poetry (3 illustrations)	45-46
Feeding the Swans Parimal Goswami	373	Sakuntala, Anasuya and Priyambada (in colours) Satindranath Laha	253
Flood (in colours) Niharranian Sen Gupta	85	Scientists Discovering New Facts about America's Indians (4 illustrations)	473-74
Flood at Malda	288	Seventh Anniversary of India's Independence in Delhi on August 15	289
Folk-Dances of Rajasthan (5 illustrations)	48-50	Shalimar, The Moghul Gardens of Simla in Summer (28 illustrations)	169 385-92
Formosa	445	Sri Durga (in colours) Bireschandra Ganguly	337
Foster Father to 150 Boys (7 illustrations)	142-45	(A) Tenth Century Sandstone Group of Shiva and Parvati	253
French Indian Empire, Map of French Riviera and the Alps, The (9 illustrations)	87 309-11	Twenty-four Scholars from Throughout India left Bombay, abroad S. S. Strathmore	205
Glimses of Pre-Historic Malwa (7 illustrations)	303-09	Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Greeting His Excellency Mr. Chou En-Lai	120
Government of India took over Administration of the French Establishment in India with effect from November 1, 1954	456	Waters of the Sutlej Flowing into the Nangal-Hydel Channel	120
(Dr.) Hans Haas and Lotte Haas at BBC Homeward Bound (in colours) Niharranian Sen Gupta	289 169		
Hyderabad: City of Promise (9 illustrations)	384		
Invoking the Rainy Season (in colours) Bireschandra Ganguly	1		
Jawaharlal Nehru Visits the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking	421		
Jawaharlal Nehru Visits the Summer Palace in Peking	456		

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

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-cheek 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 view—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.

Hong Kong, 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 23:

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 materiel, 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.

NOTES

"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 Philippine 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. Ariola 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 Maian 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 organise 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 imperialists?" 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 5,000 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 focus 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; Argentina 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 \$6,500 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, mere 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 Karnatak 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 this 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 on 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 generous¹⁰ 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.

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.

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.

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.

—:O:—

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.

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.

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 assessee 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 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.

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

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 Norodom 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-Name 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 lathered 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 landmark in the evolution of Viet-Name 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 re-organisation 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-Name 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 gimerack 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-Name 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 Name 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 broadcast 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

By PROF. BODH RAJ SHARMA, M.A.,
President, All-India Political Science Association

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 123,007 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.

THE FRENCH-INDIAN "EMPIRE"

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

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: *Florbo 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

THE FRENCH-INDIAN "EMPIRE"

35

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. Lenoir 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 Beurdonnais, 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 Beurdonnais, 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 Beurdonnais 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-CHAPPELLE

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.

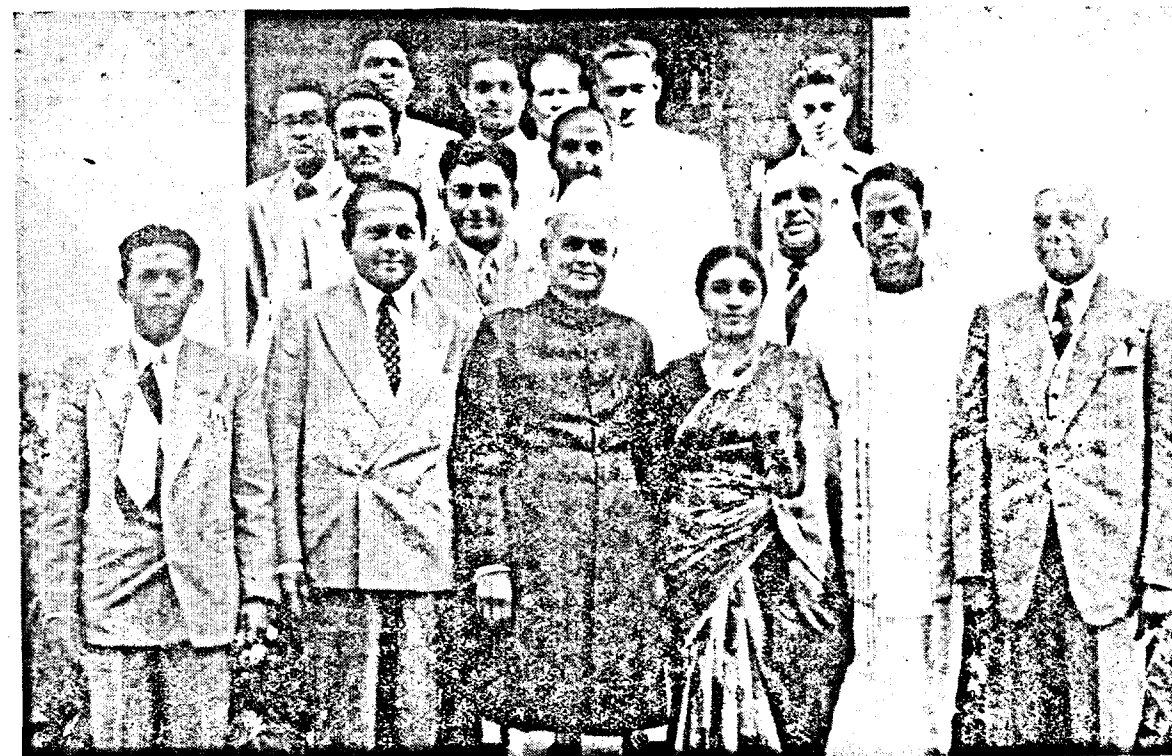
This was unbearable for Dupleix. So, he ransomed Chanda Sahib from the Marathas and tried to put him on the throne of Carnatic in place of the Nawab Anwar-ud-Din, who had succeeded Dost Ali Khan, and who had allied himself with the British. Chanda Sahib fought Anwar-ud-Din and defeated and killed him 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.

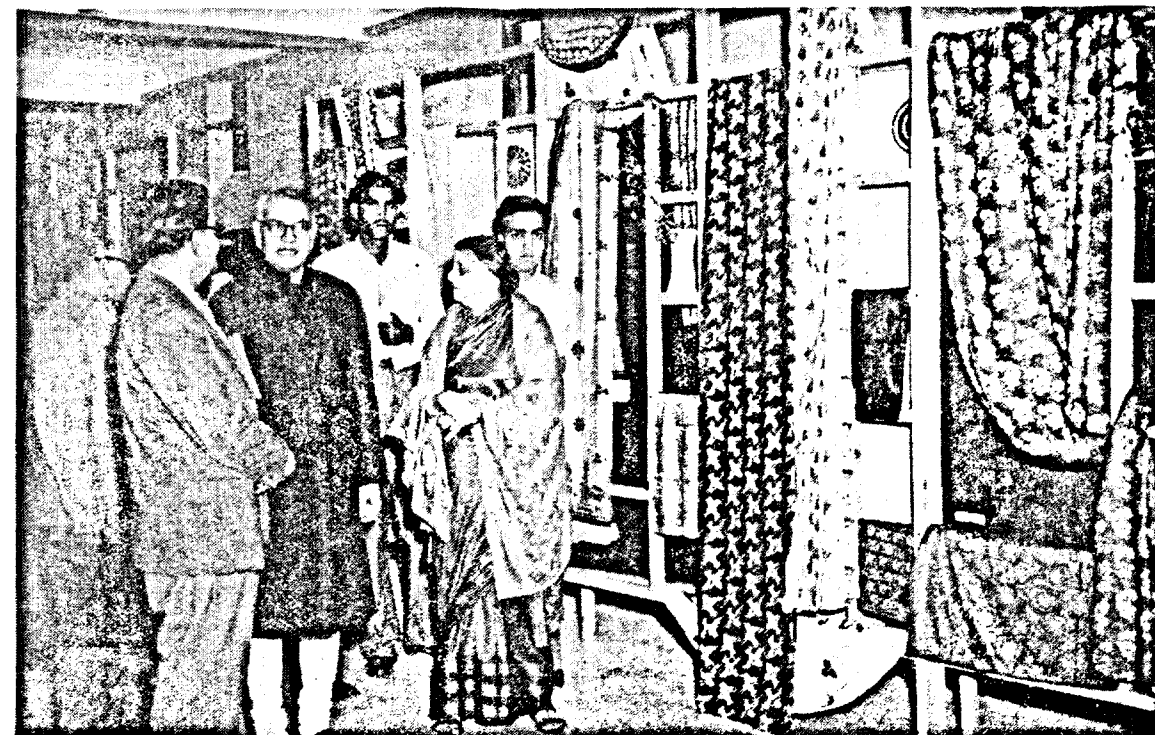
But, Trichinopoly still continued in the hands of Muhammad Ali, who was supported by the British. So, Dupleix besieged the town. He, however, could not succeed in subduing it due to the strong defence provided by Lawrence. Fate was also against him. He did not spare men or money to capture Trichinopoly. 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



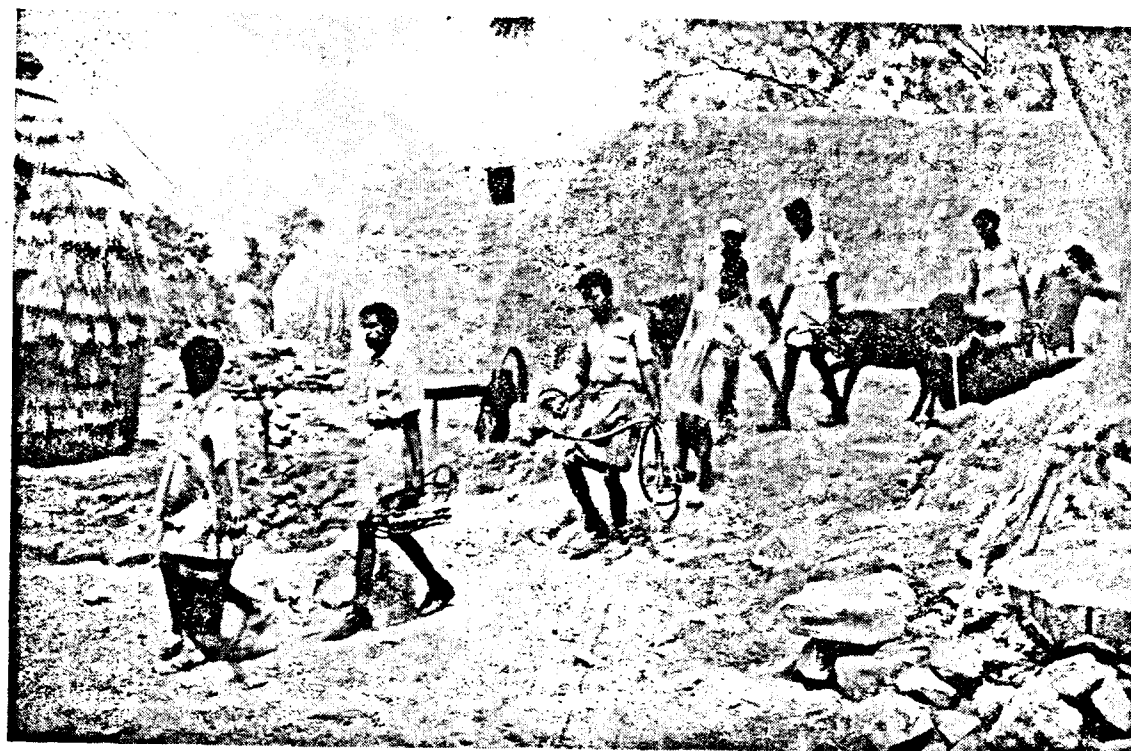
Members of the Ceylon Parliamentary delegation with Sri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, House of the People, when they called on him in New Delhi on March 16. Second from left is the Hon'ble Mr. Albert F. Peries, Speaker, House of Representatives (Ceylon) and leader of the Delegation



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.

THE FRENCH-INDIAN "EMPIRE"

37

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.

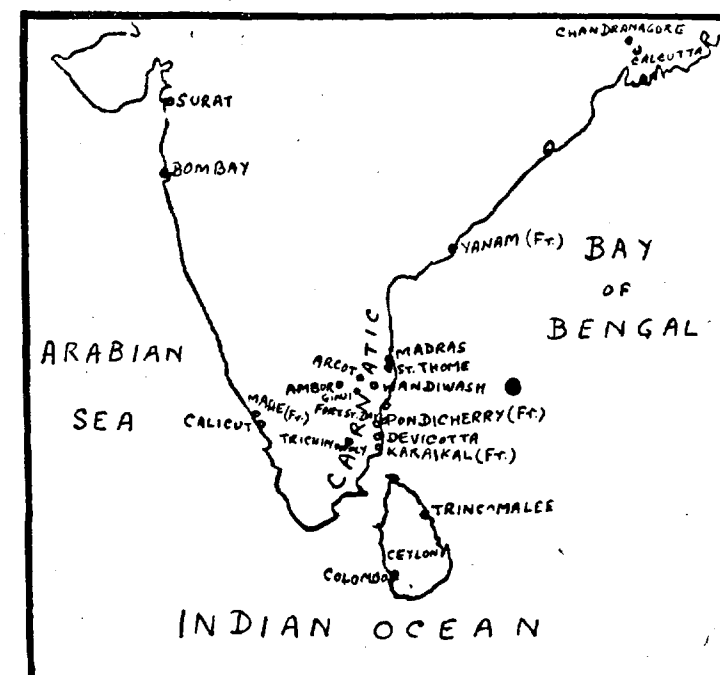
During the American War of Independence, France made common cause with the rebel colonies against England. So, her possessions in India were again seized by the British in 1778 when Pondichery was besieged and captured by Sir Hector Munro and its fortifications were demolished in 1779. But, the city 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, Pondichery 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, Nettapakkam, Oulgaret, Tirubuvanaï 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 Ayangar, 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 *goondaism* 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 rowdyism 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 budgeted 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 pauperised 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 8,000 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."

The 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

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.

—:O:—

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

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 money, 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 Lazaro Polye 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 Narabada 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,

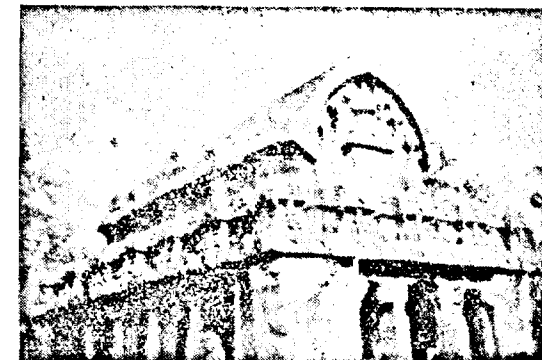
MAHABALIPURAM

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:

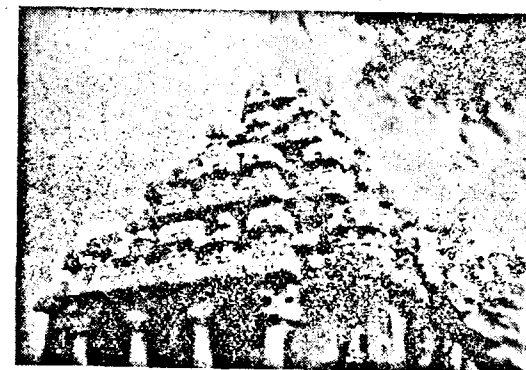
"The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth and highly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

—O—

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

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

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

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

FOLK-DANCES OF RAJASTHAN

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. The Bhawai dances can be enumerated as under:

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.



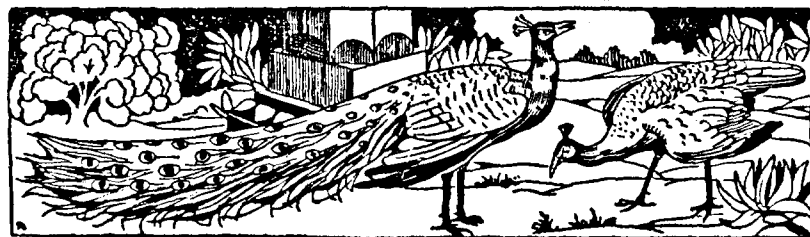
The famous dancer of Rajasthan Sri Devlal Samar in a pose of Banjara dance

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 *Jhumer*. In the first kind of *Jhumer*, 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 well-known 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

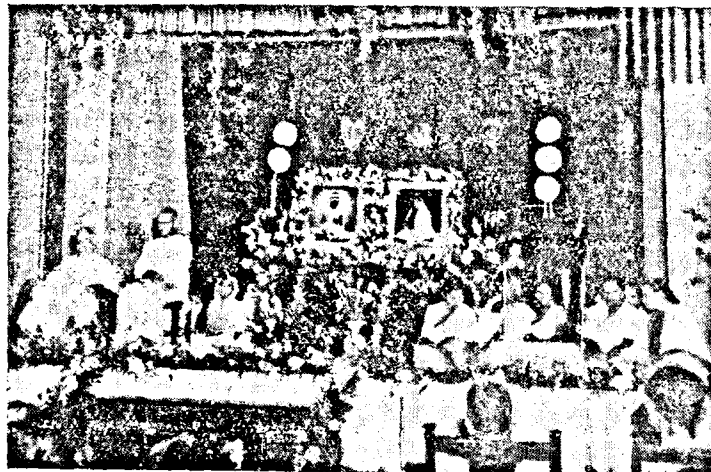


All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi, Mahabodhi Society Hall, Calcutta

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 Mritmayi 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 Samkaranda 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 Saradani 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 admiration 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-denial, 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 Prodhan 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 1898 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 hali-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-embodify 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.

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 Samantaraya 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 Samantaraya 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 Khurdah Raj, Ramchandradeva and his son Purushottamdeva. Seventh in descent from Mahesvara (1615 A.D.) was Govinda Samantaraya who has immortalised himself by composing the *Sammriddha 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 Khurdah 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 Bhuvaneswara, Raspalla 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 *Krittivasa*, 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 Pratap-rudradeva!

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 Khurdaraj 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.

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.

near 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-

TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

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 pins 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, Dhalias, 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 medieval, 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 refrigerator 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 politicals 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 commonality 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.

—O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE REHLA OF IBN BATTUTA: (India, Maldives and Ceylon): *English translation and commentary, by Dr. Mahdi Husain. Pp. lxxvii+300 with 8 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 Maghreb! Arabic MS., *Nun-wa-re* being misread as *ghain-wa-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.

Gandhi'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. Gandhi'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, Gandhi'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).

JOCESH 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. 4-8.

3. **WINDOW ON CHINA:** By Raja Hutheesing. Published by Casement Publications Ltd., Bombay-1. Price Rs. 2-4.

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, 43-45). 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 Chunilal 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. 204. 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. GHOSHAL

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 MRICHHAKATIKA (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 Order 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 Manikanta 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. Manikanta 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-nvaya. 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 sprang 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 Suryskanta 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. Chatterji 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.

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

::

Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

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 remained 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 this 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



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG

CALCUTTA

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 "super-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.

NEW HEIGHT IN PROGRESS

From height to height and from strength to strength THE HINDUSTHAN marches ahead every year recording in 1953 the highest increase in New Business of over 2 crores 42 lacs.

1953

NEW BUSINESS
COMPLETION EXCEEDS

18 crores 89 lacs

This is a living demonstration of continued public confidence.



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA

Branches:

ALL OVER INDIA AND OUTSIDE

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 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 Ostadtee."

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 romanced 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 well-known *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), *Bhangger 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 band 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.

Wherever they meet...

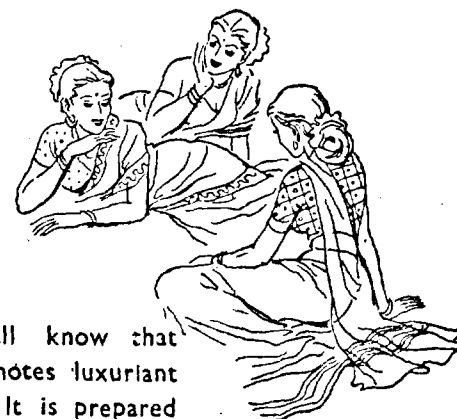
They discuss about Calchemico's **CASTOROL**,
the delicately perfumed Castor Oil.



Because, they all know that
CASTOROL promotes luxuriant
tresses of hair. It is prepared
from refined castor oil. Its sweet
fragrance imparts delightfulness.

In 5 & 10 oz. fancy phials.

Ask for "Kesh Paricharya" leaflet.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LD.

CALCUTTA-29



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Estd-1893

Israel 1948-1954

On the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, President Izhak 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.

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants

167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

TELEPHONE: 34-1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

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* 35,000 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

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri B. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

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.

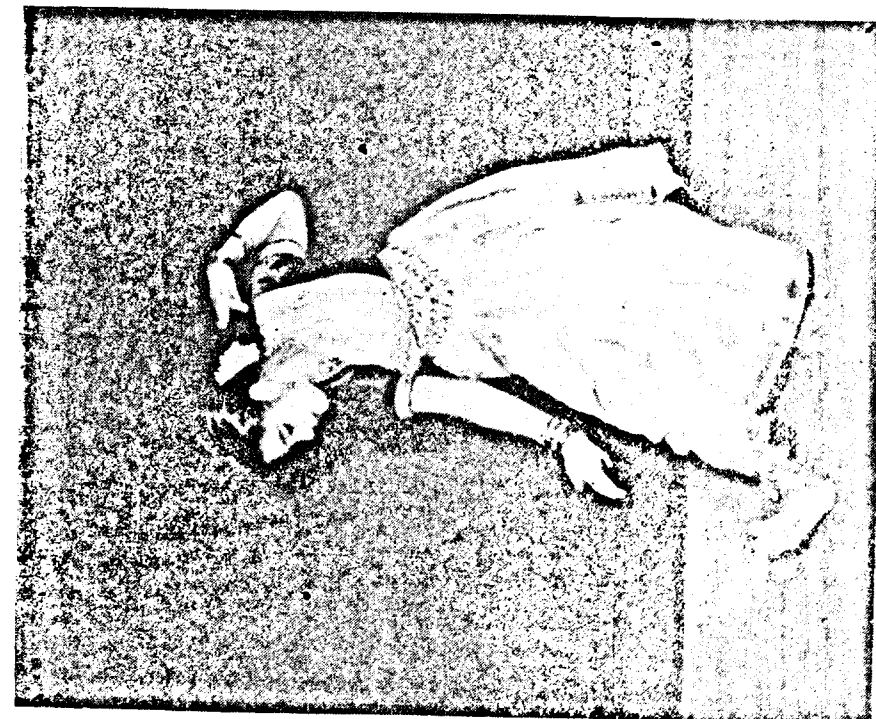
COLLABORATION

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

AUGUST



1954

Vol. LXXXXVI, No. 2

Whole No. 572

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 re-conditioning 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 stabilising 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, Baruipur, 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 midget 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 44 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 exorcism, 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 administered 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 convenor 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 an 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-cry 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, 1948, 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 Nerru 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 Zafarullah 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 Goschen. 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.

LAND REFORM IN BURMA

By BANDHUDAS SEN,
Research Scholar, Gandhi Vihar Parishad, Wardha

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.*

1. United Nations: *Land Reform*.

LAND REFORM IN BURMA

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, 5.3 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-

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 sugar-cane 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. *Dhani* 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."

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.*

Execution of the Act: For carrying out the purposes of the Act, Land Committees are to be formally appointed by the President.* 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."⁶

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,¹¹ 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' Organisation.

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.

—:O:—

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.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA SINCE 1945

By ANADI BHUSAN MAITY, M.A.

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.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA SINCE 1945

117

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.¹ 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 barest 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.²

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. 538.

Republicans had originally laid claim; and secondly, to build counterweights to the Republic in the event that a federation of Indonesia was later created.*

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.† 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 terms. 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."‡ They described their repressive measures as police actions of a strictly limited character. But in reality it was "a police action against rebels but a veritable full-dress battle to crush nationalists."§

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 Netherland's 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 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 annexe 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."¶

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 Linggad-

jati 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

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*

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.

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

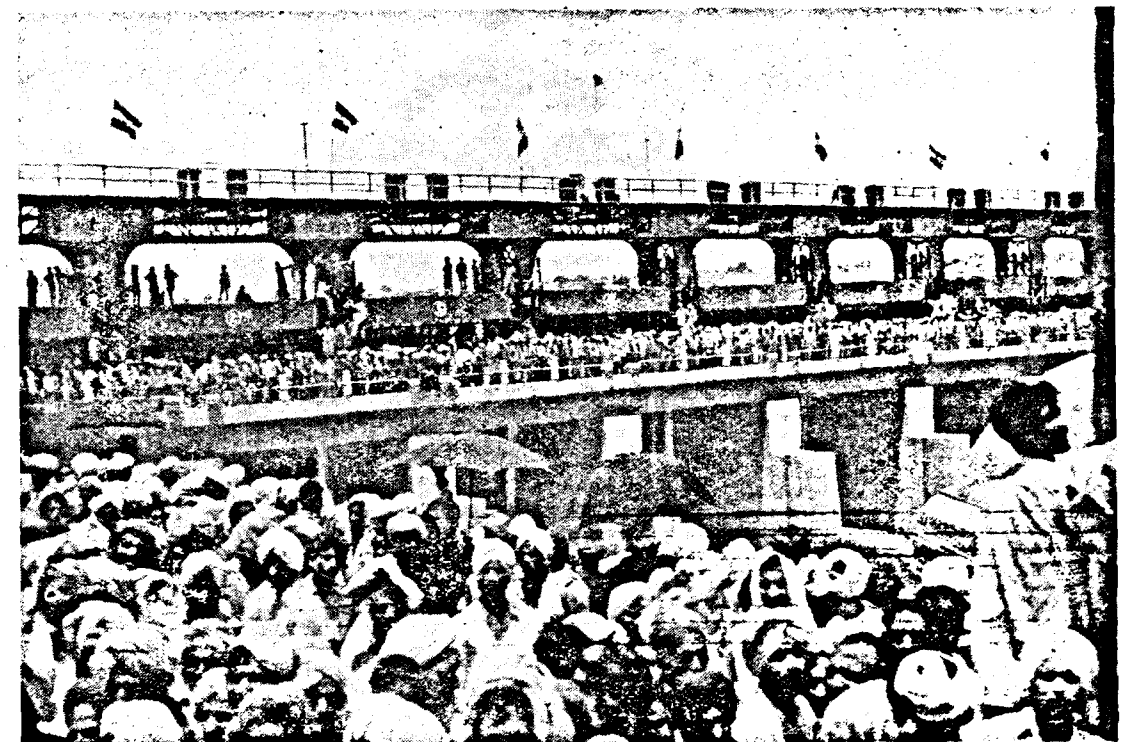
Since the change-over from the Colonial to national status, Indonesia, like other nations in South-East Asia, has confronted with diverse complexities of problems. Political independence has not yet brought about any substantial change in the economics and politics of Indonesia. This arises from the 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

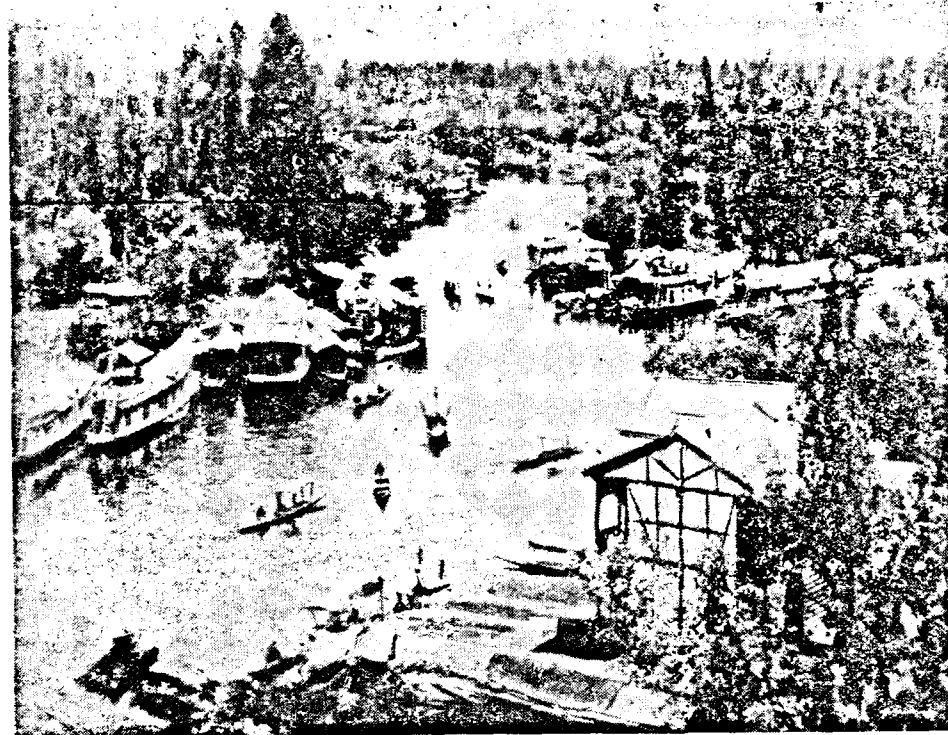
13. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, 1950-52, p. 11332 B.

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).

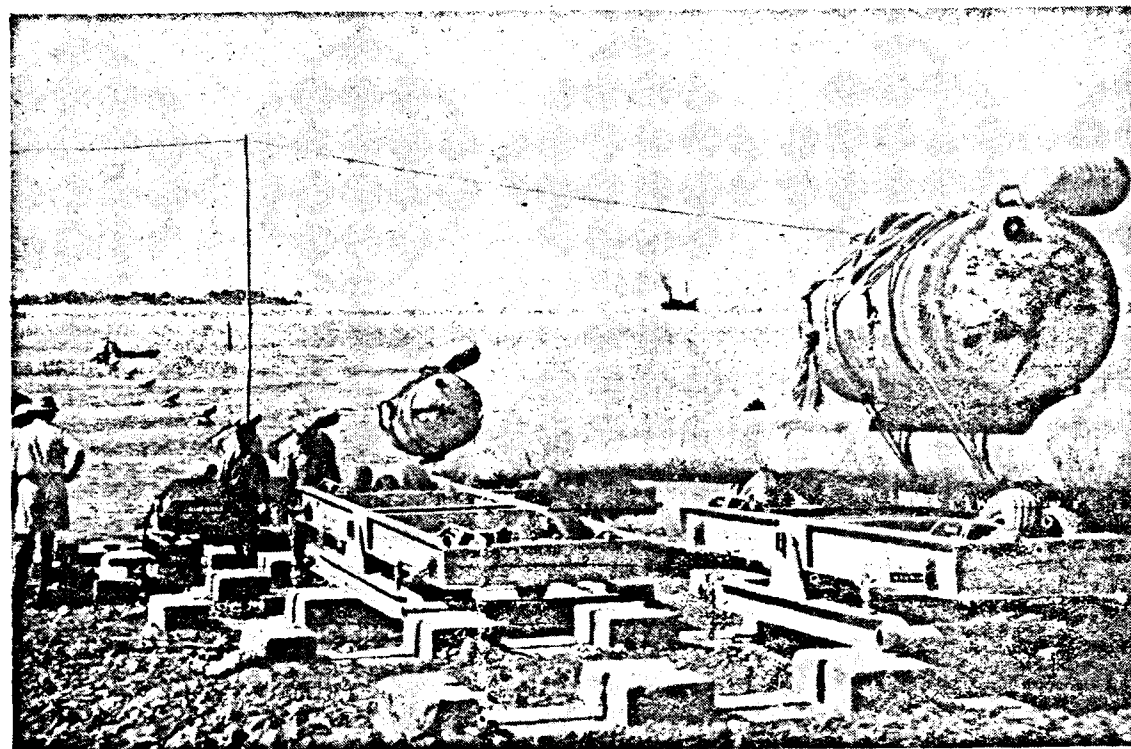
15. *The Statesman*, March 17, 1954.

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 Djojohadikusuma: “Economic Problems in Indonesia and Our Way Out,” *India Quarterly*, Oct.-Dec., 1952, p. 364.

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*, Singhbhum), 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 Sarvajanan 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 1928 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 Subarna-rekha 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 Panch 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 Sitaram 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 Panch 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 galing 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, Jharra, 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 Raajeshay district, and (vi) Rajemal 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 Singhbhum 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 Singhbhum 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 Kadya 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 Dalma 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 Desaoli Majhi section of Santals in Manbhum and Dhalbhum. The numbers of Desaoli 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 is, however, some overlapping with Oriya, in Seraikela immediately to the west of Dhalbhum and also in the southern fringe of Dhalbhum itself, and there is 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 Nowagarh, Katras and Jharia Parganas of Manbhum. And there are also some mixed Magahi-Bengali dialects, spoken by "immigrants from the highlands of Chota Nagpur into Bengali-speaking areas," usually described as Kurmali or Khotta in the western portions of Manbhum and Dhalbhum or as Panch Pargania or Tamarua in sub-plateau area of Ranchi, or as 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., "Kurmali do not all speak Bihari, many of them speak Bengali; and in Manbhum, the Kurmali 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 Kurmali, 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 Kurmali, 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 Kurmali (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 *wirgild* (*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 infringed, 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 *Gramabhajaka*. 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 *Mohthesibs*, 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 Nizamat 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

JURY SYSTEM IN INDIA

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 casual 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.

—:O:—

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE RAJBANSHIS

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,

Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

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*. The 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 the quality of the smoke differs with the income. A poor peasant is content with *bidis* 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 *puni-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-threshing 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*. Pre-marital 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 god-ness 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 Buri* 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.

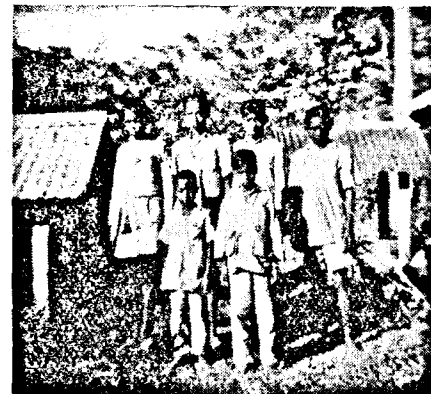


Rajbanshi boys on the way to school

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 *Krishnakanter 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

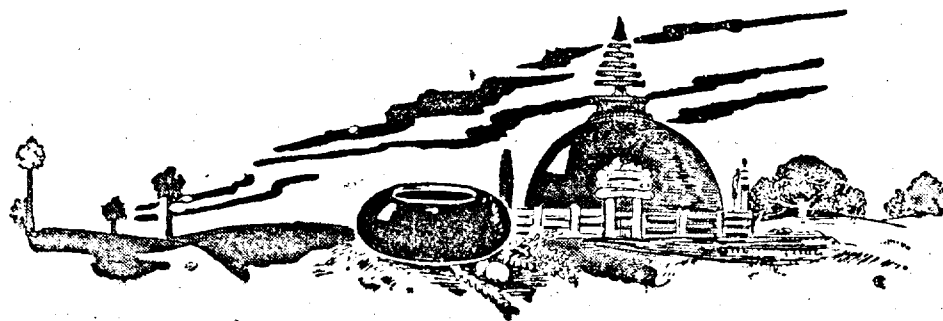
province, the land of the Rajbanshis is now practically lost to them. People from all parts of the divided territories were forced to make it their home and unfortunately there are disruptionist elements amongst our uprooted brethren. The indigenous population is obliged to come into daily contact with 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 *deonia* 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.

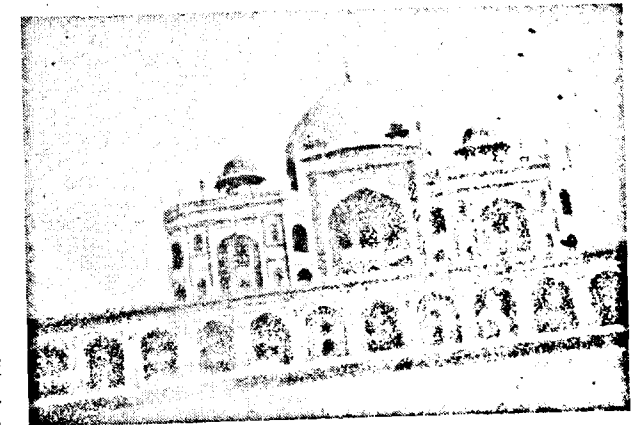
INDO-MUSLIM STYLE

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

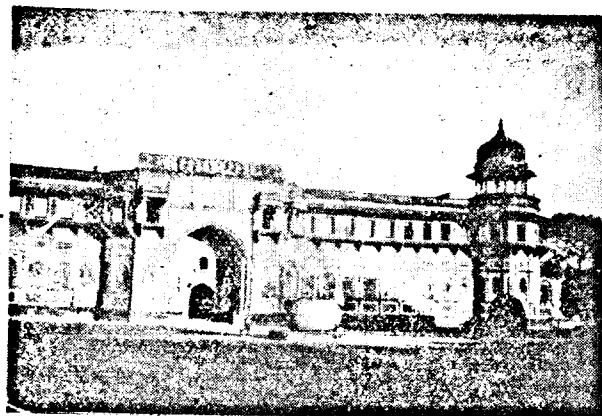
SUR BUILDINGS

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). Fergusson 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 *Zawana 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

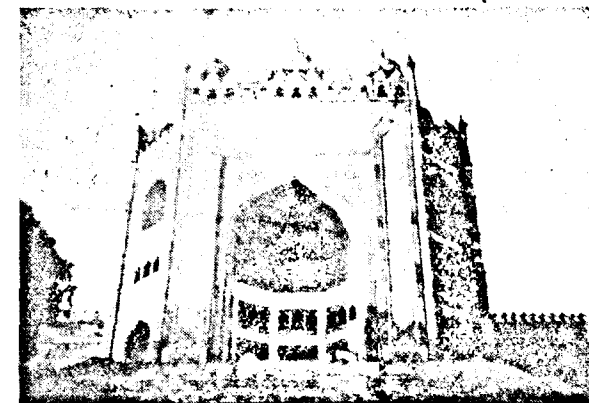
The so-called Jodh Bai's Mahal was the second, perhaps in point of the date of construction, though E. W. Smith regards it the oldest of all the domestic buildings. History does not record any Hindu wife of Akbar bearing the name of Jodh Bai. The entrance to the palace is of the usual plan of entrance 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

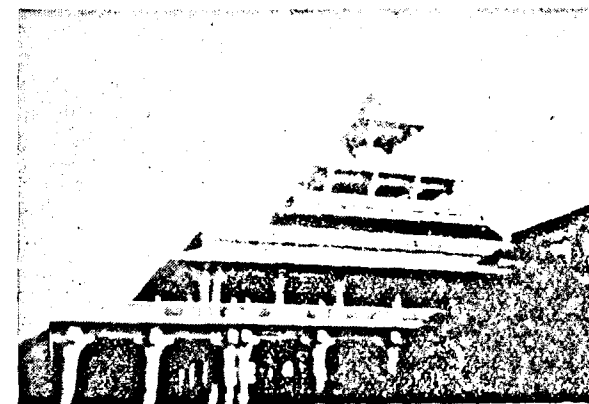
is a small pleasing pavilion called *Jogi-ka-Chhatri*. Its serpentine brackets of exquisite workmanship and every thing else about it, is so purely Hindu in taste and tradition that the *Jogi-ka-Chhatri* would have been quite becoming in a Jain temple of Gujarat style of architecture.



Buland Darwaza, the southern gate of the Great Mosque at Sikri

BIBI MARYAM'S KOTHI

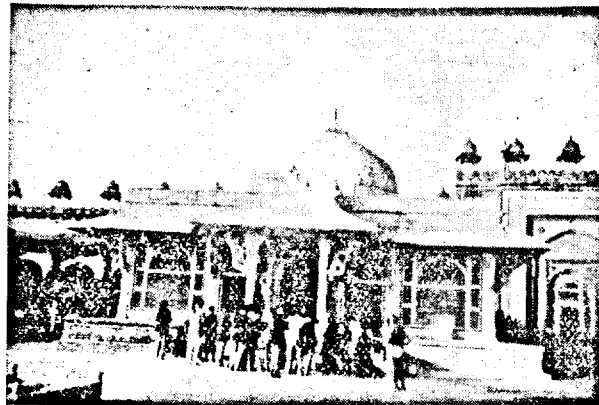
Originally this residence was known as the *Sonahra Makan*, or "Golden House" and it was so called on account of the profuse gilding which embellished both the outer and the inner walls. Among other buildings of *Mahal-i-Khas*, it is large in size though not so exquisitely sculptured outside like Turkish 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 *dhoti* 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 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 halls 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 Chisti, 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 Akbar.

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 art in all its branches—painting, sculpture and architec-

ture combined into one. In the field of art—for example, in the 'frescos' in Khwabagh, Bibi Maryam's Koithi 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 days of Akbar.

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.



Dr. Whitten spends some part of each busy day with his foster sons in a lounging room built for the boys

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

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's boys are encouraged to develop skills in landscaping and horticulture by caring for the family lawn and flower garden

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

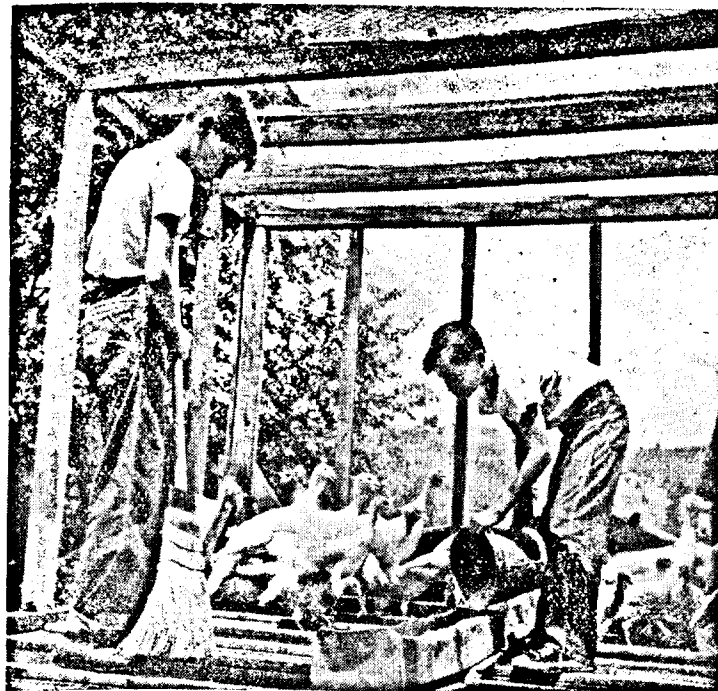


The boys learn to milk and to care for the animals as part of their daily farm chores



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 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

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.,

Head of the Department of Economics, Victoria College, Cooch Behar

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,

2. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 4, 1953.

3. Nehru's Statement to the House of the People, India, on April 2, 1954.

1. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), Education.

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.

4. Bertrand Russell: *Education and the Social Order*, p. 27.

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, 13.

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.

—O—

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 deities. 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 *Padavali*, 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 'Chandrapati 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 combatting 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 Vishnunada on the bed of the Phalguni river" (sic.) (p. 185) and to "Puri, Jagannathi (sic.), Bhuvaneswara, 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. 62. 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 Dayaram 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 Byramji 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, Dayaram 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 unfailing 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 56. 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 Home, 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 MOOKHERJI

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 MYS-TIC FIRE: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. 1952. Pp. xxxvi+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 Sacrifice, 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 Brahmo 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 Bhangī 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 Sundaram) 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 popularise 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

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

::

Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

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.

Pages 1200. Price Rs. 11, postage extra.

Can be had from all leading booksellers, or

T. S. SRIVASTAVA,

71, Mahesh Prasad Street, Molvigani, LUCKNOW

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. Amarendra 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 of 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 earmarked 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 bad taste that demands all sixteen annas of a rupee without paying none.

A few individual teachers may have carved out for themselves some coveted 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

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

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 quantified 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 colleagues because they are not original. There in a 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

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG CALCUTTA

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.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kaviraj, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.

Bagalamukhi Kavacha—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4.

Mohini Kavacha—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14.

Nrisingha Kavacha—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.

Saraswati Kavacha—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9 Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN" by Jyotish Samrat—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence: 50/2, Dharamtola Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhawan" (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours: 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.

Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivasa" Cal. 5. 8-30—11 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3685.

Central Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M.

LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

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 the 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 the 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 our 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 people have won—and affirms 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 this 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

NEW HEIGHT IN PROGRESS

From height to height and from strength to strength THE HINDUSTHAN marches ahead every year recording in 1953 the highest increase in New Business of over 2 crores 42 lacs.



1953

NEW BUSINESS
COMPLETION EXCEEDS

18 crores 89 lacs

This is a living demonstration of continued public confidence.



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA

Branches:
ALL OVER INDIA AND OUTSIDE



people toward a happy Socialist society free of exploitation.

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

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167C, 167C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA - PHONE: P.K. 4466

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

charged 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.

AMRUTANJAN Estd-1893
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM/
RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., PO. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

invited to undertake the education of Alp Arslan, the Seljuk prince. When Alp Arslan 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 Quillat* 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).

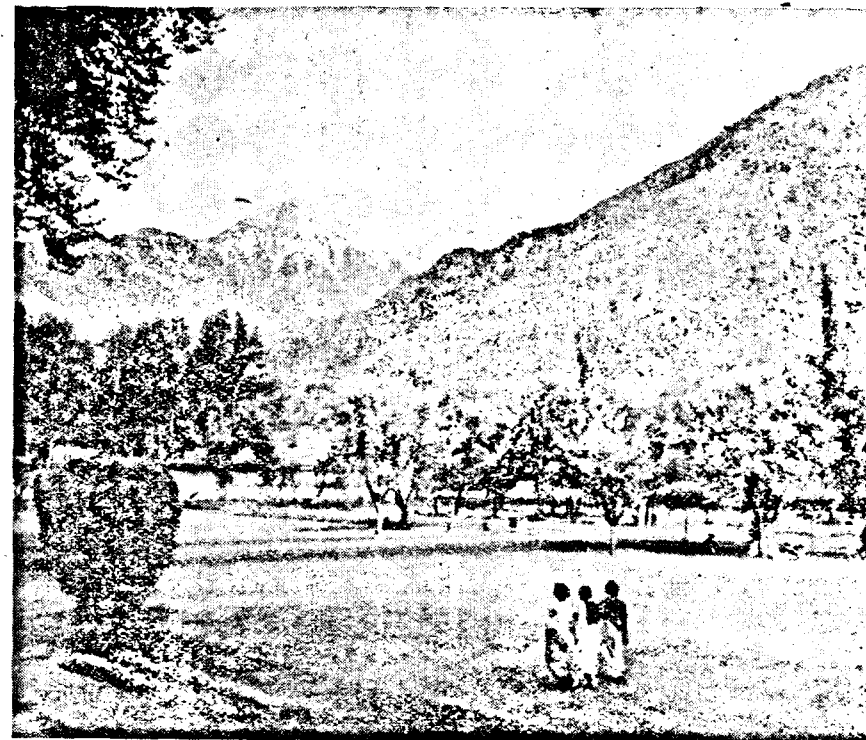
According to V. Minorsky, "he was the greatest mathematician of the mediaeval times." His foremost contribution is in the field of algebra. He advanced the science of algebra much further from the stage reached by the Greeks and also by Khwarizmi; of the greater part of Omar's works is devoted to cubic 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.

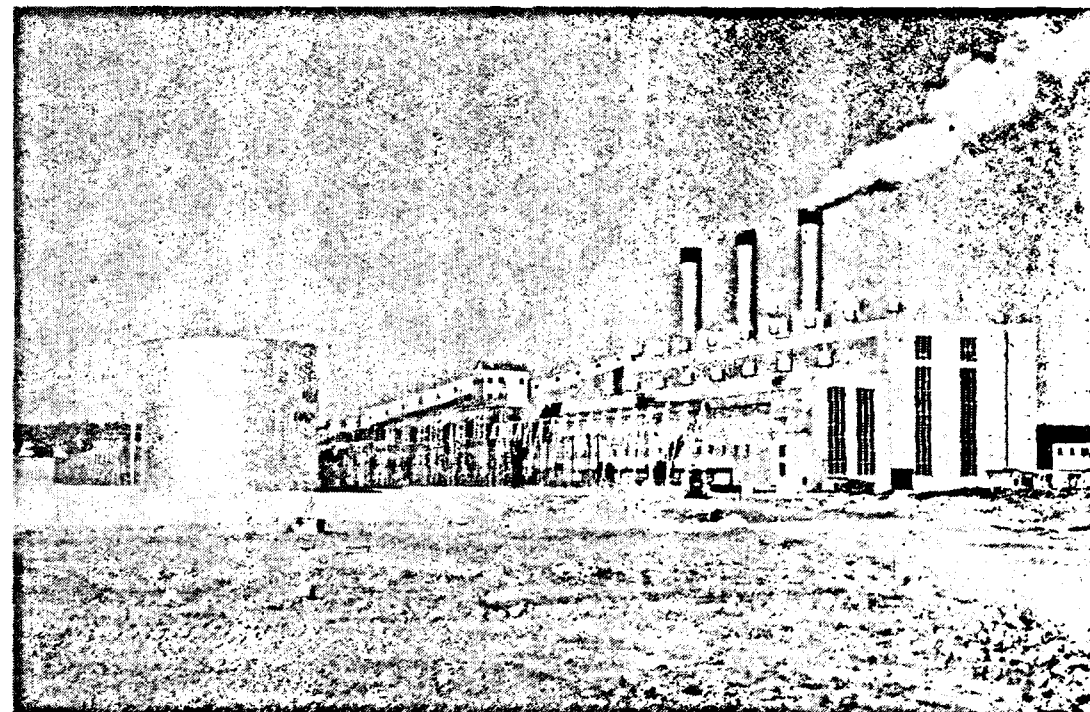
During the reign of Malik Shah Seljuki, his illustrious Grand Vizier Nizamul Mulk Toosi, had invited a body of savants including Omar Khayyam and Abdur Rahman Hazini, to carry out astronomical observations. Their efforts led to the reform of calendar which was in advance of the Gregorian by 600 years 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

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1954

VOL. LXXXVI, No. 3

WHOLE No. 573

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.

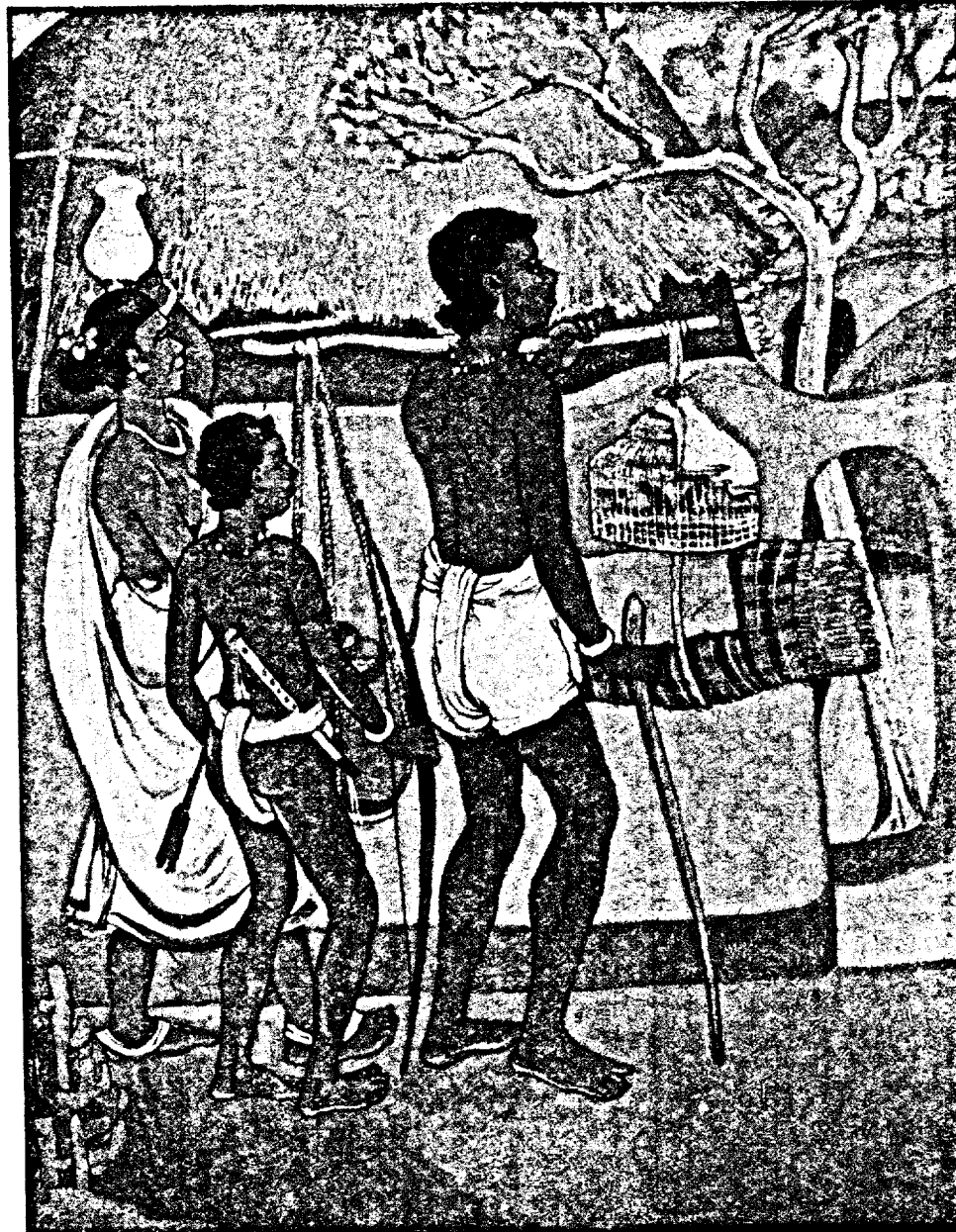
Be that as it may, the picture presented is revealing and comprehensive, and that not only of the Press, but also of the reading public and of the Governments, at the Centre and in the States. The findings, as detailed in the volume just published, expose most of the structural defects of the Indian 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



HOMEWARD BOUND
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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 posts 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

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. WP 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 Petrols, 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 Plevin 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 Plevin 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 Plevin 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 terms 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 Kleffens 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 lines."

"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 systems—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

(I) Introductory: Preamble

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

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 follows⁶:

"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 *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*,⁷ 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."

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.

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 government" 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 judgment¹¹ 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 contention¹² 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 judgment¹³ 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 view¹⁴ 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."¹⁵

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 India¹⁶ (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:¹⁷

"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

14. 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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:²⁰

"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, Bryce²¹ 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 Story²² 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 view²³ 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. 452-53.

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 indissoluble 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 seceding 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 Plan²⁸ 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 cent²⁹ 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 course³⁰ is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as electing bodies."³¹

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."³²

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 people³³ 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 States³⁴ 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;³⁵ 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 Note³⁶ 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." 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. 983.

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 etymological³⁷ meaning of the term "Republic," usage has given to it a definite signification in political terminology. According to the *New English Dictionary*:³⁸

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)?' . . . 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

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. 249.

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 Rabindranath⁴³ 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, "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, "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."⁴⁴

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,⁴⁵ "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. 163.

"The most common and durable source of factions," says James Madison,⁴⁶ "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;"⁴⁷ 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."⁴⁸

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 warned⁴⁹ 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,⁵⁰ "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,⁵¹ "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,⁵² "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.*

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

"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.

56. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. LXVIII, Serial No. 131, p. 70.

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.*

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

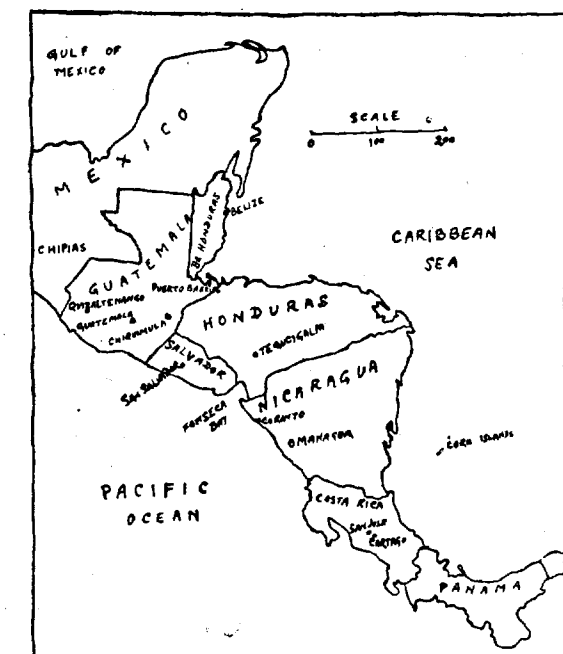
A revolutionary movement then grew up in Guatemala, which forced Cabrera to resign from the Presidentship of the State, as it had spread even to the National Assembly. This revolutionary upsurge led to a movement for Union and as such it became a movement against Cabrera personally, and it was confined 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 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 aboard 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 in April 1949, when 200 armed men seized five towns near the Mexican border and sought the evacuation of the government forces. The government declared 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.

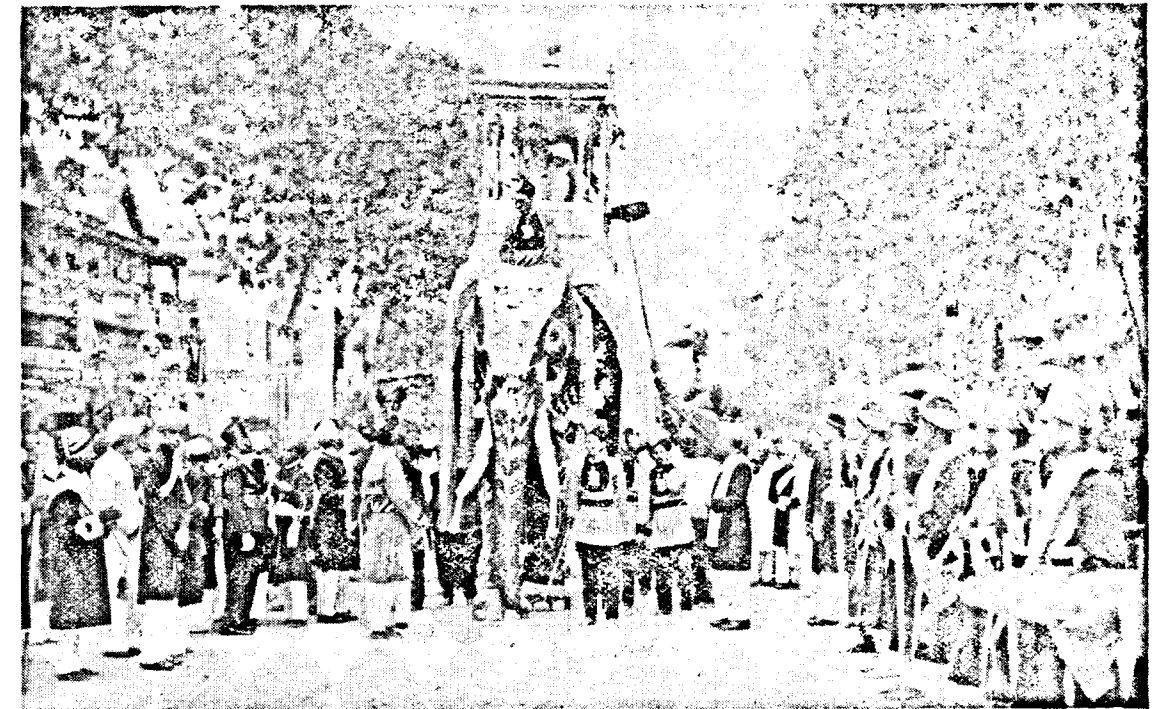
On March 15, Col. Arbenz, then only 37 years of age, was inaugurated as the new President, the youngest Latin-American head of a State till then. Labour disorders were the first big crisis which faced the new administration. Unrest among the workers resulted in April in an 11-day railway strike which 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.

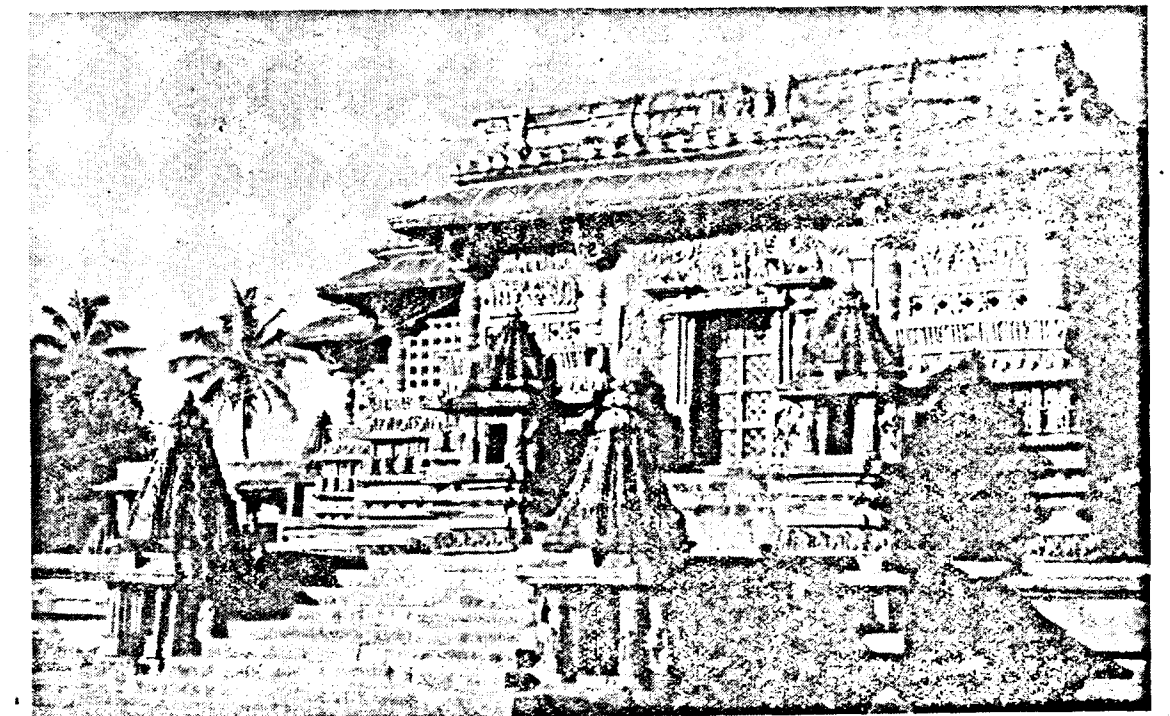
INCREASING COMMUNIST ORIENTATION

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

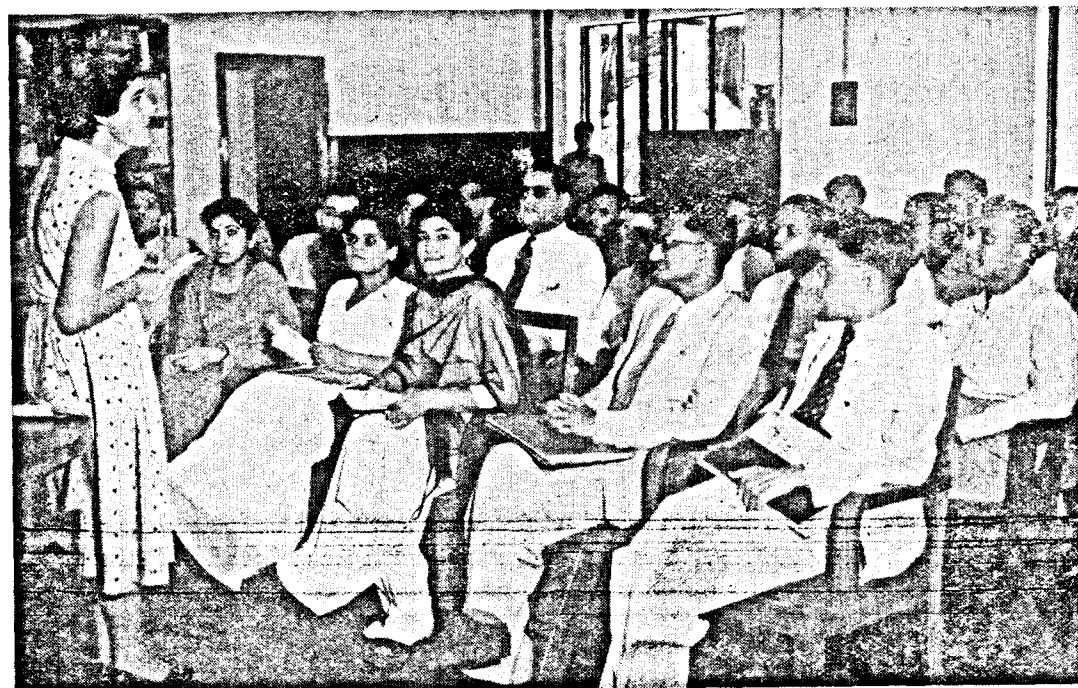


Chennakesava Temple at Belur

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. Elfezo 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.

—O—

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-pounded 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,

or 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.

—:O:—

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 Bi'hari 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 Bi'hari 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 Bhuban 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 *shaddha* 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 Sindhias) into Kshatriyas and rulers of States with Brahmins 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."

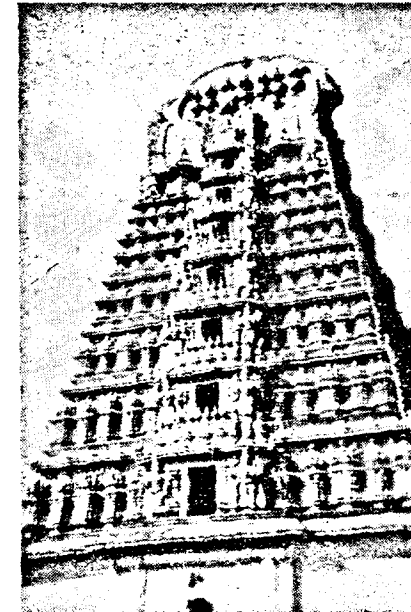
MYSORE—THE CITY OF EASTERN SPLENDOUR

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

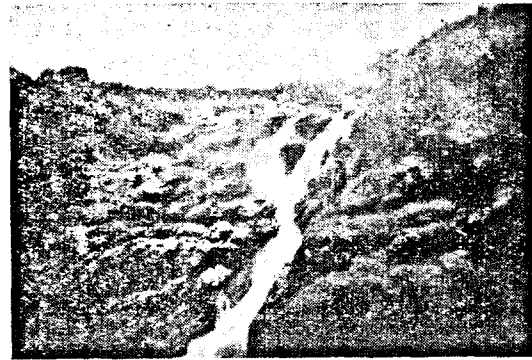
Institute, the Maharaja's and Maharani's Colleges and the Good Shepherd Convent are some of the many "temples of education" drawing huge crowds of students from far and near. The University and Oriental libraries have a good collection of books for the

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 Tipu 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

idea of visiting it may be a fascinating and happy embarrassment.



The writer

—:O:—

BOAT FESTIVALS OF KERALA

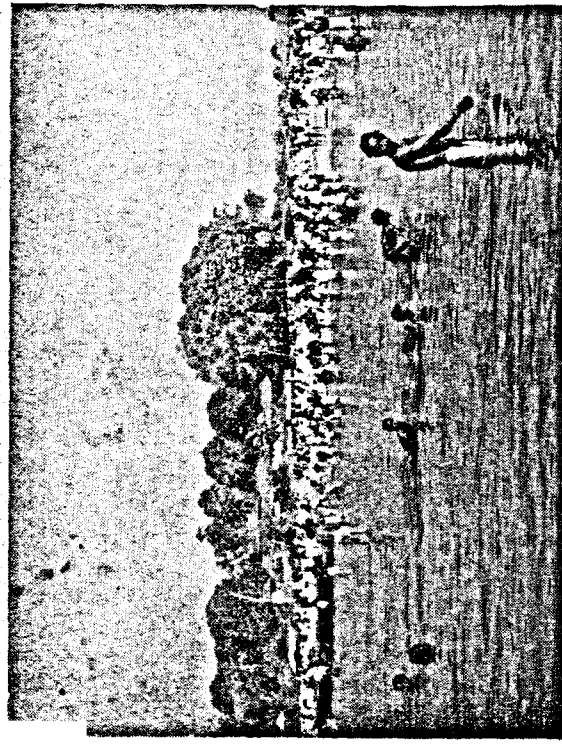
By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

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 éclat 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

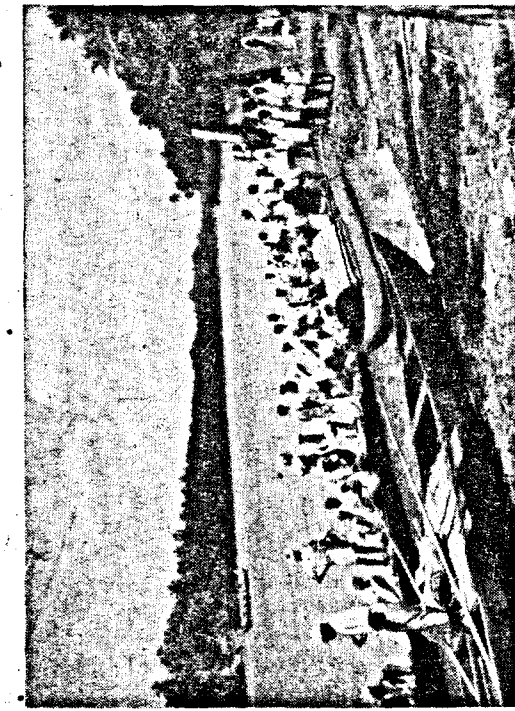
boat races held during the merry *Onam* season are thrilling sights, in which the art, music, culture and literature of a great nation combine to form a lovely and unique form of enjoyment wherein more is meant than that which meets the eye.

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 *Utrattathi*, 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 *Utrattathi* 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



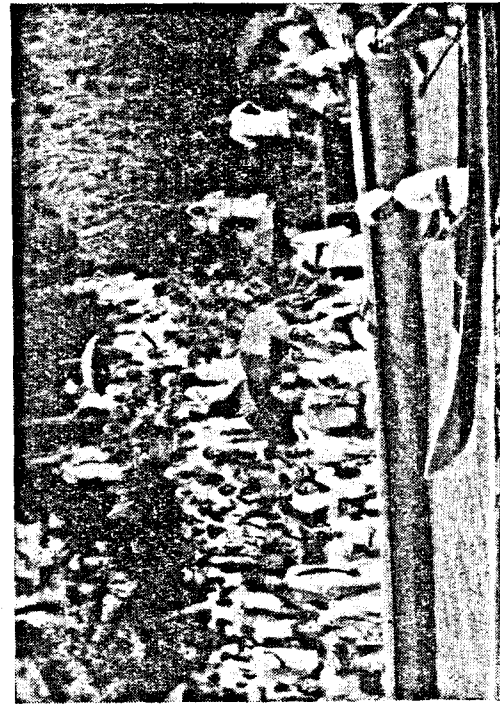
Arammala—bathing and summer resort on the River Pampa



A *Chundan* (snake boat) is seen, with its crew snatching a rest, on the way to the site of the boat race



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



Youthful visitors going about in small rubber boats and cheering the crew



A snake boat (*Chundan*) nearing the goal



One of the race boats in action



One of the winning boats nearing the goal. A typical *Chundan* boat is seen in this picture

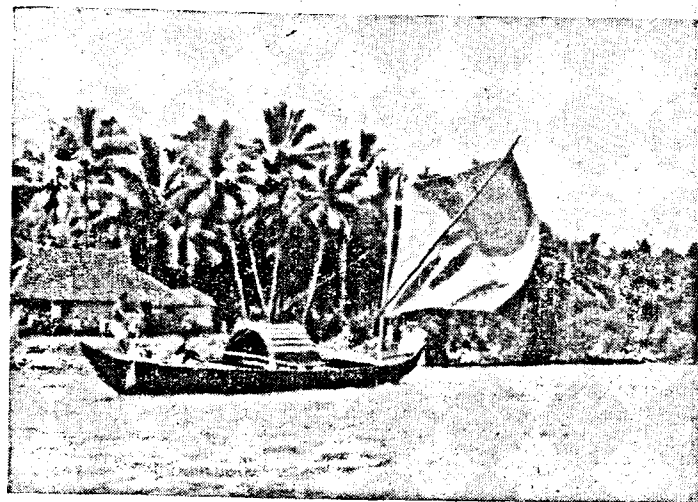
is held every year in commemoration of the crossing of the Pampa river by Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers. The story goes that following a long period of penance and austerity, Arjuna was on his way back to his native city with the image of Sri Krishna. When he reached the northern bank of the river 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 *Thiruvananthapuram*, 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 Uttarattathi 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*, *Paranthuvadan*, 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 *Paranthuvadan* varies from 28½ to 32½ *koles* and accommodates 28 to 36 rowers. The *Iruttukuthi* has also the same length as that of *Paranthuvadan* 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), Kayamcolam, 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 *Kard 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 Vriitham*. 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 Vriitham*, 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 Vriitham* 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 Vriitham*, 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 Vriitham 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. Tampey

—:O:—

RELICS OF JAHANGIR'S REIGN

By U. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.,
Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

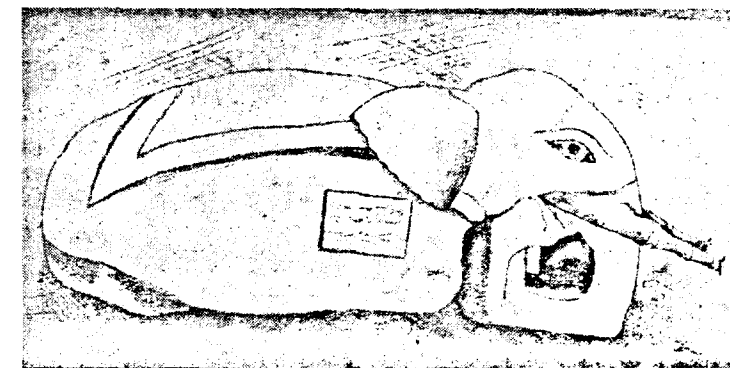
NEAR beside Ajmer to Kishangarh road there is an old *baori* (stepped well) in the Gangwana village (District Ajmer) at a distance of about 8 miles from the city of Ajmer. Some years ago I discovered in that well, attached to a side wall, an important and hitherto unknown Persian Inscription in course 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)

TEXT

اللہ اکبر بن بلوچ
چو گنجی۔۔۔ خاں محسن فیضات و امساں
شہدہ شہزادہ دروہرا از لطف باری

کہہ تا سب سے سرور ہے شہزادہ فیض باری
۱۰۲۴

this couchant elephant with skill and extreme care (Fig. at Plate). From this interesting elephant of the Mughal period has originated the name of a locality in Ajmer city called *Haibhata* (Elephant Stone). On the body of this animal (right side) two lines in Persian are there which have been read by some people as:

We come across various other similar interesting relics in the State of Ajmer which are associated with Jahangir.*

تاریخ فیض سنگ شہزادہ حکیم ال
الہیادہ یارہ فیض حاتمہ باری

* Being requested by me, the Archaeological Superintendent in charge of Muslim Epigraphy, New Delhi, has inspected this unique inscription at Gangwana and prepared proper estampages.



RELIGION AND HUMAN PROGRESS

By DR. SATKARI MOOKHERJI, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University

THE subject of our discourse is calculated to have a profound interest in these days of fast movements in ideology and faster achievements of science. But the subject can be successfully tackled if we have a clear conception of the true connotation of religion and of progress. I shall not attempt to define progress—which is bound to baffle exact analysis. Let us understand that progress means movement to a higher and better level and condition of existence than the *status quo* and this level may have reference to physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual status of man. The modern age of science has undoubtedly brought large additions to the comforts and amenities of our physical existence. It has made intercourse among nations and countries and their mutual understanding easier, cheaper and quicker than dreamt of in the past. Space and time have undergone enormous shrinkage and the whole world seems to be reduced to a geographical unity which is greater than was possible even for a single nation or a small province. Of course all the countries are not equally developed—some of them still clinging to primitive conditions and suffering from the struggle for existence which was the fate of the whole world. Let us hope that all the units of the world, the diverse peoples and races, will one day reach the consummation, which science holds out as the ultimate prospect.

Intellectually also the world has advanced at least in parts. The printing press and paper have multiplied books and the thoughts of the best men are now available to one who elects to equip himself for it. The question of paramount interest and importance in this connection is: "Has religion made any contribution to this progress? Has it helped or hindered this advance?" I understand that our subject of discourse has pointed reference to this burning question and it is essential that in approaching the problem we must not allow ourselves to be swayed by passions, emotions and sectarian or propagandist interests, which will upset our intellectual equilibrium and warp our judgement.

It must be admitted that Science, in spite of its startling discoveries and achievements, has not succeeded in submerging religion even in the professional meaning of the term. Christianity, in so far as its dogmas were derived from the literal meaning of the Old Testament, was shaken by the biological and geological discoveries and the theories based upon these data. The theory of creation was overthrown. But the better minds revised their religious notions and brought them into harmony with the new know-

ledge. It is undeniable that the attitude of the custodians of official religion in Europe in the past were sceptical of the scientific experiments and they adopted a hostile attitude towards science. In this respect religion, institutional and official, tried to exercise a deterrent influence upon the advancement of human knowledge. It is symptomatic of a profound truth that the advocates of the dogmatic faiths have failed to curb, far less to eradicate, the impulse to acquisition of fresh knowledge irrespective of its reaction on the professed creed. Dogmatism has failed and science has triumphed. But unfortunately the reaction produced by the hostility of the Christian Church was also not healthy in the beginning. Religion came to be suspect in the scientists' camp as much as science was in the eyes of the vested interests that the Church created. We cannot resile from the truth, however unpalatable, that religion in so far as it was based upon the literal interpretation of the old scriptures, was noted for its undisguised opposition to cultivation of knowledge. Unfortunately the record in some countries of the East was not less unenviable. In Tibet, the monks opposed the installation of electric plant and dynamos in Lhasa, though Buddhist dogmas have no conflict with modernization. There was a strong aversion to gold mining as they thought that this meant disembowelment of the Mother Earth. The boycott of English schools and colleges by the Muslims of India and the protest of the orthodox Hindus to dissection of dead bodies in the early years of British rule were inspired by a religious bias. Instances may be multiplied to show the obscurantism and abhorrence of knowledge which were directly or indirectly fostered by religion, so far as its professional custodians and agents were concerned. It will be incompatible with our regard for truth if we seek to extenuate or gloss over the manifestly irrational and misological role that was played by these defenders of the traditional faiths. Love of truth was not a strong passion with these agents of God. If religion be the monopoly of the professional purveyors of divine knowledge, I am afraid that all dogmatic religions, I mean, the faiths ruled by the dogmas and approved interpretation of tradition, cannot but entertain unfriendly disposition towards the expansion of the frontiers of knowledge. Credal religions, which derive from a person, historical or mythical, will be chary to hail the progress of knowledge.

But I am deliberately of the persuasion that institutional religion is only an external vesture of

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 hells 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 meretricious 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.

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, Goldara 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 Cassmann 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 Furnberg, 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 Schopfung" (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 "Carolan," "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-nerves 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 "Erlkönig" (Erl King), "Gretchen am Spinnrad" (Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel), "Forel-lequintett" (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 Lehár 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 Schönberg. 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 foregone 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 sensitiveness 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 Pauranic and Buddhist legends, presenting old and hackneyed topics in new formulations and new techni-

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

231

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, 1954.

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. C. 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 "Madenmatta" 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, 21.9 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 46.5 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*, CXXIX (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. 95.

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

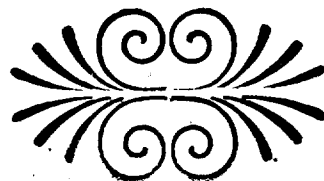
Thus, as a result of foreign investments, Great Britain gained in more ways than one.

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.

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).



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 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 Tang 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 Mkhan 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 Sri 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. Pravrajivan 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 Inanananda 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 Gnanananda 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 JAGADISWARANANDA

THE STORY OF TWELVE YEARS: By E. W. Aryanyakam. Hindustani Takmi 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 Communistic 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 Re. 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 Sampurnananda 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 "rancour-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 Muni-shri Nanchandaji, Pp. 64. Price six annas.

(3) **MIRAN BAINAN BHAJAN:** Pp. 78. Price ten annas.

(4) **NARSINH MEHTANAN BHAJANO:** 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.

SANKHIPITA JEEVANKATHA: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Abridged from the Gujarati version by Mamibhai 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 Mahadevji'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 Lakshman Jha. Published by Mithila Mandal, Po. Laheriasarai, Darbhanga, Mithila. Pp. 24. Price eight annas.

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

::

Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13



FOUR BENEFICIAL PROPERTIES ARE COMBINED IN CALCHEMICO'S

Neem TOOTH PASTE

- 1) It contains all the antiseptic, germicidal, astringent and deodorant properties of Neem Twig, known to the Indians from ancient times and also extracts of some Ayurvedic herbs beneficial for teeth and gum and other ingredients used in modern dental hygiene.
- 2) A special substance used in Neem Tooth Paste particularly prevents caries and pyorrhoea.
- 3) The high grade medicinal precipitated Chalk, Mag Carb and other pure ingredients used as base, help to remove the acid-forming bacteria, which cause tooth decay.
- 4) It contains CHLOROPHYLL with its beneficial properties. The animal-fat free soap content is minimum but the profuse foam created during washing with Neem Tooth Paste, enters into the crevices of the teeth and cleanse the whole mouth.

Neem Tooth Paste is a class by itself.



Available in 3 sizes—Large, Medium & Small.

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 peculiarly 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 pilotage.

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

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | |

Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

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 brahmachari*.

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 millionnaires 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*.

Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG

CALCUTTA

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.

NEW HEIGHT IN PROGRESS

From height to height and from strength to strength THE HINDUSTHAN marches ahead every year recording in 1953 the highest increase in New Business of over 2 crores 42 lacs.

1953

NEW BUSINESS
COMPLETION EXCEEDS

18 crores 89 lacs

This is a living demonstration of continued public confidence.



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA

Branches:
ALL OVER INDIA AND OUTSIDE

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. Cramping 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.

BOOKS FOR YOUR LIBRARY

VINOBA BHAVE (A Symposium)	Rs. 2-8
Ed. By P. D. Tandon	
THE PRIME MINISTER	Rs. 3-12
V. Venkat Rao	
RUSSO AMERICAN RIVALRY IN ASIA	Rs. 4-8
Shri Hector Abhayawardhan	
THE PROMISE THAT IS NEW CHINA	Rs. 4-8
K. T. Shah	
PARTICULARS, DISCOVERY & INSPECTION	Rs. 12
OF DOCUMENTS—R. K. Soonawala	
ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMICS	Rs. 11
IN INDIA	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL	Rs. 4
EDUCATION IN INDIA—Kantilal Vyas	
GENERAL ELECTIONS IN BOMBAY	Rs. 5
M. V. Venkatarangiah	
INDIA'S EMERGING FOREIGN POLICIES	Rs. 6
Shantilal Kothari	
HINDU MUSLIM CULTURAL ACCORD	Rs. 2-8
Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bar-at-law	
OUR COUNTRY Its Wealth and Population	Rs. 4
Vidwans & Parikh (68 Two Colours Pictographs)	
OUR FARMER—B. S. Mavinkurve	Rs. 1-8
MALVIYAJI—R. J. Akkad	Rs. 1-4
PLANNING FOR THE PEOPLE BY PEOPLE	Rs. 3-8
J. C. Kumarappa	

Books on Gandhiji

REMINISCENCES OF GANDHIJI	Rs. 8
Ed. by Chandrabhanker Shukla	
INCIDENTS OF GANDHIJI'S LIFE	Rs. 10-8
Ed. by Chandrabhanker Shukla	
CONVERSATIONS OF GANDHIJI	Rs. 3
Ed. by Chandrabhanker Shukla	
GANDHIJI AS WE KNOW HIM	Rs. 3-4
Ed. by Chandrabhanker Shukla	
MR. GANDHI THE MAN	Rs. 3
by Millie Graham Polak	
MAHATMA GANDHI by B. J. Akkad	Rs. 1-8

Useful Books for Colleges

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS by R. S. Phansga	Rs. 7
SALESMANSHIP, SALESMANAGEMENT & ADVERTISING by M. Salyanataran	Rs. 7-8
INSURANCE PRINCIPLES & PRACTICE	Rs. 6-8
R. S. Sharma	
STATISTICS by Y. D. Keekar	Rs. 10-8
MERCANTILE LAW by James Menezes	Rs. 12
AIR TRANSPORT by M. R. Dhekne	Rs. 6-8
INTRODUCTION TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY	Rs. 8
IN INDIA by A. R. Desai	
POST WAR AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS & POLITICS IN INDIA by S. Thirumalai	Rs. 12
INDIAN RURAL PROBLEM	Rs. 14
Nanavati & Anjaria	
ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE	Rs. 9-8
K. C. Chakravarty	
INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY	Rs. 10
N. H. Thakker	
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIAN	Rs. 5
Agriculture by Maheshchand	
MODERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF	Rs. 8
GREAT POWERS by D. S. Savkar	
ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DIVIDED	Rs. 16
INDIA by C. N. Vakil	
GENERAL ECONOMIC HISTORY	Rs. 5-8
S. B. Mahabai	

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.

3, Round Building, Bombay 2



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 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. Glenn Martin, airplane manufacturer, says that the United States has developed a radioactive cloud that "kills 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 not sure they want to trust him with the safety of the world! These are not the words of preachers or poets 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 bare facts are bad enough. Eye witnesses tell of Hiroshima long after. Anyone who is going to write his Congressman 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, "Clear 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 duellists 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,



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



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.

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 Zurich.

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.

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. Sirkar & Sons
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants

167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBINARI AVENUE CALCUTTA - PHONE: P.K. 4466

TELEPHONE: 34-1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

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."

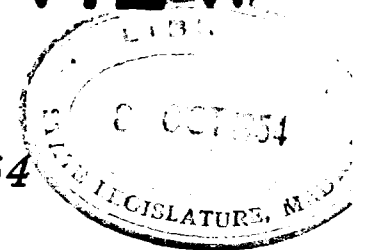
World peace would be more secure if more scientists were to endorse Einstein's word.—*Tribune, Ceylon News Review.*

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1954



VOL. LXXXVI, No. 4

WHOLE No. 574

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

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Satindranath Laha

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.

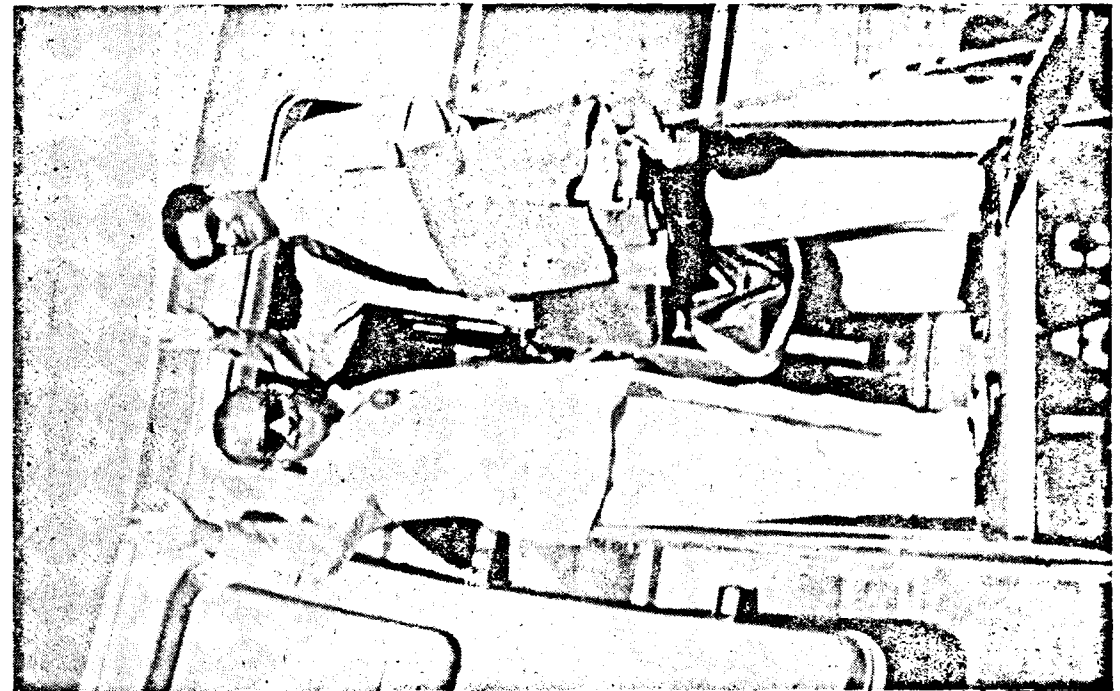
Pilgrims will gather in groups of 200 or more to spend a week in quest of spiritual repose and understanding through prayer, meditation, and unhurried talk.

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

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 reblazed 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 re-creations 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 Ghazanfar 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 rate 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 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 24 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 disburse 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 Vieie 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 though 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 assists from that shadowy figure of world intrigue, former Nazi Otto Skorzeny.

It became known in July that Franco, while anticipating 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 Majawan 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 Narayanganj 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 3, 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) periodical 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.S.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 Patta 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 13 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 has resulted in the tragic loss of a life without in any way contributing to the benefit either of the cow or of anybody else. The public and the press in general have not taken kindly to the movement at all. This mood was also reflected in the speeches of the members in 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 bar 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-pathway 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.

KEDAR 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. 65 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 hoodies into 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-diphtheria 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, arteries, 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 ruco-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.

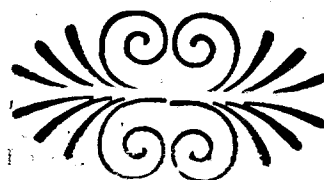
"If the total agricultural debt of British India was about Rs. 900 crores in 1929-30, it must have increased to about Rs. 1200 by 1923, and the real burden must be tantamount to Rs. 2200 crores, assuming that prices fall by 50 per cent (between 1929 and 1933), that no payment of the principal has been 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: *Agricultural Indebtedness in India*, p. 111.
2. Deccan Ryots Commission Report, p. 29.
3. S. C. Ray: *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.
4. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 68 (f.n.).
5. M. L. Darling: *The Punjab Peasants in Prosperity and Debt* (1932), p. 18.
6. P. C. Thomas: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, (1939), p. 176.
7. D. R. Gadgil: *Agriculture Finance Sub-Committee Report* (1949), p. 6.



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 Ahmadnagar 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)*	81 crores.	15 times the assessment. Average debt per land-holding family ₹. 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 ⁸	150 "	19 times the assessment.
"	Bengal ⁹	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 ¹⁰	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 ¹¹	155 "	Rs. 129 crores for ordinary cultivators, Rs. 24 crores for landlords and Rs. 2 crores for other householders.
"	C. P. & Berar ¹²	36½ "	Rs. 227 per family. Proportion of cultivators free from debt 46 per cent.
"	Assam ¹³	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 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 ceremonials 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 Karimpur 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.

15. Sathianathan.

16. Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 72.

17. Dr. G. D. Agarwal: Reorganisation of Agricultural Credit, p. 92.

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

18. Central Banking Committee Report, p. 61.

19. Royal Commission Report on Agriculture, para 365.

20. Darling: Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt, p. 262.

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 1/4 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 compels 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."

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 ejectment. 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

25. Walf: *Co-operation in India*, p. 3.

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, *shradh* 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

26. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 63.

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

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.

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.³⁰ 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."³¹

(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

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.

33. *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, p. 206.

34. Darling: *The Punjab Peasants in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 76.

35. Wadia & Joshi: *Wealth of India*, p. 280.

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 in orderly 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.³⁶ 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

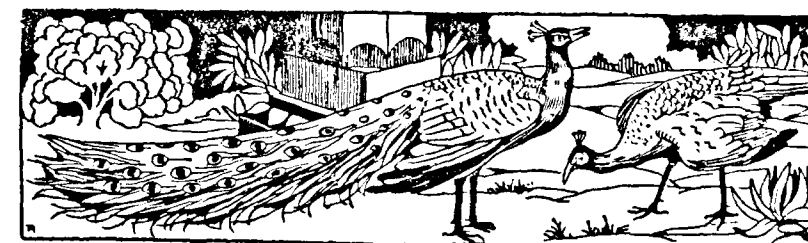
(5) The worst social and moral effect of the indebtedness is that it results in the servitude of the debtor. If the moneylender is an influential person and particularly so if he is also a land-owner. The borrower has to do free service for him when called upon to do so. In many places money is borrowed 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 pitance. Such systems are as *Kaminda* 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.



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* (Cassel: 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 1941) 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

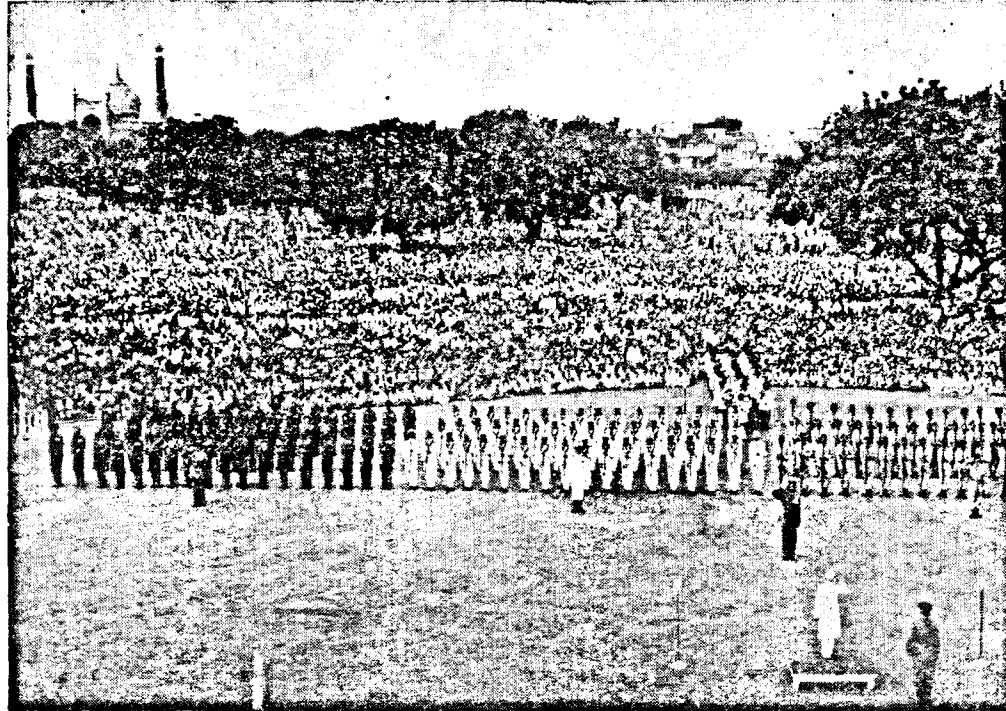
In the same category comes the venerable K. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer*. No Indian journalist ever wielded a chaster, a more elegant pen than



Cooch-Behar 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 inbue 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 kwt. 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.

—:O:—

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. Bhatti, 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 Pakur 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 Devanagari 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, Pakur, 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 Devanagari 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 Jamshecpur 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. Hoernle 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 records.* * * 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	Bengali
Pakur, zemindari and Damin	Bengali	Bengali	Bengali
Dumka South.	Bengali	Bengali	Bengali
Rajmahal, zemindari and Damin excluding Sahebganj thana	Bengali	Bengali	Bengali
Deoghar, taluk Koron	Bengali	Bengali	Bengali
Deoghar, excluding taluk Koron	Bengali	Hindi	Hindi
Dumka, Damin-i-Koh	Bengali	Hindi	Hindi
Dumka North	Bengali & Hindi	Hindi	Hindi
Rajmahal, thana Sahebganj	Bengali	Hindi	Hindi
Godda, zemindari and Damin	Hindi	Hindi	Hindi

Mr. Cantzer, 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 Nowagarh 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.

Year	Total population	Bengali	Hindi	Santali
1911	384122	138285	176696	65301
1931	521092	176036	259421	73377
1951	731700	186063	475951	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 Sadr 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 56,335 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 Santhal 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 hoi*" 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, "Kurmal," the tribal language of aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur" being "a subdialect of Magahi" (which the genuine Kurmal 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 अक्सिरेरा आसखे ये देखे भय हय ।

PHILIPPINE FISH CULTURE

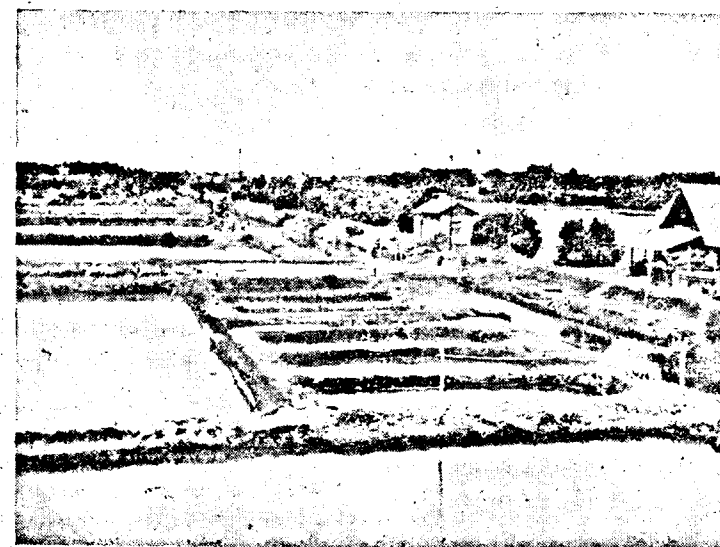
By WALLACE E. MCINTYRE

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.

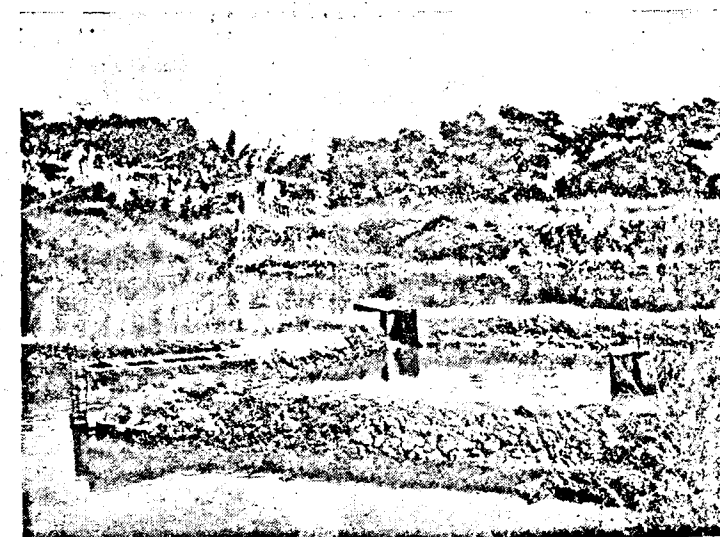
In the Philippines, only estuarine waters are used for fish culture. Salt-water swamp lands are utilized for pond rearing of the bangos or milk fish; shallow bays and inlets serve as sites for oyster farming. The Philippine Bureau of Fisheries estimates that estuarine waters are two to five times more 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.

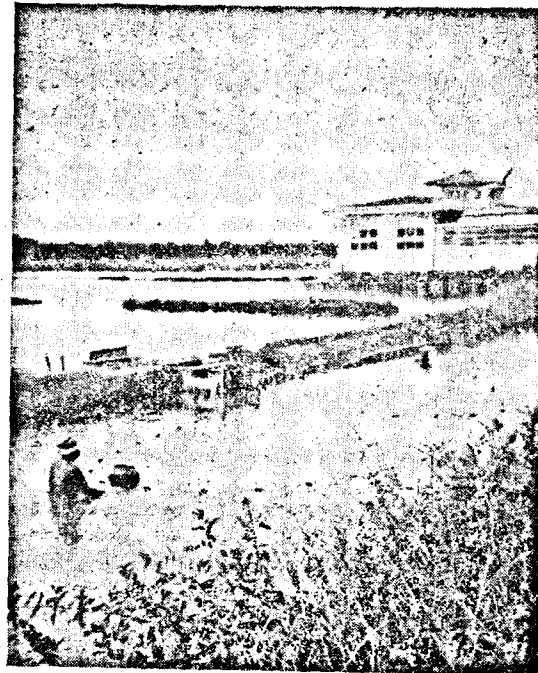
Since 1902, population of the Republic of the Philippines has grown from about 7,000,000 to 20,000,000. This increase, plus the traditional emphasis on production of export agricultural products, brought about a marked pressure upon the food resources of the islands. With a rice and fish national diet, 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 fish 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-

goa 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 fresh water 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

PHILIPPINE FISH CULTURE

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 south-east 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.

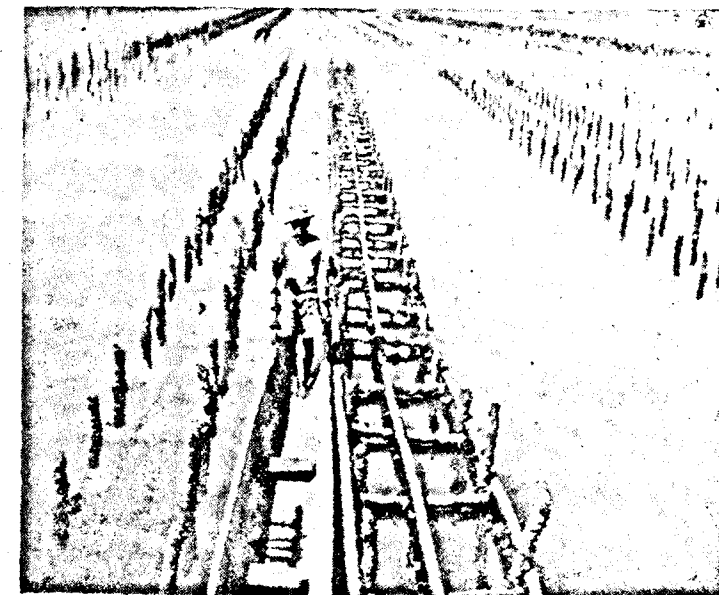
In order to encourage freshwater fish culture, the Bureau of Fisheries has introduced several proven species, such as the gouramy from Indonesia and the plasalit and tilapia from Thailand. Demonstration fish ponds have been constructed, literature has been made available to the public, and fry of gouramy, 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



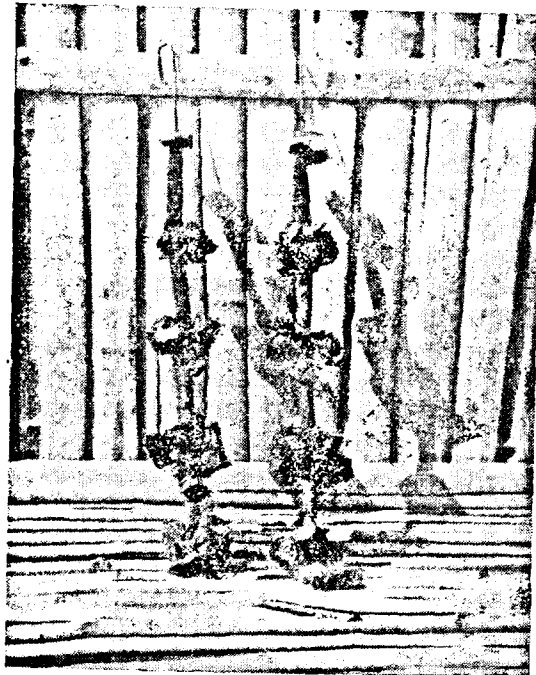
Oyster farms abound in the Bacoor Bay-Manila region in the Republic of the Philippines

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 "long lines" are spaced about 8 inches apart on a frame. This is the line or sampayan method. The tray or 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

An interesting product usually associated with regular oyster farming is the windowpane shell, known in the Tagalog dialect as "kapis." This shell is a pearl oyster, *Placuna placenta*, whose entire shell, including the meat, is about one centimeter in thickness, whereas the average short diameter of large shells is about 12 to 14 centimeters. Because the right valve is flat, it is more valuable than the slightly convex left valve. Kapis beds are widely distributed

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.

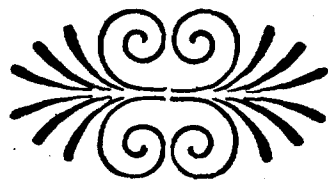
Utilizing the extensive low tide flats of Bacoar Bay, the Philippine Bureau of Fisheries operates an experimental and demonstration oyster and kapis farm near the village of Binakayan, Cavite, which has served to arouse interest on the part of private oyster farmers in the Manila Bay area. Seedlings 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.

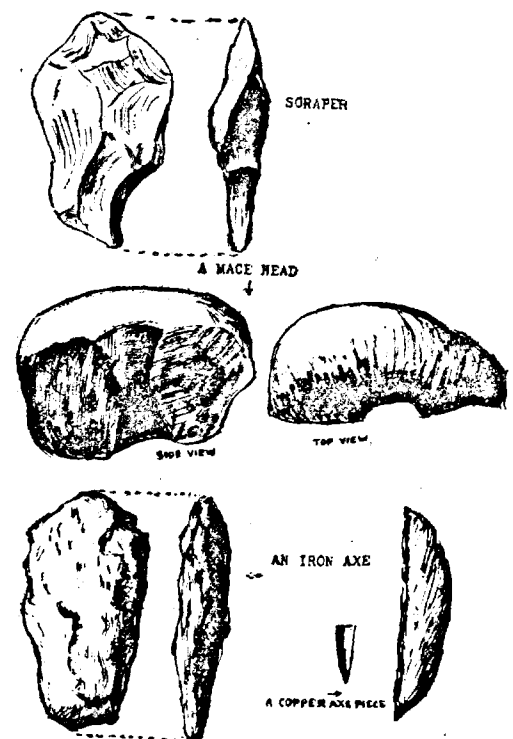
Archaeologically, although more intense research has been done in the regions of Greece, Italy, Palestine or Egypt, the more ancient land of India is still in the primary stage of archaeological studies. The less vegetated rocky South India is every year exposing new finds of older ages and also exposing 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 Nishadas 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, 38, 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.

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 VIIA. This layer gives us the pottery of the same technique but the crudeness of drawing shows the evolutionary stage of the preceding layer VIIB.

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-scraper 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 Vindhya 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 inattention 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 Zeuner, the Achurian 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-shirsagya* 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.

- Class 1. Fine fabric and hard structure. 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 Inknot, Kher and Babool 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*

—USHANAS.

Malakaratharmakarah Kumbhakarovyayayat

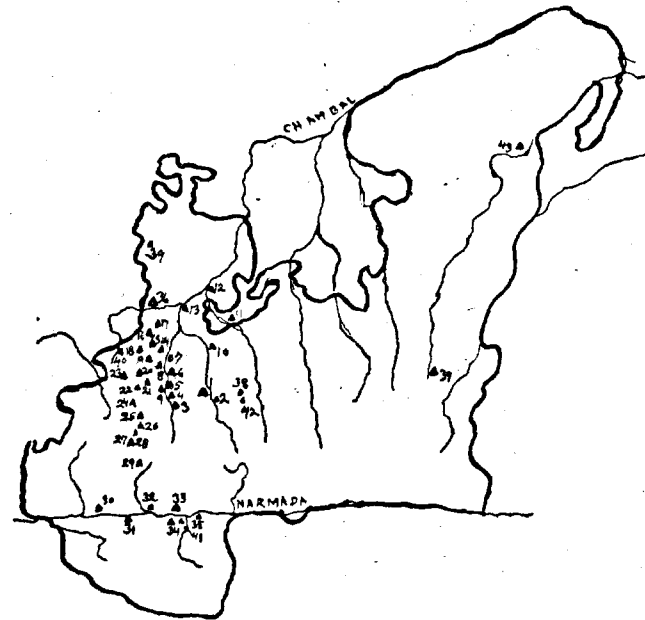
—PARASHAR.

The following are the various Sanskrit names of the pots mentioned in Vedic literature.

Chata, Kalasha, Patra, Bhajan, Sthali, Ookha, Rikushan, Chamass, 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. Bhilsudy, 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. Maheshwar, 34. Navada Toli, 35. Makadkheda, 36. Manduar, 37. Neomuch, 38. Jhamsawada, 39. Besnagar, 40. Piploda, 41. Ujadakheda, 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.×3.½ 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 Purah.'

All these pre-historic places lie on the main routes which join the ancient cities of Dashapur, Ujjaini, 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 un-identified 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

Through 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. Mahismati 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.

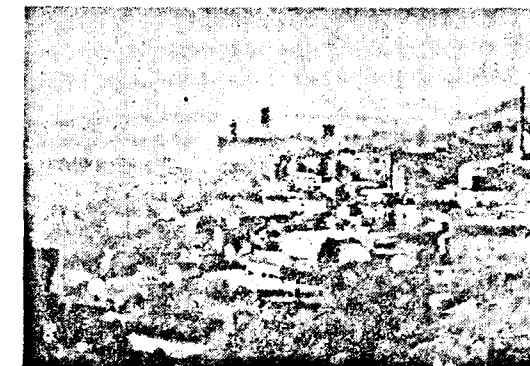
—:O:—

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 Laffray



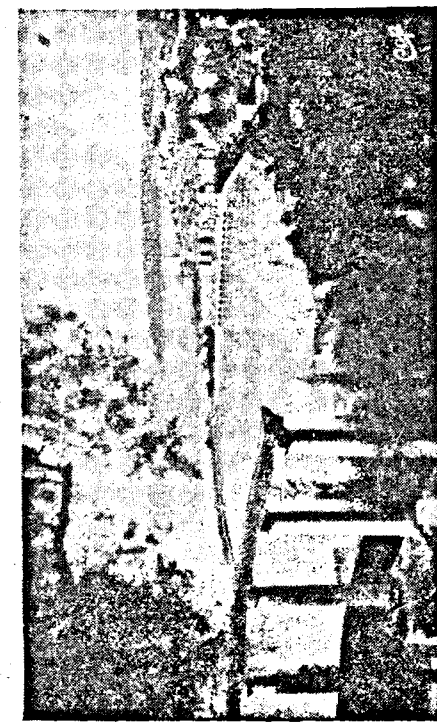
Grand Cornice



Cornice from Nice



The Frontier Gate



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



Nice

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 Cannes. 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-

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.

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

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.

SOME ENGLISHMEN WHO NURSED THE CONGRESS

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

SOME ENGLISHMEN WHO NURSED THE CONGRESS

313

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 Forestor, 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.

—:O:—

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 belongs 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 *Samhita*, his maiden work, based on the Ashtavakra Samhita was printed and published in 1913 by Messrs Frances Griffithes & 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 Vedodbdhini 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 Ostardlen 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 saeter-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 saeter, 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 Nowegian 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*, *Brahmadarshanam* 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, salmons 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!

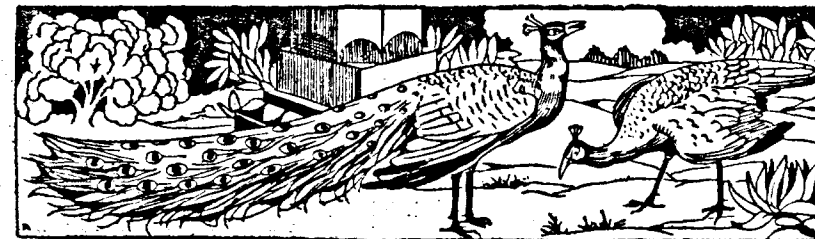
That the psyche does this will be evident from the finding of Driesch's (a German biologist) experiment. He made several sections of an embryo by sharp cuts and found each section developed into a complete whole. (Quoted in *Science, Religion & Reality*, by Joseph Needham, p. 236). From this it was clear 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. Price 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. 9-12.

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 Sivanada 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 Projjwala 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 handiwork. 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. Navajban 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

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

::

Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

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 Gandhiji 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 Chitapavan 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.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

827

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 deaths, 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."

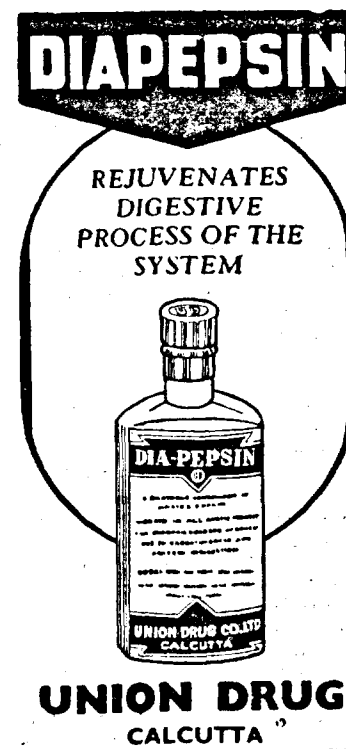
Vinoba sought the practical application of the adage, which is but a variation of the central truth of Indian religion and philosophy: the whole world is enveloped by God; therefore, enjoy whatever is given to thee in the spirit of a trustee without coveting anyone else's portion. The answer was vouchsafed 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



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.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kaviraj, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappinesses.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in service and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 367-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request.

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN" by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence: 50/2, Dharamtola Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhawan" (Wellington Sq Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: 24-4065. Consultation hours: 3 P.M. to 5 P.M.

Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 8-30—11 A.M. Phone: B.H. 3685.

Central Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M.

LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.



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 sewing you is ours.



Hindusthan
CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS 4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA-13.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

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 460 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 *Thermae Baths of Caracalla* and *Diocletian*, as well as the *Arches of Titus* and *Constantine*, the *Basilica of Maxentius* and the *Temples of Vesta*, *Janus*, *Septimius 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.

Now quarters and new roads were built, not without notable works of art (such as the *Esedra*, 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

Read you must Principal Chaudhuri's **LINGUA INDICA REVEALED** Rs. 8-4 as., (Thacker Spink), to know all the dialects and scripts of India, how they differ, yet how they are basically similar, how lingual separatism is checked and national language and national solidarity are strengthened, to restore India's forgotten glory. Indispensable to all cultural institutions in Free India, so long fed by alien misinterpretations. Write: **LIFE EDUCATION SERVICE OF INDIA**, P.O. Raipur, M. P.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

333

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 *Fregene*, 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*, *Marina*, 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.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



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 2400 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-

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167C, 167C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCTION) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/2, RASHBINARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA - PHONE: P.K. 4466
TELEPHONE: 34-1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

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 Roughead, 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

Dhole & Co. RINGWORM-ECZEMA OINTMENT
BARNAGORE-CALCUTTA



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

SRI DURGA
By Bireschandra Ganguly

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



1954

VOL. LXXXXVI, No. 5

WHOLE No. 575

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 biassed 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?

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.

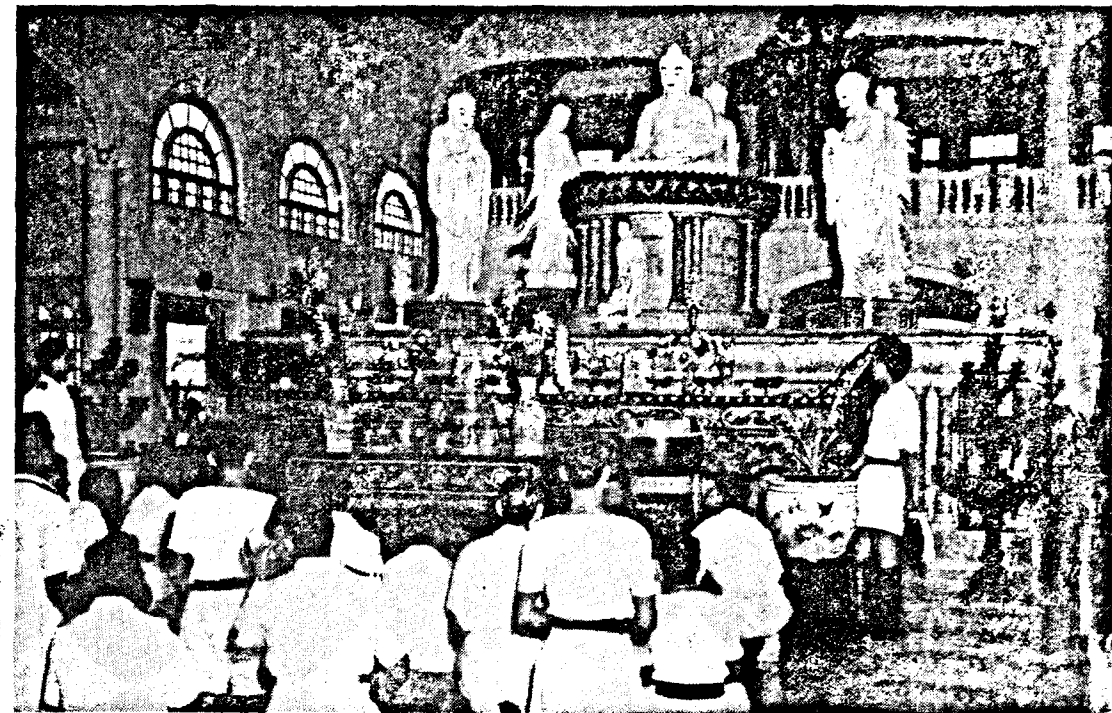
SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMME

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

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

Hindustan 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 instructions 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 "neutrality" has been 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 200,000 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 Sabib, 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 23, "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. Gzdar 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. Hoshim 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 Assembly 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 over-population 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 dealt 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 managerial 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 intimated Dr. Kumarappa that the Swedish embassy would instruct their Stockholm office to permit Dr. Kumarrappa 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 "ease 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 Serajevo, 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 agreements 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 favourable 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
UNICEF Aid	3.318
World Bank Loan	33,000 (£17.43 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 (Garp Hills) 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, Garo Hills 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 25, 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. Thanha, B.A.; Mr. Saprawnga, B.A., Mr. Laibuana 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 demagogy 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 demagogy and fascism."

The "Free Asia" Committee

The Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Asia is an international organisation 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 *sannyasins*." 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 civilisation." 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 diserve 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. Jai Cooper, editor of the *India's Stamp Journal*, traces the history of the philatelic magazines and philatelic 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*

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS,

Department of History, Columbia University and Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University, New York City.

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.

* A public lecture delivered during the summer sessions of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu on July 13, 1954.

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

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—specially 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 my 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—specially 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 Czechoslovakia, 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 India and China.

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 regime 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 a 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's 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 Adla 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.

—:O:—

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 money-lenders. 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 a 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.* 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.*

	Simple interest secured 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 18 annual rests	14 with annual rests..	..
The Central Provinces Usurious Loans 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, 1938 (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 loans 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. C. 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:⁴³

(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 Deccan 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.⁴⁴

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:⁴⁵

(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 1938 was

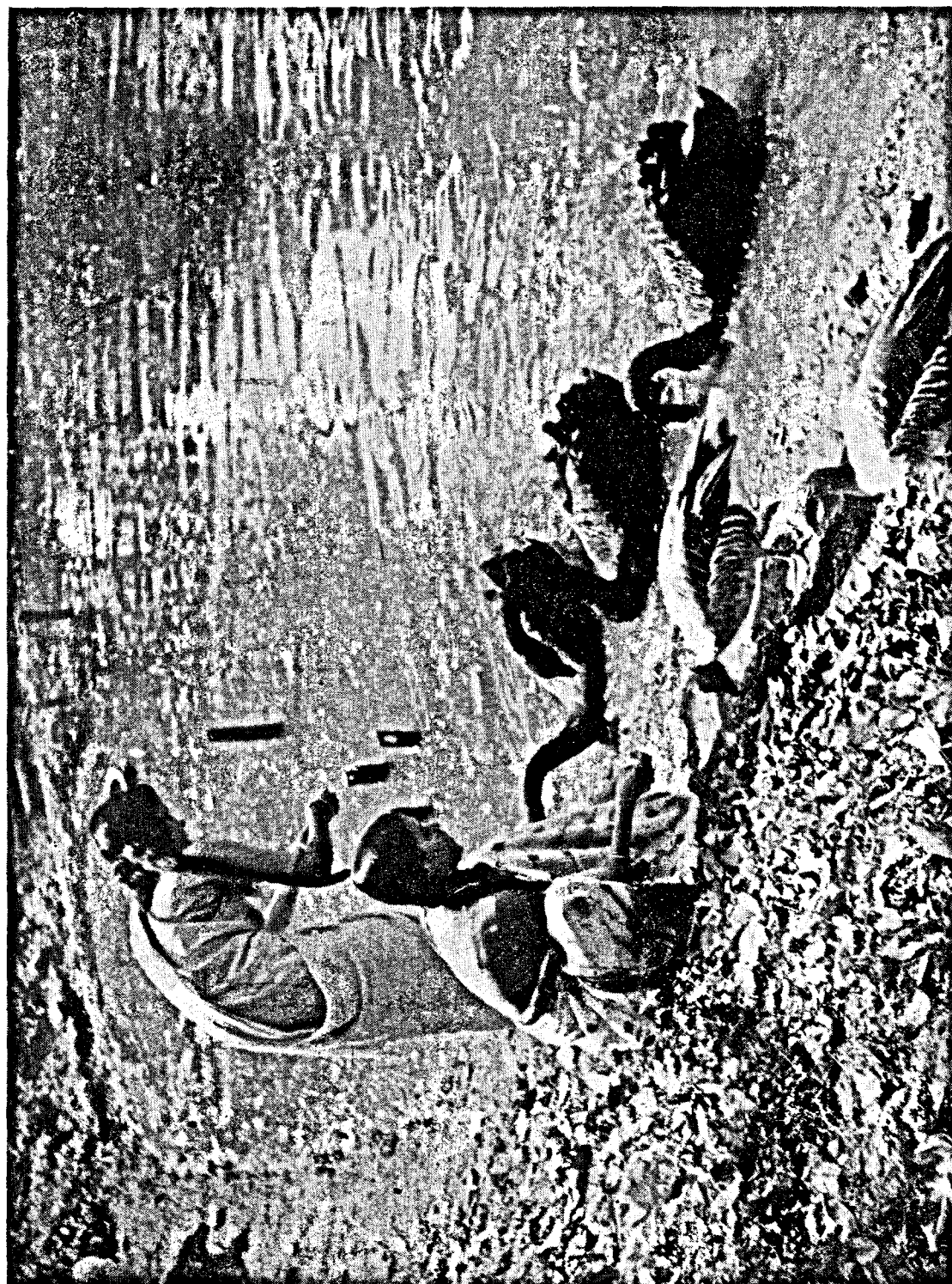
43. *Ibid.*

44. *Agrarian Reforms Committee Report*, p. 94.

45. *Report of the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee*, p. 23.



On the Village Road
Photo by Parimal Gowami



Feeding the Swans
Photo by Farinal 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 Regulation 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.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(II) Fundamental Rights

By D. N. BANERJEE,

*Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science,
University of Calcutta*

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 held⁷ 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

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.

8. Quoted by Cooley from *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. III, p. 201.

See *Ibid.*, p. 366a.

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. 367a; 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. 1103a.

13. See Story, *op.cit.*, Sections 1863-1868.

14. *I.e.*, England.

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 defeating the Constitution," yet, "so far as the objection was well founded in fact, it was right to remove it by subsequent amendments; 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. 507.

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. 418.

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 those

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 Governments 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," 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 Part²⁸ 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.

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.*

"(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

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. 191-98.

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."

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.

"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 *Shepard 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 if therefore, an act was done before the commencement

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 India 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. Kanis 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."⁴²

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."⁴³

Fazl Ali J. held:⁴⁴

"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:⁴⁵

"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

42. See *ibid.*

43. See *ibid.*

44. See *ibid.*

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 141⁴⁶ 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 Basu⁴⁷ 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."⁴⁸ 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 held⁴⁹ 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)⁵⁰ 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:⁵¹

"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:⁵²

"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. 603.

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.

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.

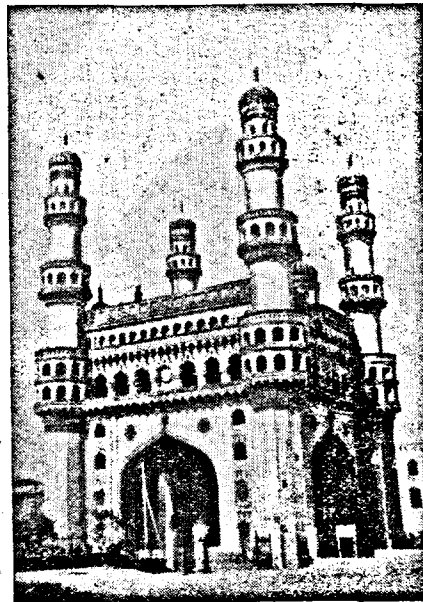
—:O:—

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.

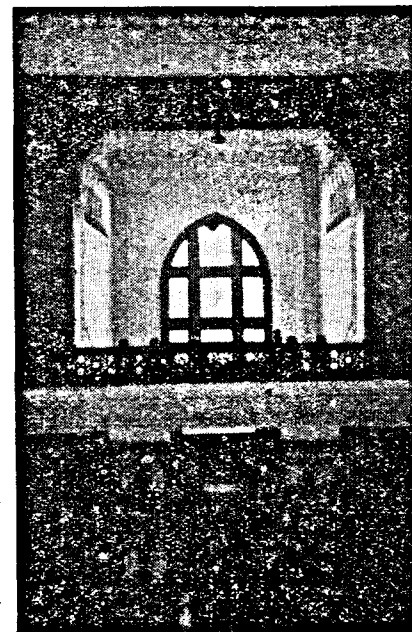
a place must naturally be full of strange events and remarkable achievements. The chivalrous kings of old have left for us scores of inspiring works of art and sculpture which speak eloquently of their creators. Hyderabad has often been referred to as the meeting-place of different cultures and creeds 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



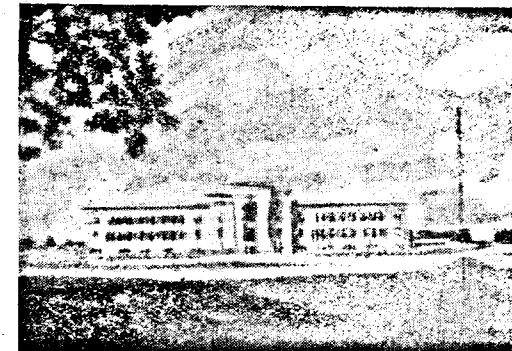
An inside view of the University

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

HYDERABAD: CITY OF PROMISE

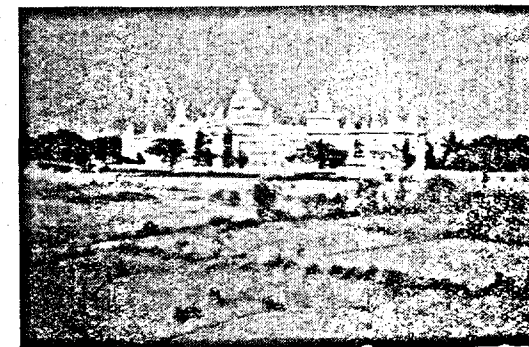
remains of Golconda Fort, in the proximity of the city, bring to our minds the heart-breaking stories and legends attached to it.

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



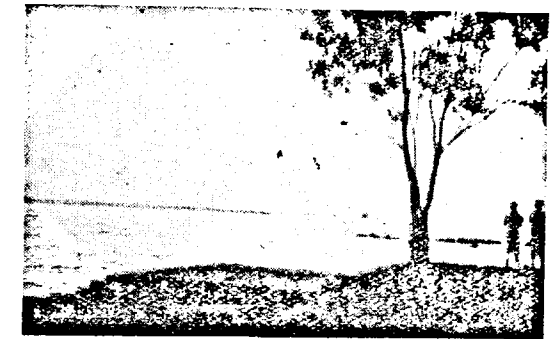
The Osmania University

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

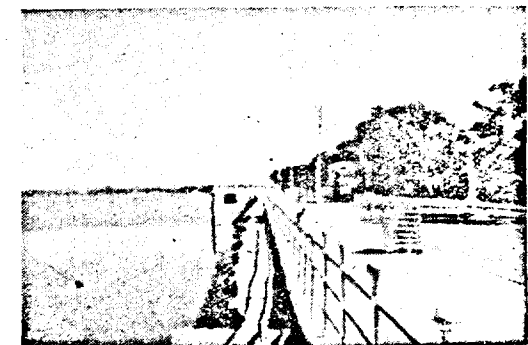
In these days of a general deterioration in the fields of architecture and sculpture, which seem to be the virtual monopoly of the masters of the past, we have to be contented with works of a comparatively lesser skill and inferior quality. Among the worthy constructions of the Modern Age, the Osmania University should be named first. Every visitor has spoken



The Osman Sagar

Madina Building and the Legislative Assembly are all excellent structures of the present day.

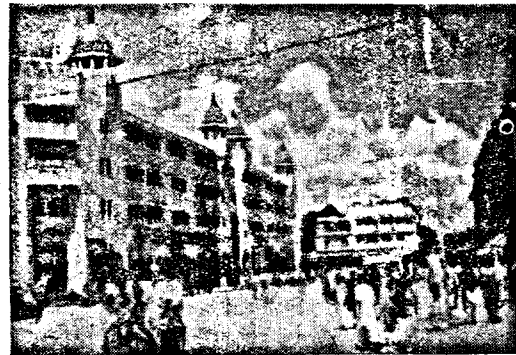
The Osmania University, existing since 1918, is unique in the sense that it was the first institution to impart its education in Urdu, an Indian language. It was certainly a bold experiment which proved a success. Since the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union, the face and the working conditions 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.



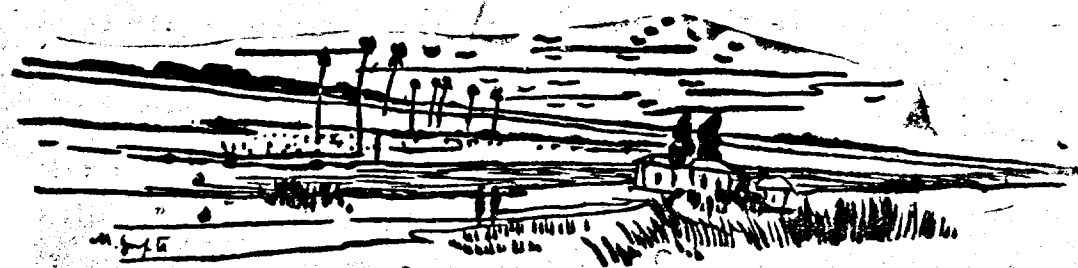
A street scene at Hyderabad

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

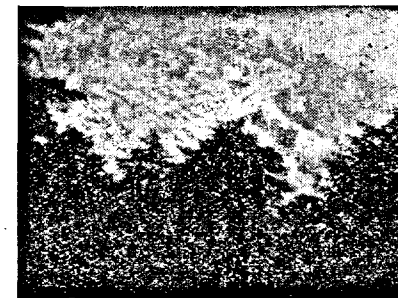
While the city is overcrowded with a suffocating atmosphere, it is justly proud of possessing some beautiful lakes in its vicinity. These are the blessed spots to which the tired folk turn up for recreation and a holiday-change. The Osman Sagar, popularly known as Gandipet, with its green parks touching 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

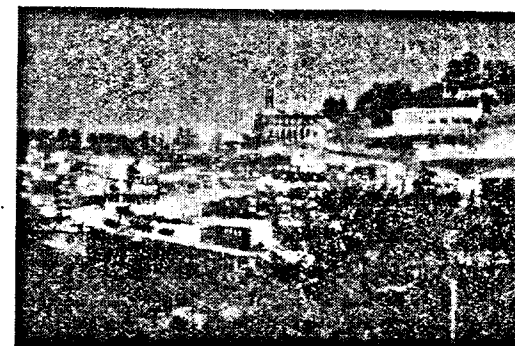
A visit to Simla, specially in summer, is certainly one that a tourist must long for, in view of its fine hill climate. The picturesque mountainous scenery of Simla is really enchanting. To me Simla appeared to be dreamy. The lofty Himalayan ranges seem to beacon travellers from the plains for a halt 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 20-23 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

and the fares for Inter and Third classes are Rs. 71-1-9 and Rs. 40-10-9 respectively. For breakfast, lunches and dinners the railway catering arrangements are quite satisfactory though somewhat expensive.

The journey to Simla covers two stages, viz., Howrah to Kalka and Kalka to Simla, the latter portion covering a hill journey of 60 miles on a meter-



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



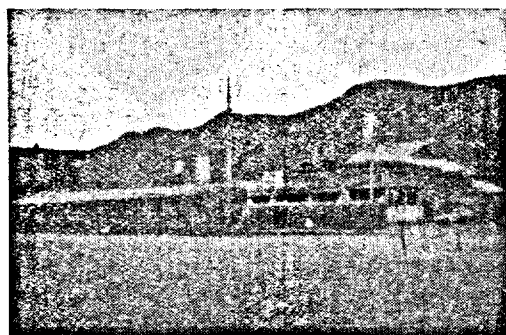
Fog over Simla during monsoon

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.



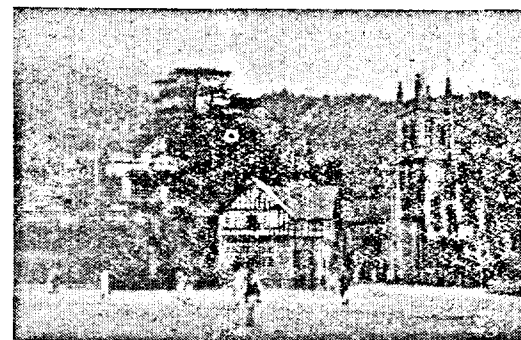
A street scene on the Mall, Simla

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.

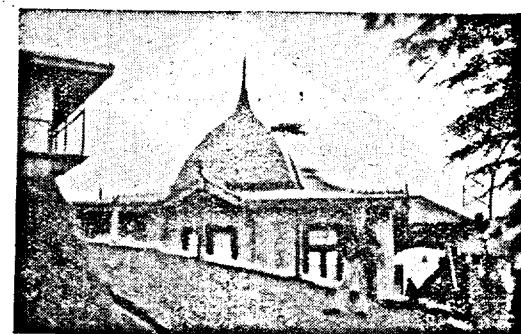
Rice has been derationed at Simla. The best Basmati rice sells at Re. 1-2 per seer now. Most of the vegetables are available between six to ten annas a seer. Potato sells at annas six a seer and

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.

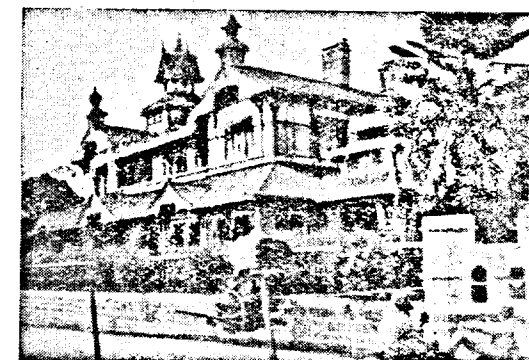


Front view of the Simla Kali-Bari Temple

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.

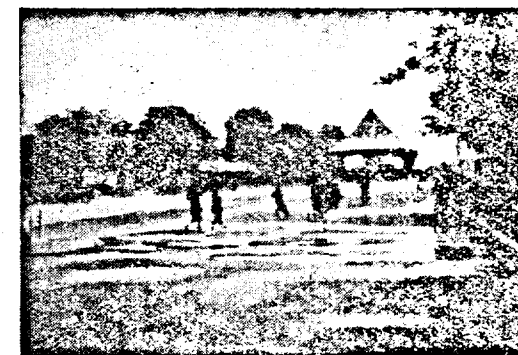
The rickshaw is the common conveyance used in Simla. The charges for a rickshaw are one rupee and annas eight for the first mile and annas twelve for each of the succeeding miles. The Simla rickshaw is an object of curiosity to a newcomer to Simla. The body of the rickshaw looks like a small phaeton 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.

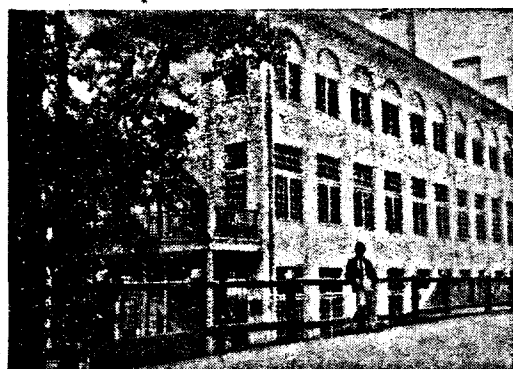
At the base of the Jakoo Hill is the Ridge with Band Stand where stands a life-size portrait of the Father of the Nation. Bapuji looks on affectionately, as it were, at his beloved children and puts this question to everybody: "Do you love me? If so, follow the path of truth and non-violence and make India happy and prosperous."



The Hotel Cecil, Simla

At dawn the hills and the houses seem to peep out of the pine groves and the fuming smokes issuing out of every house herald the time for breakfast and tea. The music from the band of the Western Commands 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

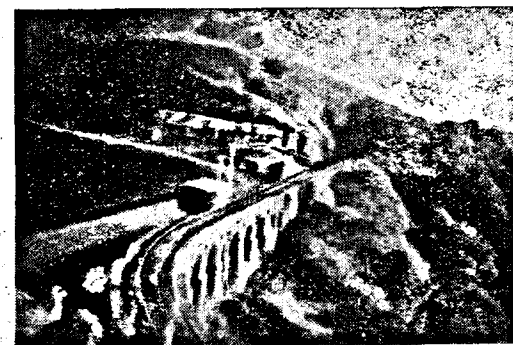


A train entering Simla Station

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 amusements 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



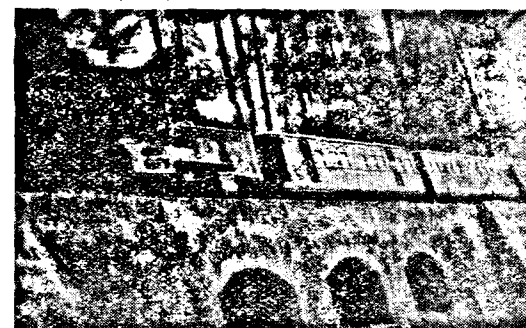
The Card Road and the Railway Track following each other

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

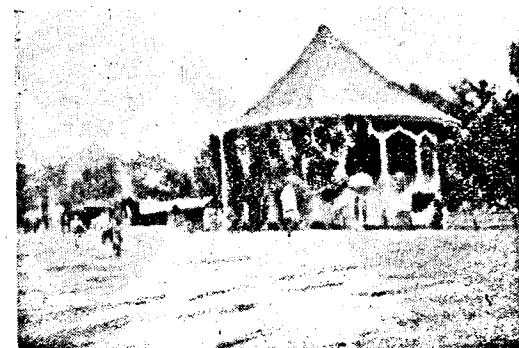
fine temple on a hill top on the Mall Road. I had an occasion to witness "Kedar Rai" staged with spectacular success by the Kishore Sangha. The big assemblage of the Bengalis was, indeed, a surprise to me.

The Simla Kalibari was founded in the year 1823. To know the historical background of the



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

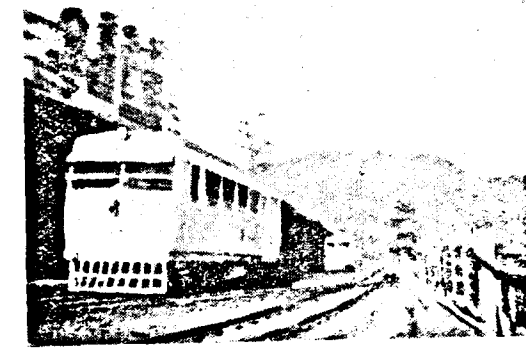
After the Gurkha War, the victorious British snatched this hilly tract of Simla from Nepal early in the nineteenth century, and gave it to the then Maharaja of Patiala as a gift for his co-operation with the British. The place soon became famous as a fine health resort very much liked by the Europeans. 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 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

baggages after handing over the Railway receipt for the same. Then we hired a porter who carried our baggages and walked along with us to our respective



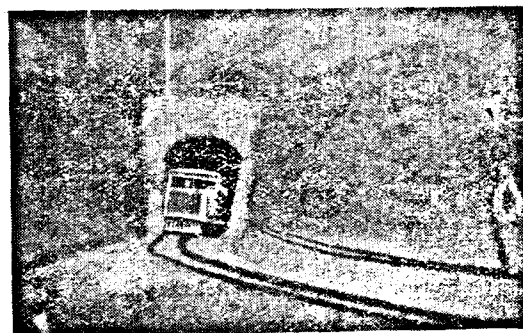
A narrow gauge Kalka-Simla train entering a tunnel near Sogi Railway Station

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."

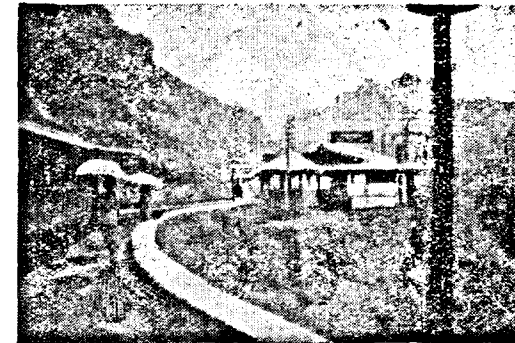
I would like to give below a short narration of our excursions to the Jakoo Hill and the Prospects Hill, specially as these would be of great interest for every



A Rail Motor (petrol-driven) is seen leaving the tunnel No. 103 near Simla

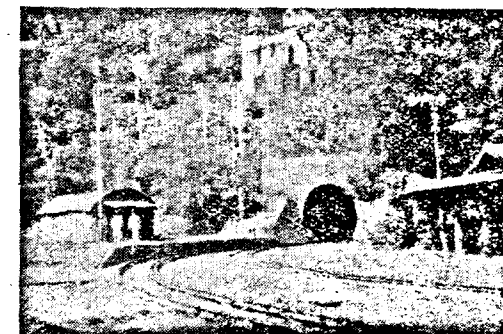
visitor to Simla. On Sunday, the 21st June, 1954, my friend Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, (Government of India) invited me to join an excursion to the Jakoo Hill. I gladly agreed. Our party consisted of Shri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers,

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

Joytsi 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.

—O—

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.



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,

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.

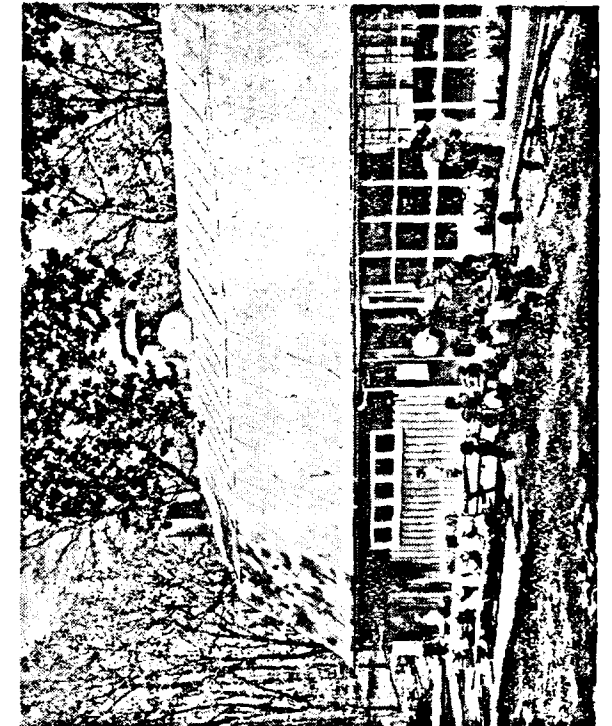
The people who founded the school a few years ago are

families of modest means, the men being for the most part employed in professional or scientific work for the Government. As city and suburban

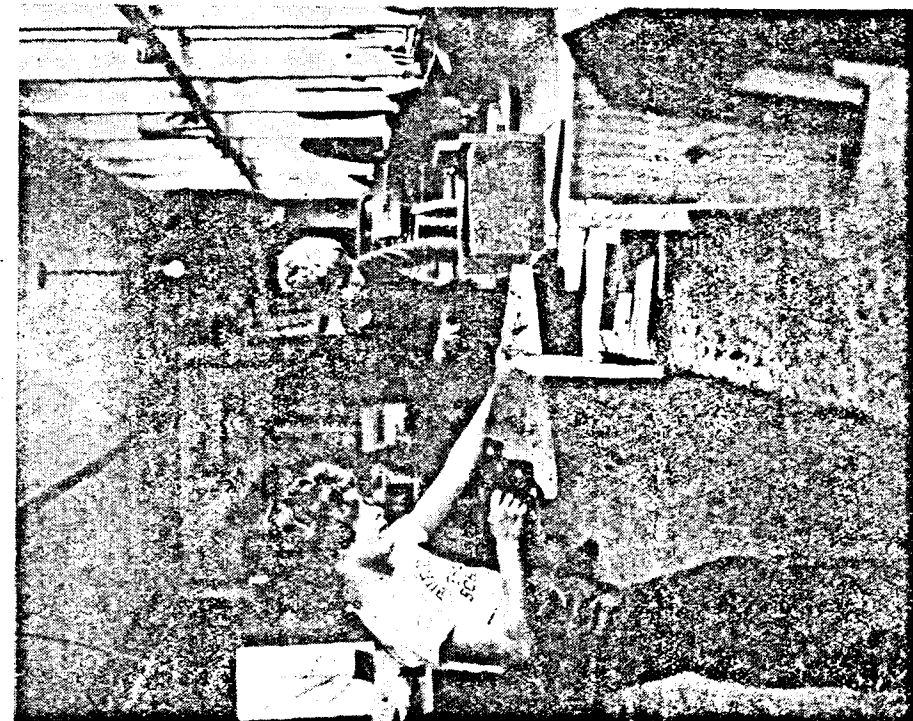
PARENTS CO-OPERATE TO . . . INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



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 have 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 Oriental 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 quandary, 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.

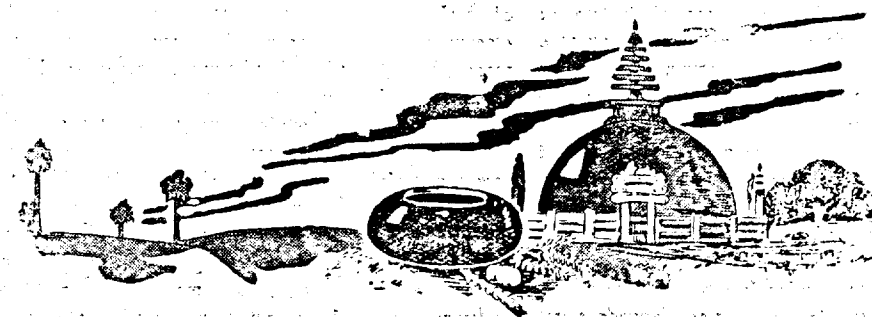
There are many other factors of collegiate and university education which need be taken into consideration in connection with the lowering of the standard of education offered in these institutions. It is common knowledge that in British Universities students maintain

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 sitting or concentration of industries in different places. It is popularly thought to mean the concentration of some 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 factors also undergo constant change and as such what factors 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 for 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 take 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 *jalahas* 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 dispersal, 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 interfering 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 bettering 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.

Lecturer in History, Agra University,

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 Yajnavalkya 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 namrita shyang kimhang 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 purushoayamebo sha joayamatma. Idam Anritam. 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 a.mapaya nivarate.*"

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* we read:

"He (God) performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas* He created all these." "*Sa tapo tapyaa, 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." "*Katang baatishyami 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. *Aitareyupanishad* (CH IV, SEC. I).

7. *Sutta Nipata* (Suvasita 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 *slokas* end with the phrase: *Om shanti*. Let us take up the famous *sloka*:

"*Om dvau shanti, antarikshah shanti, prithibih shanti, apah shanti, oshadhayah 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*, Philipians, 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 Cosement 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 Oshpe 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 feat 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, 543, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 267. 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 Amaram Chemsardas 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 Gaekwad 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.

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

::

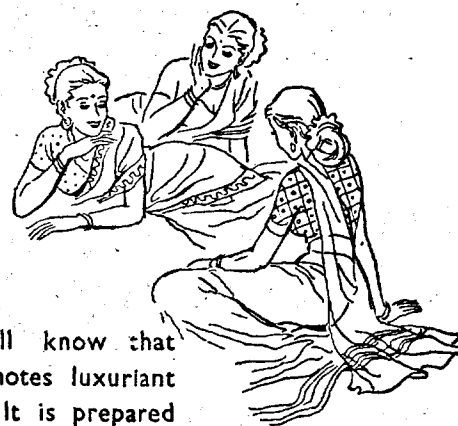
Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

Wherever they meet...

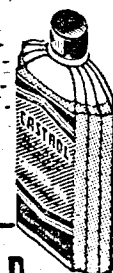
They discuss about Calchemico's **CASTOROL**,
the delicately perfumed Castor Oil.



Because, they all know that **CASTOROL** promotes luxuriant tresses of hair. It is prepared from refined castor oil. Its sweet fragrance imparts delightfulness.

In 5 & 10 oz. fancy phials.

Ask for "Kesh Paricharya" leaflet.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LD.

CALCUTTA-29

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.

JUST OUT!

The most important book yet written about...

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA PATRIOT-PROPHET

By BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, A.M. (Brown), Dr.Phil. (Hamburg)

The authoritative historical study of Swamiji's life delineated from a new angle of vision—with infinite care and tender love.

Swami Vivekananda's role in making of Modern India and awakening the national spirit, is worth investigation. The teaching of Swami Vivekananda influenced all the progressive movements that bloomed forth after his demise. Documentary evidences bearing testimonies to that influences and glimpses of Sister Nivedita and other disciples of Swamiji have been given in this book.

With a number of Photographs, facsimiles of Swamiji's father and mother's hand-writing.

Demy 8vo. size. 450 pages. Price: Rs. 10/-

Published by

NABABHARAT PUBLISHERS

153-1, Radhabazar Street, Calcutta

Also to be had at:

RAMAKRISHNA VEDANTA MATH

19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta

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 converted 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.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



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.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Oh. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

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



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG

CALCUTTA

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 beneficial 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

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE CALCUTTA
TELEPHONE: 34-1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

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-

DHOLE & CO. RINGWORM-ECZEMA OINTMENT.
BARNAGORE-CALCUTTA

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.

HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED
4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

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 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 Zafrulla 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



MAHAKAL—THE LORD OF ETERNITY
By Priyaprasad Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Supplement to "The Modern Review," December, 1951

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing number before the 28th instant by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

Manager, THE MODERN REVIEW.

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

DECEMBER



1954

VOL. LXXXXVI, No. 6

WHOLE No. 576

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 all Communists and had built up their country after a 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 and understood 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.

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 any body 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

'puppets' of Britishers and were siding with 'America' war politics.

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 Communist 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 socialist 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 wholesome 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 furor 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 "Moon-lighters" 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 McCannville 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 paidup 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." (*Bombay 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 'conspiring 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, 11,000 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 this 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 260 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 cultivable 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 this 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."

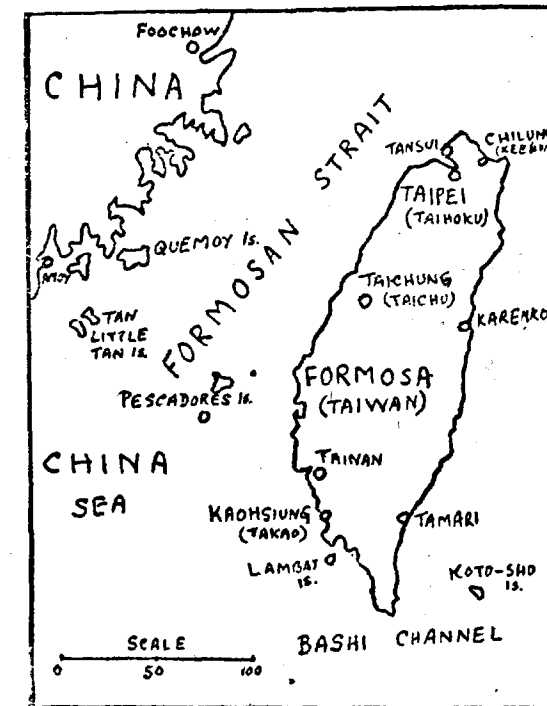
But, before this offer was issued, without securing clearance from Washington, the Truman administration had already handed to its Allies maintaining forces in Korea a proposed statement of war aims. It was said to be the purpose of this statement to bring about a new approach to a cease-fire. And, late 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 Ilutmiash were destroying thousands of temples in the country, Sarangadeva of Gujarat was, with the blessings of the head of the shrine of Somnath, giving a grant to a Muslim for building a *masjid* (Sanskritisation 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.

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.'

—:O:—

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

"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.

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.

—:O:—

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-

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.¹ 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.*

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 Baniyas 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.*

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

3. Famine Enquiry Commission, 1945.

4. Jathar and Beri: *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, pp. 257-58.

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 1930, 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.' 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 Anjaris: *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, Kahar, 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

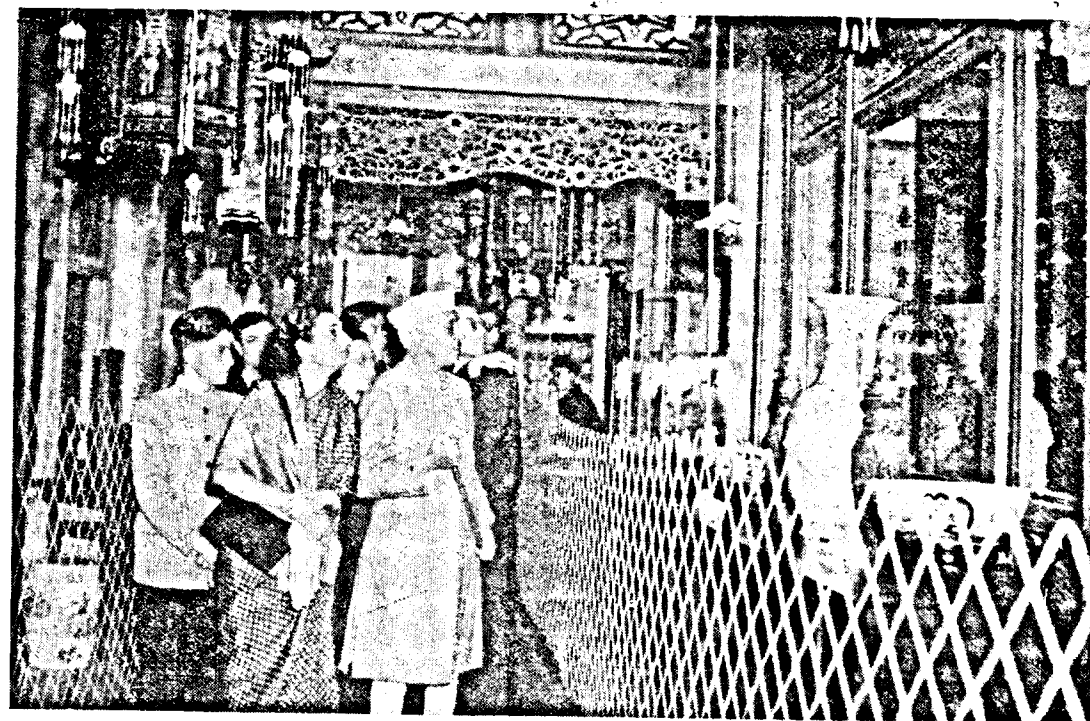
the majority of agriculturists of even the existing facilities for credit long before any alternative could be arranged. The Committee have not suggested any scheme of alternative supply of rural credit to the non-members and non-creditworthy agriculturists, nor have they defined the term, 'creditworthiness'—whether 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 INDIGENOUS BANKERS

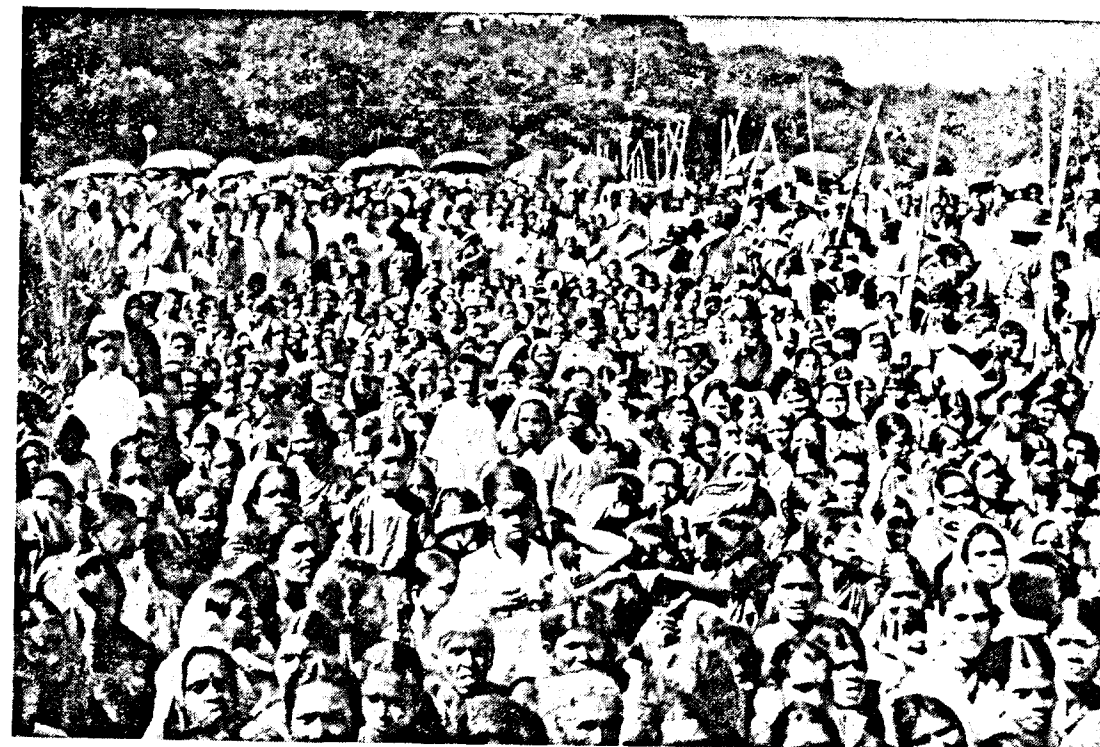
The indigenous bankers usually finance agricultural operations not directly, but only through local lenders and traders. They belong to distinct castes and undertake banking as a family business. The Jains, the Marwaris, the Chettis, the Khatrias, and the Shikarpuri Multanis are principal castes engaged 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

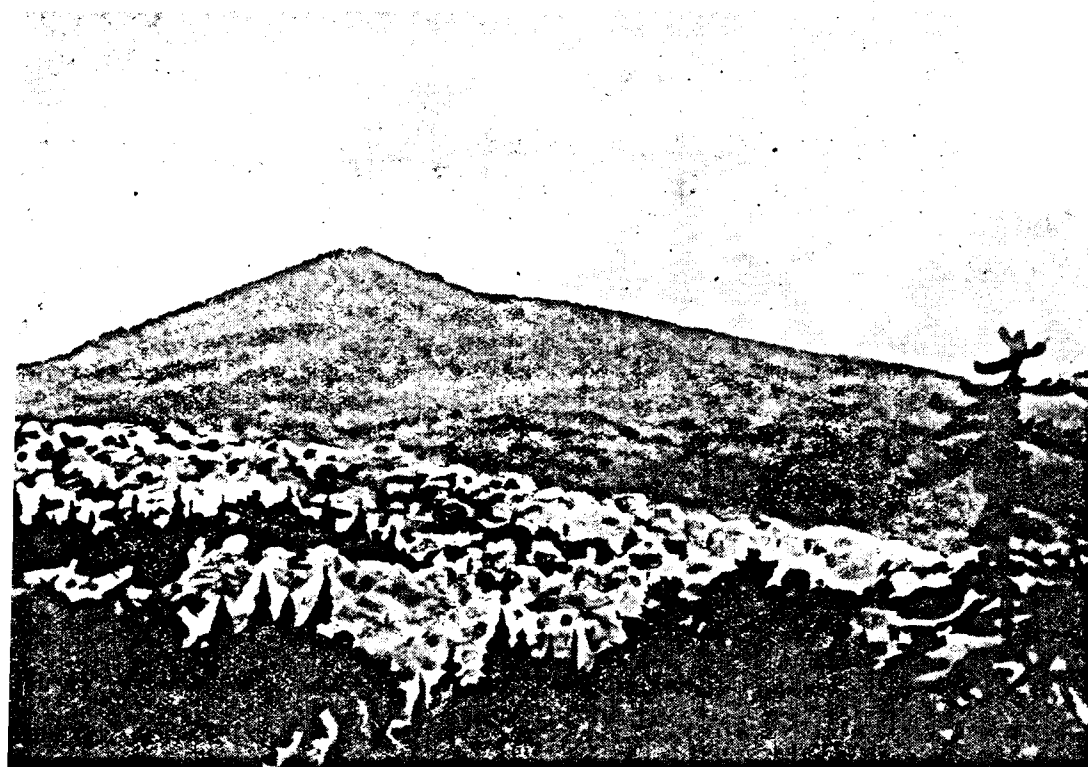
The Commercial Banks of India have hitherto figured little so far as their direct participation in the rural credit system is concerned. The joint stock banks in the country do not look upon agricultural finance as part of their business. Even in the advanced countries of the West, also, the Ordinary 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



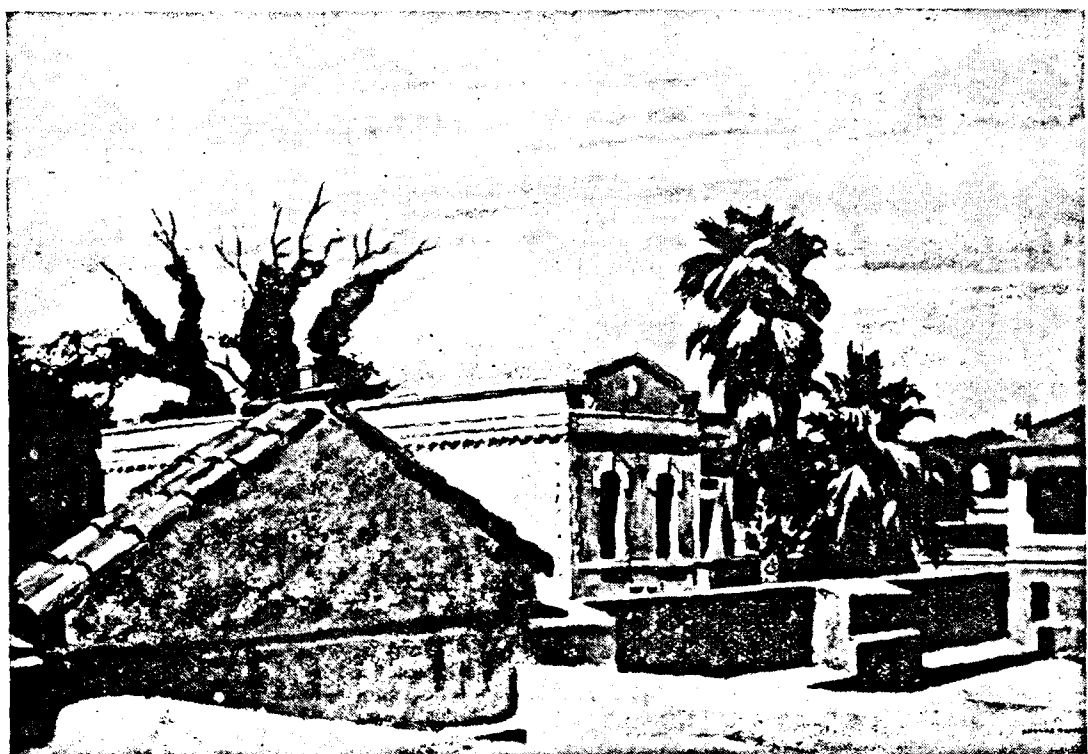
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited the famous Summer Palace in Peking. Srimati Indira Gandhi is also seen in the picture



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 McTurnan 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 diverse (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

RISE AND FULFILMENT OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

459

(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 jailed, 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 PKI 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 reaction 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 Muhammadiyah, 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 Muhammadiyah "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 Rakyat 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—Sutan 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 Parindra 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

* 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 Native Land 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 Matarum* 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).

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.

Sutan 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.B.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 bureaus 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-

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.

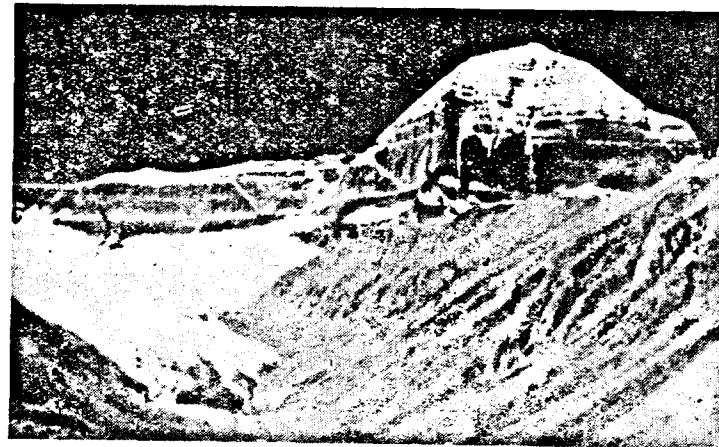
"We need more than anything else something to create a sense of a city, a feeling of unity and dependence, of common obligation and purpose."

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.



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

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

KAILAS AND MANASA-SAROVAR

467

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

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 80 forts and 80 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



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. 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,

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 Bhavli 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

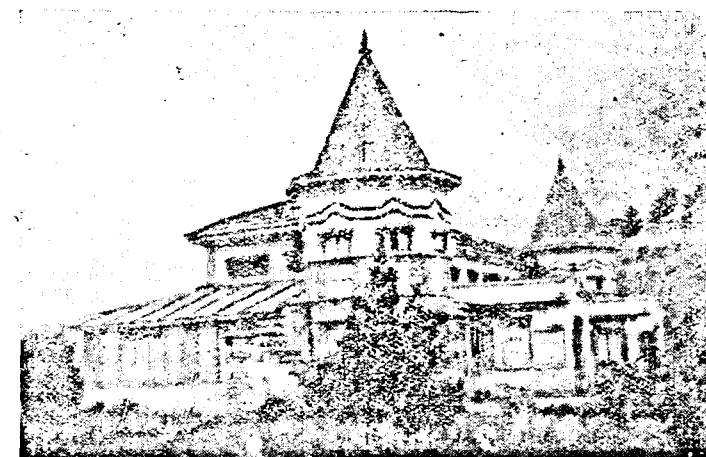
We left Garbyang on the 10th at about noon after arranging for fresh transport and reached a camping ground called Kalapani (11 miles) by evening. We crossed the Kali river to its left bank, a small Nepal territory for about six miles. By a big spring gushing out of huge boulders near Kalapani. The spring is dedicated to Goddess Kali and hence the place is called Kalipani 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

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



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



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, Commander-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 Gumpa 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 54 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 Mandinta 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 Gumpa from our camp was Thugolho Gumpa where two of our party stayed behind for doing the Kailas *parikrama* (circumambulation). Near this Gumpa, a sacrificial platform (*Yajna-Vedi*) has been built by Swami Pranavanand and *havana*

is performed there on Sri 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 Pithoragad-Tanakpur 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 Kodalikar, Arun Photo House, Miraj)

—:O:—

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

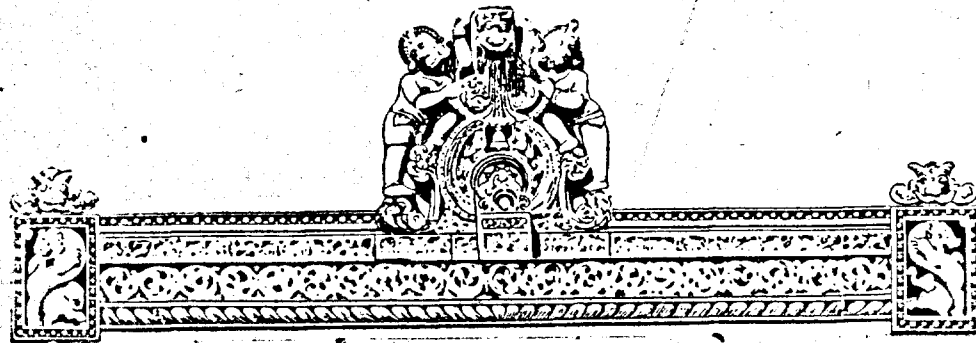
the cultivation of her own garden. The mouse and the mole loosened up the soil, the deer raked it with their antlers, and the ducks and geese and blackbirds picked harmful insects off the plants.

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 Azhakiemandapam 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

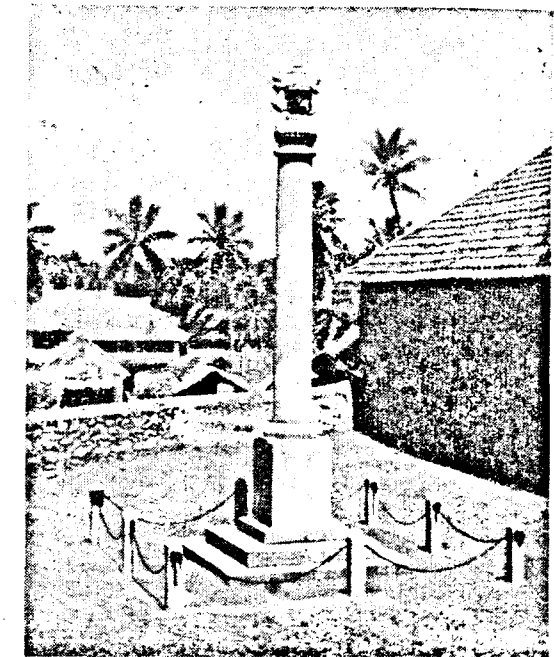
The *Vasantamandapam* in the old Eraniel Palace is the most famous and sacred part of the Palace, for here is the stone bedstead from where, according to tradition, Bhaskara Ravi Varma, the last and greatest of the celebrated Cheraman Perumals, Rulers of Kerala, ascended to heaven with his physical body. 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).

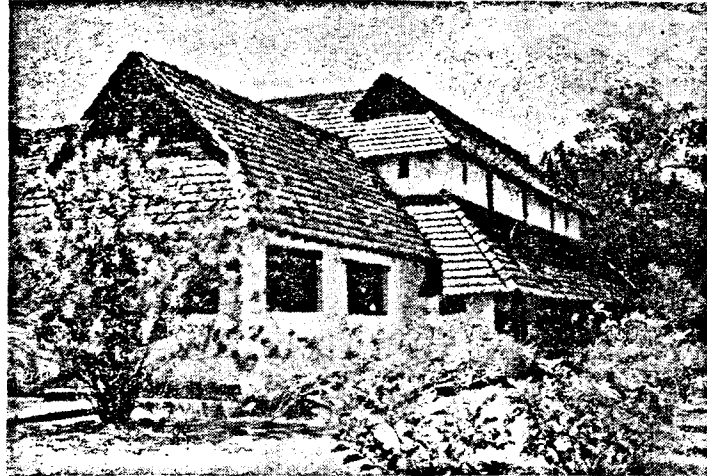
After making the necessary arrangements for the administration of his kingdom, one day he left his Capital with his Guru. His intentions were closely guarded. There is a legend that when the Cheraman Perumal came to a place called Cherianad in Central Travancore, a serpent was noticed coiled up in his 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 PORT

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 Beneditine 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 Aiyan 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 Elayadthu 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.

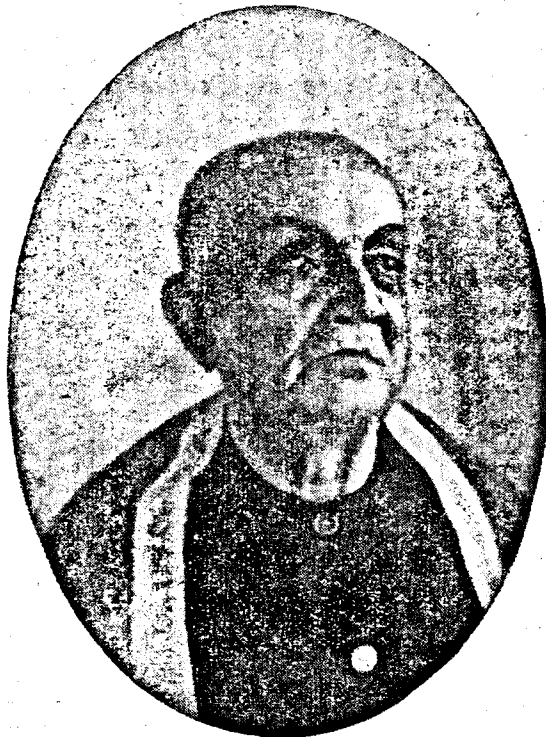
This foreign-born Commander of the Travancore Army served Maharaja Marthanda Varma for seventeen years, and with equal zeal and fidelity served his successor Maharaja Rama Varma for nineteen years. After thirty-seven years of devoted and strenuous service under two of the greatest Rulers of Travancore, 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 CULT OF SWADESHI

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

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



Bholanath 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 habilitments, 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 goods 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

THE CULT OF SWADESHI

479

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 Chaudhuri) 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 fortyfour 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:

—:O:—

THE AMERICAN WATERCOLOUR EXHIBITION IN CALCUTTA

THE American Watercolour Exhibition, consisting of the works of seven noted American artists, viz., Winslow 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

"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.

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 1916, 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 earthy, 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, Keshub 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 imbecile and dullard, it is a weapon of the brave, strong and able-bodied person. It is not an abstract and impractical ideal, not an unrealisable 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

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 lilted 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 cyprean 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, André 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 1949, 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.

—:O:—

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 1890, materials have been accumulating for the study of the origin and history of the Indian drama and Indian theatre, and various scholars (Schuyler, Pischel, Keith, Luders, Coomaraswamy, Mankad, 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-

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 Bapuji 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 fissiparous 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.

—:O:—

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.

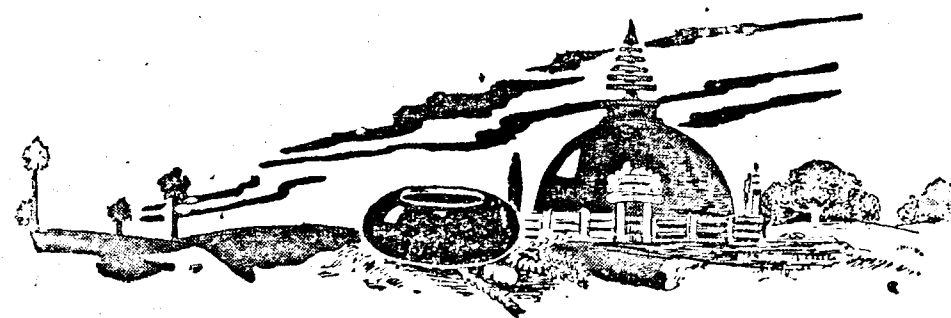
There are cross-currents of country politics. In villages many leaders will have to face stern realities. They must not be lost in the labyrinths of village politics. Project workers and social education workers will have to inspire people by identifying themselves with the villagers and making the villagers' 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.



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.I.A.*, June 1942). It is not clear if the author had studied the text of the *Natyashastra*. 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" (*Natyashastra*, 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 sirsa* 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-badha 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 Banarsidas, Post Box No. 75, Benares, 194. 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. Poidar, 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.

Reviewed by 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. 288. 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.

SUDHANU BIMAL MOOKERJEE
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 Komola Villa, Kuradong, D. H. Rhy. Pp. 185. 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 Maharsi 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. Vêrmandir, 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 decry 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 economics, 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 Kitabs 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, Sarvanalli 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 *Smmatitarka-prakarana-tika* (p. 712, l. 19) and the recently pub-

lished *Pramanavartikalamkara* (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, Nyayabhusana, 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 Kashtra. 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., *Virumadhana* (p. 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. Raniit 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 Unthinkable* and *The Ape 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, Jammianagar, 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. 1-8.

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 BALAVU: By Rao Sahab Purushottam Jagdishhai 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 Sanatanist 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 8 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 Madhavitirtha 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.

Just out!

Just out!

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

Price Re. 1/12/-

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

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 curtailed 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 Carpini 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 Manji 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 everything 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 aloe-wood to the Khakhan."

He did not comment upon the long Hindu ascendancy in Champa, so recently ended, nor the sculptured ivories of the land but he did remark that its wide forests were the source of ebony chessmen. He sailed on southward, apparently missing Cambodia with the

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 Barthelemy, 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.

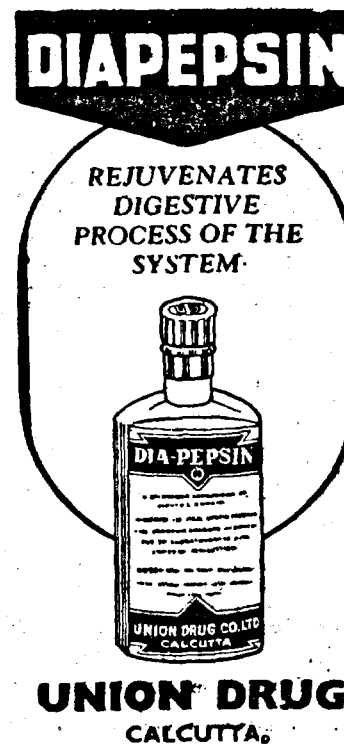
Marco Polo's long account of Sagamani Borcan is, so far as it goes, singularly faithful. He did not succeed in explaining to Europe that the Buddha had founded a faith that was distinct from Hinduism; but he did in his way grasp the distinction that the Buddha was a man-made god and not a god in origin; 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 Hidustan 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 sunrise," 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 Muthli, 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 alchemist's 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.



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

Thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged 17th edition of A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE & OFFICE COMPENDIUM by Tripurari Saran of U.P. Secretariat is available. 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.

Pages 1200. Price Rs. 11, postage extra.

Can be had from all leading booksellers, or

T. S. SRIVASTAVA,

71, Mahesh Prasad Street, Molviganj, LUCKNOW

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 millions of Btu	Aggregate efficiency of the energy system p.c.	Annual output of Btu per capita	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.,

9.7. 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 the 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 arouses 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 forever, 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.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kaviraj, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji!

WONDERFUL TALISMANS

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothchild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha : To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in service and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 24-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha** : Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 367-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha** :—It cures barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha** :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request.

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence : 50/2, Dharamtola Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhawan" (Wellington Sq Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone : 24-4065. Consultation hours : 3 P.M. to 5 P.M.
Branch 105 Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 8-30—11 A.M. Phone : B.B. 3685.
Central Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065. Hours 6-30—7-0 P.M.
LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.



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 Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, forming the Federal State.

The highness 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 chapter 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.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlal Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| | Majumdar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted

Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum

Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

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 or 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 desolateness 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 kinsfolk 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.

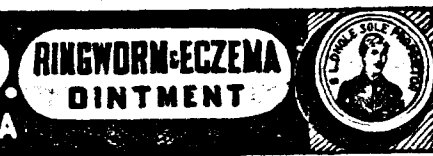
Even in ancient times, in the long ago world of Egypt and Babylonia, in the classic world of Greece and Rome, we were a unique people on earth. We learned much from our neighbors, we took more than a little from them, but we retained our uniqueness and differences.

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



DHOLE & CO.
BARNAGORE-CALCUTTA



RINGWORM-ECZEMA OINTMENT



AMRUTANJANI
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!



RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJANI LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893

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—Chinaman 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 are acquired by India. And we have no restrictions on imports of foreign equipment for investment purposes."

Deshmukh said total investment of foreign capital in India from 1942 to the end of 1953 amounted to \$280 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 very large fields left entirely to private enterprise."



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 153 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 6.05 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 Chingnai, 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 check 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, 2,763,149; Tientsin, 2,693,831; Shanghai, 6,204,417; Hopei Pro-

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, 5,808,822; 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, 30,843,637; Chekiang Province, 22,865,747; Fukien Province, 13,192,721; 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, 3,681,064; 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, 517,283,057; Mongolian, 1,462,956; Hui, 3,559,350; Tibetan, 2,775,622; Uighur, 3,640,125; 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 great force for Socialist construction," says Pai Chien-hua 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 an event 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 now 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 the entire Chinese people show that the birth rate in 1953 was 27 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, with completely eliminate unemployment and partial unemployment and ensure all people enjoyment of a happy life," the article concludes. *Hsinhua News*, November 1, 1954.

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris) Hon. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad

(with 80 rare illustrations)

Price: Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World

The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.

Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1 or 5 Dollars.
The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta

(3) New Asia

Price: Rs. 3/8/-

To be had of—

THE AUTHOR,

P-26, Raja Basanta Ray Road, Ballygunj,
CALCUTTA