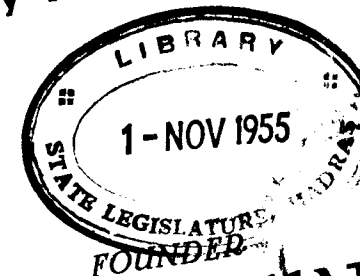


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United Nations Day was celebrated at the U.N. Headquarters recently. Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the current session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold arrive for the celebrations



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

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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

HAPPY HOME
By Ramesh Nath Chakravorty

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 wisacre 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. Yoshiki 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 against her. The attempt of the Americans to promote a new imperialist attempt of the Americans to promote a new imperialism 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

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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 handicrafts 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, the 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 internationalist 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 lakh 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. Kothavale 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 58,891 applications had been received in 1950-51 of which 7,106 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 16 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, 5 assistant engineers and 80 overseers."

Mr. U. Ba Sein, Chairman of the Electricity Supply Board of Burma and Mr. U. Tun Oha, 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 worker 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 operation 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 Bhushan 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 acknowledgment 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:

Value in Crores of Rupees

Year	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:

TABLE I
Comparative Ages

Age-groups	Congress	Parties of the Left	Others
20 to 25	1	—	6
25 to 30	9	3	5
30 to 35	35	11	5
35 to 40	42	16	8
40 to 45	46	13	9
45 to 50	60	9	8
50 to 55	90	5	5
55 to 60	39	6	2
60 to 65	24	4	2
65 to 70	7	1	—
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 termers 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 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 occupation 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 envied at. No particular training can produce the ideal legislator because he need not have perfect knowledge and expertness. He needs the

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.

SOURCES

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ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

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

student 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 examinations 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. "Morehas" 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 this 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

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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	Year	Km. Flown	Passenger Km. (in thousands)	Cargo ton Km.	Mail ton Km.
Australia	1939	13572	70771	1111	1111
"	1950	75167	1268689	12395	8143
Canada	1939	15482	53484	1411	623
"	1950	17123	857121	2078	6629
France	1939	11180	74221	823	1435
"	1950	18057	1117986	32615	14263
India	1939	2714	2159	28	329
"	1950	30104	375582	18157	4255
Netherlands	1939	9120	69222	1136	1750
"	1950	23663	772112	24334	7155
Thailand	1939	157	43	1.3	11.7
"	1950	2035	18552	430.2	48.9
U. K.	1939	18170	99714	1389	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. 11 crores towards the provision of aerodromes, hangers, 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 Rajadhyaksha 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 stabilisation 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 service 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, 1953, 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.

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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 harvesters, 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 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 Number of 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

1950 (when the number was 12), but again rose to 17 in 1951. On the whole therefore the frequency of strikes

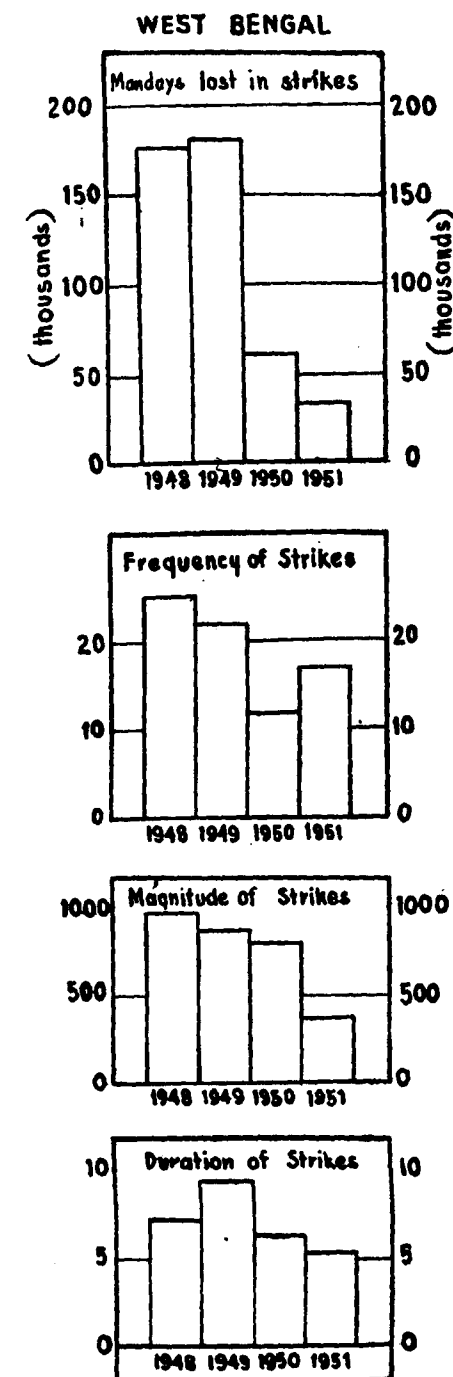


Chart I

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

WEST BENGAL

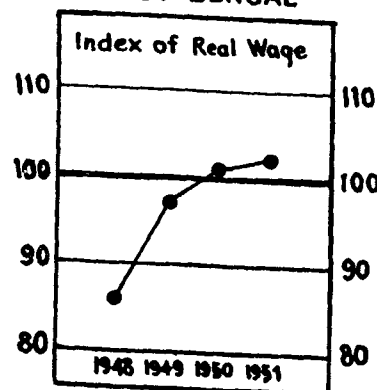


Chart II

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	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

WEST BENGAL

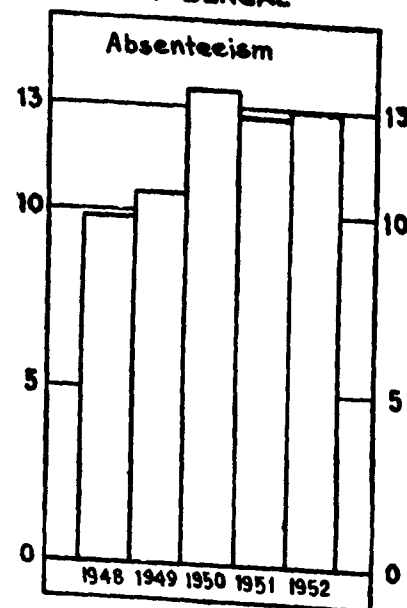


Chart III

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.

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

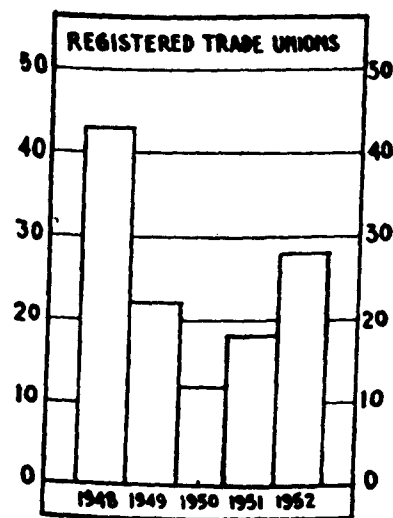
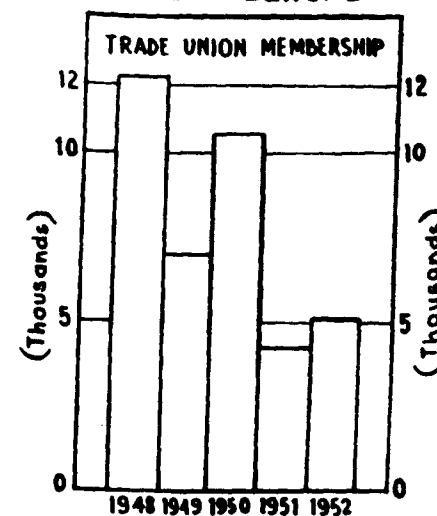


Chart IV

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, 888 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.

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

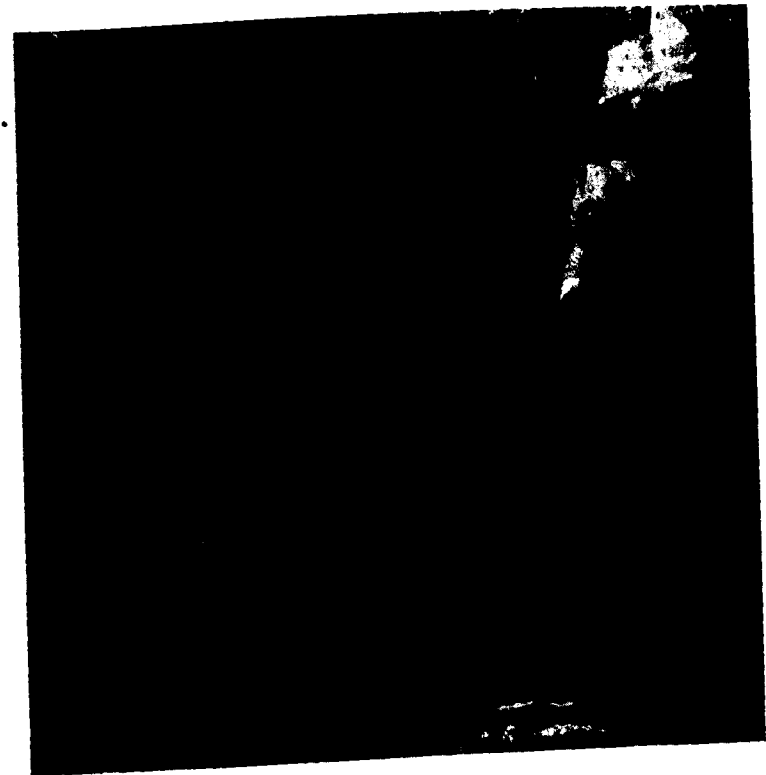
Jean Jacques Rousseau's picture of society. Its thinking culminates in the liberation of the Jewish people from the slavery of the towns and their accessories, commerce and finance.

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.

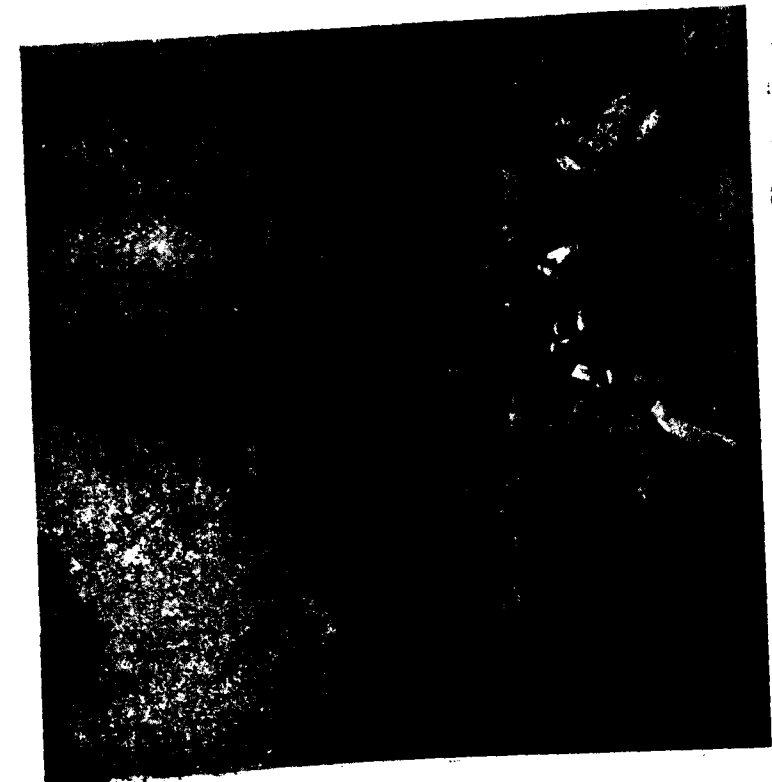
During the great time of the Kibbuzim, up to the 1914 World War, there were only two Kibbuzim: Daganian and Merchavia. Their great inspirer was Chaim Weizmann, who saw in them the means of a peaceful conquest of Palestine through Jewish labour. Weizmann succeeded in convincing the Capitalistic American 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

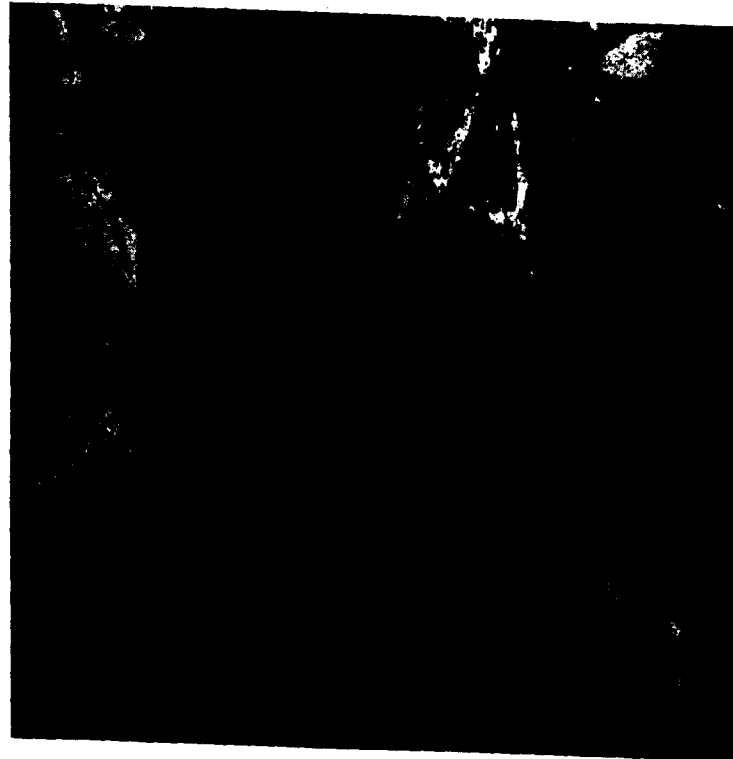
THE HOLY SHRINES OF THE HIMALAYAS



Kedarnath in view



Temple, Kedarnath
(Morning)



Samadhi of Srimat 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, Gasher 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. Gasher 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.

* *Op. Cit.*

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

† Lewis Mumford: *The Culture of Cities*.

aeopolis. 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,

flesh turned to ashes, life turned into a meaningless and in proportion its value diminishes. The crime, pillar of salt. insanity and suicide rates are much higher than for rural areas, and in large towns delinquency areas must inevitably pass through all these stages, he exist. There is greater life disorganisation, as has shows that we have had examples of each of these been pointed out earlier, and the loneliness of stages in the cities of the past including necropolis individual in spite of sheer number breeds pathological mental states. It, therefore, seems advisable in the form of Babylon and Nineveh. Most of the that an upper limit should be placed on the increase large cities in Europe and America have reached the of the cities, and that vast human agglomerations stage of megalopolis and in Fascist countries, they and conurbations producing unhealthy biological and had attained the stage of tyrannopolis. mental conditions should not be allowed to develop unhindered.

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

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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 Kuppaswamy 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

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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 unconventionality, 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.

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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

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 *Navarah* 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 Phalguna 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 story?

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 Verlog, 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 *luga*, 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 *luga* is about 16 *haths* 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 aboriginals 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 specialties 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

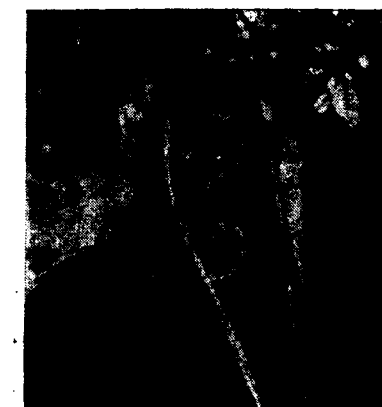
and that he may come to fetch her. The man soon arrives with some companions and is served with liquor and a good feast. They go to their own village with the girl early next morning. The arrival of the girl at her husband's house is called *ana*.

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 *pūja* 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, wood-cutters, 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.



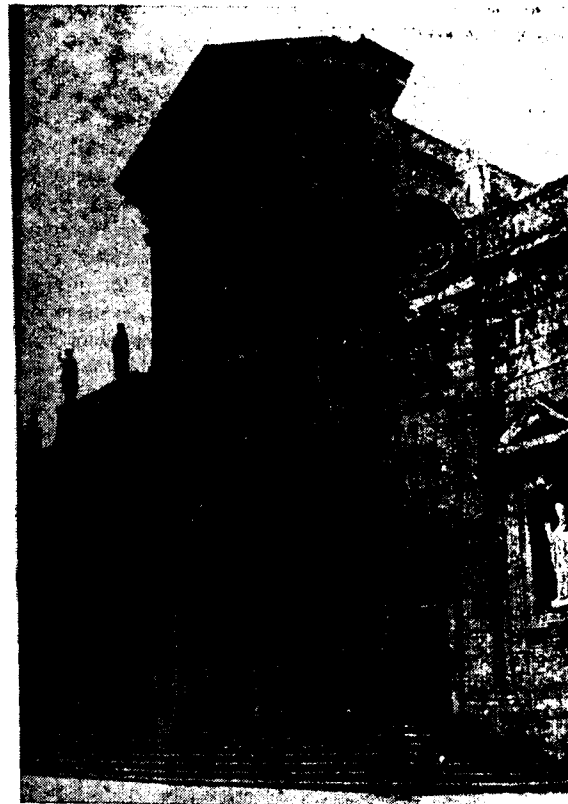
Amphitheatre in Pula. A magnificent example of Roman architecture built from the 1st to the 2nd century. The ellipsoid arena held 25,000 spectators

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 Nomanja 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 dec-

orations 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 unimaginable 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-



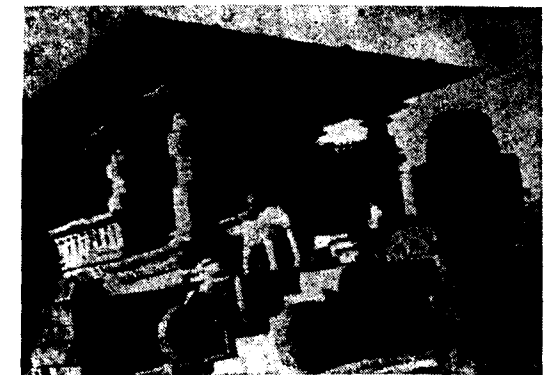
The unfinished Gateway at Hanamkonda

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 Shravan. 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.

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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.

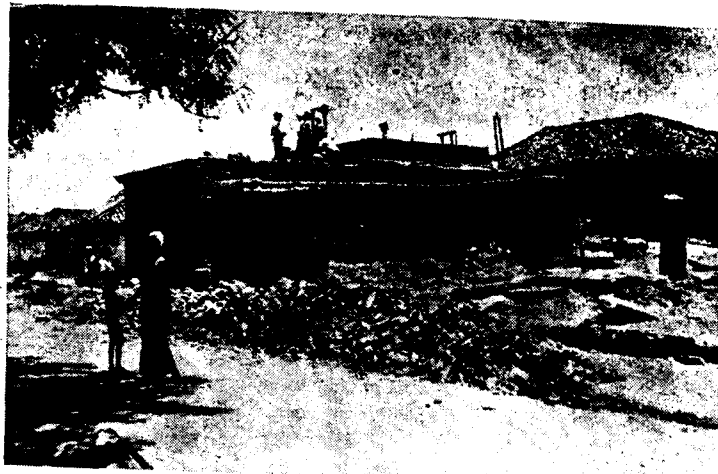
In another project area, namely, Nizam Sagar, a small village, named Durki, stands out as a monument of self-help, showing what people themselves can do, if they so wish, to make their own living conditions healthier and happier. Early in February this year the community project authorities led by the 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



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

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



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 jakhar
Aj is chhotte se mauza ko dekhkar
Sharam aana chhahai mauza waloonko deegar
Community Project ka kam nikla hai kia behtar
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—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; the missions turned from the plains to the hills and began to work among the aboriginal tribes, who, presumably in a form of tacit courtesy, had been left alone to live the

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 cloud-burst. 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]

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 revolutionarism 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. Knapp 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 Gandhiji's life, while describing the forces from either the East or the West which helped in moulding his character. He then brings together Gandhiji's ideas on the nature of God, the World and Man. As we all know, Gandhiji 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 Gandhiji'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 Gandhiji'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 (Bhavan's 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 *Yajurveda* 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 ("*Yajurveda*") 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 *ambasa* (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 Khedesh, 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 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 Frazer 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 this.

SURESH CHANDRA Dey

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 of 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 Strenath* 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 *parvans* 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 *Karna-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 *Karna-Parvan* is 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 *Bhisma-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, Khayoria, Monghyr.* Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

Bhoodan 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 Jataram*, (3) *Yaksha and Yudhishtir*, (4) *Dattatraya*, (5) *Yogishwar Yajnya Valkya*.

(B) Domestic Hygiene and Remedies: (1) *Pain During Illness*, (2) *Poison in Food*, (3) *Causes of Illness*, (4) *Household Doctor*, (5) *Churn Aushodhs* (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) *Drishya Drashun Virek* 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.

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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 aesthete.

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 resource 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 unwisdom 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,

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liable 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 eagues 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, no 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 alimant 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."

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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 in magazine editing, to their own fields of interest, journalistic techniques to 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.

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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 individual 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 intrigues 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 yet 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.



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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.



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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

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.

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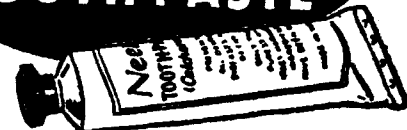
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Thus the situation, the source of which lies in the Communist threat, has produced another danger which may become equally serious, a danger that another America, authoritarian in nature, may supersede the one we have known. And we must ask ourselves 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 gravity 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.

WHO Experts on Health Education of the Public meet in Paris

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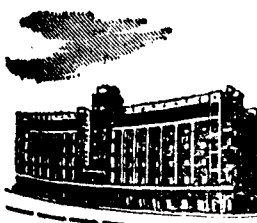
Health education of the public seeks to promote higher standards of health by increasing knowledge and influencing behaviour and is now considered an essential part of modern public health services.

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



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- 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 6
- The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy 1 0
- Protection of Minorities—Radha Kumud Mukherji 0 4
- Postage Extra.

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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

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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



DANCE

By Maniklal Banerji

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 *in-fra*. 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. Chenghis 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 mechanised civilisation of the U.S.A. could muster and mobilise would be as fought 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 sometime 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 reorganisation 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 Guntur 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 unbiassed 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, 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 25 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 Zafarullah 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, Zafarullah 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.' Zafarullah 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 Minoca with its magnificent, land-encircled deep water harbour (1708), 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 dependency 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 Jayasundara, 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," *PT* reports.

Gratuitous, free travel, and remittance facilities would be among the inducements offered to people to register as Indians. Asked whether the gratuitie 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 \$45½ 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 Jaintia 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 hills. 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 Aizawl 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.

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All that remains of a stronghold reminiscent of Mugnai mtns 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.

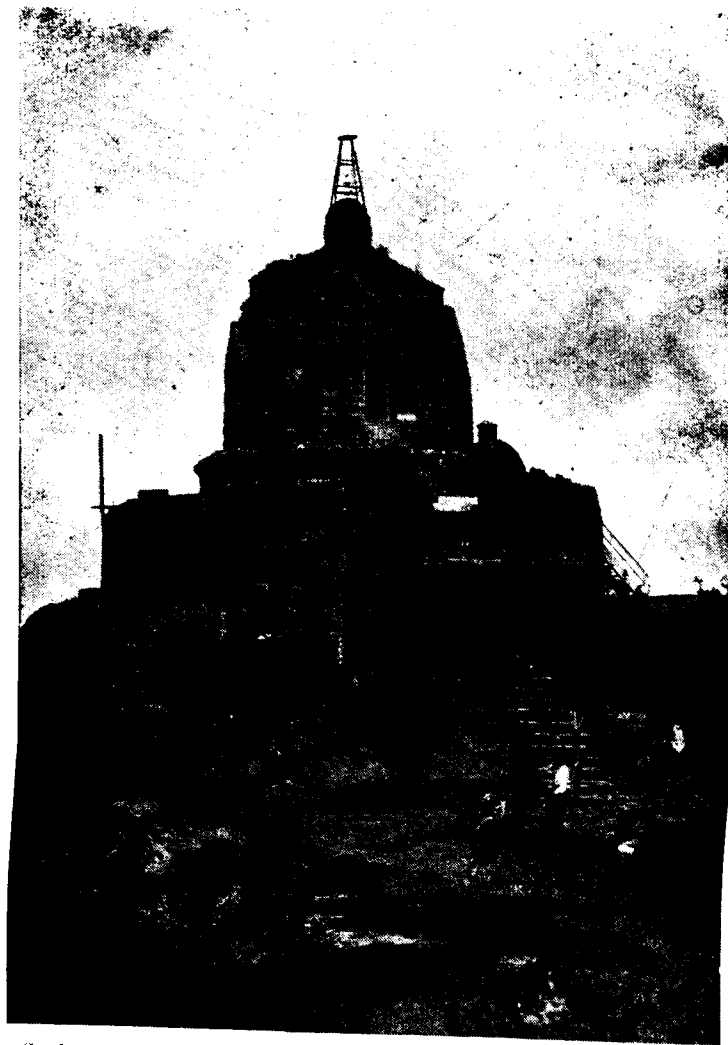
Possibilities hid in the thick coverlet from which Eternity, like a miser, doles out time, likewise passed in a Procrustean procession before my mental eyes. Miles and miles had been hacked away from the journey by our modern Cyclops. So our railway men in reality are. How could any bulge be left in 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.

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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 twisted 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, moomj-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 fomenter 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.

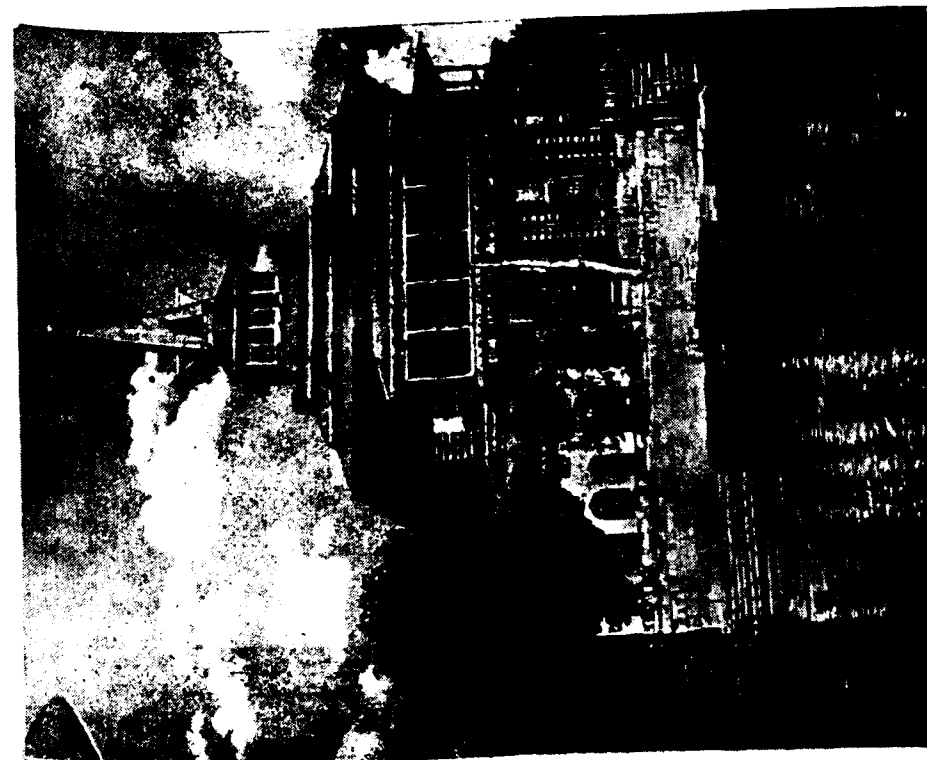
Two great builders were there, too. Brigadier Partap Narain, who had had his training at Woolwich, had rendered yeoman service in helping to design and to carry through the construction of bridges—a task at which he was considered to be a specialist. The other was Karnail Singh, fresh from his labours 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 Fates 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.

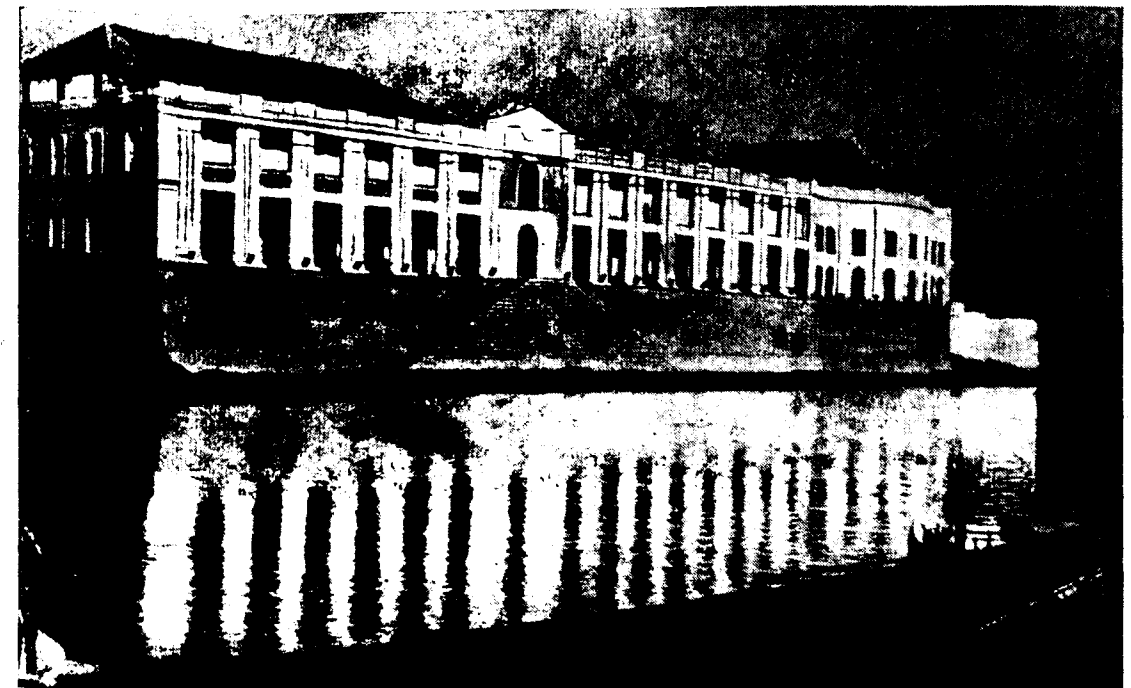
A low purchasing power of the common people has come in the train of widespread unemployment and shrinkage of additional income of those who have so far had the opportunity of working in off-hours for profit. If there has been no reduction in staff of big industrial establishments, departments connected 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



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

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 33,937,274, 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.



Sweet thought (Stone—bas-relief)
Sculptor—D. P. Roy Chowdhury



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 61.36 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 Shahjahanpur 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-supporting persons	Earning dependents	Non-earning dependents
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-supporting persons	Earning dependents	Non-earning dependents
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 :

	Self-supporting Persons of Non-agricultural Classes Industries and Services	
	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	51.0	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 Atom 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 that 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 bungalows 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.O.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 ape-like 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
	Pliocene	15,000,000
	Miocene	30,000,000
	Oligocene	40,000,000
Tertiary	Eocene	60,000,000
	Palaeocene	65,000,000

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 uncertainties 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 different 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) Maffian. 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 Rostrocarnates. 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 Cromagnon 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, Cromagnon, 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 Cromagnon 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.

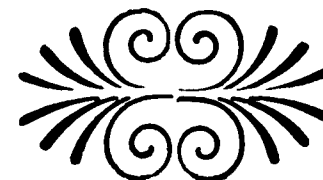
The Aurignacian culture was followed by Solutrean and Magdalenian cultures. In these cultures evidence of better craftsmanship, art, painting and sculpture are obtainable. Cattle, sheep and goats have been domesticated. Farming has also begun to be practised. This was a time nearly 10,000 years ago.

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

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 tubercular 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,

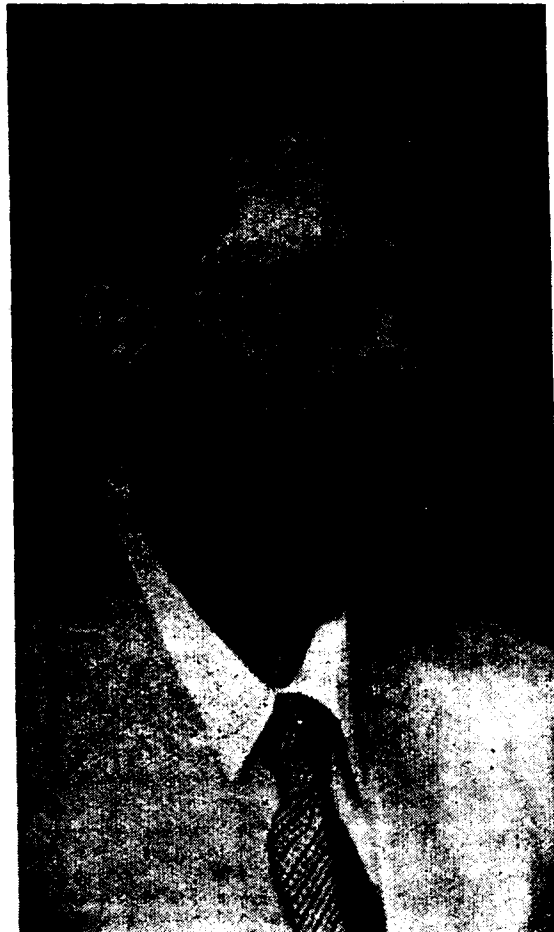
in charge of it, as Hony. Secretary and Superintendent.

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



A view of the K. S. Ray T. B. Hospital, Jadavpur

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

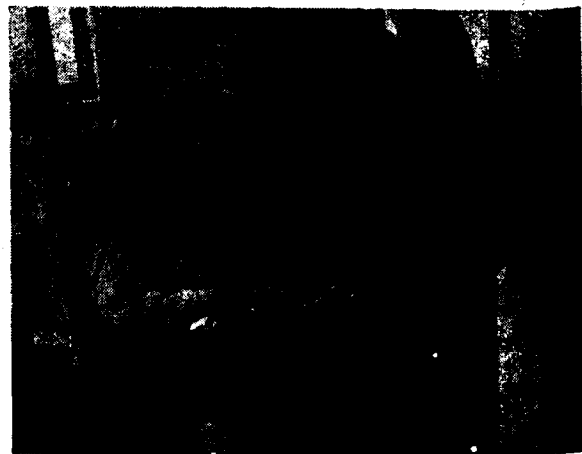


K. P. M. Ward, Tuberculosis Hospital

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.

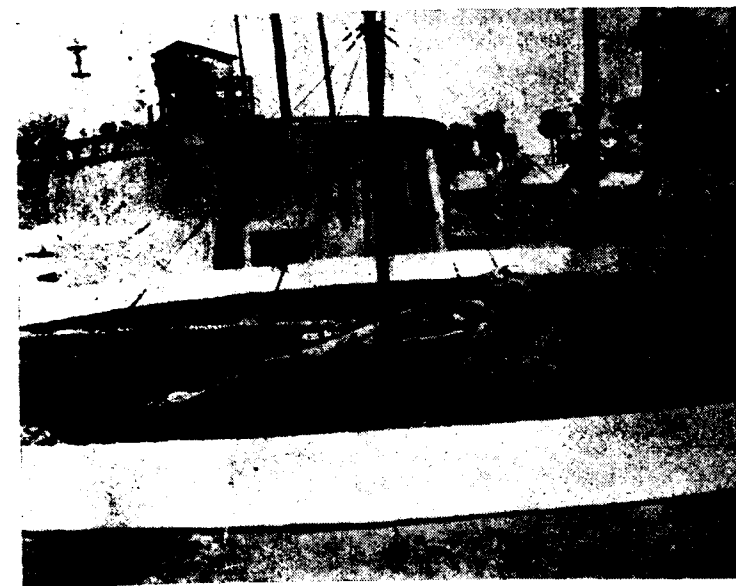
Physical rest and mental recreation are indispensable for the successful treatment of tuberculosis and to provide some recreation for the ailing patients a hall be procured to sufficiently meet the demands of such a large number of patients. Several public bodies and libraries have from time to time 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

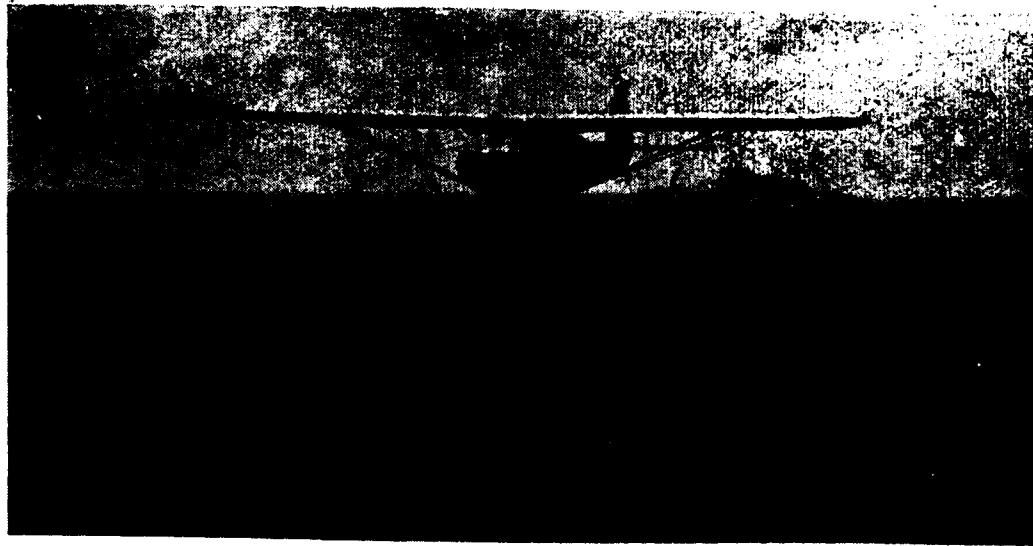
where arrangement for light indoor games, cinema shows, socials, lectures and other functions for the benefit and recreation of the patients, can be made, is a long-standing need for the hospital. The hospital authorities and the suffering patients are eagerly looking forward for the day when some generous 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 wheel

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

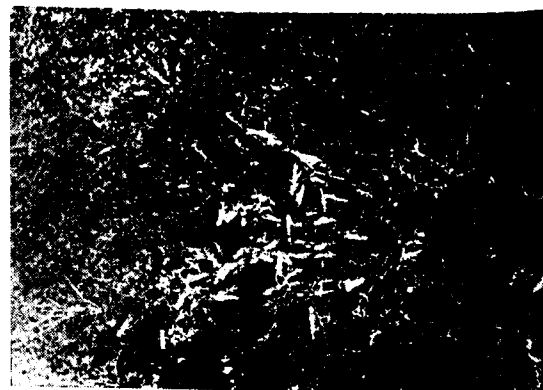
London Centre Surveys Position in India and Middle East

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.

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



A sandy hill, which is an ideal place for locusts to lay eggs 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 23; 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.

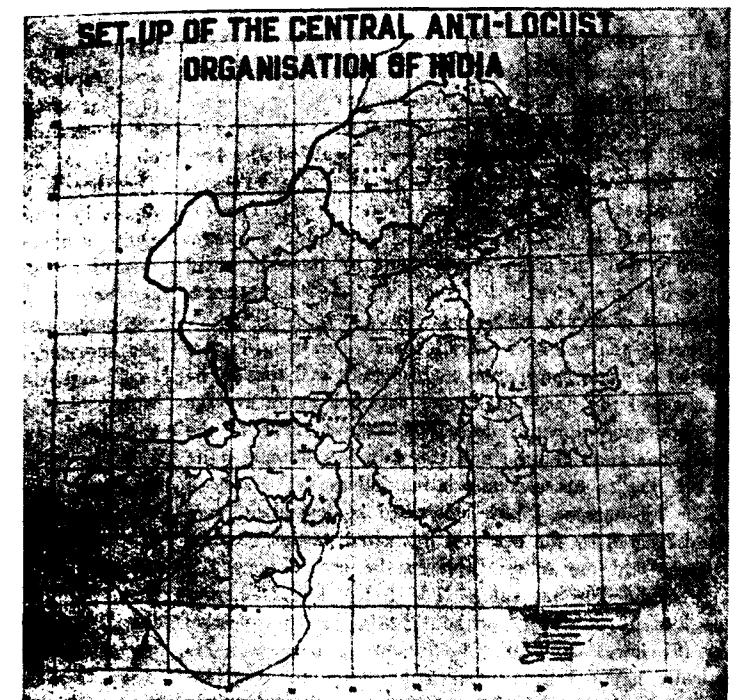


(Left) A winged adult, soon after shedding its skin in the last hopper stage. (Right) A hopper in one of its moulting stages

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

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

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 stimulated 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 veils 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 29, 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.

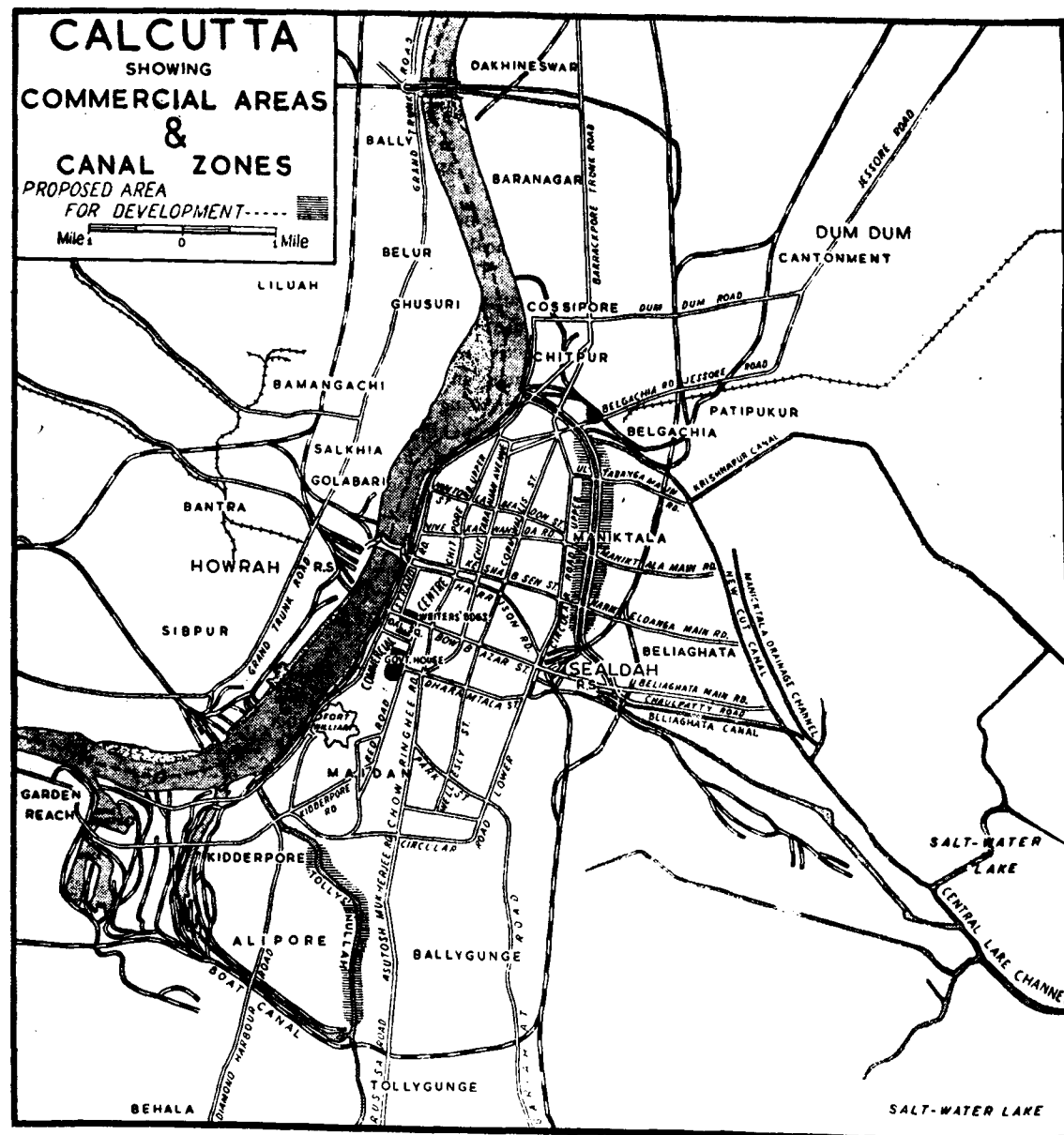
At present the two banks of the canal are occupied mainly by godowns for merchandise and jute and warehouses for timber. It may be suggested here that both the banks of the canal may be easily utilised for the construction of buildings in order to accommodate mercantile firms and the Government offices 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 the 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.

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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, hyper-sensitive 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 mock-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, Hemmingway, 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. Benfrey (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-a-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 representation 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 1911 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 1893 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."

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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 Sachinata. 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,

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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.

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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, Earlyises and even Whalebellys and Hairsnakes. I do not think there can be many Taratootys, Arblas-ters, Potticargs, Bassingthwaites or Baragwanaths, however (writes a *Manchester Guardian* contributor). Of Gotoheds 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, Dowman (keeper of doves), 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 Eleecks 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."

BEETLES 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 headles—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 "Society," 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 Sonapur Fair in Bihar. He has left a faithful story of the Sonapur 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, Dupleix, 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 Arozeshah 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 recapitulative and 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 Stateal 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 organic 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 out-numbered 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 organic 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 monarchial 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 Majumdar. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. 1953. Rs. 29 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 500 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), Brahmecharva, Anand, Mundak, Narad, Punjabi, 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 Pathamanidhi, 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 Herself."

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. 13 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.

RADHACOVINDA BASAK

BENGALI

BHUTER PANCHALI: By Jnanendranath 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'

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 Bajpey. Published by K. P. Sharma, Vignan Mandir, Brahmapara Lane, Calcutta-6. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 5.

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 "interiorly" 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 48 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.

ADDENDUM

The photographs which illustrate in this issue the article, "K. S. Ray Tuberculosis Hospital, Jadavpur," are taken by Sri Jatindranath Das.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Is Reading Ability Essential?

The question raised in an article in *The Arjun 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

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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.

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-

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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

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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 of 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 one 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. This 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 a nation only if we are more economic in the expenditure of our assets. As Clifton Fadiman writes: "It is fun to play with words—but not at the cost of clear communication."

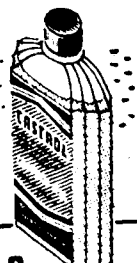
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Education For Living

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 inanity. 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

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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



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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 doll 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 brain 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 field in which he rotated various crops, and so provide the bulk of the family's food. He instituted the family 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, piccolo and a flute. All this activity was culture of the highest order.

We do not want to return to these days, but 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

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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.

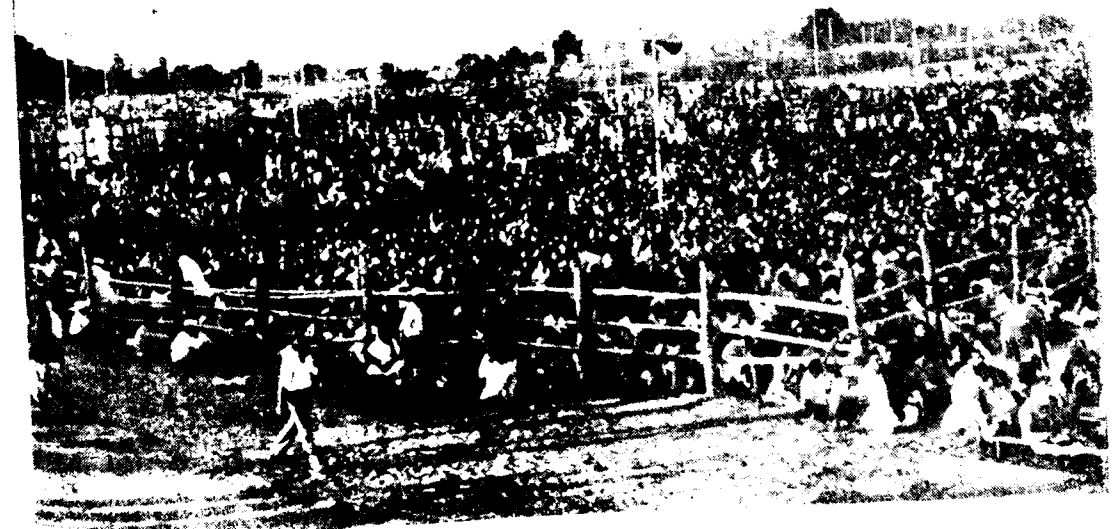
PLAN ADOPTED BY OTHERS

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

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THE HOLI FESTIVAL
By Niharayan Sen Gupta

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



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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."

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 polities 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.

Neguib 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;
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 Gamel Nasser

oust 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 \$150,000,000 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 Commissariat 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 1½ per cent. The last change in the US Bank rate was in the middle of January, 1953, when it was raised from 1½ per cent to 2 per cent. Thus the present cut of ½ 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. 13.33 crores. In recent years, budget deficits of many of the States in India have become chronic. West Bengal deserves a 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.

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SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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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.² 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 Nanalagar

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 the 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. 238.

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 practical 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."

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

8. *U. S. Foreign Policy*, p. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

10. *Independence and After*, p. 201.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

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 28, 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 .837 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	286	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 trouble 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 fullness of time.

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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 *bali*. 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. Sukra² 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.

defines it as meaning tolls or customs duties levied from 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 Sukra. 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 quoted above, it may be reasonable to conclude that all taxes levied on foreign goods as well as those produced 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 Vishnu³ 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 Chahamana ruler granted to a Jaina temple a monthly sum of 5 dramma, which was to be paid from the *Sulka-mandapika* in the ground of Naddula.⁴ 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 Baijnath⁵ which record that a local chief granted daily 2 dramma out of the income derived from the *Mandapika*. The Nadol Plate of Pratapasimha,⁶ 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,⁷ 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 Bhattarakha 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*⁸ 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 Kautilya⁹ 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*¹⁰ 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.¹¹

In the Jajilpara Grant of Gopala II¹² mention is made of a fiscal term *dvarikadana*, which seems to

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.

3. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 29-30.

4. *E. I.*, IX, p. 62.

5. *E. I.*, I, p. 97.

6. *I. A.*, XLJ, 1912, p. 202.

7. *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 131.

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 *dvaravahirikadeyam* mentioned by Kautilya.¹⁴ Road-cesses seem to be implied in the designation of an officer, *marggadaye kaupatika*, referred to in the Somanatha Temple inscription¹⁵ dated in the Vikrama year 1074. The meaning of *kaupatika* is not clear, but *marggadaye* certainly means tolls on roads, indicated by the term *varttani* 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 Panahara inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva of Malwa¹⁶ 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

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 *chatuhsar* 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 coconuts;
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 *pulakas* 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 *vrishta-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*, *Mandalkara* 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.'

13. Forbes: *Ras Mala*. Rawlinson, p. 235.

14. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

15. *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 131.

16. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 41.

17. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 36.

18. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 59.

19. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 42.

20. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 91.

21. King Sankaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) is credited by Kalhana with the establishment of two revenue offices, one of which was charged with the share of the lord of the market (*atta-paibhaga*). 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. 263.

23. *I. A.*, LVIII, p. 161.

24. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 295.

25. *Ibid.*, I, p. 184.

26. *I. A.*, XLI, p. 20.

27. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 295.

28. *E. I.*, III, p. 265.

29. *Sukraniti*: Ed. by Benoy Sarkar.

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 Somavamsi 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 *talara* *bhavya*. The text does not clearly indicate the nature of the tax.

Another term, *mandalakara* is mentioned in the Bigholi inscription of the Chahamanas of 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 *Talarabhavya* also occurs in a Mangrol inscription (*Bhavnagar Prakrit 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. 51.

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.

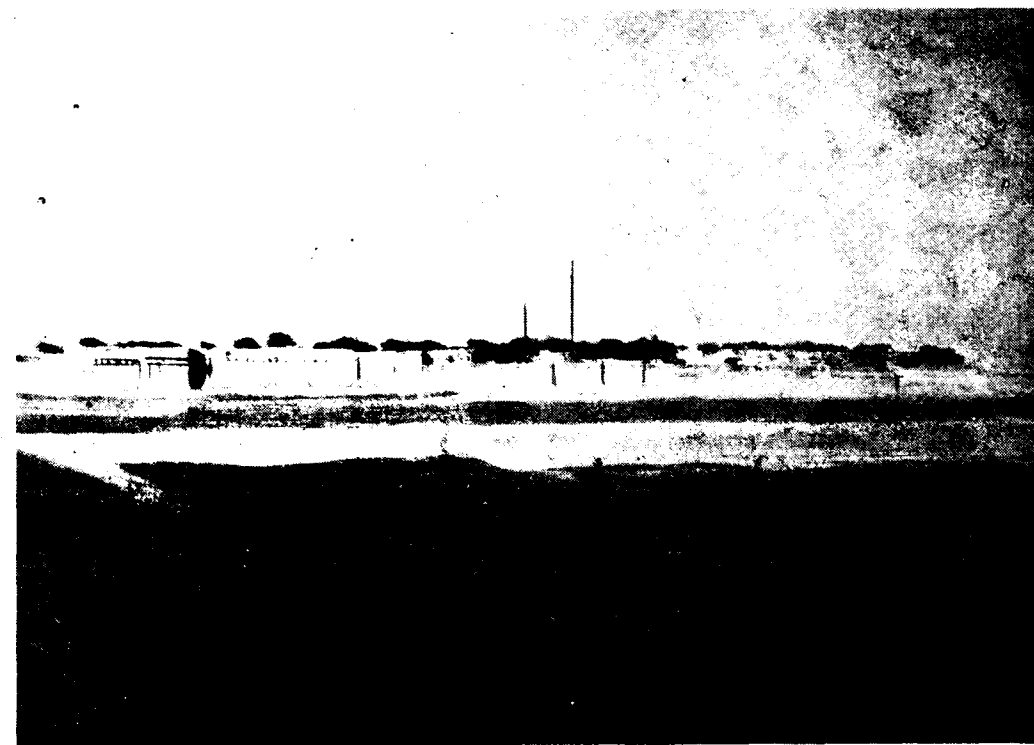
It is a well-known fact that the tax yield in India is the main source of Government revenue. That is why the revenue policy of the Government is based on multiple tax system, which, of course, provides tax-collecting facilities in diverse fields. The multiple tax structure of India composed of both 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



Tolette
By Mahan Dutta 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 1943-47 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.

Percentage Distribution of Income-tax to the States				
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	3.50
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 :

(a) 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

(b) 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 8,83,400. 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

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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 psychical 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 Hobbhouse, 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 no 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

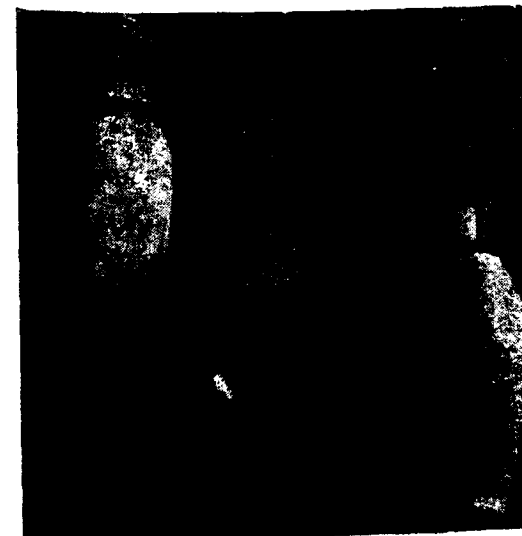


Fig. No. 1. Amphora-type vases on both sides. The middle one is a carrot-shaped black-polished vessel

The great importance of the Tamluk pottery was first understood when about a decade ago several interesting pottery-ware 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 Abasbati 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

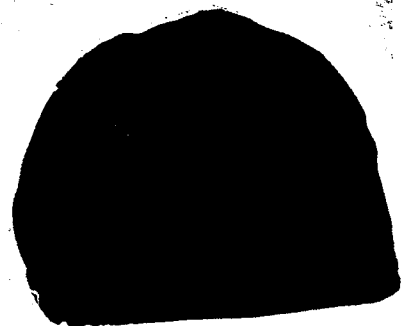


Fig. No. 4. A small lid with lotus-motif

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 *Saranan District Gazetteer*, p. 42.

5. Vide, P. C. Dasgupta: *The Modern Review*, November, 1952, Ag. 3, *The Calcutta Review*, November, 1952, Ag. 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.⁶ 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 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 trunk 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



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.

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.

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

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



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.



By Ramendranath Chakravorti

Ferry Ghat



By Mohan B. Samant

Musician's paradise



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 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 Sanyal 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, *Dadhi*, 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 *Albala* 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 æsthetic sense in some of the works of Sri Dhirendranath Brahma, Sri Sushil Majumdar and Sri Santi Mukherjee. Sri Dhiren Brahma's *Narao-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.

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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 supernatural 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 Sthalapuranas 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, Kumudapatika, Gala, and Vajana mouldings. The structure is surmounted by a circular, conical roof, with a finial at the top.



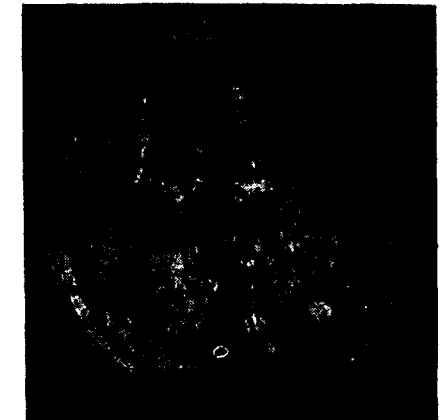
A. Katinamkulam Temple

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 Dwarapalakas, 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 Suchendram, 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 Vettikulangur 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.

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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 Moghal 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. Khawaja Jahan, originally named Malik Sarwar, was an eunuch given by Salar Rajab 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 Shamshuddin Ibrahim Shah Sharqui, 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.

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 Husaip (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

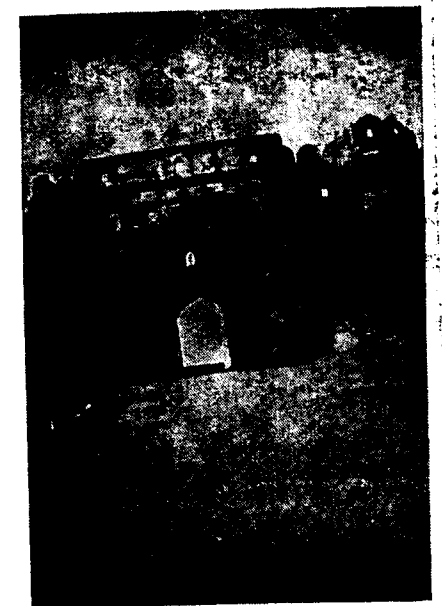
Before dealing with the Sharqi building a brief mention must be made of the fort of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, decorated with the Mosque and Hammam by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, Firoz's brother. The fort of

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.



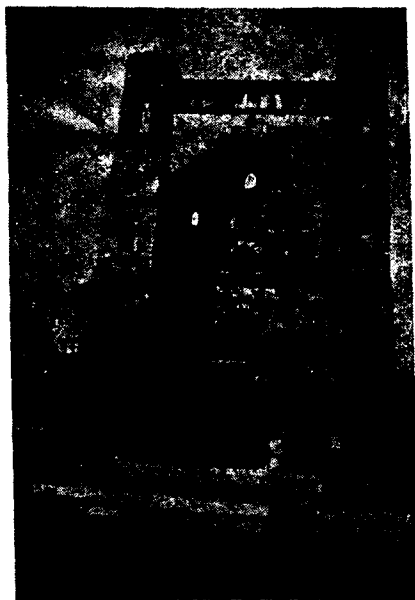
Main Gate of the Fort

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 Alauddin 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.

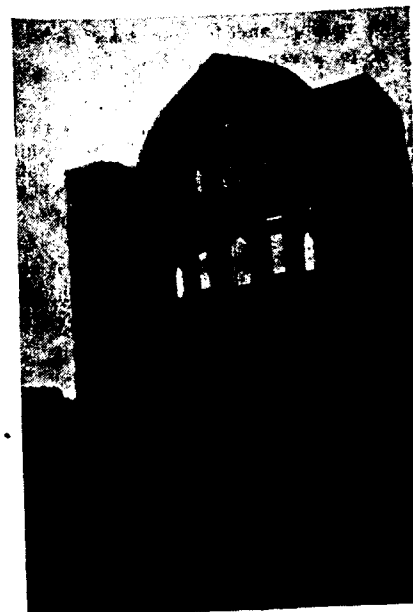
KHALIS MUKHLIS MASJID

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 Darceba 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 to 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.

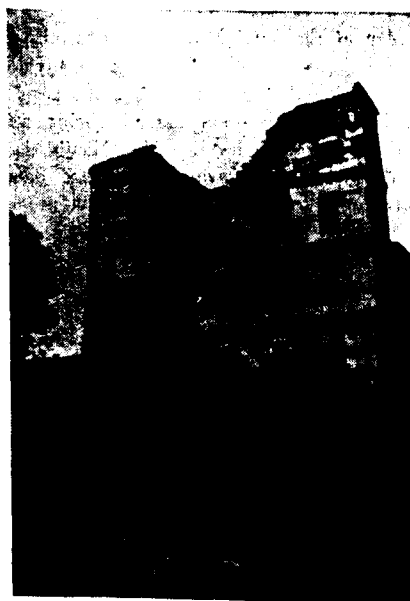


Char-Ungli Masjid

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 monuments 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 5 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	11
Coorg	2	1
Delhi	1	4
Himachal Pradesh	3	1
Kutch	1	1
Manipur	1	1
Tripura	1	3
Vindhya Pradesh	3	1
North-East Frontier Agency	1	3
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.

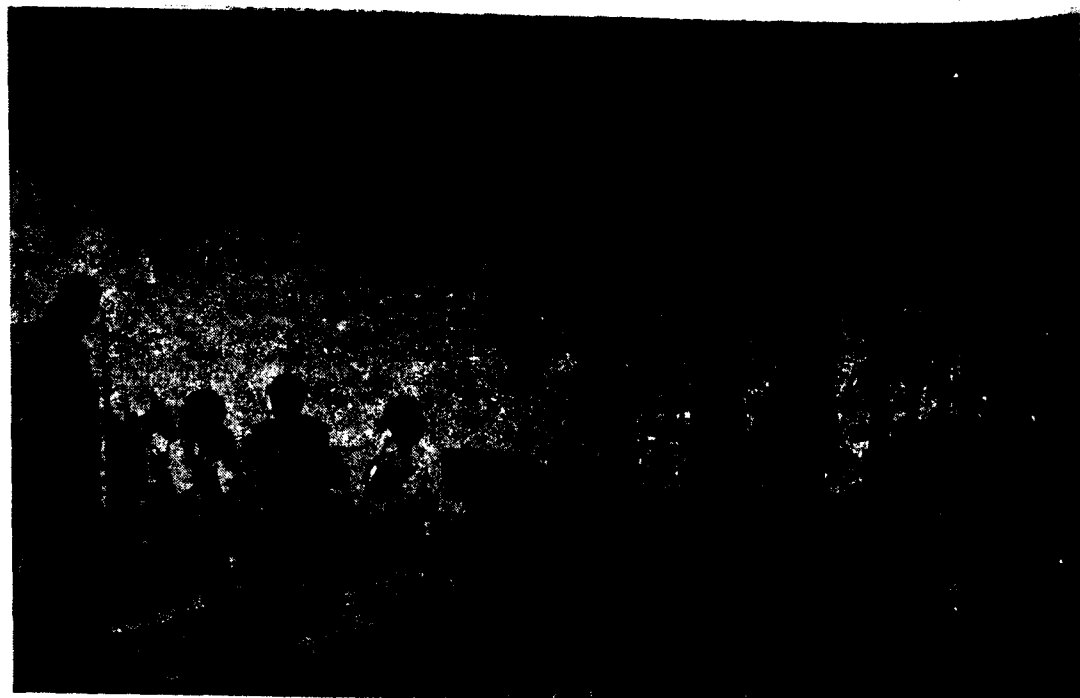
PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION

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 *kharrif* 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

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED

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.

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.

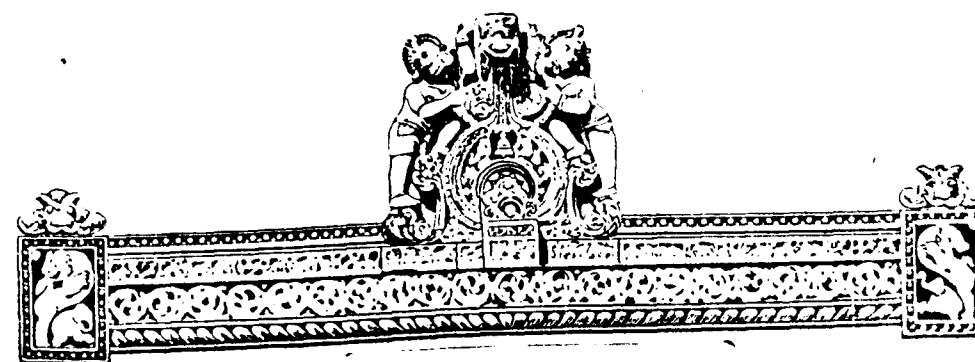
Another defect which in some States hampered the progress of work during the initial period was lack of co-ordination between the various departments of the State Governments. In such States community projects functioned for some time in isolation, which is exactly the opposite of what a community programme 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, Sulphadrugs 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-chargeable 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 Lahiri-Mohanpur, we purchased a quantity of *pabda* fish weighing nearly 2½ seers for Rs. 1/4/- 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. 1/12/- 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 *khana* necessary for the correct taste and texture of the *chamcham*. We purchased a quantity @ Rs. 2/4/- 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 *Sarkarmahasaya* 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 -1/- 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 *lungbi*, 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 *lungbi* 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 Goaland 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. I 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 Benthia 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 Goaland 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 turbanned 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."

"PAHARPUR: 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 Pundrabardhana 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 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!

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THE TULASIDUTA KAVYA OF TRILOCHANA

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London), Kavyatirtha, F.R.A.S.

BENGAL 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 काञ्चित् कलयति सखीरन्तङ्गाः समीपे ।
प्राणत्यागदतिगुरुरे तस्य बन्धोवियोगे
केन स्थेयं मुहुरित 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 घनघनवृन्देषु तिष्ठरः ।
न चास्मात् प्रेमाब्धि मधुपुरमगाङ्गातु सहसा
समुद्भव्य प्राणप्रियतमविशुः 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 प्रियतमधवे गुप्तमेतत्त्वदग्रे
व्यक्तं चैतन्मम तु भवता बन्धुना पूर्वमुक्तम् ।
गुप्तवामानं वचनमधुनाकारि मिथ्या स्वकीयं
प्रामाण्यं ते वचसि न पुनर्जायते सजनानाम् ॥ २५ ॥
अप्रामाण्यं श्रुतिषु बहुभिर्मोघते त्वद्वचस्त्वा
दाप्तेरतद्विषयवचने वीक्ष्य दृष्टान्तताञ्च ।
पश्चात् केषां कथमपि जनानामपि स्वर्गहेतौ
यागे वृत्तिर्न भवति जगन्नाथ नैतत् सुयुक्तम् ॥ २६ ॥

* शाके श्वभ्रशुचि (?) श्रुतिक्षतिधरानन्तामिते हायने
भे शाहे कलशीतेहेल-हृदकमाने मुदा यवतः ।

नत्वा यावत्सुताङ्गफुल्लकमलद्वन्द्वं व्यलेखीद्विजः
श्रीलः पुनर्वरं 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 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 ॥ ३८ ॥

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 तन्न युक्तम् ।
वृन्दावनं निगदितं कविभिस्तदेव
यत्रास्ति ते निवसतिर्भुवनेषु 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 मनांसि
दौत्ये युक्तान्यपि वयमहो प्ररयामःस्म नैवम् ।
किं वास्माभिः प्रहितगमनान्यागतानीति नैव
चौरैर्नैति विरमति यतः सत्त्वमेतन्निरस्तम् ॥ ४७ ॥
आस्ते भूरि प्रियतमपदश्चिद्विद्वन्मनन्तं
दौत्येऽस्माभिर्न हि सखि वरे किंप्रयुक्तं प्रयुक्तम् ।
आशङ्क्येयं 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 Pitha Cross Lane, Bombay 1. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 8.

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 Mahatma 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, Balam 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 guerrilla'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

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 Prakasha, 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, Ancherst 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 DEB

SANSKRITIC

PAUMASIRI CHARIT 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 MAHESVARASIRI: Editor: Prof. Dr. Anritatal Sanchand Gopani, M.A., Ph.D. Singhi Jain Series, No. 45. Publisher: Singhi Jain Shashtra Shikshapith, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 7-4.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 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 Charit* 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

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 Magambhai P. Desai. 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.

BENGALI

NIRJHAR-SANGIT: By Projjwala 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 Nachari Parakh. 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.

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.

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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 hill-side 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

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 1939, 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 cynically over-worked 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 indurible—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.



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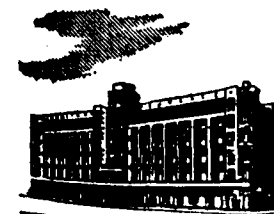
Lin Yutang's stay in Unesco lasted less than a year, for he soon wearied of routine work and was eager to return to writing. He felt that Unesco's real work lay in the field of education. Meanwhile his books, *The Gay Genius* and *Miss Tu*, appeared. Soon he was at work on *On the Wisdom of America*, 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



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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 tenderness 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 K-atrapas 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 thisism 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 happy 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.

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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."

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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

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 object 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

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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 1930, 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 cooperation 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 1916, 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 in to 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.

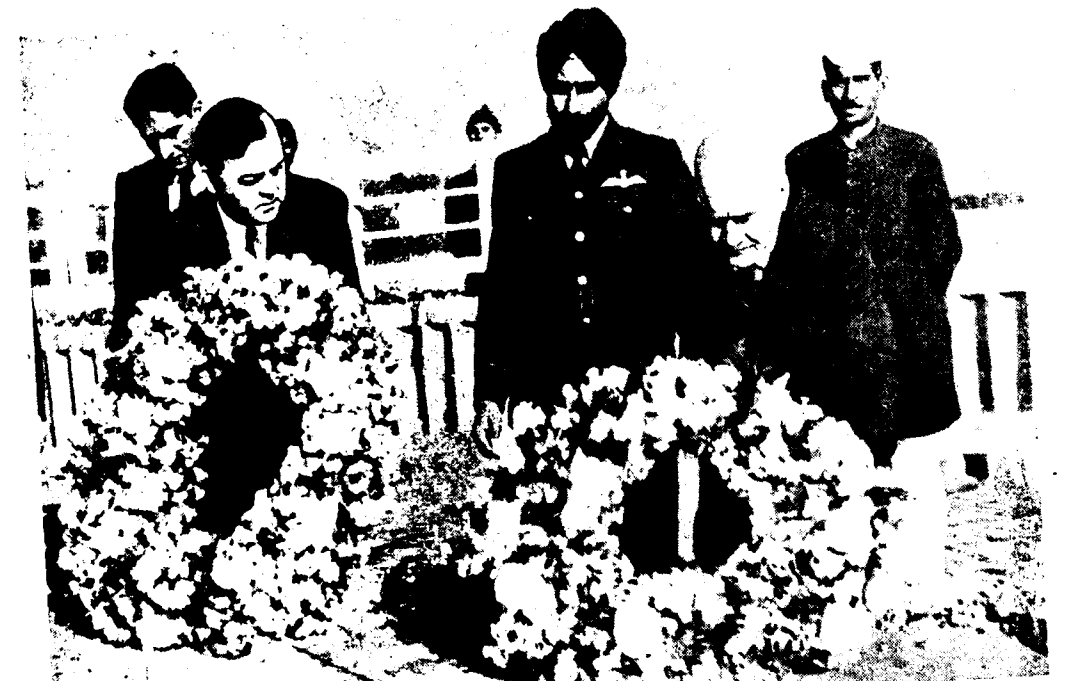
Jinnah was outspoken in his condemnation of reactionary elements which generated retrograde tendencies in religion. Dealing with the contribution of the Pakistan movement to Pakistan's national life, he said, "We have to a great extent to free our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. 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 Raigat in Delhi on January 10

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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.

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 millenniums 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, a glance, announced by the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh:

NEW TAXES

- (1) Increase in import duties on betelnuts by -6.6 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 valora*.

- (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	Budget
	1953-54	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

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 Jesting 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

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 *dhotis* 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 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 India Union are fully aware of the present precarious position of the handloom industry. Efforts are being made to wards 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 scheme 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 101, 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 101, 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; the 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 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 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 Commissioner 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 Commissioner 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 two-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

French Methods in Pondicherry

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:

"Pondicherry, 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."

"Pondicherry, March 27.—A non-violent mass movement for the merger of the French Indian settlements with India was launched today in four communes of Pondicherry by the French India Socialist Party with the support of other Nationalist parties.

"The communes—Bahoor, Kallapet, Mettupalayam, and Mannadipet—are separated from Pondicherry 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 Pondicherry 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 Pondicherry 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 Pondicherry 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 Pondicherry, 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 Pondicherry 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 Pondicherry 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 Hiren 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 the 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.

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-maneuvred 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. Subramanian, Finance Minister in the Present Cabinet and a trusted lieutenant of Rajaji; Raja of Ramapuram, Minister of Public Works and Mr. Bhaskarasaiam, 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.

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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 attempt 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			Unemployed		
	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	3,574,690	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	)	)	)	)	)	)
Delhi	)	)	)	)	)	)
Himachal Pradesh	)	)	)	)	)	)
Bilaspur	)	)	)	)	)	)

X Figures not available.

Date	Unemployment in Asia			Unemployed		
	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	3,73,000	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	1,07,067
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 America

Date	Canada		Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics	United States		Chile	Puerto Rico	
	Labour force sample surveys	%		Labour force sample surveys	%		Labour force sample surveys	%
1937	406,000	9.1	—	7,000,000	14.3	2,315	—	—
1938	142,000	3.0	96,760	2,270,000	3.9	3,433	—	—
1947	988,000	2.0	68,254	2,142,000	3.6	3,700	—	—
1948	102,000	2.1	88,900	2,064,000	3.4	3,203	—	—
1949	135,000	2.7	135,626	3,395,000	5.5	3,445	—	—
1950	167,000	3.2	168,874	3,142,000	5.0	2,937	104,000	14.5
1951	108,000	2.1	148,222	1,879,000	3.0	2,562	114,000	16.2
1952	130,000	2.5	191,564	1,673,000	2.7	3,274	100,000	15.2
1953 March	172,000	3.3	360,100	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 1947-48 to 1951-52

Examination	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

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	2,125	17,685
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:

- Urban unemployment;
- Unemployment among the educated classes and
- 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	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	93273	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 53508
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	2436063	2255181	2274689	2360201	2433996	2504399	2536970	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. Dase :

"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 Agia 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) Slum 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 1956.

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	1,198,334
Bombay	4,000	..	1,400,000
Hyderabad	1,500	150	708,750
Manipur	50	..	22,000
Pepu	700	50	202,250
Punjab	1,200	80	557,375
Rajasthan	800	80	372,000
Saurashtra	250	36	105,401
Vindhya Pradesh	200	..	87,250
West Bengal	5,000	..	1,490,575

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 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 material should be cancelled and the imports of such articles which might injure Indian interest must be prohibited. Monopolists' right should be abolished and the hoarding 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 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 may 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, is not and should not be viewed apart from the economic development of the country.

COORDINATION OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

In a well-balanced economy, industrial and agricultural development should be linked together. While developing both, our economy would be a logical one and we cannot add to the material prosperity of the country or the economic soundness of the agricultural sector. No nation in modern times has grown from agricultural products alone. India must be industrialised and the motto of future should be "Industrialise or perish". Industrialisation should be regarded as the most important factor in civilised existence because it gives not only

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 jellis 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 and 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 but 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.

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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 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 treacherous advantage. The choice, of course, is immensely difficult: most often it is decided at our activity. On this reasoning some must be adjudged to be born bluffers and some, by taking thought, to be chieftain 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 bluffed 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 mean—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 *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 mortal 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 Goebbels (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 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 raised 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 banquet's end 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 abides '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 Cleo 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 puffed 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, preeminently, 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

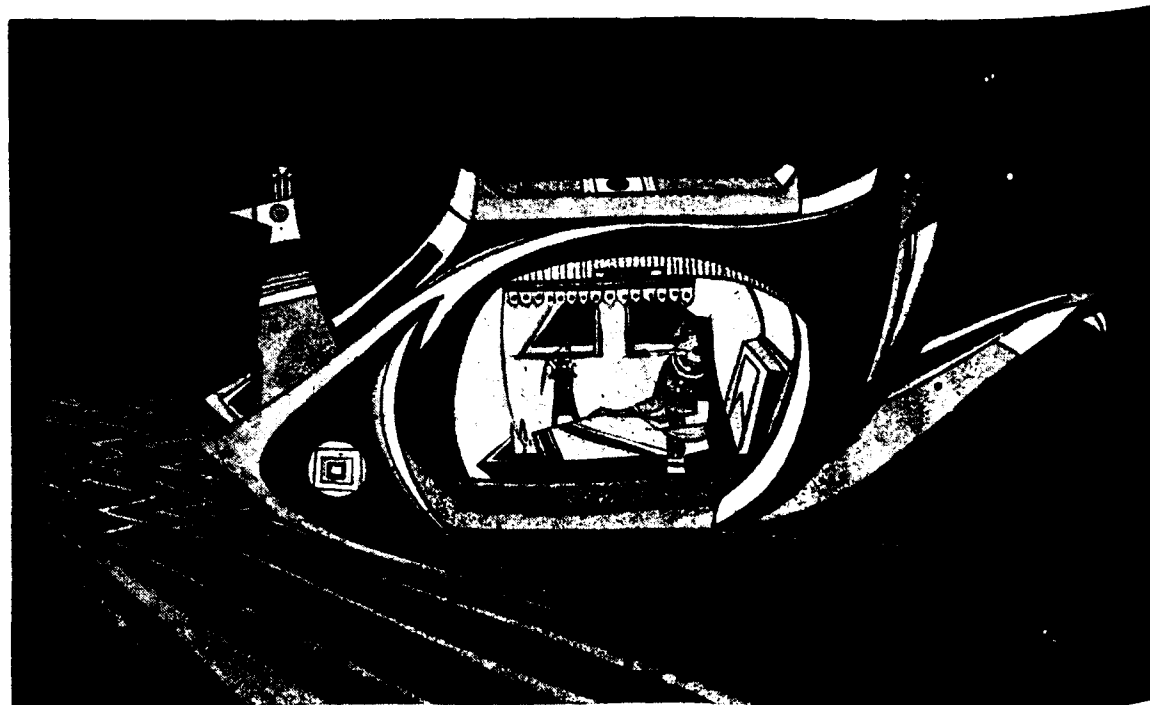


A procession of Sadhus at Kumbha-Mela, Allahabad

Courtesy: Sundarananda Vidyabinod



Potter
By Samar Ghose



Suka-Pankhi boat
By Gopen Roy

"The paramount power of the great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroys. The power of the Viceroys 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."⁵

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."⁶ 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."⁷ Prof. Coupland also holds the same view.⁸ 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: *Carl L. Politics*, p. 2.

3. Westlake: *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

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 *soi 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

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. B. Lel: *War and India's Freedom*, pp. 47-48.

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.

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-

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

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(e) 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"

23. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 15, 1947. See also *Year-Book of the United Nations*, 1947-48, pp. 39-40.

24. Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status* (11th Edn.), p. 327

25. D. N. Banerjee: "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," *The Modern Review*, February, 1950, pp. 107-108



DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY COMMUNITY

Some Recent Trends Examined

By DR. M. M. MEHTA, M.COM., D.Phil., D.Litt., F.R.S.
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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 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 fore-sight of enterprising Parsi industrialists who pioneered many important enterprises.

TABLE I

Distribution of Companies by Community

	Number of companies	Percentage 1911	Total paid-up capital (in Rs.)	Percentage of total paid-up capital (in Rs.)
British	282	82.7	29,82,01,000	66.9
Parsis	15	4.4	53,23,20,000	12.0
Gujratis	3	.9	2,94,50,000	.7
Jews	5	1.5	8,35,00,000	1.9
Muslims	8	2.3	7,80,20,000	1.8
Bengalis	19	5.5	51,58,20,000	12.3
Other Indians	3	.9	5,97,50,000	1.3
Marwaris	6	1.8	14,00,000	3.1
Other Europeans	3	.9	5,97,50,000	1.3
Mixed control	6	1.8	14,00,000	3.1
Total	341	100.0	455,08,70,000	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 and Sons, Ltd. exceeded four crores of rupees in 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 Gujrati 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	8	10	3	24	70	66
Bengalis	19	5	20	48	170	320
Marwaris	6	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

Gujratis—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. & 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."

A 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). Pur.
(D. P. Ghosh collection)

the most well-equipped and modernised museums of our country. In the opinion of a former Director-General of Archaeology in India, this museum can now well be said to have attained a regional character representing the art and archaeology of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which from time immemorial have formed "a homogeneous political 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,

convince 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-

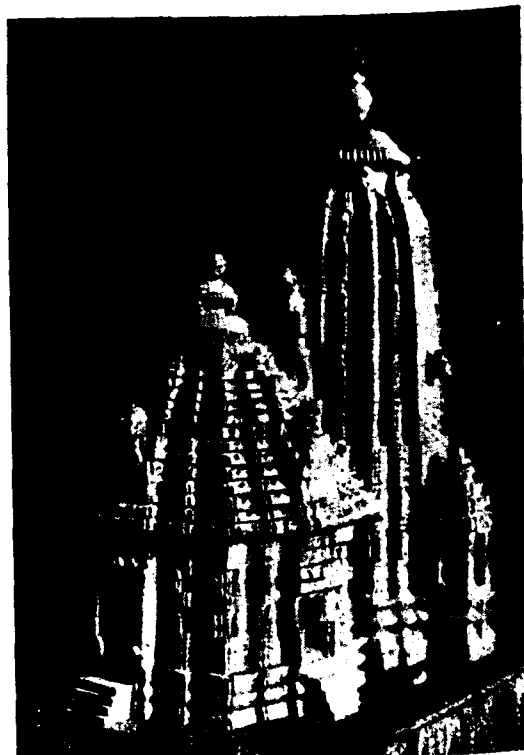
altogether, in this museum, include several architectural fragments as well as numerous pieces of sculpture. Of the early finds a highly polished coping stone, presumably a part of a Stupa-railing, found in the vicinity of Sisupalgarh, dates back to the time of the Mauryas. Incidentally, this has been claimed to be the earliest Mauryan find in Eastern India. A turbaned monumental head of about 1st century B.C., collected from



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

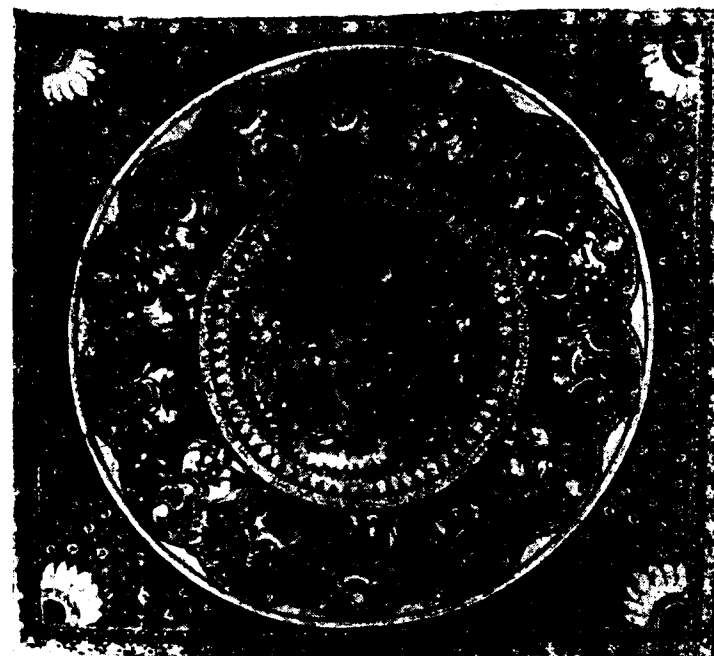


Replica of Bhuvaneswar Temple, 2 ft. high
(soapstone)

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-

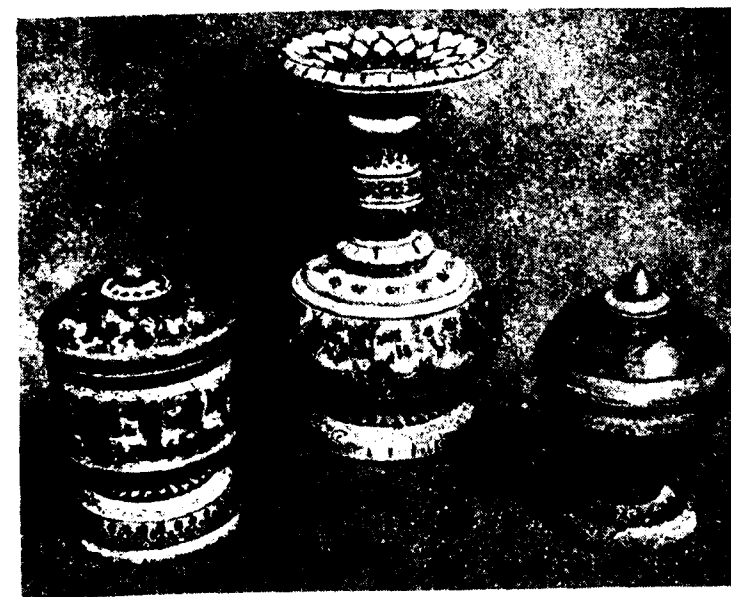
day equally focussed on "the present." A new cry for abundance of raw material and aesthetic quality, a ready market is pre-assured. Asutosh Museum can rightly feel proud of having been a pioneer institution in revitalising the dying craft. Besides a few independent and highly decorated *Nayika* figures, 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.



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 sphere of Orissan crafts, cheap soapstone products more than anything else command a high degree of popularity and prominence. It is brittle but



Painted wooden caskets and vase, decorated with floral and foliage patterns and Krishna-lila scenes. Districts Khandpara and Puri

With all this a word more is to be added and should



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

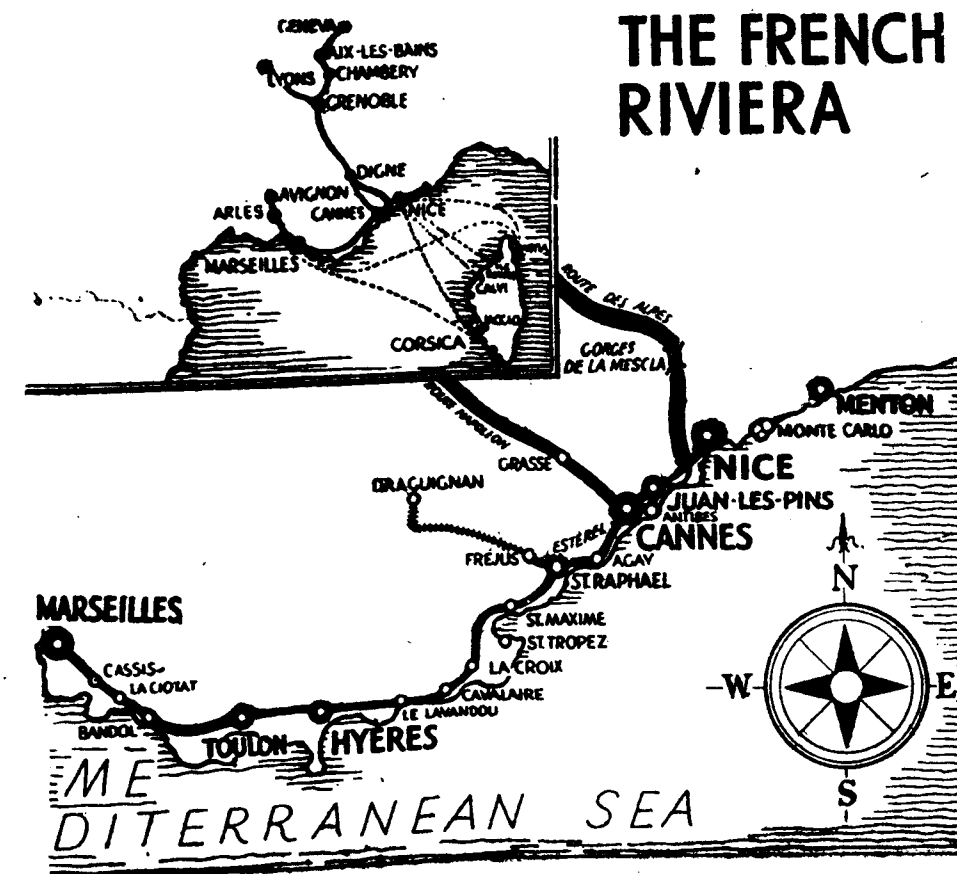
Marseilles to Geneva

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.

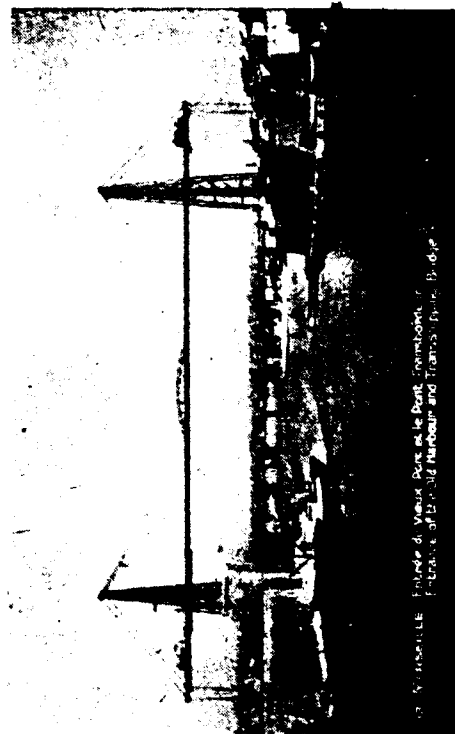
An unforgettable sight is of the unique and

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





Quay Joliette, Fort St. Jean and the Cathedral, Marseilles



Marseilles, Entrance to the old Harbour and transshipping bridge



Quay Belges and Canebiere



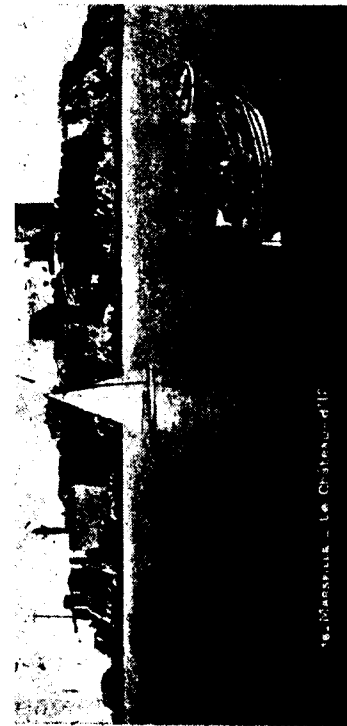
Abbey, Marseilles



Notre Dame De la Garde



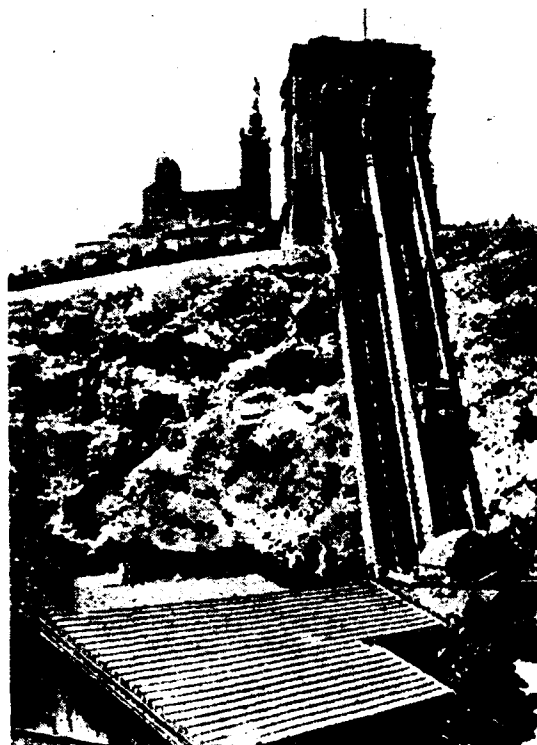
Cornice at Marseilles



Le Chateau D'ef



Palais De Long Champ



Ascension to Notre Dame De la Garde

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 Quâys.

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.

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

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, Entihije 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 unworshipful 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, reaching even to the eye-lashes. Actually it does not depict a change in some other form but the changes in painter's attitude towards the image, towards the problems. It is no longer a dogmatic and representation of an unreal deity, but of a living which shows life and lives.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the painter of Ohrid themselves. Ohrid was a very famous 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 undoubtedly have been the work of Ohrid's masters. Periodical influence of Constantinople and Serbia in way diminishes their value. They occupy their place in the world art and represent the glorious traditions of Ohrid iconographers.

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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 Lougheed 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."

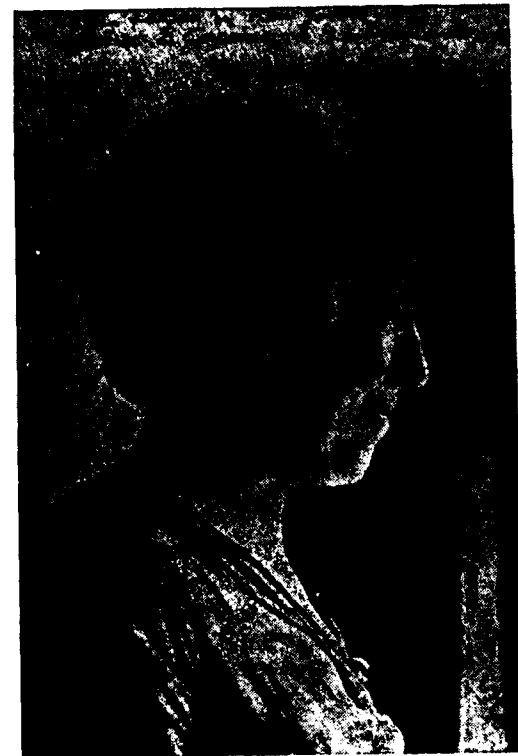
Intense agitation for Votes for Women and the publication of her book on *The Awakening of India's Womanhood* (1923) were followed by her appointment as the first woman Magistrate in Madras and, a year after, she published her experiences as a Magistrate in the *Times of India*. This was followed by 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 overland route, stopping at Jaffa, Telaviv, 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 'miths' 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.

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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.

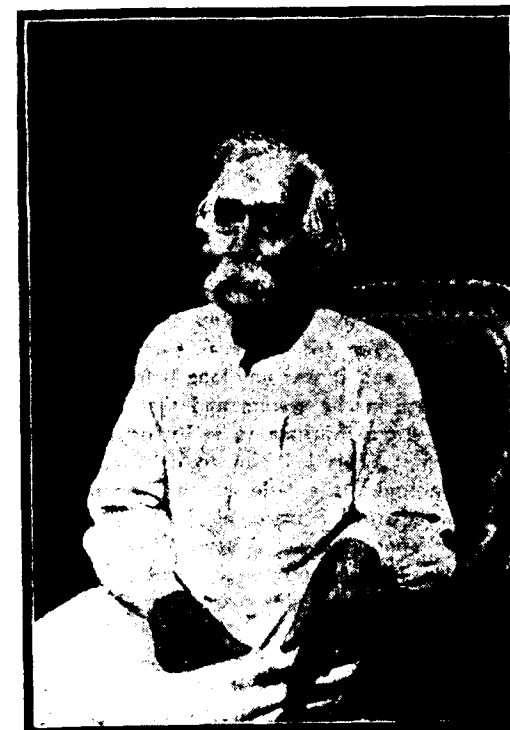
The rudiments of his vernacular education was in a neighbouring *pathshala* under a *Gurumahasay*, and shortly after, the rudiments of his English education was under Thakurdas Dey, to whom he remained attached to the last.

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.J.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.

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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, among 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. 2.

2. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 6.

3. See Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 57.

The prejudices in Calcutta of the practitioners of the old school of medicine sent him to the Engineering Faculty of the University of which he was a member to the last. They would bear his being an Engineer without any engineering qualifications, but they could not tolerate his brilliance in his own profession because of his faith in Homœopathy. Any other man with less distinctions in many spheres of life, would have succumbed to their tyranny. Yet Dr. Sircar had been the only medical man in Calcutta who had been a Sheriff and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. His facility in English composition and energetic faultless elocution—rare in Indian medicos, added to his other qualifications, were more than a match to his old school colleagues. He soared aloft keeping them at a distance.

"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. 16.

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, "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 "built, doubtless, upon the basis of gregariousness."

"At bottom," he says, "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 Mazzini⁶ that the nation-State is the ultimate unit in human organization and, therefore, the ultimate unit in human allegiance.

"A nationalism," he remarks, "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,⁷ "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 holds⁸ "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."⁹ 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."¹⁰ 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."¹¹

"In a creative civilisation," he insists,¹² "what is important is not the historical accident of separate

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,¹³ "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."¹⁴

The only alternative to the acceptance of this view is disaster.

"World community and the sovereign-state," he emphatically concludes,¹⁵ "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 law. 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 also¹⁶ "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,¹⁷ "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,¹⁸ "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."¹⁹

So far as Tagore's own creed is concerned, he says:²⁰

"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.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 221.

8. It is difficult to agree with the view which Laski has taken about Mazzini here. Mazzini was both a nationalist and an internationalist. Thus we find him saying to the Italian workingmen, "You fall to the level of the brutes and violate God's Law whenever you suppress, or allow to be suppressed, one of the faculties which constitute human nature in yourself or in others . . . Life . . . was given you by God that you might use it for the benefit of humanity . . . Love humanity. Ask yourselves whenever you do an action in the sphere of your country, or your family, if what I am doing were done by all and for all, would it advantage or injure Humanity? and if your conscience answers, It would injure Humanity, desist; desist, even if it seem to you that an immediate advantage for your country or your family would ensue from your action. Be apostles of this faith, apostles of the brotherhood of nations, and of the unity of the human race." "Your first duties," he continues, "first, at least in importance—are, as I have told you, to Humanity. You are men before you are citizens or fathers." (See Mazzini, *The Duties of Man*, etc., Chs. IV and V, Everyman's Library).

9. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 225.

10. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 17.

11. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, Ch. VI.

12. See *ibid.*

13. See *ibid.*

14. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 24.

15. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 64.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

18. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, p. 43.

19. See Tagore, *Nationalism*, 1950, p. 16.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

"Even Marxian Socialism," says Hayes,²² "despite its international programme and its cosmopolitan slogans, 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.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

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. Prapulla 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 1921 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 (Saram 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 just 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

Time 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

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 Mahatmaji 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 recalls, very inaccurately, what actually happened, but recalls also and gives body to what never happened at all" (p. 108). The following mistakes have been pointed out: Yogic Sadhan and Aurobindo Prasanga 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 *Gururad* 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 *Jeevana 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 overmind 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-

siders 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 Taxation Publishing Co. (India) Limited, 3, Daryaganj, Delhi-7. Part I: pp. iv and 1-380, Part II: ix 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. Gackwad'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 CHAKRAVARTI

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

SAHITYALOCHAN 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.

GUJARATI

PARSI SAHITYANO ITIHAS: By Miss Pilan Bikhaji 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. Manjula 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. Hari-prasad 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.

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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 (1893) . . . 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 ideal 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.

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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.

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 a very special character. They are worth more than scores of divisions.

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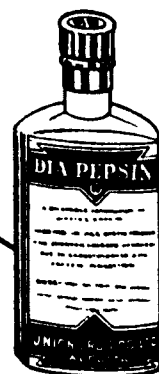
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Democracy in British Guiana

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, antile 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 pea-antry. 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?

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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 European 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 educational problem in many countries and one of the prerequisites of their development.

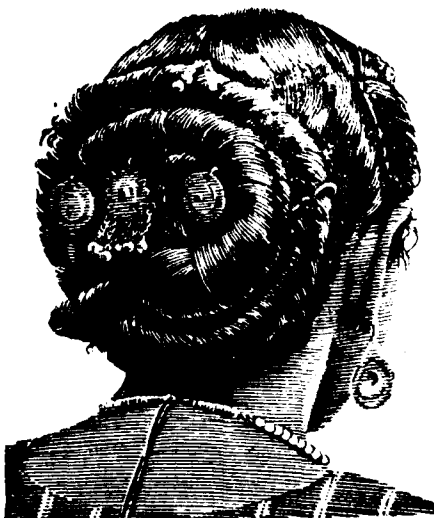
In Libya, an educational and production centre was set up in Tripoli. It has become a well-integrated teachers' college, a women's teachers' group including five units, a men's college with two model primary schools attached, and a centre for the production of educational materials.

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

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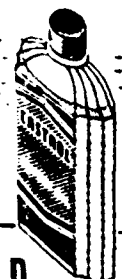


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subjects in 1951 and 1952 were hydrology and plant ecology, while in 1953 it was energy sources. Meetings were held in May 1953 in Paris, and in November at Montpellier, France, in conjunction with an international symposium of plant ecology, organized 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.

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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.

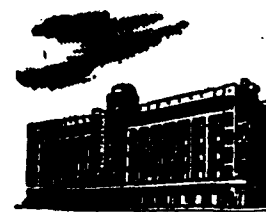
An example of the assistance in the field of science teaching is provided by the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur.

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



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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 Akademi at the Red Fort, Delhi, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad presents the Samadhi to Ustad Alauddin Khan.



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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

"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

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 of 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 minimise 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. Purushottamdas 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 pias 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 cwt. to 7.69 lakh cwt., 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. 14.95 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. 4.96 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. Newspaper imports showed an increase from Rs. 4.65 crores to Rs. 5.09 crores, the respective volume of imports being 9.16 lakh cwt. and 13.65 lakh cwt. 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 cwt. to 12.19 lakh cwt. 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 cwt. to 2.29 lakh cwt. 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. 20.14 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 since 1952. 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 runs 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:

Hematite Ores—

Bihar and Orissa	8,000 million tons
Madhya Pradesh	3,000 " "
Mysore	1,000 " "
Sandur	250 " "

Magnetite Ores—

Madras	1,000 " "
Mysore	200 " "

Limonitic and Spethic Ores—

West Bengal	500 " "
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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 *Hindustan 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 pignies. "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 in 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. Keshkar'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. Keshkar, 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. Keshkar 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. Keshkar 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 incomings, 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 Kanada, 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 (*sruti*), 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 perceptions 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 *ashrama*, 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 (*Istara*), 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" (*ajatarada*).

(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 *jñāna-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. *Rāja-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."

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THE POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA

By Mr. 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 past 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 (*śāstras*) 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 *Laghukaumudī*, 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 *Uṣā* (*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 (*vaishakha*) masa tithi pratipada suklapaksha pavar (*para*)."

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 Gaekwad 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 Sanskrit 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 Gunadhya. 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) *Brihatkathamansari*, 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, *sanmukha-kalpa* (readers know something of it from the *Mrichhakatika*). 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 worldly 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 dchinam, 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.

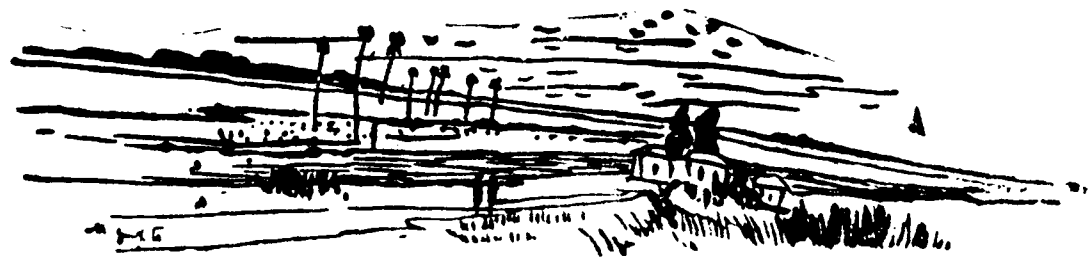
This proves, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the need of a complete reorientation of our educational system. The greatest evil of our time is that a student does not practise in his own life what he learns from his teachers or the books he has read. He does not see before him an ideal teacher, pure in 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 hopeful, 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, 29th 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 "scientolatry" 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	23.50	109
1901	23.55	103
1911	24.90	109
1921	24.81	111
1931	27.55	104
1941	31.28	94
1951	35.09	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 38.3 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

By D. R. PENDSE, B.A. (Cantab.)

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 de-

cade 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.

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 Adiwasies (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

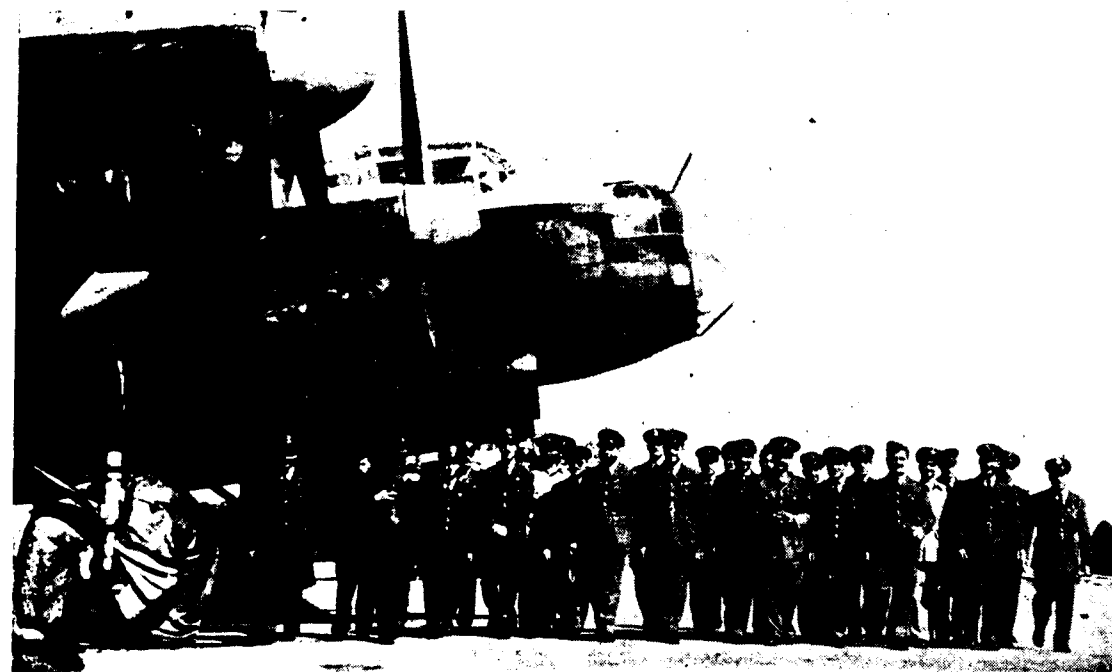
Sarvodaya organisation in Bombay State has a unique status. Firstly it must be remembered that it is not a government department in any way and that Sarvodaya workers are not government servants. Yet, Sarvodaya has the fullest backing of the present and the past Congress government. On the other hand, 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 Mukhlepore about 10 miles from Delhi



Helen Keller (center), 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.

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THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND THE STATES IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

A Review

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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 355 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 Saugor, Saugor, in December, 1953.

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

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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.

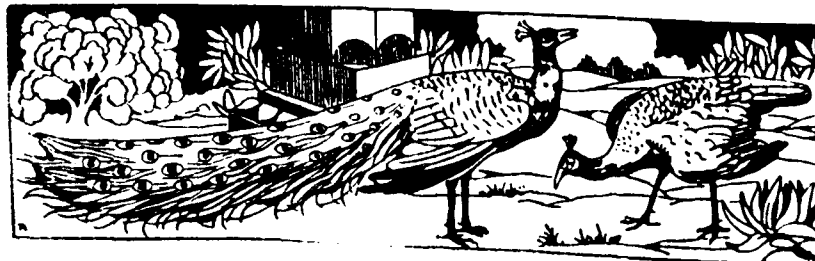
The two factors that have continued to determine citizenship are the place of birth and the nationality of parents and ancestors. A conflict of these sometimes results in dual or multiple nationality as in the United States of America. To begin with, the inhabitants of various British colonies in America 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.

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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 automata 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.

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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 Chaham 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 Granthis 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 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.

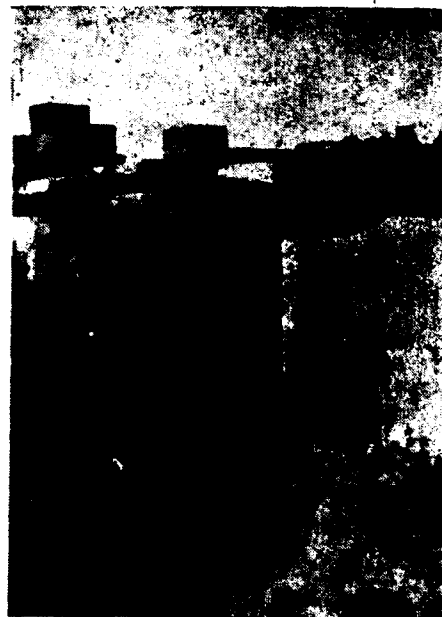
After lunch, we motored to Halwara, ten miles away. The next lap of the journey—Halwara to Dagon—we did on cycles. We wheeled on what is not a road proper, but a foot-track through open fields. It passes through villages at places. Evening was fast approaching. The monotony of open fields bordering the 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, Sodi, 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 *Mashavi* (sweeper) Sikh. Matrimonial alliances between Ramdasias and *Mashavis* 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 the hereditary trade. The dead cattle are removed from the village by the Ramdasias. They take the hide 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 Punjabee. 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 Punjabees 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.

THE FRENCH RIVIERA

The New Riviera : Marseilles to Cannes

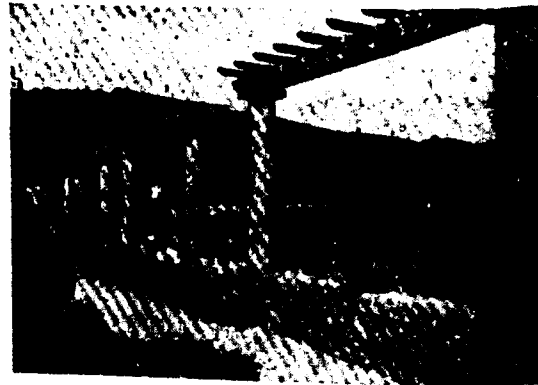
By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

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 Toulouse (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 the



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

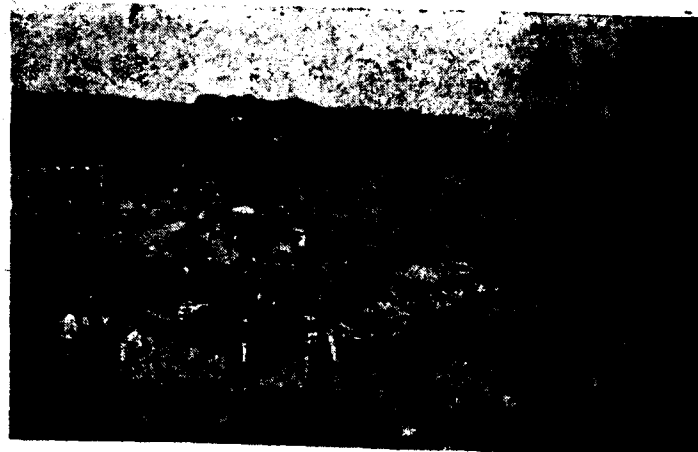


Cannes



Bandol

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 Esterel. Lavandor Shaw once stayed near the little lagoon at Agay. common to have permanent structures for trailing. By the striking contrast of flowers raised in summer. Trayas, the popular city of Cannes was reached.



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 Dragignone) of Mr. Sirmakechin and the grainage at Less Aires 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

supplied the name of the wearing stuff in fashion there, which go by that name all over the world.



Toulon

said to be the most elegant city of the world, where the rich congress. Having expressed a wish for 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 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 especially 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 harbor it looked as if the palm trees came straight from North Africa (as indeed



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 cosmopolitan 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 confessional, 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 Nepalese 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.

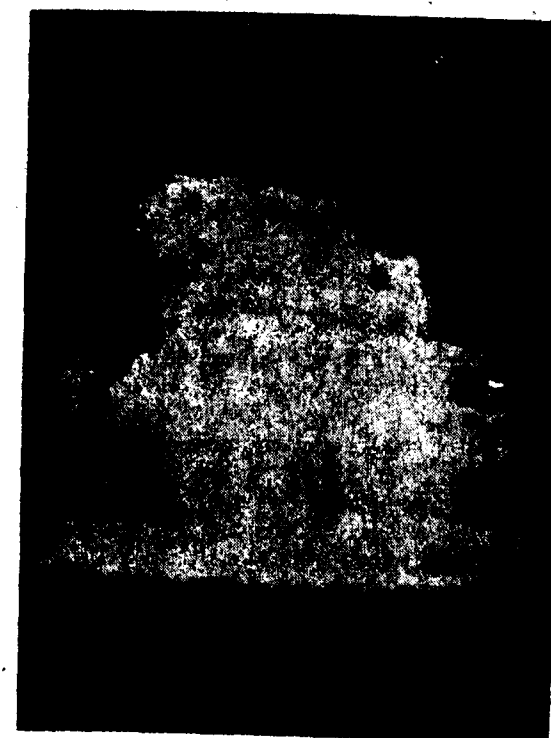
The road which meanders along between serrated crests of everlasting hills to the capital of Assam is a marvel of engineering skill. As it ascends with unending twists and turns, it unfolds multitudinous miracles of light and sound and touch and smell, splendid views of many things from tiny to tremendous, views of range upon range of hills, of deep gorges and lovely glens strepsing 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 steeply hills. It is nearly 5,000 feet above sea level. The town derives its name from a Khasi, U. Shillong, he, 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 Laitumkhrab, 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 thickets 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 Khasias, 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

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 rainments, 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 Laitumkrah 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 Laitumkrah a dignified and lovely appearance.

The Welsh Mission Hospital, renowned as the best hospital in the State, is situated at Jaiaw, 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 Daw

Hospital the Reid Chest Hospital and the Pastour 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 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 gossip. 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.

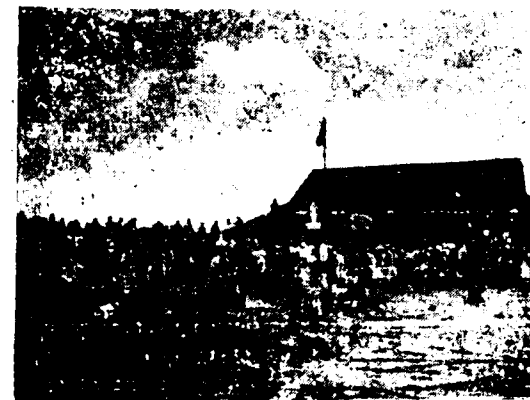


The New Secretariat

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 Mawsmai Falls. Another is the Smit Road which leads to the headquarters of the Siem (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 visitor's 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 or 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 Ghosh Brothers, Shillong
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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. Furnished 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

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.

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

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 the 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.

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, arches, traves and frieses of the latter. To meet this danger and also as a protection against the seepage of water, five surface drains have been constructed

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*

[A critical appreciation of Dr. A. C. Bose's article]

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. Kailashmath 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. Boes 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 lost, 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 गुणकर्मविभागशः ।

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 signing 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 nature 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!!*



By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,
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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 Upanayam 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 विन्दतेऽमृतम् (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, भूमेवं 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"

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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, 1963, pp. 479-480.

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 Mridhravao, 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, Mleccha.

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

Macdonnell 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 Bribu, 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, Bribhu, 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 Xettaioi, 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 Libyan 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 biotype 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 Xettaioi, Egyptians, Cretans and Libyans were Indo-Aryans. These people who went with the Panis, the merchants of Mohenjo-Daro, founded jointly the Hittite, Egyptian, Cretan and Libyan 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.



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 on 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 Shrivijaya, 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 worshipped 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;

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.) It 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.



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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. cvii). 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 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. J

remains to mention that this valuable work is adorned with a portrait of King Khefre, 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 Jagesh C. Bagal, with a Foreword by Dr. Jadumath Sarkar. Bharati Library, Calcutta. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1-4.

How the unarmed "timid" Bengali peasants in 1880 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 religion 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 Tuatav.

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 Rs. 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 reproduced as much of the sense and fervour of the poet says that the words and languages are jealous and have to be wooed assiduously before they surrender 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 Haridwar, 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 Satnavati 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 who 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 Ganeshti 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 Gandhī 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 *Para Nan Bidan* (1946) and *Alpatmanu 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 Gandhī 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.) 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 Lala 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.

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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 communist 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 wartime 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



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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 despoiler 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 obtuse 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 huring into the main streams of his philosophic thought. This is not with-

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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-trying 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.

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.

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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 rocklessness 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.

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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

has 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 Biosophical 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 biosophical peace research within man, in an "Open Letter to Pope Pius XII," published December 29th, 1953 in the magazine *The Biosophical 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 biosophical 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 Biosophical 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 Biosophical Review* published by *The School for Biosophical 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 U, 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 200,000 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 1945 and 21.7% 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 1945, 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 1950 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 395,000. In 1951 the figures for marriages were at the level of 190,032. 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.

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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

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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 school-teachers 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 are needed.

But then there are nations where poverty covers the country side, where peasants lead a precarious existence with misery and disease never far off. Obviously, such 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*.



Bronze bust of Sri G. Venkataradhnam, M.P., well-known artist
By D. P. Roy Chowdhury



Bronze bust of Sri K. S. Subba Rao, Editor, Sankar
By D. P. Roy Chowdhury

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NOTES

Crisis in East Pakistan

At the time of our going to press comes the news that the Pakistan Ministry of Interior had issued a statement, in a *Gazette Extraordinary*, to the effect that "a grave emergency had arisen in East Pakistan threatening its security." The Pakistan Governor-General Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had, therefore, dismissed the Fazlul Huq Ministry of East Pakistan and imposed Governor's rule on that province.

The resultant situation, in so far as Indo-Pakistan relations are concerned, are likely to be of extreme delicacy. Indeed, if the unofficial and unconfirmed news regarding the role played by the American Ambassador at Karachi, has any substance in it, then matters are likely to take a grave and sinister turn. It is difficult to believe that the representative of the world's leading democracy should thus follow the traditions of Hitler, Heidrich and Himmler, but it is best to be prepared for the worst, without losing sight of realities.

In the past there has been a tendency, in Calcutta, to treat all matters concerning East Pakistan on a purely emotional basis. This is particularly true of the Indian-owned section of the Calcutta daily press. The West Bengal Government also has followed in line, without considering for a moment the consequences of such an unrealistic procedure. In particular there has been a tendency to consider all matters regarding East Pakistan solely on the basis of the confused and wishful thoughts of the emigrants and uprooted Hindus from East Pakistan.

This very same wishful thinking led to the reading of imaginary meanings, in the statements of Mr. Fazlul Huq at Calcutta. To a large measure this has been the undoing of the Fazlul Huq Ministry. The 1953-54 has to face the consequences.

"The Goose that Laid Golden Eggs"

We all know the fable of the avaricious man who had a goose that laid golden eggs. We know the conclusion also, as to how he killed the goose and lost all.

There is an ultra-modern version to that fable, that is being enacted before our eyes, which we relate here in the hopes that it would catch the eyes of our gods-that-be.

The Jute Enquiry Commission has submitted its report and recommendations, on which we give our comments elsewhere in this issue. But the tale we have to unfold is not contained in that report.

Twenty years ago the Jute Mills of India consumed, on an average, about 6.5 million bales of jute, another 3.5 million bales being exported. During the last World War, about 1941, jute exports had to stop and the existing mills abroad closed down due to lack of raw material. Indian mills made gigantic profits thereafter, and the Government being desirous of sharing therein, the export duty went up higher and higher, finally reaching the peak of Rs. 1,500 per ton, on jute products, at a later day.

When raw jute became available abroad, this combination of high duty and colossal profits put the price of manufactured jute at such a high level that many newcomers, such as, Iran, Egypt, Philippines and South Africa entered the promising field and established a large number of jute mills with highly modernised machinery. Old European entrepreneurs in Dundee, France, Belgium and Italy re-equipped their mills with high speed and high efficiency machinery.

This was the position in 1950. Our Jute industry, which was then largely dominated by intrusive



SRI CHAITANYA AND BASUDEB SARKAR
By Basudeb Sarkar

speculative elements, whose sole motive force was greed for immediate gain, took no steps for modernisation. They had neither the brains nor the experience for industrial advancement and preparedness.

In 1950-51, the jute crop was small and insufficient. The India Government of that period took the advice of the self-same intrusive speculative elements in the Indian Jute Mills Association, for reasons best known to the then Ministers in charge of the relevant portfolios and their adroit secretaries, and fixed Rs. 35 per maund as the maximum price of bottoms. Mills made soaring profits, mostly in illicit (black) dollars while the Government lost both in taxes and in dollar exchange. Needless to say, no investigation was initiated regarding the action of the ministers that had involved the nation thus in loss, by their acts of either omission or commission. Abroad Pak jute was being bought at Rs. 38 but although the Pakistan Government offered jute at that price to India, India refused to buy, relying on the advice of the same nefarious group of speculators who predicted that Pakistan would be forced to lower the price to Rs. 35.

The Mills, on the one hand, wrongly assured the Indian Government, that there was a sufficiency of jute in India. On the other hand, they rapidly bought, in enormous quantities, all stocks in secret, both in India and Pakistan, that they could lay their hands on. By their pressure the Reserve Bank was forced to stop money advances on jute. This sealed the fate of all middlemen and small stock-holding sellers in India, who were forced to sell to the mills at low prices dictated by the mill-owners.

By February, 1951, Indian Mills got together enormous stocks. Then they told the Indian Government that jute stocks were much lower than they had estimated and that the mills would have to close down unless the ceiling was raised. The controls were broken and prices rose to Rs. 110 per maund!

Hessian sold at soaring prices on the basis of the latter price for jute. "Black" dollars piled in tens of millions in the hands of those unscrupulous mill-owners. Sellers were beaten down to their knees, and the cultivator was swindled completely. Indian mill-owners were the biggest culprits in this fraud, but the Ministers at the Centre were no less culpable for allowing this swindle to go through.

Hessian being sold at fabulous prices, the users sought substitutes and new methods. Toughened paper bags for cement, open loading of wheat in ship-holds came into practice. Hessian thus lost a good deal of the vast world markets, due to the insatiable greed of Indian jute millers.

Pakistan gained, because it forced the Indian Government to buy at Rs. 100 the jute offered before at Rs. 38. Jute-millers sold at Rs. 105 their products that were contracted at Rs. 45. "Black" dollars piled

up. The nation was swindled of taxes and of dollar exchange!

Now the Indian Jute Mills are facing hard competition from foreign mills. Duty has been lowered to Rs. 80 and Rs. 175, but even so the well-equipped foreign mills offer fiercely competitive prices.

Indian consumption of jute has gone down from 6.5 to 5.2 million bales, while foreign consumption has gone up from 3.5 to 4.2 million bales. To that should be added the paper-bag and other substitutes plus new practices in shipping. In the sum-total it can be seen that the scope for jute products has increased, provided of course, if the prices are reasonable. Pakistan is increasing looms rapidly, in order to capture the trade lost by India by her curtailed production.

Jute prices were forced down in India, in 1953, from Rs. 110 to Rs. 17 by the Government closing exports on the advice of the millowners. Cultivators faced ruin in most cases. As a consequence the Indian jute crop has come down from 4.6 million bales to 3.5 million bales. It will go down further if the Government does not protect the poor cultivator from the machinations of these rapacious swindlers, who would not spend any part of their ill-gotten gains in modernisation, preferring to live by fraudulence. If they are allowed to proceed without let or hindrance, they would kill the Jute Industry in India, their psychology being totally devoid of the three essentials in industrial practice, namely, integrity, efficiency and far-sightedness.

Even today their mills are running at a fair profit. Yet they are against the Jute Enquiry Commission's recommendation for a 48 hours week in order to make prices competitive. Today the mills are running about 36 hours a week (42 hours with 12½ per cent looms sealed) in reality, which means greatly curtailed production. Even with that there is an average profit of about 50 lakhs per mill. But increased production would lower prices and tend to stop illicit profits and black dollars.

The Jute Enquiry Commission has recommended the fixation of raw jute prices in relation with Hessian prices. We consider that to be just and proper.

Sri Deshmukh is credited with the ability to assess the advice of the Jute Mills Association at its proper value. Our hopes lie with him for giving fair play to the cultivator who is the greatest and most helpless sufferer at the hands of these industrial freebooters.

Jute Enquiry Commission's Report

The jute industry of India, the No. 1 dollar-earner, suffered greatly by partition. The undivided India enjoyed a monopolistic position in jute goods, but with the loss of main jute-growing areas by partition Indian jute industry experienced a set-back. Pakistan

has helped to foster the growth of jute industry in other parts of the world and as a result India today faces a strong foreign competition in the world jute goods market.

Calcutta jute goods market was passing through a crisis which was aggravated by the orgies of speculative activities and fatka. As a result the prices of jute goods shot up steeply only to collapse a few weeks later. The first half of 1953 witnessed a large-scale depression in jute goods trade. The Government of India realised the danger in the offing and appointed a Jute Enquiry Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar. Although there is nothing new in most of the findings of the Committee, yet the report is marked by its comprehensiveness and realistic conclusions and suggestions.

The primary problem of the Indian jute industry is the production and supply of raw jute in this country. One of the important terms of reference to the Commission was how best raw jute producers could get a good economic return for their crop. The Committee observes that the development of cultivation should be both in quantity and in quality only up to the amount that can be consumed and for which a fair price can be got by the Indian mills, since they are now the sole consumers. The short fall in supply of indigenous jute will have for some time to be met by imports of Pakistani jute. The Report of the Commission next examines the charge that imports of jute from Pakistan at one stage was neither necessary nor in the interest of the Indian economy. The contention was that only a small part of the improved jute from Pakistan is of the high quality that cannot be grown here and the bulk of the imports by the mills during this period have been made with the object of getting the maximum profit from the lower prices in Pakistan, and further that this prejudicial action affected the interests of the jute grower in India. In recent months, however, the use of Indian jute by the Indian mills has increased to 79 per cent. The Report objects to the indiscriminate use of raw jute from Pakistan, although the Chairman of IJMA in his evidence before the Commission, made out a case for the import of some of the lower grades of Pakistani raw jute. The Commission says that in the long term interests of jute growing in India and of the jute industry, the import of jute from Pakistan should be restricted to grades which are not yet available in the required quantity in India and that, in order to achieve the objective, the possibility of getting even low quality fibre at comparable prices in India should be explored.

In the opinion of the Commission price variation should not be allowed to affect adversely the jute acreage. As regards the recent fall in jute prices, the Commission holds that although there was a slight recovery in raw jute prices by the end of 1952-53 season, the jute cultivator was apprehensive of further drop in prices and as a result there was a marked fall in acreage. In 1953-54 the jute acreage dropped by 34 per cent from the 1952-53 level. The Commission, however, suggests

that marginal land should be switched over to food crop cultivation.

The Report then examines the question of cultivator's cost. On the basis of the replies received by the Commission, estimates in respect of the cost of cultivation of jute have been arrived at as follows: in West Bengal, costs vary from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 per maund, while the average for Assam is Rs. 20 per maund and the average for Bihar is Rs. 15 per maund. In West Bengal cost per acre vary between Rs. 230 to Rs. 340, in Assam the cost per acre is Rs. 240 and in Bihar it is Rs. 150. The Commission, however, has rejected the suggestion for a statutory minimum price fixation for jute on the ground of assuring an economic price for the raw jute grower. The system of minimum price obtains in many countries including advanced nations like the USA and the UK. But under the Indian conditions statutory minimum price system will be unsuitable and harmful to jute cultivation. The Commission has come to the conclusion that the data available are unsuitable for price fixation, and moreover grades of jute vary considerably and the method of preparation (retting and stripping) greatly affects their quality. The Commission says on the point: "Since we are not recommending fixation of minimum prices, we have only pointed to the nature of the different bases that have been suggested for price fixation and the difficulties in applying any of these in actual price." There cannot, however, arise any question of the minimum prices being assured by the industry, because it cannot be made to pay prices which are inconsistent with supply or with the levels at which the world markets are prepared to take jute goods. The responsibility lies on the Government to ensure a minimum economic price for jute. But that would be a great liability on the Government being beyond their resources, at least for the present. The only practicable course for ensuring the grower an economic return for his crop is that which has been recommended by the Commission. It has indicated several ways in this connection, namely, intensive cultivation by adoption of improved methods, proper marketing arrangements combined with prompt dissemination of market news to farmers in a manner that is easily understood by them, and reduction in taxation and freight rates on raw jute. The Commission has also suggested for the abolition of sales tax and similar taxes on raw jute and a reduction in the freight rates for carrying raw jute by rail and steamer. It is gratifying to note that the Indian production of raw jute almost succeeded in reaching a level of self-sufficiency. From the level of 1.3 million bales in 1946-47, the production rose to 4.7 million bales in 1952-53. The drive towards increased jute production, however, received a set-back by a year of depressed raw jute prices, and as a result there was a much poorer crop in 1953-54. It is imperative that India should strive to attain self-sufficiency in raw jute production. But self-sufficiency in terms of quantity alone will be a false picture of prosperity. Relative rather than absolute self-sufficiency in raw jute should be the aim of India.

India should try to develop high quality raw jute so that in the near future dependence on Pakistan can be dispensed with.

Another important issue referred to the Commission was to determine the place of futures trading in the marketing of jute and jute products. On this point the Commission's performance is not satisfactory. It has recognised the importance of a futures market for both raw jute and jute products and has recommended the establishment of a single well-knit and regulated organisation such as the East India Cotton Association. It has not, however, suggested any scheme for eliminating unhealthy speculation from which the Calcutta jute trade suffers. While it examined and enquired into the nature and extent of speculation in the *fatka* market, no suggestion was made as how that market could be prevented from becoming a den of gambling operations. The fact that it is all along there calls for its early closure. Excessive and unhealthy speculation caused wide fluctuations in raw jute prices and did a great harm to the jute industry. Such speculation will continue to affect the jute industry if the futures market is opened without proper safeguards for checking the speculation. The Report simply states: "We endorse generally the recommendations of Mr. Todd for the setting up of such a market. We also consider that for the balanced operation of the futures market, dealings in both raw jute and jute goods should be started simultaneously. We have not gone into details regarding the constitution of any associations to run such a market. In the past, the East India Jute and Hessian Exchange has functioned to some extent as futures market. But we suggest that a body with a more broad-based construction, representing all interests, and with wider bases for business and necessary checks against speculation can be formed by the voluntary co-operation of those in the trade who are interested in forward business. Further, as, under the Forward Contract (Regulation) Act, 1952, recognition for such association functioning in a forward market has to be accorded by the Forward Markets Commission, it is for those who desire to promote or revive such an association to frame a suitable constitution and submit the same for approval of the Commission."

Although the side-tracking of this important issue by the Commission will be regretted, it is however well that it did not attempt to get over this difficult task. The matter is so intricate that it requires to be dealt with by an expert body which is fully aware of the techniques of the speculative game.

The Commission has suggested for the appointment of a Jute Commissioner, the establishment of a Jute Board and the setting up of a Development Council for the jute industry. They together will assist the cultivators and mills to attain strength and stability in the industry. The Jute Commissioner and the Jute Board can help the grower in being informed easily about the fair price for raw jute on the basis of the rates of jute manufactures. They will also assist the

grower to keep a watch over agencies through which the raw jute is marketed. But in implementing these recommendations of the Commission, there is possibility of duplication of the existing machinery. The existing Indian Central Jute Committee can perform the task which is being proposed to be assigned to the Jute Board and the Jute Commissioner. Only what is required is some expansion in the staff of the Central Jute Committee with experienced hands. The proposed Development Council will also be redundant inasmuch as the present Indian Jute Mills Association is a body which is quite capable of looking after the interest of the industry. The experience of development councils in some other industries has not been encouraging enough to set up another development council for the jute industry.

On the matter of modernisation of the industry, the Commission observes that it is overdue. The present size of the market that India holds can be retained only by accelerating the pace of modernisation and showing potential competitors that the Indian industry is determined to spare no efforts to keep its markets and will be taking all reasonable steps to increase efficiency and reduce costs. The Commission urges upon the Government of India to pay immediate attention to the problems of modernisation of the jute industry and to take steps in that direction.

On the subject of the marketing of jute, the Commission estimates that growers in villages dispose of nearly 75 per cent of their crop at their doors to *Farias* and *Beparis*, who constitute the first link in the chain of intermediaries supplying jute to the up-country *kutchas* balers. Moreover, the average grower sells only a small lot at a time, because his stock is small and he does not desire to part with his crop all at a time.

Control Over Public Expenditure

The persistence with which the Estimates Committees, the Public Accounts Committees and the Audit Officers assail Government departments for over-spending, unauthorised spending, and spending without proper accounts and proper enquiry, has again revealed the inadequacy of Parliamentary control over public expenditure. Such allegations are now being made with increasing frequency and they certainly undermine the Government's reputation in discharging the task of national book-keeping. They point out to the old problem of creating independent audit, which would ensure that the moneys spent are spent on purposes authorised by Parliament. The ninth report of the Estimates Committee deals with a subject on which the Chanda Report has already made a substantial contribution. Not all the points raised by the Estimates Committee are new, there are some repetitions of earlier findings by experts who had more intimate knowledge of the subject of financial procedure in the Secretariat.

Dealing first with the controversial issue of finan-

cial control, the Estimates Committee records that a sort of suspicion has entered into the relationship between the Finance and administrative Ministries. To remove delays and to ensure work in more harmonious conditions, the Committee makes two principal recommendations regarding the stages of preparation and the execution of a Ministry's scheme. With regard to the first stage, the Committee suggests that before a scheme is embarked upon, it should be properly planned and steps should be taken to ensure that the required funds would be forthcoming at the proper time. After the scheme has been approved by the Finance Ministry, its detailed execution should be the responsibility of the administrative Ministry concerned, which should have the power to vary or alter details as long as the total expenditure is not exceeded.

The Estimates Committee makes the suggestion that the responsibility for sanctioning expenditure within the budgeted demand should be that of the Secretary of the Ministry, on the advice of the Financial Adviser. In the event of disagreement between the two, the question should be referred for decision to the Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance. Several references are made to imperfect planning before the submission of a scheme to the Finance Ministry, which is asked to maintain a complete record of instances where due to bad or no planning the funds sanctioned could not be utilized.

The Indian Constitution gives emphasis to the Parliamentary supremacy over public expenditure. Specific references to it occur in Articles 114 and 266. The former prescribes that no money shall be withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India, except under appropriations made by law in accordance with the provisions of the Article, and the latter reiterates the same principle in respect of States. Before these constitutional provisions are fully implemented, certain changes in the administrative machinery, which now performs the accounting and audit services for the Union and State Governments, are necessary. This machinery has become outmoded and has outlived its usefulness.

Under the present fiscal system, there are some three hundred treasuries in the country, one in each district, each treasury having one or more sub-treasuries. Receipts and disbursements take place in the treasuries for transactions connected with both the Central and the State Governments. This practice differs from the practice in the United Kingdom where all public payments are made through the Bank of England. The reason for the departure is that India is geographically too vast to permit the use of a single institution. The treasury work is also performed by the Imperial Bank of India. The Reserve Bank utilises the Imperial Bank as its agent

for purposes of treasury work in places where it has no branches of its own. The primary responsibility for the control of expenditure rests on the various departmental controlling authorities. This method, as the Comptroller and Auditor-General remarked last year in his note submitted to the Public Accounts Committee, has "never worked satisfactorily"; it "completely broke down" during and after the war.

Two aspects of the present system deserve immediate action. Firstly, the accounts of the State Governments are maintained by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. This practice is being followed under the transitional provisions of the Constitution. Ultimately, the States should be asked to take over the entire responsibility for the maintenance of accounts. Under the Union List (Item No. 76), it is only the audit of the accounts of the Union and of the States that is a Union subject. In the second place, the same agency is responsible for the maintenance of the accounts as well as the audit. The compilation of accounts and their audit of most of the States have been entrusted to the same agency, the Indian Audit Department. This practice was criticised by the Simon Commission as anomalous combination of duties, being a relic of the highly centralised system of administration which obtained in this country before 1920. The system has, however, survived to this day, and the main argument for not effecting a change in the system is that it is economical.

In Britain, the control over public expenditure is exercised in three ways. Firstly, each Ministry has got its own Accounting Officer who passes all bills payable by the Minister and issues "payable orders" on the Paymaster-General. It is the duty of the Officer to see that the payable orders do not exceed the voted grant. Generally speaking, there is no direct link between the individual departments and the Bank of England through which all payments are made, for between them stands the Paymaster-General. Secondly, there is the machinery of control provided by the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. The Estimates Committee supervises the estimates, submitted by the different departments, before they are placed in the House of Commons. Of course, the Treasury itself does this work first, and the Committee's work is more in the nature of a revision. In the UK a convention has developed out of the sense of "economic chivalry" and according to it, the Chairman of this Committee is a member of the Opposition. The actual expenditure is subject to the scrutiny of the Public Accounts Committee. Spending authorities carefully try to avoid the displeasure of this Committee. Thirdly, there is the all-important officer, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, whose office was established as far back as 1866. He examines and audits

all public accounts before he submits his report to Parliament.

The Indian Constitution has borrowed all the practices of the British financial system, namely, the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor-General. But it has missed the fundamental principle that accounts should be separated from audit. It is absurd to assign both these functions to the same agency. It may be stated here that the Conference of Commonwealth Auditor-General, held in Britain in October 1951, came to the unanimous conclusion that an Auditor-General should not make payments nor keep accounts.

The existing arrangements are wholly inconsistent with the various responsibilities of the spending departments, namely, effective control over their responsibilities to Parliament to keep within the budget grants and appropriations. If a satisfactory system of Exchequer control is to be introduced in this country, there should be separate Accounts Officers to each of the Ministries and major spending departments, as in the UK, with whom all payments will be centralised in respect of such Ministry or Department. A corollary to this will be that the States will have to take over the maintenance of the Accounts, which under the transitional provisions of the Constitution, is at present the responsibility of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The present position of making the same agency responsible for the maintenance of Accounts and also the Audit of the Accounts compiled by itself is not only anomalous but highly improper and defective.

It may be noted here that in 1924, the Government of India separated, as an experimental measure, accounts from audit in the UP, N-WFP, the Railways and certain departments of the Central Government. The separation of audit from accounts was effected earlier in the Defence Department. But in 1930-31, the experiment was abandoned as a measure of economy. Only in Defence and the Railways, the system of separate accounts continued. But small sums were saved through such economy measures. The UP Government hoped to save about Rs. 3½ lakhs by combining audit and accounts. The Secretary of State, however, regretted the abandonment of the experiment. The separation is now recommended on the ground that it is conducive to economy in public expenditure.

The Estimates Committee has recommended the abolition of the present system of treasuries, early nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and separation of audit and accounts. The Committee suggests that the treasuries should be replaced by the banking organisation which is quick, efficient and reliable. Their payment functions should be taken over by the branches of the Imperial Bank or where a branch of the Imperial Bank does not function by a branch of some other scheduled bank in consultation with the

Reserve Bank. Where there is no branch of the Imperial Bank or any scheduled bank in existence, the treasury office itself should be converted into a pay office of the Imperial Bank. The Committee urges that the Imperial Bank which is mostly concerned with the payments on behalf of the Central and State Governments should be nationalised. The Committee also emphasises the need for taking urgent steps to see that the Comptroller and Auditor-General concerns himself with audit functions only and the accounting and payment functions should devolve on the Ministry concerned.

The Estimates Committee's report on financial control over projects by the Finance Ministry is to be considered in the light of the recommendations made by the Chanda Report. Mr. Deshmukh's demand that all proposed expenditure of different Ministries must go through the scrutiny of the Finance Department is to be pitted against the danger of over-centralisation. It would be dangerous if the Finance Department becomes the ultimate dispenser of all expenditure and in the name of financial control the Finance Ministry may turn out to be the "super-Cabinet." There is also the risk of red-tapism, if all proposed projects stand in queue before the Finance Ministry. Mr. Deshmukh's claim that for expenditure from the Consolidated Fund, only the Finance Ministry is responsible, is obviously untenable. The Indian Constitution provides for collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament and for national expenditure, the Cabinet as a whole should be responsible. Decentralisation of expenditure as recommended by the Chanda Report is all the more desirable, provided, of course, proper safeguards are adopted. The balance between counter-claims of over-centralisation and decentralisation is to be achieved through constant consultation and negotiation—not by superimposition by the Finance Ministry. There is no doubt danger of extravagance in a decentralised expenditure—but it can be remedied to a great extent if the Cabinet as a whole examines the proposed expenditure in respect of important projects and takes the decision. The Estimates Committee seems to be inclined towards Mr. Deshmukh's claim of overcentralisation but it has not taken into consideration the dangers inherent in such a proposition.

The *sine qua non* in the decentralization of the Financial control is, of course, in the creation of an experienced and intrinsically efficient Permanent Staff that cannot be swayed from the straight path of integrity at the sweet will of fickle-minded and irresponsible ministers, within in cadre of the ministerial departments. Nepotism and favouritism stand in the way, as do party-politics and various parochia and other obsessions of ministers elected on popular vote. As matters stand today, perhaps, the question of safeguards have to be given priority over all other considerations.

Loss in Central Tractor Organisation

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha in its seventh report presented to the House on the 12th May recommended a Governmental probe into the stores purchase policy of the Central Tractor Organisation under the Food and Agricultural Ministry, reports the *UPI*.

The committee also criticised the Ministry for its failure to make any effort for determining the operational efficiency of the tractors purchased under Indian conditions. Another costly mistake, pointed out by the committee, was the order for bulk purchase of 24 diesel trucks in 1949 costing 128,802 dollars without first ascertaining the economics of diesel operated trucks. The diesel trucks were subsequently found to be uneconomical and were being discarded and replaced by petrol engines. There was considerable loss on account of the loss of a great number of tractor hours for one reason or another.

The committee urged the Government to fix the responsibility for the losses arising out of the "imprudent policy in the matter of purchase of tractors, stores and surplus spare parts." In three years from 1950-51 to 1952-53, the total loss of the CTO had amounted to Rs. 8,832,707. But the exact extent of the losses would remain unknown until surplus stock of the value of about a crore of rupees was sold out. If, on disposal, the stores failed to realise the book value then the losses would be greater still.

To ensure more efficient and economic working of land reclamation, the committee suggested that the Government should put the CTO under a corporation, constituted with the representatives of State and Central Governments, and run on commercial lines.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, defended the purchase policy of the CTO in a statement before the Lok Sabha on May 21. The Minister stated that the urgency of the food situation in the country at the time of the purchase of the tractors did not allow them time to test the efficiency of the tractors on Indian soil before their purchase. The type of trial suggested by the Estimates Committee would have required two or three years before any purchases could be made. He urged the House to consider the higher operational cost of some tractors against the cost of the additional food produced by the 400,000 to 500,000 acres of land reclaimed and brought under cultivation within the two years which would otherwise have been spent in testing the tractors.

Crisis in East Pakistan

Things have moved with dramatic suddenness in East Pakistan. The events have moved fast as the news given below indicate:

Karachi, May 30.—The Pakistan Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed today dismissed the Fazlul Huq Ministry of East Bengal and imposed Governor's Rule on the province.

The Governor-General did not dissolve the provincial legislature, but suspended its functioning.

The Government gave supreme power in the province to Gen. Iskander Mirza, Pakistan Defence Secretary, who was sworn in as Governor tonight succeeding Mr. Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, says *P.T.I.*

Mr. Huq is under house arrest, according to private information received in Calcutta from Dacca tonight. His house is being strongly guarded by the East Pakistan Rifles (Special Armed Police).

Governor-General has proclaimed emergency in East Bengal and directed Governor of Province to assume on his behalf all powers vested in or exercisable by Provincial Legislature.

About 100 persons, including some Communists have been taken into custody under the Public Safety Act so far in the city of Dacca and its surroundings following proclamation of Governor's Rule in East Pakistan this afternoon.

Sheikh Majibur Rahaman, one of the members of the Huq Cabinet and General Secretary of the Awami Muslim League, East Bengal till his appointment as a Minister a fortnight ago, was taken into custody by the police from his official residence tonight, according to a *P.T.I.* message.

Troops were reported to be patrolling the main towns in East Bengal following the dismissal of the Huq Ministry, says *Reuter*. The Government gave supreme power in the troubled 54,500 square mile territory to General Iskander Mirza, the new Governor.

Mr. Huq, dismissed Chief Minister, "might be tried for treason," according to indications available here tonight with official sources.

Mr. N. M. Khan, erstwhile Controller General of Prices and Supply, Government of Pakistan, who also arrived here with the new Governor today, took over the Chief Secretaryship of East Bengal from Mr. S. M. S. Ishaque.

The *Gazette Extraordinary* which was issued by the Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan said that grave emergency has arisen in East Pakistan threatening its security.

After the dismissal of the East Bengal Cabinet, the Provincial Governor is likely to appoint a few advisors to run the administration.

There is something very queer in Pakistan affairs if the following news be true:

New Delhi, May 30.—Reports reaching New Delhi from Karachi through highly informed political and diplomatic sources, as also from foreign correspondents, suggested strongly that the American Ambassador in Karachi, Mr. Heldrieck, played an important part, indeed almost the decisive one, in the dissolution of the East

Bengal Ministry of the victorious United Front leader, Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Reports said that till yesterday Mr. Mohammad Ali, Pakistani Premier, was hesitant to take the drastic action, he took at last yesterday, for fear of repercussions in East Pakistan. It was then suggested to him that a decision had to be taken and if need be, the Eastern part of the country would have to be governed in a drastic manner, for which the Governor of East Bengal would have to be replaced by a strong man who could rule in a militaristic way. The choice fell on General Iskandar Mirza, the Defence Secretary.

Dacca Taken by Surprise

News are scanty regarding the reactions at Dacca. We append below what has come through:

"Dacca, May 30.—Events moved with dramatic swiftness here today following the arrival of Mr. Fazlul Huq from Karachi. He was followed a little later in an Army plane by Maj-Gen. Iskandar Mirza, Defence Secretary of Pakistan, who was sworn in later in the evening as Governor of East Bengal at Government House, replacing Chaudhuri Khaliquz-zaman. The oath was administered by Sir T. Ellis, Chief Justice of Dacca.

"The evening's ceremony at Government House was watched by high civil and military officials and some non-officials. Conclusions of the proceedings coincided with the broadcast by the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, explaining the action taken. It was listened to in hushed silence by the assembly.

"Mr. Huq met tonight in a conference at his residence members of the former Cabinet. After the conference, an appeal was issued asking people to maintain peace and tranquillity.

"About 125 arrests have been made by the police as a precautionary measure, including Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, former Co-operative Minister, and Mr. Ghulam Qader Chowdhury. The situation is quiet.

"PTI adds: Mr. Mujibur Rahman, former Minister for Co-operatives in the Fazlul Huq Cabinet commenting on the promulgation of Governor's rule, said: 'The people of East Bengal will not tolerate this unconstitutional measure. We know that the Muslim League ruling clique has almost ruined Pakistan. Now again it is trying to finish the solidarity of Pakistan. The East Bengal people are behind us, having given their verdict in the last election in our favour. The unrepresentative Central Government is applying Sec. 92A on representative Government. We know that the East Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly, who have been discredited and who have no right to represent East Bengal, are trying to do this sort of mischief-making conspiracy with the Central Government.'

"Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, former Civil Supplies

Minister in the Huq Cabinet, in a statement to the Press said: 'This is a preposterous measure unheard of in the history of democracy. The ruling coterie has resorted to such a drastic measure only because the other party is against its wish and is opposed to it. The clique which has been responsible for such an unforeseen measure has done the greatest harm to the country and its integrity. I am sure the people who voted us to power will never tolerate this.'

"An emergency meeting of the United Front Legislature Party condemned the 'arbitrary, undemocratic and unconstitutional action' of the Pakistani Government in imposing Governor's rule. It assured the public that all legitimate and constitutional means would be taken to vindicate the democratic rights of the people.

"The order under Section 144 Cr.P.C., already in force in Dacca since the Adamjee Jute Mills riot, is being enforced with greater vigour. Military patrolling of the city has been intensified."

Mr. Mohammed Ali's Broadcast

Pakistan's Prime Minister informed his people about the course of action his government had decided upon thus:

"Mr. Mohammed Ali told the nation over Radio Pakistan this evening that the Centre took over the administration of East Bengal 'to save East Bengal and preserve the integrity of Pakistan.'

"The Prime Minister in a 29-minute broadcast immediately after the imposition of Sec. 92A in East Bengal said the administration of East Bengal had 'virtually broken down' and the Fazlul Huq Ministry was not able to secure the lives and properties of the people of the province.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali assured the nation that 'in coming to this decision we have not been influenced in the slightest degree by the fact that the provincial Ministry was not a Muslim League Ministry but a United Front Ministry.'

"He added, the Centre had not hesitated to dismiss the Muslim League Ministries of Sind and Punjab (P) when similar situation arose in the past.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said that in the light of information in the possession of the Pakistani Government two factors stood out clearly.

"Firstly, disruptive forces and enemy agents were actively at work in East Bengal to undermine the integrity of Pakistan by setting Muslims against Muslims, class against class and the province against the Centre. The second factor was that Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleagues were 'not prepared to take the action necessary to cope with this situation.'

"The Prime Minister said that nefarious activities of subversive elements in East Bengal had resulted in tragic events. He particularly referred to the troubles in the industrial centres of Chittagong, Narayanganj and Khulna immediately after the

result of the United Front victory came to be gradually announced.

"He mentioned the 'serious riot at the Chandra-kona Paper Mill where 13 persons were killed, the disturbance between the jail staff and the public at Dacca and finally the tragic riot at Adamjee Jute Mill, in which over 400 persons, including innocent women and children, were killed.

"The Prime Minister said that the *modus operandi* in all these disturbances was identical. He declared: 'No Government could afford to ignore a situation pregnant with such disastrous possibilities for the wellbeing of the province and the future of Pakistan.'

"He disclosed that on May 17 directives were issued to the Provincial Government requiring it to take certain actions to cope with the situation that had arisen. At the same time the Provincial Government was assured that the Centre would give it 'every assistance in the restoration and maintenance of order in the province.'

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said that the Provincial Government declined to take the action suggested by the Central Government. Mr. Fazlul Huq publicly repudiated the suggestion that Communists or other subversive elements had any hand in the disturbances. The United Front leaders made the 'fantastic allegation' that the Central Government and the Muslim League had instigated these riots to discredit the United Front. This, he said, was, of course, a deliberate falsehood and a wicked attempt to mislead the people and make political capital out of a great tragedy.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali said, the order would remain in force for the minimum time necessary to restore law and order and public confidence and for parliamentary Government to function successfully. These orders did not affect the present provincial legislature which would continue in Dacca. He said the assumption of administration under Sec. 92-A was designed to create conditions in which the administration could be handed back again to the people's representatives. He hoped that the Government of the province would with the support and co-operation of the people of East Bengal be able to re-establish normal conditions in the province at an early date when a parliamentary Government would be reinstated.

"Mr. Huq's recent statements viewed against the background of his Calcutta utterances, had convinced him and his colleagues that they had to deal with a political leader who was fundamentally opposed to Pakistan. It was clear that neither he nor his Cabinet was fit to administer the province or could be trusted to restore peace and confidence and work for the prosperity of 42 million people. The Centre had, therefore, no alternative but the dismissal of the Huq Ministry.

"He warned the people against 'the internal enemies and danger of provincialism and appealed to the youth not to be misled by the enemies. He also told the members of the services to do their duty in accordance with their conscience and in freedom from fear of victimization and restore social and administrative order.

"Pakistan, the Prime Minister said, was today strong enough to meet any external threat to its security and it was daily gaining in strength.

"To our enemies it is an intolerable prospect. Hence they are bending all their efforts towards sowing the seeds of suspicion, distrust and discord and creating provincial and sectional illwill amongst us because only by thus undermining our solidarity can they impair our growing strength and might.

"Above all, they are dismayed by the solidarity of our people, by our ability to suffer in a common national cause. It is this solidarity that they have now made their chief target of attack and they undermine it by inciting provincial and class hatred while posing as champions of provincial or class interest. We must be on our guard against the insidious activities of such enemies."

"Concluding, he said that East Bengal might soon become once more a peaceful, progressive and prosperous province enjoying the benefit of normal and really responsible representative Government devoted to the welfare of its people."

Strength of Russia and Satellites

Mr. Arthur Henderson asked in the House of Commons on May 10 for details of increases in the military strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Mr. Anthony Nutting, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, gave the following written reply:

Naval forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has increased from 600,000 in 1951 to 750,000. The number of vessels has also grown, and there has been a marked increase in the number of submarines. There are now about 350, compared with 300 in 1951 and 215 at the end of the war. About half of the submarines are the large or medium ocean-going type. More of the large type are being built under the present construction programme. The Soviet Navy is also capable of a considerable air and naval mine-laying effort.

"Satellites and East Germany: The naval forces of these countries are negligible.

Ground forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has remained at about 3,200,000, and the number of divisions at about 175. But there has been an increase in mechanization with modern equipment, and mobility and firepower have steadily improved. The Soviet Army has now over 30,000 tanks, an increase of 20 per cent since 1951. The rifle divisions have been given motorized equipment and additional artillery.

"Satellites and East Germany: Manpower has increased by some 140,000 since 1951 to about 1,210,000.

Bengal Ministry of the victorious United Front leader, Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Reports said that till yesterday Mr. Mohammad Ali, Pakistani Premier, was hesitant to take the drastic action, he took at last yesterday, for fear of repercussions in East Pakistan. It was then suggested to him that a decision had to be taken and if need be, the Eastern part of the country would have to be governed in a drastic manner, for which the Governor of East Bengal would have to be replaced by a strong man who could rule in a militaristic way. The choice fell on General Iskandar Mirza, the Defence Secretary.

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"Satellites and East Germany: The naval forces of these countries are negligible.

Ground forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has remained at about 3,200,000, and the number of divisions at about 175. But there has been an increase in mechanization with modern equipment, and mobility and firepower have steadily improved. The Soviet Army has now over 30,000 tanks, an increase of 20 per cent since 1951. The rifle divisions have been given motorized equipment and additional artillery.

"Satellites and East Germany: Manpower has increased by some 140,000 since 1951 to about 1,210,000.

There are now about 80 divisions, almost double the number in 1947.

Air forces. "Soviet Union: Manpower has remained at about 800,000 and the number of aircraft at 19,000 to 20,000. But there has been a steady replacement of piston-engined fighters and light bombers with jets. Percentage of jet aircraft—Fighters: 1951, 20 per cent; 1954, nearly 100 per cent. Light bombers: 1951, nil; 1954, well over 66 per cent. The number of TU-4 medium bombers in operational units has doubled since 1951.

"Satellites and East Germany: Manpower has increased from 50,000 in 1951 to nearly 90,000. Total aircraft strength, which is about 2,000, has almost doubled. About half the aircraft are jet fighters."

The Petrov Case

The escape and bid for freedom by the Russian diplomat Petrov, in Australia and the dramatic rescue of his wife has drawn world interest. British press reaction is put forward by the following extract:

Writing under the heading "Learning from Petrov," the *Spectator* (May 21) says: "Although the Petrov affair is not of the same order of importance as the Gouzenko affair, it throws no less interesting light on Moscow's determined methods. That the MVD should be charged with the collection of information comes as no surprise (all countries have secret agents who must work as best they can), but that it should also be concerned with establishing a fifth column is another matter. That it has had small success in Australia is no reason why other countries of the free world, Britain included, should not look the more sharply to their security.

"An extraordinary aspect of the Petrov affair is the close control Moscow exerts over its agents abroad. When the Russians turn friendly, it is now usual to suspect this is the result of a directive. What is astonishing is that Moscow told Petrov which individuals (important or otherwise) to interview, which parties to attend, which friendships to cultivate and which to drop, and which possibly useful dupes to contact."

Stating that all this points to the existence of an exceedingly large, if not altogether efficient, central organisation in Moscow, the *Spectator* asks: "Is it this, rather than the man on the spot, which decides from files who are most open to conversion, compromise and corruption—the three motives most likely to lead a man into treason?" It adds: "If so, then it is small wonder the system should break down seriously on occasion. The case demonstrates also the ruthlessness with which Moscow handles its agents—the testimony of Petrov and his wife is eloquent of this. And here is another and greater source of weakness. When a Gouzenko or a Petrov realises it is possible to choose freedom, the blinkers vanish and he becomes a human being rather than a cog in an inhuman machine."

Nehru Wants A "Peace Area"

This extract from the *Worldover Press* for April 16 gives the informed American's point of view on Pandit Nehru's attitude:

"Prime Minister Nehru of India reacted strongly against the U.S. arms deal with Pakistan, it has been said, for various reasons: his fear of increased military power for Pakistan, his alarm over Kashmir, his fear of involvement in a world war. These factors may have been in his mind, but the positive, rather than the negative, phases of his thinking have received little or no publicity. The fact is that Nehru, before the arms arrangement, had worked out a project for a "peace area" in Asia, with parts of Africa added, to exert constructive world leadership and serve as an inspiring example. He saw this 'destroyed'."

U.S.A. and Colonialism

In view of the ambiguous reply of the NATO powers, with the honourable exception of two, with regard to the position of the Portuguese possessions (Goa, Daman, Diu) in India, the following extract from the *Worldover Press* for April 9, are of interest:

"On two sides of the World, the rising tide of nationalism is dashing against those little outposts of colonial days which now appear as vestigial survivals from a buccannering past. At the recent conference in Caracas, the United States was the only hold-out (for prudential reasons, looking to Europe) against a resolution calling for a speedy end to European controls in Central and South America. In India, Prime Minister Nehru is getting set for stronger action to incorporate the fringe ports long owned by France and Portugal. It would be poor judgment to dismiss these areas as unimportant because they are small. In some cases soon, in others later, they may produce real conflict.

"Every now and then attacks are made on the Dutch for their retention of Surinam and the Dutch West Indies; on Britain for holding the Falkland Islands, off Argentina; and again on the British for their hold over British Honduras. This last territory is worth watching, for an election is soon coming up and there is a workers' movement and a growing party with strong economic demands. Sensational reports, by no means well substantiated, seek to imply that the People's United Party, which looks like a winner, is tinged with Communism and may even be partly financed from Guatemala.

"No doubt can exist that Guatemala is interested, for it has long agitated for a 'return' of British Honduras, which it claims. There are anti-British elements in the P.U.P. and pro-Guatemala spokesmen, too, but the alleged financing from Guatemala, at least on any substantial scale, has not been proved. In any event, British Honduras is unlikely to go the way of British Guiana, not because colonialism has done much better there, but because even the new liberal constitution limits popular expression in politics. The Executive Council has three members officially chosen, with six elected by the Legislative Council. That last body consists of 15, with 3 nominated by the Governor, 3 seated ex-officio, and 9 elected (be it noted) from 9

different constituencies. To dominate the Legislative Council, a party must win 8 out of all 9 elected representatives. As if these safeguards were not enough, however, Governor Patrick Renison has just been granted final authority over all public services, Commonwealth relations, and finance.

"Over in India, Portugal has remained adamant about its little possessions, Goa, Daman and Diu. In area, the three combined are smaller than tiny Rhode Island, but there are important imports and exports, and Goa has the best harbor India could hope to obtain. The Portuguese say that these possessions are provinces, as much a part of "metropolitan" Portugal as California is of the American Union. They have been in ownership since 1510, and they say their claim is soundly based on the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1814. India says foreign territories on its coastal fringe are intolerable. New Delhi proposed peaceful negotiations with Lisbon in February, 1950, but Lisbon said No. In June, 1953, the Indian legation was withdrawn from the Portuguese capital. In Goa, especially, Portugal has been tough. There is censorship of the press, a secret police, repression. An eminent surgeon and leader of the pro-India Goans has recently been seized and deported to Portugal.

"With the French, India has made more headway. One former French town, Chandernagore, was allowed to join India by referendum. Three tiny areas on the east, Pondicherry, Karikal and Yanam, and one on the west, Mahe, totalling only 203 square miles, are still disputed. There have been some stern measures by the French, yet most local mayors, the Pondicherry Assembly, and several municipal councils have demanded that the territories be handed to India, without a referendum—conditions for a fair referendum not existing. The French say that legally there can be no transfer without a plebiscite. Nehru replies that it is clear already that the people want to go with India. He has, nevertheless, said he will not use violence, or even 'dramatics'."

U.S. Plans for Asia

The *Worldover Press* for April 16 contains the following news comment on the reactions in Saudi Arabia and Japan on the latest American plans:

"Beirut, Lebanon—Saudi Arabia looks with a cold eye on America's current efforts to draw Iraq into a Western defense bloc. And with a heavy American investment in Saudi Arabian oil, the Saudi reaction is of more than academic interest.

"Ever since the recent shift of America's Middle Eastern center of interest from Cairo to Baghdad, King Saud has been showing huffiness towards U.S. policy. For years, Saudi Arabia and Egypt sided together in Arab-area affairs; for years, Saudi Arabia has done everything possible to undermine the influence of the powerful Hashemite family, rulers of Iraq and Jordan.

"Lately, Saudi interference in inter-Hashemite affairs has focused on Jordan. At a much-publicized "secret"

conclave in the desert last January, King Saud met young and impressionable King Hussein of Jordan for a series of talks that caused widespread fear. Observers saw this as an attempt by King Saud to turn Hussein against his cousin, King Feisal of Iraq. Iraq is by far the larger and more important of the two Hashemite kingdoms.

"A stronger Iraq, a submissive Jordan, and a Syria more disposed to union with Iraq and Jordan following the downfall of Syria's Shishekly, could add up to only one thing in King Saud's mind: Hashemite influence in Middle Eastern affairs would greatly increase, and Saudi influence would correspondingly diminish.

"Oil company officials are reported to be concerned about the effect of greater Iraq influence on King Saud's attitude toward American oil interest in his country. Part of the concern is caused by the presence of a growing number of anti-American advisers gathered about him by the King after he ascended the throne last year on the death of his father. Saudi Arabia is not likely to permit Iraq to take a leading position in an American-inspired defense agreement without strong opposition. It might exert direct pressure on Washington, or threaten U.S. oil interests until they did so. Thus it begins to look as if the U.S. may find trouble in having its Middle East cake and eating it too.

"Second thoughts about rearmament have been sweeping through the minds of the Japanese people ever since the hydrogen bomb experiments conducted by the United States in March. While the plight of Japanese fishermen has greatly impressed popular opinion, reports a *Worldover Press* correspondent, more serious is a growing feeling that it seems to be Japan, whether in war or peace, upon which atomic disaster always falls. A common remark is that instead of two bombs destroying Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two or three bombs might now wipe out the whole country.

"Since the rearmament drive was sparked by the Yoshida government, with the aid of the Progressives, the scandals now rocking the regime hold considerable significance for the future, and are important for Western observers to understand in some detail. Both government officials and members of the Diet have been involved in unprecedented graft and corruption.

"Yasuhiro Nakasone of the Progressive Party started the wave of public disgust when he named two cabinet officers who had received bribes from shipping firms. Prime Minister Yoshida was so incensed at the damage to the regime's prestige that he urged disciplinary action—against the accuser! When Haruki Satake, right-wing Socialist, read the so-called "satake Memo," listing Diet members, officials and executives who had attended questionably financed geisha parties, a probe by the Diet was turned over to the prosecutor's office. Arrests of ship company executives and others followed."

Japan and Mutual Defence Pact

The world knows of two versions regarding the attitude of the Japanese towards the Mutual Defence

Assistance Pact signed between Japan and the United States at the beginning of March.

Now that a similar Pact has been signed between Pakistan and the United States, it should be interesting to our readers to get some information from basic sources. We append below extracts from the commentary given by the Tokyo *Mainichi*, dated March 15, which certainly shows the apprehensions and the despair of the people, at Japan being drawn into the vortex willy-nilly:

"Japan has finally committed to stand and fall on the side of the anti-Communist military orbit championed by the United States with the signing of a Mutual Defense Assistance Pact on March 8.

"Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki and U.S. Ambassador John Allison, representing the respective governments, signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement and three other related agreements under the U.S. Mutual Security Act in Tokyo, thus ending eight-month-long negotiations both in Tokyo and Washington.

Three other accompanying agreements are:

1. An agreement to sell Japan \$50-million worth of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities and grant Japan \$10-million worth of 'yen'.

2. An agreement for Japan to use that 'yen' to help promote Japan's embryo defense industry.

3. An agreement guaranteeing U.S. investment in Japan.

At the same time, both the Foreign Minister and the U.S. Ambassador signed Japan-U.S. arrangements for the return of equipment under the MDA (Mutual Defense Assistance) Agreement.

With the current action, Japan has become the 69th country to sign a so-called MSA agreement with the United States throughout the world and the 16th in the Asian and Pacific region.

In his address at the time of signing, the Foreign Minister declared that Japan's participation in the system of mutual security advances another step in strengthening 'our co-operation' with the free nations."

"On the so-called U.S. surplus wheat agreement, Okazaki explained that the purchase of the U.S. surplus commodities is aimed at disposing of U.S. surplus products and at the same time strengthening Japan's national economy.

He said the benefits derived from this arrangement are completely reciprocal.

Then Okazaki clarified that no new military obligations or any other obligations such as requiring dispatch of Japan's National Safety Forces overseas arise.

The military obligations which Japan accepts under the Agreement are fully met by Japan's fulfilment of the obligations already undertaken under the Japan-U.S. Security Pact, he added."

"It is my firm belief that the results which have been achieved are truly a source of satisfaction to our respective Government and people," Okazaki concluded.

As compared with the Foreign Minister's address,

Ambassador Allison's tone of speech, especially regard to Japan's economic benefit, has been somewhat low.

He said, "The Investment Guarantee Agreement will not solve Japan's economic problems but it will help in a modest way to encourage American capital to Japan."

Allison then emphasized that there is still in some quarters "misunderstanding and a reluctance to accept the plain facts of the case."

The Ambassador declared in his speech, "You will look in vain for any requirement in the MDA Agreement that Japan send its young men abroad."

"You will also look in vain for any requirement that Japan take any action to which its government does not of its own free will agree," Allison further pointed out.

The Ambassador then declared that there is another prevalent misconception that by signing this agreement Japan subordinates economic rehabilitation of its people to a purely military effort.

Then Allison quoted U.S. President Eisenhower's message on May 5, 1953, in which the President said "military strength is effective, only if it rests on a solid economic base".

"The criticism on the issue is a 'twice-told' tale. There was, in fact, nothing new in the opinions indicating how thoroughly this issue was discussed in the past and how sharply their views, both pros and cons, were divided.

But, this much is certain that Japan was assured of U.S. aid reportedly totalling some \$130-million in exchange for her commitment to take side with the U.S. in its effort to stem the 'threat of communism'.

Japan is committed to maintain an army, a navy and an air force and develop an arms industry as a outpost of American arsenal in the Far East.

No one is quite certain at this stage whether Japan's participation in the U.S. global defense orbit is not costly deal for postwar Japan.

The current agreement failed to steer clear of the nation's apprehension such as violation of Japan's wa renouncing Constitution and dispatch of Japan's young army in spite of the explanations given by the Foreign Minister and the U.S. Ambassador."

"If the statements of both the Foreign Minister and the Ambassador were interpreted in opposite view, one has to look also 'in vain' for an article prohibiting dispatch of the troops overseas in the MDA Agreement.

An article that under no circumstances will Japan's defense forces be sent overseas should have been included in the agreement, if the Ambassador was eager as to particularly point out the prevailing 'misconception'.

The two representatives of the signatory countries could have promised non-dispatch of Japanese troops overseas in their speeches, but have failed to write article to that effect in the agreement.

That there is no concrete assertion on non-dispatch

of troops, in fact, has failed to convince the nation that overseas commission is ruled out."

"The Die is Cast"

The same issue of the *Mainichi* contains an editorial, with the caption "The Die is Cast," that further clarifies the commentary:

"If the San Francisco arrangements were the foundation of a system to 'deter communism', the MSA agreements concluded recently between the United States of America and Japan are to be construed as a major, if not the ultimate corollary.

The commitment of Japan, drafted and directed by America, now binds her to stay for better or for worse with the West in its intense struggle against the East. While armed conflicts have now been confined to French Indo-China and the tension between the two hostile camps seems, if outwardly, to have been relaxed since Korea, the determination of the United States to be militarily stronger in any and every point on the globe against Russia appears to be still strengthened.

Whatever the factors behind such resolve and whether or not such an intent is justifiable, Japan now is totally incapable of making her own decision on her own judgment especially in the arena of international politics. Passive resistance, not positive opposition, is the only permitted expression of her mind. Be it a voluntary and willing approach or a reluctant submission to power, the new military arrangement Japan has entered into with America is a product basically liable to provoke, not mitigate, hostile feelings of other countries.

So long as the overall policy of the United States is to maintain an armed peace which she believes is the only 'realistic' solution, it is doubtful if the atmosphere thus created in this part of the world can relax the tension. On the contrary, the situation definitely indicates that the tension has been notably increased since the pacts signing.

Overseas assignment of Japanese troops has become a matter of probability—a probability which the communist area is extremely afraid of. If, for instance, Japanese troops are committed to Indo-China for 'checking aggression' that 'endangers the security of Japan,' so much strength would have to be also committed by the hostile camp. If, thus, the lid can now be lifted, the other camp would find it justified to make necessary arrangement with precisely the same reason with which Japan has been compelled to rearm.

If, again, the war-renouncing Constitution is to be amended in favor of allowing Japan to possess a war potential, the whole philosophy running through the law, symbolized in the preamble, will also have to be rewritten. This alone would be enough to increase the anxiety of not only the Japanese people but the people in other parts of the world.

The basic concept built on fear and distrust, be it justifiable or not under specific circumstances, would bring the hostile atmosphere nearer to explosion. Japan,

through the current arrangement, unmistakably has thrown herself into a mill where this concept is sharply being ground.

Whatever consequences may entail, Japan has to face the music. If the current thinking proves favorable, Japan will have a free ride. If not, she will have to bear the impact detrimental to the nation. Whichever is the consequence, Japan has to accept the destiny directed not by herself but by others. The die was cast."

Anti-Ahmadyia Riots in Pakistan

There were fierce riots in West Pakistan in 1953, in which the Ahmadyia sect of Muslims were the victims. The attackers were also Muslims of other sects. It was somewhat after the style of the mediaeval anti-Hugonot massacres in France.

Murder, loot, arson, rape and abduction, involving tens of thousands, took place over wide areas, mainly in Pakistani Punjab and, at last Martial Law had to be proclaimed and the areas handed over to the military. The distress following the carnage and destruction was so great.

A special court of enquiry with two High Court Judges of Pakistan at its head was formed to enquire into the movement. The report has come out and we append an extract from the *Star* of Lahore, dated April 25:

"Members of the Muslim League took active part in the collection of funds and the enrolment of volunteers and some of them became dictators or members of the direct action committee in districts and when the disturbances started they jumped wholeheartedly in the movement," says the section of the report of the Special Court of enquiry into the anti-Ahmadyia movement of 1953.

"These gentlemen took part in processions, leading violent mobs, violating orders promulgated under Section 144 and collecting funds with a view to financing the movement. Among the persons in this list are presidents, senior vice-presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers and other office-bearers of the various Muslim League organisations in the Province. Four of them were Councillors of the Provincial Muslim League, five were members of the Muslim National Guards, two were Advocates, and one the editor of an Urdu daily. Fifty-four of them were arrested under Section 3(3) and six under Section 21 of the Punjab Public Safety Act, eleven under Section 183 of the Pakistan Penal Code, six under Martial Law Regulations, two in cases of loot, arson and murder, and one under Sections 124-A and 153-A of the Pakistan Penal Code. Two of them absconded while one was let off with a warning. One, who was a *lambedar*, was dismissed from his office while the licence of another for possession of a revolver was suspended.

"The Provincial organisation looked at all these

activities with perfect equanimity and no evidence is to be found anywhere in the bulky record before us of that organisation's disapproval of such activities. In fact, there are suggestions made from several quarters that the movement had the Provincial organisation's support and encouragement.

"The part which has proved to have been taken by the Muslim Leaguers, both before and after the commencement of the disturbances, is not at all surprising. In fact, such activities on the part of the members of the Muslim League were a natural consequence of the Muslim League resolution and the speeches made by the President of the Provincial Muslim League.

"We believe that our common man is essentially sound and that, though he is, as other people in the world are, religiously disposed, perhaps, more than anyone else in the world, he is capable of understanding things in their true perspective, if those things are properly placed before him. Honest and patriotic citizen of a new State as he is, he would have listened to our leaders if any effort had been made to explain to him the dangerous possibilities that underlay the current of popular feeling which had been aroused by a few politically frustrated men to wash their past sins.

"The man in the street could have understood, if properly told, that a political party, who were attempting to come into the field as a rival of the Muslim League, were using religion merely as a lever to raise themselves in the popular estimation and that they were making a fool of him.

"Throughout the period not one popular leader dared appeal to the common sense of the citizen. Even when the conflagration was in its fury, not one of them condescended to talk to the people and to explain them that they were being misled to a course, the only immediate result of which could be to shatter the country to pieces.

"The President of the Provincial Muslim League says that if it had depended on his will, he would have done his best to see that the demands were not raised because they were not fundamental in themselves nor immediately necessary and it was inopportune to raise matters of domestic controversy till Pakistan was secure. But there is no evidence before us of any serious effort having been made to place this view before the public prior to the resolution of 27th July: nor is there any proof of any effort having been made to discourage or dissuade the Muslim League branches from giving prominence to this issue.

"On the contrary, the Provincial Muslim League itself called its annual meeting at an inopportune time and the President himself drew up the resolution that was adopted by the Councillors.

"Faith is a matter for the individual and however, false, dishonest or ridiculous it may appear to be to

another, it may still be held sincerely and honestly by the person who professes it, and we have not the slightest reason to doubt that the Ahmadis hold the founder of their community and its subsequent leaders including the present head in deep reverence. Any attack on these personalities must, therefore, have deeply wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Ahmadis. There can also be no doubt that the extent of propaganda, involving abuse and ridicule, that was being carried on, on such a large scale throughout the Province, must have caused the Ahmadis to be looked upon with despise and hatred. Therefore omission to take action against those who were responsible for poisoning the public feeling against a small community can only be attributed to a desire to avoid the taking of some step which might excite public dissatisfaction, however deep and grievous the injury to that community may have been.

"And all this was due to the Muslim League and its leader's desire to remain popular with the masses and not to do anything which by its repercussions on the electorate might throw the League out of office.

"The same desire prompted Mr. Daulatana to issue his statement of 6th March, 1953. That this statement was dishonest in the sense that it was no more than a political move taken in desperation to avert the imposition of Martial Law is admitted before us. The same is the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that subsequently this statement was withdrawn on 10th March by Mr. Daulatana himself. Why was this statement then issued at all, and at a time when Daulatana knew that the decision to impose Martial Law had either been actually taken or was about to be taken? The only answer can be that it was the desire to remain popular with the masses that dictated this step. Mr. Daulatana did not give a moment's thought to the implications of this statement and the extreme embarrassment that it was bound to cause, and did cause, to the Central Government. To whatever straits the Central Government might be put through Mr. Daulatana, he himself should do something which might make him popular."

Bengali as State Language

After about seven years of heated controversy, which was at times accompanied with bloodshed, Bengali came to be recognised as one of the State languages of Pakistan by a decision of the country's Constituent Assembly on May 7. The decision itself was taken in a tense atmosphere.

According to the *Hindu's* Karachi correspondent, the formula passed by the Constituent Assembly provided (1) that the official language of the State would be Urdu and Bengali and such other languages as might be declared by the Head of the State on the recommendation of Provincial Legislatures; (2) Members of Parliament would have the right to speak in Bengali, Urdu and English, (3) English would

continue to be used for all official purposes of the State for a period of twenty years from the commencement of the Constitution; (4) the examination of the Central Services in all provincial languages should be placed on an equal footing; (5) provision should be made for the teaching of Bengali, Urdu and Arabic in the secondary schools to enable the students to take either one or two of them in addition to the language used as the medium of instruction; (6) the State should adopt all measures for the development of the common national language; (7) a commission should be appointed ten years after the inauguration of the Constitution to make recommendations for the replacement of English; and (8) notwithstanding anything in the preceding articles, the Federal Legislature might, by law, provide for the retention of English as the official language for specific purposes even after the expiry of twenty years.

This decision was openly opposed by the supporters of Urdu. Though protracted negotiations had preceded its adoption, the dissenters headed by the Punjab League stalwarts could not be brought round accepting the Bengali language, and important members of the Muslim League Party, including the Finance Minister Chaudhury Mohammed Ali, Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Gurmani, Minister of Interior, and Sir Feroz Khan Noon, stayed away from the Assembly's session when the decision was taken.

Earlier on April 22, three days after the Muslim League Party in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had decided upon the adoption of Bengali as one of the State languages, a five thousand strong demonstration led by Dr. Abdul Huq (Baba-e-Urdu) paraded before the Parliament House demanding that only Urdu should be recognised as the State language of Pakistan; when the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, came out to address them the demonstrators shouted him out of the scene.

According to Press reports, from early morning on that date demonstrators forced shopkeepers to shut down their shops, students tore up question papers and came out of their examination halls. In many centres, question papers were not distributed at all. The pro-Urdu newspapers of Karachi came out with black borders as a mark of protest against the adoption of Bengali. And the Constituent Assembly had to postpone consideration of the language issue which was scheduled to take place on that date.

The Karachi correspondent of the weekly *Star* describes the demonstration in the following words in its issue dated May 3:

"The Urdu lovers of Karachi took out a procession on Thursday to stop the linguistic disruption of Pakistan . . .

"The angry people gave an ovation to Baba-e-Urdu, Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haque, which should be coveted by any 'popular' leader of the country."

The correspondent, however, regrets the unruly conduct of the demonstrators.

Giving the background of the controversy, the correspondent writes that it arose over the contradictory reports appearing in the press about the Muslim League Parliamentary Party's decision on Bengali. According to him, "While Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan, chief whip of the party, claimed that the issue had been decided and the principle of having the two languages as the State languages had been conceded, other members insisted that this was not the position. The situation in the absence of any authoritative contradiction, was bound to add to the confusion."

Meanwhile the League stalwarts of the Punjab had been continuing with their factional fights. According to the *Star's* correspondent, the *Karachi Times* had reported an alleged "secret pact" between six Punjab members, led by Mr. Daulatana and some Bengali members on supporting the Bengali language, unfettered provincial autonomy, representation in services and appropriations of foreign exchanges by Eastern Pakistan in exchange for their support for the ousting of two Punjab ministers in the Central Government, Sir Zafrullah Khan and Mian Munshi Ahmed Gurmani.

Mr. Daulatana had promptly denied the charge on the following day. He, however, had admitted for the first time that his group had been working for the no-confidence motion against the two Punjab ministers in the Central Cabinet. The Punjab Premier, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, also had charged Daulatana about the alleged secret pact.

Narayanganj Mill Riots

Pakistan was rocked by the ghastly tragedy of the riots in the Adamjee Jute Mill area, near Narayanganj, in which more than 500 people had lost their lives. The immediate cause of the clash, according to a Press Note issued by the East Pakistan Government on May 15, was the death of a worker of the Jute Mill following a quarrel between two neighbours belonging to the different sections. As a result of that, two rival sections of workers had clashed on that morning of May 15 resulting in heavy loss of lives. The situation took such a serious turn that the Army had to be called into action to maintain law and order.

The *Statesman's* staff correspondent in Dacca writes that the riot "was described as the worst in the history of Pakistan's labour troubles, and the casualties far outnumbered those involved in the last incident at the Chandrakona Paper Mills in Chittagong district." The rioters had used firearms, swords, spears, lathis and stones. About 700 *bashas* had been burnt down.

The Pakistan Cabinet held a special meeting on May 16 to consider the situation arising out of the

mill riots and sent two ministers to East Pakistan to report on the happenings. The Ministers—Sardar Amir Azzam Khan, Minister of Defence, and Dr. A. M. Malik, Minister of Labour—were accompanied by Mr. S. A. Afzal, Political Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali.

The East Bengal Cabinet decided, in a special meeting on May 20, to appoint a three-man commission comprising a judge of the Dacca High Court, an official of the rank of District Judge and a non-official to investigate the causes of the riots. Up till the 21st May, 116 persons had been arrested including two managers of the Adamjee Jute Mills.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, said in a statement to the Press on May 17, that the "Communists and other anti-Pakistani elements" were to blame for the riots. He thought that a conspiracy was there to impede the industrial progress of East Bengal and expressed the Government's determination to crush "this foul conspiracy." Several people described as Communists were arrested and public meetings were banned in Karachi.

The Karachi papers carried glib stories to the effect that Communists and Hindus from West Bengal had been responsible for the riots. The Karachi Provincial Muslim League even went so far as to demand the imposition of Section 92-A (Governor's rule) in East Bengal.

The East Pakistan Premier, Mr. Fazlul Haque severely criticized Mr. Mohammed Ali's statement that the Communists were responsible for the riots. He wondered how Mr. Ali could jump to such a conclusion sitting in Karachi, 1400 miles from Narayanganj. In the course of a statement issued in Karachi on his arrival there, Mr. Haque sharply criticized what he described as the "reckless and unscrupulous manner" in which Karachi newspapers had "deliberately perverted facts relating to incidents in East Pakistan."

Mr. Huq said that one of his colleagues in the East Bengal Cabinet had proceeded to the scene of the disturbances immediately upon the receipt of information of the trouble. He denied that the Minister had been on the spot of the occurrence of the riots as alleged by the Secretary of East Pakistan Muslim League Party. Actually, the Minister had been about a couple of miles away, and did not know of the occurrence till it had been over. It was not also correct that the Inspector-General of Police and the District Magistrate had been there. One had been ill and the other had been absent on duty.

"It is a malicious lie to say that my speeches (recently) in Calcutta have had any outbreak or its developments. It was a case of Bengali Muslims and non-Bengali Muslims killing one another with the utmost fury and brutality. There might have been instigations before but that was also due to some

circumstances which have not yet been disclosed," he went on to say.

Mr. Huq suggested that the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, should himself go to East Pakistan and find out the facts personally.

India-China Agreement on Tibet

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru described the signing of the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet as a very important event in the history of the country's foreign relations. In reply to the criticisms of the agreement by Acharya Kripalani and others, Pandit Nehru said that nothing the Government of India had done in the last six years was more proper than coming to an agreement with China in regard to Tibet. The agreement was not only good for India but for the whole of the world, he said.

"The major thing about this agreement," Pandit Nehru said, "is its preamble which explains the principles and considerations governing mutual relations between the countries and the approach of these countries to each other. They are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peaceful co-existence."

Emphasising the importance of these principles, the Prime Minister said: "I imagine if these principles are adopted by the various countries in their relations with each other, a great deal of trouble of the present-day world would probably disappear." He also referred to the great importance for China and India to live in mutual peace and understanding. The agreement ensured to a large extent peace in certain area of Asia. He wished that that area of peace could be spread to the rest of Asia and indeed to the rest of the world.

He said that so far as the terms of the agreement were concerned, they were a recognition of the existing situation. No one had ever questioned China's sovereignty over Tibet during the past one hundred years. India did nothing new by that agreement but had merely repeated what she had said previously and what had inevitably followed in the circumstances, both historical and practical.

The Agreement signed in Peking on April 29 and to run for eight years spoke of the desire of the two Governments to promote trade and cultural intercourse between Tibet region of China and India and to facilitate pilgrimage and travel by the people of the two countries. Article I provided that the Government of China might establish trade agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta, and Kalimpong and the Government of India at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok. The trade agencies of both countries would be accorded equal status and treatment. Article II

specified certain places in the two countries where traders from the other country, known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between India and the Tibet region of China, could trade. Article III related to the regulation of pilgrimages by religious believers of the two countries. Article IV specified the routes by which traders and pilgrims could travel. Article V provided for the regulation of travel between the two countries.

In the Notes exchanged between the delegations of the two countries, it was provided that the transfer of the twelve rest-houses and the postal, telegraph, and public telephone services in Tibet together with their equipment, which was owned by the Government of India, would be made over to the Government of China at a reasonable price. But the Government of India forewent the claim for compensation as a gesture of friendship.

The Government of India also undertook to withdraw completely within six months from the date of exchange of the notes (April 29, 1954) the military escorts stationed at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet region of China for which facilities and assistance would be provided by the Government of China.

The Government of India would retain all buildings within the compound walls of their trade agencies at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet, and would continue to lease the land within their agency compound walls from the Chinese side. They would return all other lands occupied by them to the Government of China, subject to certain conditions. Similarly, the Government of China would also be able to lease land at Kalimpong and Calcutta for their trade agencies to construct buildings thereon.

Trade agents of both countries would, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the local governments, have access to their nationals involved in civil or criminal cases.

Disputes between traders of the two countries over debts and claims would be settled in accordance with local laws and regulations.

Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a letter of congratulation to the Indian Prime Minister, stated that the agreement had re-established the age-old relations between the two countries in Tibet region of China on a new basis. The signing of this agreement, continued Mr. Chou, not only would strengthen further the friendship between the peoples of China and India, but also fully demonstrated the fact that a reasonable settlement could be achieved for any international question so long as the nations abided by the principles mentioned in the preamble of the agreement, and adopted the way of negotiations.

India and Japanese Prisoners

India has protested to the Governments of the USA, UK, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and

the Netherlands against her exclusion from the right to exercise clemency in respect of Japanese war criminals sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

The United States Government had maintained that the right to grant such clemency only belonged to the Governments which had signed and ratified the San Francisco Treaty with Japan. The other six Governments mentioned above had also acceded to that view as well as to the stand taken by the US Government that Pakistan, which had signed and ratified the San Francisco Treaty, should now be deemed the successor State to India having the right to grant clemency.

Altogether eleven countries had been represented on the Tribunal. In addition to the aforementioned seven countries, India, China, USSR and the Philippines had also been members of the Tribunal. As India, China and the USSR had not signed the San Francisco Treaty and the Philippines had not yet ratified it, according to US interpretations they were not entitled to exercise the right of clemency.

In an identical note to the seven Governments, India had clearly rejected such an interpretation. The note says: "India's right to participate in the clemency proceedings was inherent in her membership of the International Military Tribunal. The Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, enjoyed the power to grant clemency, etc. As an agent of the countries which were represented on the Military Tribunal, with the cessation of his office, this power automatically reverted to the member Governments which actually imposed the sentences on the Japanese war criminals. The San Francisco Treaty, which was concluded later by third parties, cannot take away this right."

The substitution of Pakistan for India in the clemency proceedings on the ground that Pakistan was a signatory to the San Francisco Treaty, the note says, was completely untenable in that it was an Indian, Dr. R. B. Pal and not a Pakistani, who had pronounced judgment on November 4, 1948, fifteen months after the creation of the two States of India and Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan in no sense could be regarded as the successor-State to India because, as Prime Minister Nehru had pointed out in the Lok Sabha on May 13, it had clearly been laid down at the time of partition that "all international commitments and membership of international organisations previous to partition devolved solely on India." The United Nations, to which all the aforesaid seven countries were signatories, had also accepted India as the successor-State after the partition of the country and had treated Pakistan as a new State.

In the circumstances it was difficult to see the logic of the stand taken by the Government of the United States except that it showed to what low

depths the Government of the USA could go if any country refused to toe the line. It was all the more regrettable that Commonwealth countries also should have lent their support to such a stand. This could only result in strengthening the hands of those who insisted that India's association with the Commonwealth brought her no good but only liabilities.

Deportation of the Uganda Leader

The British Colonial Government of Uganda has deported Mr. Joseph William Kiwanuka, President of the Uganda National Congress, the country's premier political organization. He was flown to a distant village and was ordered to be detained there. As a protest against that action Mr. S. M. Sekabanya, Acting President of the National Congress has urged all Uganda Africans to refrain from buying anything but the bare necessities "to convince Her Majesty's Government our dislike of the deportation ordinance."

Sharply critical of the action of the British colonial authorities, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that the authorities would, of course, claim, as they had done in the case of the Kabaka that the action had been taken in zealous and earnest pursuit of the aim to help the people forward on the road to progress and with the object of serving their best interests. The newspaper points to the hollowness of the claim quoting the Liberal Lord Hemmingford's letter to the *Times* on the ordinance in which the Earl had questioned the justice of investing the executive with the power of arbitrary deportation without affording the deportee any opportunity of appeal or of being heard of in his own defense. "But," Lord Hemmingford had said, "to enact that no court may even enquire into the legality of the deportation order means nothing more nor less than the complete abrogation in this respect of the rule of law."

The paper asks: "Western democracy condemns in unqualified terms Communist and Fascist perversions of jurisprudence. What does this ordinance represent?"

Slavery in Modern World

"Slavery, even in its crudest form, still exists in the world today," says the report of a Special Committee of four experts appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General on the authorisation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to survey the field of slavery and other institutions or customs resembling slavery to assess the nature and extent of these several problems at the present time and suggest methods for combating them.

The Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 prohibited slavery and slave trade in all forms.

According to a Unesco feature article in the

Hindu of May 16, which gives the above facts, the report emphasized, however, that except for a few countries slavery today was clandestine. In disguised form, slavery existed in almost all parts of the world. In the view of the committee that should be a matter of international concern "because of the number of people affected, and the suffering caused by these practices is much more significant than that resulting from crude slavery."

The Committee had noticed a change in the attitude of world public opinion towards various forms of slavery since the time of the signing of the Slavery Convention of the League of Nations in 1926. The committee suggested that the convention should be brought within the framework of the United Nations and suggested, in so far as that convention fell short of guaranteeing the abolition of the legal status of slavery in all countries and its disguised forms which were not covered by the definition of the convention, the adoption of a supplementary convention.

"Slavery," said the 1926-Convention of the League of Nations, "is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." The committee recommended the retention of the definition as well as that of "slave trade" and suggested that the supplementary convention should not only cover those evils but also a number of similar institutions and practices including debt bondage (under certain circumstances); "the legal status of serfdom," "bride price" (in case, where a woman was given in marriage, without the right to refuse, at a price or under conditions, which gave to the husband, to his clan or family, a right of disposal over her or over her children and permit her exploitation for the advantage of others); the practice under which a child was transferable by its parents or guardians to a third party on payment or under conditions permitting the exploitation of the child regardless of its welfare; "such remnants of slave-raiding and slave trading as might still exist"; and mutilation, branding or tattooing of persons or servile status. The "age of consent in marriage" was recommended to be established at 16 for boys and 14 for girls.

Politics of Wealth and Poverty

Professor P. M. S. Blackett, the well-known atomic scientist of Britain, examines in an article in the American *The Nation* some of the implications of the widening gap of prosperity of the nations of the non-Soviet world.

In that article, reproduced in the *Vigil* of May 15, Professor Blackett says that while the rich countries had grown richer, the poor countries had grown poorer. The divergence in their relative prosperity was indeed staggering. As against the per capita

annual income of one thousand dollars of the 30 crores people of the U.S.A., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, Canada, the Low countries, Switzerland and France, the per capita income of the 90 crores people of Africa (excluding the small white population), the Middle East and Asia (excluding China) was only about sixty dollars a year.

This state of affairs had existed for a long time. But with the achievement of national independence by certain Asian countries after the second World War the perspective had completely changed. To quote him, "the ills of South-East Asia—poverty, underfeeding, disease and illiteracy—became important factors in international relations." The internal and external policies of the governments of those countries were dictated by the necessity to improve the standard of living of the people. No party could hope to remain in power if it failed to satisfy the basic needs of the improvement of the conditions of life of the people.

In the opinion of the Professor, "the most effective approaches to world stability would be to take some big steps toward a more uniform distribution of the world's wealth." But how could it be done? The rate of increase of wealth of a country varied directly with the amount of savings and investments. And it was mainly through the medium of new investments in agriculture and industry that advancing science and technology could increase the wealth of a country. The underdeveloped countries were clearly in no position to be able to provide for the huge capital needed for raising the living standards at the same rate as the rich countries for which, Prof. Blackett concludes from various estimates, Africa and the Colombo Plan countries would require external financial aid to the extent of about ten billion dollars a year, or ten dollars per head per year in addition to the resources locally mobilised for investment. That help would impose a 3-per cent cut in the per capita income in the rich countries. At the moment they were instead receiving about 10 per cent of that.

Conditions in the underdeveloped countries were not such that they would be able to employ all the ten billion dollars even if such a sum were made available. But clearly countries like India could absorb vastly greater amount of capital than were available to them at present. It was evident therefore that the underdeveloped countries could never achieve the prosperity of the rich countries unless their own heroic efforts were supplemented by external aid.

Prof. Blackett is of the view that such an aid should be given in the form of a gift. The poor countries could not repay such huge loans in near future. Moreover, the resurgent Asian nationalism was not amenable to foreign aid being paid for by large-scale political or economic concessions. The policy of

"trade not aid" could not be applied to those countries. It was suitable for Western countries in their mutual relations.

Technical advice and scientific training could not supplant material aid. Experts' reports could only be implemented with the expenditure of huge funds. "It is said that ministries in some Asian countries have on their desks a pile of admirable experts' reports which they cannot put into effect."

The aid needed to be disinterested. Aid might be given on moral, economic, political or military considerations. At the moment the political and military motives certainly provided the main incentive. In general, writes Prof. Blackett, "aid today is being recommended primarily in order to prevent these countries from moving farther away from the political orbit of the Western powers; economic aid has become, in fact, a weapon in the cold war."

Proceeding further the Professor writes that since Western aid was motivated less by charity and more by fear the political wisdom of the Western powers faced a stiff test with the slackening of international tension. The Western powers were starting to cut down on their sixty-billion-dollar annual military budget. "One-sixth of this sum diverted to Asia and Africa and the Middle East would solve the immediate financial problem of aid."

He does not consider for various reasons that that was likely to happen. However, the situation might change. As he puts it the fear of the impact of the startling economic progress of the Soviet bloc of countries on the underdeveloped countries might induce the Western powers to embark on a policy of liberal aid for the more equal distribution of the wealth of the world. Should such a state come to pass only then could the individual scientist "expect his scientific works to be used to the full for the benefit of the many," Professor Blackett concludes.

Traffic in Women

"Observer" writes in the *People*, May 15, that various reports suggested that the traffic in women had been increasing of late. The evil was widespread. Recently Miss Maniben Patel had drawn the attention of the Lok Sabha to that evil through her private bill seeking to provide for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and brothels.

The columnist writes that while the evil might primarily be traced to poverty "its widespread existence today is due to heroine hunters and their imitators. Skilled traffickers manage to contact poor young girls, sometimes those of well-to-do families also, and parade before them the 'heavenly' life of a film star. A few days' persuasion settles departure on the sly." The girls were taken to different centres and sold to private individuals or to houses of ill-fame. In most

cases the guardians remained silent, afraid of impairing still further the prestige of the family.

According to the writer, "In the big towns of U.P., the so-called Mahila Ashrams have been notorious centres of corruption." Many girls sought refuge in those Ashrams to avoid social ill-treatment and the pangs of destitution only to be confronted with a still worse lot. No doubt, there were certain organisations genuinely offering shelter to suffering women but with them had appeared many spurious 'homes' for making money, like marriage bureaus.

In the hill districts, the traffickers had an even more fertile soil. The business was quite open there; and girls were openly bought and sold in the market like chattels. "In Delhi," writes the columnist, "many girls were recovered from houses of ill-fame." These belonged to hill districts of U.P., police round up revealed.

This criminal trade does not by any means seem to be confined to the Uttar Pradesh alone. Indeed, the article referred to above would suggest its widespread prevalence in other States as well. The writer, in fact, refers to preventive measures being devised by the State Governments of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Madras to check the growth of this evil.

In West Bengal too, it would appear, the trade is quite flourishing. Very often reports appear in the press of some unfortunate girl falling in the trap of such traffickers. The recent arrest of the director of a well-known Mahila Ashram in Calcutta on charges of alleged adultery with the girl inmates was another case in point as was the discovery of the decapitated and dismembered body of a girl, lured away from home by the hope of a cinema star's vocation.

Pure Drugs

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial on May 14, that mere legislation though important, could not go far in ensuring purity of drugs. Much of the success in that direction depended upon the extent of efficiency and integrity with which the profession of pharmacy could organise and develop in this country. In this connection the newspaper commends the suggestion of Bombay's Health Minister, Sri Shantilal Shah, that the State Pharmacy Council should lead the country in drawing up a code of ethics embodying all the sound principles found in the codes accepted by the pharmacists in other advanced countries. It also advises the setting up of a machinery to see that the code was scrupulously observed by every registered member of the profession.

The newspaper considers highly organised development of professional probity and the availability of adequate and efficient training facilities to be the two essential pre-requisites before the profession of

pharmacy in India could attain the standards reached in the advanced countries. In this connection it urges for an early and earnest consideration of the suggestion for establishing a separate Faculty of Pharmacy in the regional Universities to provide such training. The Bhoré Committee's recommendations for the training of different categories of pharmacists had largely remained unimplemented.

"It is also worth considering how far the complaint that the present Pharmacy Act is not complete and effective is justified. The Drugs Inquiry Committee, in its report in 1931, had recommended the enactment of legislation to control both drugs and pharmacy, either by a combined Drugs and Pharmacy Act or by Drugs Act and a Pharmacy Act separately, as might be found convenient. It was also suggested that if a separate Drugs Act and Pharmacy Act was enacted these should be passed simultaneously and should operate concurrently. The report further recommended that the legislation should be central with a view to securing effectiveness and uniformity in control throughout the country. The implementation of these recommendations has not yet been completed. If suitable legislation can aid improvement of the profession it should not be delayed unduly. For improvement of the profession should be sought and secured through all possible means. It is only then that the manufacture and sale of impure and adulterated drugs can be checked substantially. The evil persists and there should be no complacency about it," the editorial concludes.

Rajaji's Education Scheme Dropped

The Madras Congress Legislature Party has decided to drop the elementary education scheme introduced by the then Chief Minister of Madras, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari about a year ago, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on May 15.

At a meeting on May 13 the Party decided to restore the old education scheme from the beginning of the coming academic session. The Education Minister was asked by the meeting not to repeat or formulate changes in the education scheme without the party's approval, the paper's Madras correspondent writes. He adds that a Committee was likely to be appointed to examine the entire field of elementary education.

It may be remembered that the scheme, now rejected, had evoked a heated controversy among the educationists. While it was attacked by many the Central Advisory Board of Education had praised it eloquently. The Scheme had envisaged the education of children in double shifts thereby making it feasible to educate more boys without increased financial liability. It has also provided for the practical training of the children in handicrafts and agriculture.

THE MENACE OF THE "H"-BOMB

America on the War-Path

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"It was Sinclair Lewis who, before the war, wrote a novel in which he described how Fascism came to the United States in the guise of a strident defence of the democratic way of life and called it ironically, *It Can't Happen Here*. The novel's odious fantasy of America as a police State seems to be coming true. Under pretence of defeating Communist conspiracy the most hateful tactics of totalitarian might, including the duty of spying on comrades, are being introduced one after another."—*The New Statesman and Nation*, April 17, 1954.

THIS, then, is the shape of things to come! The "A" bomb and the "H" bomb are scheduled, between them, to wipe humanity off the face of the earth. In the process (commendable or otherwise) of eradicating Communism from the world, those modern saviours of society, the Americans, are bent upon destroying the world itself, thus throwing away the baby with the bath-water, as it were! Our species, it would seem, has evolved from the ape—if, in the light of the most recent developments, it is not an atrocious libel in the ape to say so—in order, eventually, to invent first the "fission" and then the "fusion" bomb! Milton claimed that he had composed his unforgettable epic "to justify the ways of God to man." I earnestly hope that the group of distinguished scientists who were responsible for the perfection of these hideous engines of destruction will not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they have laboured all these years for the same noble and altruistic purpose. This time at least that plea will not wash: things have gone a bit too far for that! The Almighty had better be left out of the account: He might bear just so much and no more!

THE DECENCIES OF DEBATE

War is, by the laws of its being, destructive: nor is there any place in it for the Bhagwat Gita or the Sermon on the Mount once the pleasant paths of peace are discarded and the nations face one another in rival camps, ingeminating maledictions loud as well as deep, and unleashing "red ruin" in its most scarlet forms. "Inter arma leges silent," as Cicero said long ago; and we must needs doff our customary robes of thought contemplating the primordial state to which human beings naturally revert when, renouncing normal modes of settling their differences, they put everything to the final test—the arbitrament of arms. But even thieves do not wholly abrogate the decencies of debate; and it is ridiculous to suggest that countries that are literally at daggers' drawn will do well to throw the last shreds and patches of humanity to the four winds. That way lies the abyss: that way yawns the chasm.

A helpless public has been inundated with columns upon columns of learned lore on the subject of these bombs. I have no objection to the learned lore; but I may be permitted to wonder that, in these days of (alleged) acute shortage of newsprint, newspapers can be expected to devote so very much of their valuable space to sickeningly elaborate descriptions of these newest additions to the world's marvels. But what the soldier said, as everyone knows, is not evidence; and, equally, what the scientists say is not gospel truth. There is quite a lot of unholy glee in the possession of what they appear to regard as priceless blessings; and some of us, at any rate, are rather tired of this excessive jubilation.

HIROSHIMA

We have, by now, been not only fully posted as to the truly marvellous nature of the atomic bomb from the Allied side, but the Japanese, on their part, have not been behind-hand in informing us of the extent of damage that was inflicted on the fortress city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, by atomic bombing. All living things, human and animal, the Tokio radio announced, were literally seared to death. It added that those outdoors were burnt to death and those indoors killed by indescribable pressure and heat. Nor did it make any secret of the fact, proved scientifically, that the destructive force of the new weapon was indescribable, as was also the devastation that it caused. It concluded by saying that Hiroshima, with its population of 318,000, was a city of ruins and that the dead were too numerous to be counted. Another description was that heat comparable to that of some stellar body was generated when the bomb burst and that fires had still been raging two days later.

The invention of "A" and "H" bombs bids us pause awhile and ponder over its many-sided implications. At the outset we shall, perhaps, do well not to let ourselves be carried away by the almost lyrical descriptions of their potentialities furnished by the scientists. They always tend to assert that a given discovery's good far outweighs its evil. Usually, however, as we know to our grievous cost, it is the other

way about; and the good, as often as not, cannot be discerned even by the use of Sam Weller's celebrated "pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power." Besides, this is, one would think, hardly the time to expatiate upon their long-range benefits. They have been invented for the express purpose of razing enemy countries to the ground. And they will be used for that purpose—and for none other!

PENDULUM SWINGING TO THE OTHER EXTREME

May it not be that, at long last, man has overreached himself and that this is, really, the beginning of the end? Who knows but that the "H" bomb is the last—the very last—of human inventions and that the pendulum will shortly swing to the other extreme and, as someone has picturesquely put it, the few and scattered islands of humanity surviving after a large world-wide destruction may be put to the painful necessity of re-inventing such elementary things as making a fire and starting the whole game over again—until, presumably, *someone else* invents the "H" bomb in his turn?

These reflections of mine have been provoked by the two recent "H" bomb explosions by America in its Pacific Ocean testing grounds. The first was on the first of March and a Japanese fishing vessel, the "Fukuryu Maru," far off from the testing ground, was overspread with radio-active ash and many of its crew were injured. Another Japanese fishing vessel the "Shimyo Maru," a thousand miles farther off, also fell a victim to the "H" bomb's self-imposed civilising mission. Nothing less than a veritable furor has been created all over the world by the unimaginable destructive propensities of the "H" bomb, and even Mr. Winston Churchill has begun to be visited by salutary second thoughts on the subject. America, there is little doubt now, is straining at the leash to precipitate World War III, and it is a pity that there seems to be no one morally big enough to thwart its infamous designs. If this is Mr. Dulles's "New Look" foreign policy we may well shudder at it. Even America's allies do not quite see eye to eye with it in the matter of spreading contamination on the high seas by these "experiments." I should not like to say it, but the only hope for humanity seems to be Russia's possession of the same lethal weapon: if anything can now restrain America from letting loose the bloodiest of holocausts it is a lively appreciation of the fact that Russia can give as much as it gets—can give much more than it gets, in fact. I have never been an ardent advocate of Communism and I am even prepared to admit that not all its tenets are worthy of being copied by the upholders of the opposite political philosophy; but I am impelled, by the sheer compulsion of events, to condemn, in no uncertain fashion, the absolutely un-democratic thesis that we must cheerfully accept America's *soi-disant* leadership of the

world, wherever that leadership may lead us. The Communistic way of life, it is conceivable, may be inimical to society. On this there may well be two opinions. But there is one matter on which there cannot be two opinions: it is that America, in its headlong rush to detonate the hydrogen bomb over the devoted heads of Communists, is inimical to the Almighty Himself!

SPOILING FOR A FIGHT

America's action in persisting in these explosions of the "H" bomb in the teeth of the opposition of its own allies is capable only of one explanation: it is that it is fully determined to push on with its own preparations in the certain knowledge that a showdown between the rival camps is inevitable—if only because it wishes it to be so. In the context of the coming Geneva meeting of the "Big Five," these belligerent activities are susceptible of no other explanation. The Geneva Conference, like its Berlin counterpart, may, after prolonged sessions, end in equally dismal failure; but it is indisputable that America has been leaving nothing to chance so to arrange matters that such a failure is the logical outcome of the renewed "get-together" of the rival blocs. Russia's hands, it may be said to its credit, are (comparatively) clean. The consensus of enlightened public opinion, in the event of a third World War breaking out shortly, will be that, whatever be the merits of the two different ideologies, the button has been pushed by America and not by Russia. America will do well to note that Caesar's wife must not only be chaste but must be above suspicion. The fantastic thesis of "mobile, massive retaliation at points of our own choosing," and that other fantastic thesis of "united action" by the Western "democracies" in conjunction with such Asian stooges of theirs as are willing to sell their souls for a mess of pottage—a sort of Asian "Nato," in fact—may be a species of bluff; but, if so, they are a species of bluff that may have a terrible boom-rang effect.

WHEEL COMING FULL CIRCLE

The wheel has come full circle and it is not, unbelievable as it may sound, Germany that is menacing global peace once more but that one-time home of liberty, equality and fraternity, the United States of America. Truth, as we all know, is (not seldom) stranger than fiction, and the truth at the moment is that the United States is bending every moral and corporeal agent to the mighty task of precipitating World War III—in the vain imagining that it is the only way of getting the upper hand over its Public Enemy Number One, Soviet Russia. In its insane hurry for that devout consummation it does not appear to be bothering itself over-much with the reflection that another world-wide conflagration will destroy the victor along with the vanquished; and that

consummation, I have the temerity to think, will not be regarded either by Mr. Dulles or by President Eisenhower as devout as that other consummation aforementioned.

In the context of universal conflagration the question of rival political ideologies can hardly be said to arise. The only relevant question then will be that the same gaping abyss will swallow everyone—Mr. Dulles and M. Molotov "growing in beauty side by side and making one home with glee" (underground if not overground). Ultimately the question of rival political ideologies may be just one of those red-herrings drawn across the trail that, from time to time, perplex the world and divert its attention from more basic causes of human differences.

A SHREWD SUSPICION

I have a shrewd suspicion that America would have reacted to Russia's fast-growing power in the same manner as she has done now even if the political ideologies of the two countries had been, by some fortunate accident, identical. The point is that Russia is the only country that can, at the present juncture, stand up to America in any material sense; and America resents the existence of a competitor in its own interest—though I take leave to doubt whether that interest can be called, by any stretch of imagination, "enlightened." Russia, my readers may remember, has never tired of stressing the fundamental aphorism that Capitalism and Communism can co-exist in this universe. I have never been a Communist and I refuse to believe that any turn of fortune's wheel can make me a Communist hereafter. That, however, does not prevent me from laying the blame for the present exasperating hostility between the rival camps squarely on America's shoulders. It has consistently refused the olive branch that Russia has been offering it for the last five or six years, if not more. It is one thing to suggest that these recurring offers have been thoroughly insincere: it is quite another to assert that Russia has never made tentative approaches towards a permanent rapprochement between the two blocs and that all the peace efforts have been on the American side. Public memory may be notoriously short but not, I protest, quite as notoriously short as all that.

The nigger in the woodpile has, throughout, been America itself. The recent offer of Russia, for instance, to join the "Nato" under certain conditions is one of those olive branches mentioned above; but, for obvious reasons, America is not in a mood to accept it. This mentality of dubbing everything that emanates from the Communist side as irrelevant and even mischievous is not going, in the final analysis, to help anyone—America least of all. We know what happened to the man who cried "Wolf, Wolf" every time.

THE PLOT THICKENS

It is a thousand pities that, thickening the plot not a little, America should have been the first country to possess an Atom Bomb and, later, its heir-apparent,

the Hydrogen Bomb. The possession of these has created in it an overweening confidence that it has become the master of the world and that the rest of the world—and the Communist world especially—ought to toe its line, however unprepossessing that line may be. The Atom Bomb administered the *coup de grace* to the war in the Far East in August, 1945; and America is dangerously toying with the notion that the Hydrogen Bomb will do the same glorious trick in any future catastrophe. The "fission" bomb has given place to the "fusion" bomb and America is certain that its possession of the latter is an excellent safeguard against aggression from outside. Actually its possession of the latter is a standing threat to world peace, and the continued detonation of it in the Pacific Ocean does not minimize that threat to any appreciable extent. These detonations have contaminated the high seas for thousands of miles around and have proved themselves a thorough nuisance to friends and foes alike.

BIGGER AND BRIGHTER BANGS

Since August last Russia also has been possessing this dread weapon; and, much earlier, it had equalised with America in the matter of its atom confrere. The question now is not which of the two countries is the master of the Big Bang: the question now is which of the two countries is the master of the Bigger and the Brighter Bangs. It is a question of degree only. To which of the two mankind will owe their thanks for their mass destruction the future alone can tell, though, with our knowledge of recent happenings, many of us can, I have no doubt, make an almost fool-proof prognostication that America will easily bear away the bell in that contest. The explosion of Hydrogen Bombs in an Asian Ocean—like the exploding of the Atom Bomb on an Asian enemy in 1945—may well be a grim warning to China; and their explosion within a few weeks of the coming Geneva Conference may equally well be a grim warning to Russia as well. America, according to present indications, is leaving nothing of nuisance value untried to foredoom the Conference to failure. In the circumstances it might be as well if the Conference did not take place.

MR. DULLES'S VERBAL BOMBS

Mr. Dulles has, of late, been exploding his own verbal bombs in New York and Washington; and not all Mr. Eisenhower's frantic attempts to dilute the wine of his subordinate's exuberance have markedly lessened the apprehensions of the public in regard to the future. Mr. Dulles's request to his allies for swift and remorseless "united action" against the rival bloc is not calculated to throw oil on the troubled waters. Far from doing that it has already thrown a sufficiently powerful monkey-wrench into the machinery not only of the coming Geneva Conference but of further conferences as well. It is not widely known in this country that Mr. Dulles's immediate predecessor in office, Mr. Dean Acheson, came out strongly the other day in the

columns of the *New York Times Magazine* against this "Newest Look" foreign policy of his successor. Mr. Acheson has pointed out in trenchant terms that the "H" Bomb is not the first weapon of defence but the last and that its premature use will only defeat the objectives of the democracies.

FABLE OF WOLF AND LAMB

Mr. Dulles has given repeated expression to the view that the Chinese are helping Dr. Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China and that, like the Sixteen-Nation Resolution of December last, the seven nations concerned should warn China of their united action against it if it continues its "aggression." I am reminded of the fable of the wolf and the lamb in this connection. The French have, more than once, vehemently denied that the Chinese have been actively taking part in the Indo-China war. On the contrary, all the world knows to what extent America has been aiding and abetting the French in their stubborn resolve to retain their unlawful possessions. The latter, however, is, it would seem, quite an innocent policy. Do we not know that what is merely cussedness in the Captain is rank blasphemy in the soldier? All said and done, therefore, even America's best friends and warmest admirers

cannot deny that it has, of late, as I stated earlier, been straining at the leash for World War III. The only sensible course to be pursued now is our own Prime Minister's sincere and well-meant suggestion for a Stand-still Agreement on the use of the "H" Bomb. We can but hope that wiser counsels will prevail in America and that President Eisenhower will muster sufficient courage to rid himself of the "putrefying albatross" (Mr. Dulles) that, in an evil hour, he had so tightly clamped on his neck. Mr. Dulles had been to no small extent, responsible for precipitating the Korean War. He had been among those who visited South Korea on the eve of that war; and there is a considerable body of public opinion on both sides of the "Iron Curtain" that he instigated Dr. Syngman Rhee to march his soldiers into North Korea. One who could do that can, I am certain, convert the Indo-China War into another Korean War. All the available evidence points in that direction. What is needed first, however, is the sabotaging of the Geneva Conference; and Mr. Dulles's recent frenzied talks with Mr. Eden in London and M. Bidault in Paris have made assurance doubly sure that "After Geneva the Deluge" may well be our prophecy.

April 15, 1954

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BHOODAN AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE recent Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh Gaya was of special significance from several points of view. It was of a very representative character this year; besides thousands of constructive workers from all parts of the country, it was attended by the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister. A number of Ministers both at the Centre and in the States, about a dozen members of the Parliament and important representatives of the Congress and the Praja-Socialist Party also participated in the deliberations. Acharya Vinoba Bhave with his Bhoodan Yagna has now rightly become the symbol of a great economic revolution which is sought to complete the process of political freedom through peaceful and democratic methods. As the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh pointed out, Bhoodan is only the first step towards the bloodless revolution which Vinobaji desires to bring about in India by the end of 1957. The year 1757 marked the beginning of the British rule in India at the battle of Plassey; in 1857, the people of India revolted against the foreign rulers and laid the foundations of a political revolution in this country. Acharya Vinoba earnestly feels that the year 1957 must witness the success of a peaceful economic revolution in India. Bhoodan Yagna will naturally be the spearhead of this revolutionary movement; but the establishment of economic

equalities in both rural and urban sections of society through a radical change in the basic values of life would require a far-reaching reorientation in the pattern of industrial organisation in this country. The Sarvodaya Sammelan was of the definite view that "a self-supporting decentralised economy" was the only means "for the achievement of economic emancipation of the people." As regards the land policy, the Sammelan laid great stress on the need for redistributing the Bhoodan land among the landless peasantry without any further delay. Out of about 25 lakh acres collected so far less than a lakh acres have been distributed among the people. The slow pace of land distribution has been mainly due to certain legal difficulties as also the dearth of constructive workers for the purpose. We, therefore, welcome the decision of the Sammelan to expedite the process of land redistribution. The target fixed by Vinobaji is the collection and distribution of 5 crore acres of land by the end of 1957. The achievement of this target would, surely, require the spontaneous and sincere help from all sections of the public.

Conflicting opinions were expressed at the Sammelan regarding the role of legislation in the task of land reforms. Some leaders were of the view that the Bhoodan movement was capable of solving the land

problem in India without the assistance of legislative measures. They went to the extent of stating that legislation would thwart the very objective of Bhoodan by interfering with the non-violent process of persuasion and a change of heart. Others felt that land reforms could not be effected without introducing radical legislative measures. We think that there is no inherent conflict between the Bhoodan movement and the legislative process; the two can supplement each other for achieving the common objective. Acharya Vinoba has rendered conspicuous service to the noble cause of ushering in a non-violent economic revolution in this country through his Bhoodan and Sampatti-dan movements. But the popular and democratic State Governments cannot get rid of their own responsibilities by leaving the whole task of land-redistribution on the shoulders of Vinobaji. They can undertake legislation in consultation with Acharya Vinoba to further the cause of making the actual tillers of the soil the owners of land. In fact, several State Governments have already passed Bhoodan Bills for facilitating transfers of land-gifts to the landless peasantry. Bhoodan-Yagna has eminently succeeded in creating a healthy and favourable atmosphere for the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in the country; it has demonstrated to the world that the land problem could be effectively solved through peaceful methods. Suitable legislation to speed up and supplement this peaceful process should, in our opinion, be welcomed and encouraged. In fact, we are sorry that the pace of land reforms in India has been considerably slow during the last few years. Abolition of Zamindari and the other intermediaries in land was, of course, a revolutionary step. But merely this abolition of feudal exploitation would not solve the problem. According to the Five-Year Plan, the land census ought to have been completed by the end of 1953. It is unfortunate that the Planning Commission has not been able to get this important work done within the specified period. It is true that it would be difficult to undertake suitable land legislation without possessing the requisite facts and figures. We, therefore, suggest that the Planning Commission should try its best to complete the land census by the 15th August of this year so that necessary legislation in terms of the provisions in the Five-Year Plan may be initiated by different State Governments during the remaining portion of 1954 and during 1955.

It has been pointed by some economic "experts" that re-distribution of land would lead to a fall in production of food in the country. This is not a correct view of the problem. In fact, in China and Japan the average size of land holdings is only about 2 acres and yet their yield per acre is three times as much as that of India. Experiments all over the world have amply demonstrated the truth of the contention that with an increase in the size of the farm and

with the introduction of mechanical devices, productivity per labourer increases; productivity per acre does not necessarily increase. As a matter of fact, in thickly populated countries like India, small-scale and intensive farming is the only correct solution of our economic problems. It is, of course, necessary that the small farmers should be provided with the requisite facilities of good seed, manures, irrigation and co-operative marketing. Mechanization in Indian agriculture should be undertaken with great care and discrimination. Excessive use of tractors and other machines would be both uneconomic and inhuman in a country like ours where the basic national problem is that of providing gainful employment to the millions of our people.

One of the arguments against quick land reforms is that simultaneous legislation for limiting incomes in the urban sector should also be undertaken. Ceilings on land holdings should be followed by the fixation of ceilings on city incomes as well. We fully appreciate this view. It is quite evident that an economic revolution cannot be confined to land alone; it must touch all sectors of our national economy. The existing gulf between the rich and the poor must be bridged or filled up. We have abolished feudalism in land; we must now proceed to abolish feudalism in industry. We regard the system of Managing Agents in India as a relic of feudalism. So far as we know, the system of Managing Agency in this shape and form does not exist in any other civilised and industrialised country in the world. It was a creation of alien rulers in this land. It must, therefore, be radically transformed without further loss of time. The existing Indian Companies Law should be amended by the Government of India in such a way that the intermediaries between the shareholders and the Directors of industry should disappear. In fact, we should go a step further and gradually make the workers themselves the owners of industry. This far-reaching reform in our industrial organisation is absolutely essential for achieving a real economic revolution in India. It must be fully realised by all of us that our democracy cannot succeed as a political ideal unless it is achieved as an economic ideal. Political freedom without social and economic freedom would remain a vacant dream. Land is a gift of Nature; it can neither be increased nor decreased by man. Its re-distribution on a more equitable basis is, therefore, of paramount importance and land reforms should naturally receive the highest priority. But such land legislation must be quickly followed by industrial reforms which would set into motion the process of economic equality and social justice in the urban areas. We earnestly hope that the Government of India would take up these economic problems with a sense of urgency in order to usher in true Swaraj of Gandhiji's dreams.

STATE LEGISLATURES IN INDIA—THEIR POWERS AND PRIVILEGES

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

It is a universally accepted axiom that all offices and institutions should have to carry with them certain powers and privileges to enable them to discharge their functions efficiently. And efficiency increases when they are allowed to function without any extraneous considerations of fear or favour. It is in the light of this that the powers and privileges of our legislatures provided in our Constitution should be read and appreciated.

Article 105 of our Constitution runs as follows:

Powers, privileges, etc., of the Houses of Parliament and of the members and committees thereof

105. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of Parliament, there shall be freedom of speech in the Parliament.

(2) No member of the Parliament shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any committee thereof, and no person shall be so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of either House of Parliament of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.

(3) In other respects, the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament, and of the members and committees of each House, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the commencement of this Constitution.

(4) The provisions of clauses (1), (2) and (3) shall apply in relation to persons who by virtue of this Constitution have the right to speak in and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of, a House of Parliament or any committee thereof as they apply in relation to members of Parliament.

Article 194 is analogous to Article 105 and it applies to the Legislatures of A and B States including the Legislative Councils, wherever they exist.

To Article 105 in the Centre must be added Article 118(1) dealing with the power of "each House of Parliament" to "make rules for regulating, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, its procedure and the conduct of its business," and Article 122 which prohibits the courts from "enquiring into the proceedings of Parliament" and removing from the jurisdiction of the Courts the acts of officers and members of Parliament in discharge of their functions in the Parliament.

There are corresponding powers and privileges granted to the State Legislatures by Articles 208 and 212.

I need not remind the readers that our Consti-

tution has borrowed the language of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that these provisions also are borrowed from the same source with one exception, though it is a vital exception. The Legislatures of the 1935 Act, both in the Centre and in the Provinces, did not possess the right to punish people for its own contempt, a right possessed by almost all (?) the legislatures of independent countries; and our new Constitution has rectified this defect by the inclusion of Articles 105(3) and 194(3) in the case of Parliament and State Legislatures respectively.

And the defect is rectified in a round-about way. The Constitution itself does not define the many powers and privileges but says that they correspond exactly to those enjoyed by the House of Commons in the U.K. on the day of the commencement of the Constitution, i.e., the 26th January, 1950. This provision was vehemently criticised in the Constituent Assembly on two grounds. The first point of criticism was that the powers were 'vague'—the powers and privileges of the House of Commons were themselves largely undefined and have never been codified officially anywhere; and the second point of criticism was that it was undignified and derogatory to embody in an independent constitution the constitutional provisions of another country.

"This is the first of its kind," remarked Kamath, "where reference is made in the constitution of a free country to certain provisions obtaining in the constitution of another country."

But Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and Alladi Krishnaswami, 'the greatest jurist present,' himself a Member of the Drafting Committee, thought that the criticism was based on grounds of 'sentiment.' The second point was easily dismissed, as similar provisions exist in the Constitutions of Canada and Australia.

WHY THIS VAGUE PROVISION?

But the first is difficult to answer. If you want to give some powers and privileges, why not put them clearly? Dr. Ambedkar explained the reasons. He said that there were three ways of doing it. One was to enumerate them and put them in the Constitution, but it would have meant another twenty pages of addition to an already bulky constitution. The second was to say that they would be the same as those of the then existing Legislature, but, as we have seen, those powers were inadequate and halting. The third, the course adopted by the Committee, was the only course open. The Parliament could pass an Act defining its own powers; till then, let it enjoy the powers of the House of Commons.

A plausible explanation, but the provision is really vague, and in a way more halting than the previous one in the 1935 Act. If the idea was that the Indian Legislature being 'sovereign' should have the powers of a 'sovereign legislature,' the purpose stands self-defeated. In the first place, the powers of each House shall be decided by a law of the legislature; that means it shall be decided by both the Houses, but not by each House by itself. What powers the House of the People shall have will also be decided by the Council of States as well as by the President (i.e., the Cabinet) by virtue of his assent. In England, originally, the Commons claimed these powers to assert its independence against the King, but in India, they have to be granted by his prototype, the President! Again any such law shall have to be subject to the provisions of the Constitution, especially Part III, and it is another restriction on the so-called sovereignty of our Parliament. Thirdly, by saying that they shall be the same as those in the U.K., the matter has been made justiciable, and so in a way, the powers will be those allowed by the Judiciary!

One or two questions have already been raised in the Courts. Chief Justice Kania, in *Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*, remarked that our Constitution being a very detailed one, the "whole of it has to be read with the same sanctity without giving undue weight to Part III." So it might follow, some say, that the powers to punish vested in the Parliament need not be subject to Part III at all. But we have to remember the significance of Art. 32 which at first appears to be unnecessary in view of the fact that anybody can approach the Courts for the enforcement of any provision of the Constitution including the Fundamental Rights. By specially asking the Supreme Court to enforce the provisions of Part III, the Constitution implies that, in case of conflict between these provisions and any other in the other Parts, the Courts should give due weight to Part III only.

A similar question was raised by Justice Sapru who remarked that there was no reason why punishment for parliamentary offence regulated by *lex parliamenti* in England should be covered by Art. 20(2) of our Constitution. Even if we attach equal sanctity to Arts. 194(3) and 105(3) and put them on a par with Part III, the question arises whether really the power under 194(3) and 105(3) can claim to be a constitutional provision. Look at the provision carefully.

"... The powers... shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law and until so defined shall be those of the House of Commons..." So the position is that the Parliament has to make a law and until then only—a matter of convenience—it can enjoy the privileges of the House of

Commons; and when the Parliament makes the law, that law comes under the operation of Article 13 and so cannot contravene Part III at all. So the privileges of the House of Commons shall have the status in India of only a law of Parliament. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that if any one is prosecuted or punished for contempt by the Legislature, the procedure should be regulated by Articles 20-22. Otherwise, the constitution itself would have exempted these proceedings from the rigour of Part III as it did in the case of the Defence Services.

MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

A further analysis leads to more fundamental questions. Is it necessary and desirable that every legislature in the world should possess these extraordinary powers? Even if we agree to the first question, is it desirable that even provincial legislatures should possess them? Will they not misuse these powers? A crop of such questions arise.

Let us analyse. These powers and privileges are of two kinds—those possessed by individual members and those possessed by the legislature collectively. That every individual should have 'freedom' in the legislature may be accepted at once. This right means that members will not be answerable for all that they do or do not do inside the legislature to any outside body, especially the Courts. This is a right asserted long ago in England and granted grudgingly by the Kings, and it was originally intended to safeguard the individuals from the wrath of the Kings for all they say and do. In a democratic set-up also this freedom is essential to free the individual member from the 'tyranny of the majority.' Democracy is a government by discussion, free and frank discussion. It is said that the Press lives by exposures; we may say that democracy itself lives by exposures. So we can easily appreciate this right. But here also we have a complaint. This freedom of speech and even voting is circumvented by many conditions. It is subject to the rules, etc., made by the House, which means the majority, and these rules are applied by the Speaker, who, in India, by no means can claim to be as impartial as his counterpart in the U.K. The Constitution could have gone further and given some more safeguards to the individual members to enable them to talk freely in the House uninterrupted by the (party-nominated) Speakers and (party-sponsored) closure motions though we have to remember that the House also should have the right to regulate these speeches on the dictum that the work of the Government should not be unnecessarily hampered.

We now come to the collective powers of the Houses. They are again of two kinds. The one referred to above, i.e., the right to regulate its meetings, speeches, etc., and we have no quarrel there. But what we have to say is that this right need not rest on the proposition that the Legislature is a

sovereign body and therefore it should have such a right. It is a right which every closed society should have and does possess. Even College Union meetings, or the meetings of Company share-holders, possess this right. We agree that every House of Legislature in India should possess this right.

We now come to the second kind of right—the right to punish people, both members and non-members, for contempt of the House, to any extent and without any appeal to the Courts. This is itself an astounding right—this power to punish anyone by a non-judicial body without right of appeal to the Courts—not possessed by any one at any time in the story of the world, except by the old tyrants; what makes it more astounding is the fact that this right is possessed in India, granted by the Constitution by all legislative bodies, so called, including the Legislative Councils in the States!

WHY THIS POWER?

Why is this extraordinary power given to the Legislatures? This question was not asked in the Constituent Assembly and not answered by anyone. In fact, constitutional pandits would be surprised if we ask this question. The answer is obvious. They and the makers of the constitution would say that our legislatures are sovereign bodies, that they should have the power to regulate their own procedure and should possess this power for the efficient discharge of their functions and that every legislature in the world possesses this right—the right to punish, without appeal to the Courts.

Really! A little thinking and analysis will show that not one of the points above is correct. In the first place, neither our Legislatures in India, including the House of the People, sovereign in the sense in which the Parliament in England is; nor is it correct to say that such powers are essential for the efficient discharge of their functions. In a written constitution, as ours, where governmental powers are distributed between the individual and the State, between the Union and the States and among the various organs of the State, no one body could claim to be 'sovereign' in the above sense. More clearly we can say that every body is sovereign in its own sphere deriving its power from the Constitution. Thus the President is sovereign in his own sphere, the cabinet in its sphere, and so also the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, but none of them possesses this power to punish though efficient discharge of their respective functions is equally important for the nation, if not more, and, in fact, they are discharging their functions very efficiently without this extraordinary power.

A constitutional right to punish people is possessed only by the Parliament of England and the Legislatures in the British Commonwealth, but not in the constitutions of all the countries. Even in the

British Commonwealth, this right is not possessed by the legislatures of the Dependencies, Colonies and by India of the 1935 Act. The rulings of the Courts in a number of cases clearly shows that 'non-sovereign' legislatures never possessed this right. [For instance, *Doyle vs. Fanconer*, 4 Moo P.C. (N.S.) 203; and *Landers vs. Woodworth* (2 S.C.R. 158, Canada)] The Government of India Act made this point absolutely clear by saying that the Federal Legislature did not possess this right [Sec. 28(3)]. Now the question is: Are not the legislative bodies in India non-sovereign, and especially the Legislatures of the States? And, this is important, if the legislative bodies in India including the Central Legislative Assembly between 1921 and 1950 could function efficiently for nearly thirty years without this right, why cannot their successors function now without this power?

Even supposing that they are sovereign and that they ought to possess this right, another equally important question arises: why the courts should be denied appellate jurisdiction? Even in England the position is not clearly defined, and at the most, our constitution confers only those powers which the Commons possessed on the 26th January, 1950. No doubt in the U.K. it is held that "responsible bodies must necessarily vindicate their authority by means of their own and these means lie in the process of commitment for contempt" (Lord Denman in the case of *Sheriff of Middlesex*, 1840), and that such processes are entitled to as much authority and respect as "those of the highest courts of the country" (Baron Parker in *Howard vs. Gosset*, 1845) but yet it is also held that not every crime and punishment by the House should be beyond the Courts. Thus Stephen J., in *Bradlaugh vs. Gosset*, opined that "the line must be drawn somewhere and that the House could not try, say, a murder which took place under its roof." And the beauty of the point is that all this is what is allowed by the Courts themselves in the U.K. and there is no statutory provision!

COURTS SHOULD HAVE JURISDICTION

So even conceding that a (sovereign?) legislature like the Indian Parliament should possess this right to punish punitively, it is not established that such sentences should also be above the ordinary jurisdiction of the Courts. It is not so in England definitely, and it cannot be so in this country with a written constitution; for, when a new law is made by the Parliament defining its own powers under Article 105(3), such a law must be subject to the other provisions of the Constitution and it is doubtful if the 'sovereign jurisdiction' of the Courts can be removed by an Act of Parliament.

Much reliance in India seems to be placed on the provisions in Articles 122 and 212, but we have to note that these articles speak of the procedure of the

Houses and maintenance of order inside the Houses and they have nothing to do with the punitive punishments! The immunity given to the officers under the above articles is not a common feature of all the legislatures in the world; it was borrowed from the 1935 Act where probably it was incorporated largely to avoid the repetition of such cases as resulted in the injunction granted by the Calcutta High Court restraining the President of the Legislative Council from putting demands for ministers' salaries before the Council (in *Kumar Shankar Roy vs. H. E. A. Cotton*).

We can appreciate this point better if we look at this right from immunity from courts from an erring member's point of view. Suppose a member, ordered by the Speaker to be removed by the sergeant, resists and, in the scuffle that ensues, kills the officer. Does it mean that the member can claim a privilege and tell the Courts that they have no jurisdiction to try him!

IS THIS POWER NECESSARY NOW?

We can now leave the legal position and look at the problem from a realistic angle, from the point of view of practical politics. Is this power really necessary for the legislatures, when the same is not found necessary for the President, Cabinet and a host of other organs of the government?

The origin and history of this power shows that this is out of tune with the political situation in the 20th century. The Commons claimed these rights and the Kings grudgingly granted them when the former was struggling for power against the King and could not depend upon the King's own courts to vindicate its power against the King's men. Today the situation is different, and there is no reason to distrust the courts, especially in India where their integrity and impartiality has become a tradition; and we do not understand also how it is derogatory to the sovereign power of the Legislature, if at all it possesses it, to trust the Courts, especially when we trust them with another extraordinary power over their legislative enactments, a truly sovereign function of the Legislature! When everybody else could depend upon the impartiality and superior wisdom of the Courts, cannot the Legislature depend upon them to vindicate its honour?

THIS POWER IS A DANGER TO DEMOCRACY

In the olden days this power was sought to vindicate democracy; but today, when democracy is a *fait accompli* and it means majority rule, it is not only superfluous, but positively dangerous to demo-

cracy itself. Today there is no one that questions the right of the Legislature to function according to the constitution and hence these powers are superfluous. On the other hand, there is a danger that a determined majority with dictatorial tendencies might misuse these powers to muffle the opposition and free press. One of the defects of the new Constitution of India is that it places too much trust and too much power in the majority for the time being. Already the limited use to which these powers have been put by the Speakers and various legislatures in India portends a dismal future if a more determined party comes to power and begins to muffle opposition. The ban on the *Swatantra* of Madras by the Speaker of Madras Assembly, the prosecution of Dinshaw Mistri, the proceedings against the *Times of India* in Bombay, the resolution moved in the Madras Legislative Council by the Chief Minister himself condemning Prakasam, the refusal on the part of the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly to allow a member to put a question to a Minister unless the member defined a particular word, all these may be all right from the legal point of view to vindicate the honour and sovereignty of the Legislatures, but they are also beacon lights and show the extent powers could be misused by political parties in future.

What democracy wants in India today is not only the right of the majority to rule, but also the unquestioned right of the opposition to freedom of speech and action, and the only agency to guarantee this *via media* is the Judiciary. It is high time we get rid of the obsession of the 'sovereignty of the Legislature.'

I suggest, therefore, that the following steps should be taken in India, if necessary, by amending the Constitution:

1. The power to punish for contempt, etc., should be taken away from all the Legislatures in India, or at least from the Legislatures of the States. A comprehensive Act may be passed by the Parliament defining contempt in general and the jurisdiction to try may be transferred to the Courts.

2. In case this power is still given to the Parliament in the Centre, all such sentences should be made justiciable on appeal.

If this is not done and the Constitution is not amended, I feel that even then the situation is not so helpless. It is my personal opinion that the Supreme Court could still draw such cases to itself under Article 136 by simply declaring that when the Legislature is awarding punitive punishments, it is acting as a judicial body or a tribunal and hence it comes under Article 136.

Once Napoleon remarked of China :

"There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep; for when he wakes he will move the world."

China, like India, is a vast land of many peoples, with an area of 4,277,000 sq. miles, and a population, more than 45 crores. Like India, she has undergone a prolonged process of cultural and political disintegration. Like India, the people of China are conscious of their golden past. But unlike India, China has never been subjected to the domination of any one Western Power. Chinese culture also possesses a fervid assimilating force. For countless millennia China has absorbed all her conquerors. The Mongol hordes of Chengiz Khan overran the country in the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the Manchus imposed their power and ruled China till 1911. In both cases the victors were largely assimilated by the vanquished. Only the Western white man proved an odd element for the harmonizing force of the Chinese culture.

In the good old days, the Oriental countries occupied a superior commercial position over the Occidental countries. The Chinese commercial superiority continued even till the end of the eighteenth century. In 1793, Emperor Ch'ien Lung addressed an edict to Lord Macartney (who conducted the British embassy at Peking) which ran as follows:

"Our celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its borders. There is, therefore, no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own products."

A Westerner may take this to be a sample for Chinese arrogance but Lord Macartney knew that the aged Emperor spoke the simple truth. Tea, silk, porcelain and rhubarb and spices were shipped off from China in gigantic cargoes to Europe and there was nothing which Europe could supply in return to China. This caused a tremendous drain of silver from Europe to China, which, within 150 years, from 1667 to 1817, amounted to nearly one hundred million pounds sterling.

However, the cunning Britishers began to smuggle opium into China. For a hundred years the East India Company had strived in vain for some commodity to sell in China to balance the tea trade, and at last an article was discovered which the Chinese were eager to buy. No trick was considered too short. Chinese officials were bribed and hoodwinked, and the Chinese local merchants were wooed over. The results were alarming. Even big merchants strived to amass wealth through this illicit trade. There grew contempt for all authority. People became licentious. Misgovernment and disorder followed closely at heels, and banditry and rebellion flooded the land. On the coasts the pirates were at large. The drain of silver was checked in 1817. Then the tables were turned. By 1830 silver began to

flow out of China to British India and to Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Indian opium revenue was about £1,000,000 a year; and at the end of the century it shot up to £7,000,000 per annum.

No history of China is complete without taking due note of Japan, sometimes called the Great Britain of the Pacific. Though at the beginning Japan suffered from the phobia of touch-me-notism, she soon embarked upon a career of quick Westernization. Factories sprang up. Ships were built for foreign trade. A modern army was organised. Arsenals and navy-yards were built. Taking a leaf from Europe's imperialism, Japan turned her gluttonous eyes towards Korea. In 1894, Japanese overran Korea and southern Manchuria, and were threatening Peking. The Shimoneski Peace of April 17, 1895, came as a legalised booty for Japan. China recognised the absolute independence of Korea, which allowed Japan to eclipse the Korean government with Japanese advisers. An indemnity of 200 million taels, or about 715 million rupees was also given by China to Japan, more than enough to reimburse Japan for the total cost of war. China also ceded to Japan the Island of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. But the most important cession to Japan was that of the Liaotung Peninsula, the southern tip of Manchuria, commanding the entry to the gulf of Chi-li and Peking. Later on, due to the intervention of France, Germany and Russia, China got Liaotung back after paying 30 million taels more to Japan.

The year 1898 was a year of leases. Kiaochow Bay was leased to Germany; Port Arthur, to Russia; Kwangchow Bay, to France; and Wei-hai-wei to Great Britain. These leased holds were used by the Great Powers as spring-boards of economic imperialism.

In 1910, Japan announced the annexation of Korea. The end of the Great War in 1918 led to a thunderous triumph to the Japanese imperialism in Eastern Asia. To her 'spheres of influence' were now added Shantung, Eastern Mongolia, Northern Manchuria, and Fukien. Japanese army was in the Eastern Siberia, and had no mind to leave that country for the present. Japan had also arranged with England the occupation of the islands north of equator formerly possessed by Germany in the Pacific.

The lease-holds to the Western Powers proved disastrous to China. At the outset, the young Emperor, Kwangsu, attempted to modernize China, or rather to Westernize the country. In 1898, various regal edicts were issued. The University of Peking was to be reorganised, various new schools on the Western pattern were to be started in bigger cities, competitive civil service examinations were to be remodelled, new railway lines were to be constructed, new mines were to be laid, the budget was to be

balanced, and the number of government servants was to be reduced for economy and efficiency. All these enterprises required "the help and co-operation" of the Occidentals. Discontent began to brew because of these reforms and lease-holds. The Dowager Empress, Tze-Hsi, a valiant and elderly lady, put the premium on the reactionary elements. She fore-sook her retirement abode on the Mount of Ten Thousand Ages, and swooped down upon the royal palace. She was aided by a treacherous General, Yuan Shih-kai. The Emperor was captured and was coerced to recognise Tze-Hsi as the ruler. His liberal advisers were executed and his reform edicts were abrogated. Then she turned towards the Westerners. An anti-European agitation was started. Many Europeans were murdered. The Chinese fanatics besieged many European legacy quarters in Peking. This commotion goes by the name of the Boxer Rebellion in the history of China. The Western Powers promptly reacted to this fanaticism. Troops were rushed to protect the embassies and to crush the Boxers. England, Germany, Russia, United States, all contributed their forces in the crusade against the Boxers. Significantly enough, even Japan joined hands with these Western nations, as she claimed herself to be a Europeanized nation. The rebellion was speedily stamped out. Peking was captured. The Europeans paraded their ethics by looting the city.

The United States of America jumped into the fray through the "open door" of economic imperialism. President Wilson championed the "open door" policy in China in 1913, a policy described by him as that of friendship and mutual advantage. American businessmen were to finance the Chinese railways in particular, and were to have the right to trade on equal terms with foreign competitors in general. As regards the railways, the name of Edward Harriman is important. He wanted to establish a globe-wide railway system in which the South Manchurian Railway would provide one link. It is important to note here that Russia snubbed Harriman's scheme of purchasing from the Russians the Chinese Eastern Railway. Mr. Knox, the British Secretary, in his memorandum of November 6, 1909, aimed at bringing the Manchurian highway and the railroad under an 'economic, scientific and the impartial' administration. The ownership of the roads was to vest in China, though the funds were to be provided by the enterprising Powers. Japan and Russia turned down the Knox plan. On July 4, 1910, they took a solemn pledge to offer united resistance to American 'encroachment' in future. The matter became so serious that President Taft had to write to Prince Chun of China about his taking a 'personal interest' in the outlay of American capital in China for the Chinese welfare. Consequently the American bankers' syndicate secured a share of 30 million dollars in the

Hukuang Railway Loan, and later on, a share in the loan of 50 million dollars for standardizing the Chinese currency and promoting the industrial enterprises in Manchuria. In 1916, the International Corporation of America obtained a contract for a loan of 3 million dollars to improve the Chinese Grand Canal. At the same time, a Chicago firm called the Siems & Carey, secured a concession to build 1500 miles of railroads in various parts of the country.

The impact of the Western civilization aroused the slumbering Chinese people. The threat to China's integrity and national independence that was present in these circumstances further fermented the seeds of Chinese nationalism, the fruits of which were reaped by an able Chinese scholar-nationalist, Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1924). Soon he became the spiritual father and the political organiser of the Chinese Revolution. He blazoned forth before his countrymen the famous Three Principles of the People, the San Min Chu, which are usually translated as Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism.

The history of the Chinese Nationalist movement is the tale of an elongated civil war. First, in 1911, the corrupt and decadent regime of the Manchus which took root in the Chinese soil in 1583, was overthrown. On the New Year's Day in 1912, in Nanking, Dr. Sun was installed as the President of the Republic of China. But he was camouflaged by a self-seeking hypocrite Yuan Shih-kai in whose favour Dr. Sun resigned his Presidentship. The followers of Dr. Sun organised themselves into the Kuomintang, or the Chinese Revolutionary Party. Yuan Shih-kai's subservience to foreign bankers, his surrender to Japan by accepting her infamous Twenty-one Demands in 1915, and his laying up of the claims to the Imperial Throne in the coming year, led to a fresh surge of revolution and strife in the land. On June 6, 1916, Yuan died amid electric agitation. Years of turmoil followed. In the north the semi-independent *tuchuns* or war-lords, who were the former Generals of Yuan's army, fought amongst themselves and terrorized the whole country. Such a condition of the country tempted the intervention of Japan. Between the North and the South, Yu P'ei-fu was trying to set up a separate government. In the south, however, the Kuomintang followers of Dr. Sun consolidated their position in Canton. In 1921, they elected Dr. Sun as President of the Republic. But the war-lords would not allow him to have smooth passage. Soon he awoke to the need of getting foreign aid to have better trained and equipped forces than what the war-lords could mobilise. Russia soon came to his rescue.

In September, 1923, Moscow sent Michael Borodin as chief adviser to the Kuomintang. A Military Academy was established at Whampoa, near Canton. The Russian officers trained the Nationalist soldiers.

The Kuomintang was modelled on the pattern of the Southern Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia and Russian Communist Party. Its doors were flung open to the Chinese Communists who joined it in large numbers. The Kuomintang thus harnessed two opposite elements within its fold, the traditional bourgeois elements of the Chinese middle class and the neo-peasant-proletarian elements. As the years rolled by these two elements began to show wide differences. In April, 1924, the whole country was struck with sorrow for the sad death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Borodin then helped Chiang Kai-shek in assuming control at Canton. But Chiang had no soft corner for the Communists, and soon he got into hot waters with Borodin. A military campaign had been launched against the war-lords of the north in which the Communists wholeheartedly co-operated with Chiang. Nanking was captured in March, 1927, and was made the national capital as Dr. Sun had desired. Chiang then went to Shanghai to negotiate financial aid with the bankers. But during his absence the Communists attacked the alien elements in Nanking. The foreigners strongly protested to Chiang against the underhand activities of the Communists, and to placate the foreign bankers Chiang suppressed the Communists with an iron hand. This led to the inevitable break between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The Communists with the left-wing elements of the Kuomintang under Wang Ching-wie, set up their own capital at Wuhan. Thus there were now three capitals in China: Nanking under Chiang; Wuhan under Wang; and Peking where the war-lords disputed among themselves. In April, 1927, Chiang purged Shanghai and Canton of Communists by mass arrests and executions. Borodin left for Russia in July, and Chiang launched a country-wide purge of the Communists. Thousands of peasants, labour leaders, students and radicals were arrested or put to death. In the principal southern cities the Russian consulates were closed down. Chiang's armies were now moving to Peking, and the whole of China looked united under the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking. But this unity proved a passing cloud. Fresh dissensions gushed up among the ranks of the Kuomintang over its programme of abolishing unequal treaties and extra-territoriality. The war-lords of the north again revolted against Nanking. In the opening months of 1930, China was again involved in a large-scale civil war. By the month of October, Chiang found victory in his hands. But the victory was dearly bought. Thousands of lives had been lost. Much property had been wantonly destroyed. And the country was bordering on bankruptcy.

Japan had always regarded China as a precious booty, and the Japanese dreaded more than anything else a united China. Therefore for Japan Chiang's comfortable position was an eye-sore. Through the agreements in 1915, she had gained a firm foothold in

the Shantung territory. Now, she could not sit thumb-twiddling, when Chiang was consolidating his position. In September, 1931, she made a lightning attack on Mukden, the chief town of Manchuria, under the pretext that the Chinese had blown away a bridge just outside the town. Subsequent investigation however proved that the incident was engineered by the Japanese. The Japanese occupied various south Manchurian cities, and installed a puppet government in Manchukuo in 1932. Chiang, however, showed no enthusiasm to face the Japanese aggression, except for making a futile appeal to the League of Nations. This generated a widespread discontent among the radicals, students and nationals of China, who began to doubt Chiang's bona fides. Therefore they began to lean towards the Communists who showed great enthusiasm for fighting against Tokyo. The matters came to a head in December, 1936, when Chiang found himself "captured" by the 'Young Marshal' General Chang Hsueh-liang, who was in league with the Communists against Japan. The Young Marshal released Chiang only on the condition that the Kuomintang shall co-operate with the Communists in driving the Japanese out of the land. The Japanese smelt Chinese unity on this accord, and launched in July, 1937, a devilish war against China without formal declaration. China was, however, ill-prepared for fight; and while the maddened Tokyo troops began to pour into North China, the Nanking Government submitted for truce. The Japanese army leaders, however, refused to negotiate, but demanded that all Chinese troops should vacate north China, that all 'anti-Japanese activity' should be suppressed and that China should co-operate with Japan 'against Communism.' The Japanese fire-eaters captured city after city, province after province amidst appalling bloodshed. Chiang signed a non-aggression pact with Russia in August, 1937, and called upon the people of China to 'fight to the finish.' The Japanese began to plunge madly into the heart of China by riding on trucks, tanks, airships and other munition largely purchased from the British and American 'merchants of death.' In various cities thousands of ladies were molested; disabled, aged and youngsters were slaughtered; and non-combatants and disarmed soldiers were ruthlessly butchered. The leaders of the Western democracies stood silent like Sphinx, as Japan beat great drums to 'save Asia from Communism.' The only effective military supplies trickled into Central China from Soviet Russia. Finally this black war became part of the Second World War in 1939.

During the decade following 1937, the Chinese Communists under Chu Teh, Chou En-Lai and Mao Tse-tung came to the fore. A People's Army emerged up. There was also a genuine national regeneration

of the Chinese people. Chiang's mythological war against Japan alienated the faith of the Chinese masses. His army consisted of miserable conscripts at gun-point, condemned to starvation in the ranks; for the corrupt generals pocketed the money meant for the soldiers. Chiang and his dishonest henchmen wanted to maintain *status quo* in the society by fighting their Red foes and branding all liberals and reformers as 'Communist.' The Chinese people naturally began to look for guidance to the honest, well-intentioned and disciplined Communist leaders. The strength of the regular armed forces of the Communists grew from 100,000 to one million regular troops and two million peasant and labour partisans. Chiang's indiscreet regime drew no lesson and forgot no lesson. Finally the Chinese masses took arms against the corrupt Kuomintang and a historical civil war followed in 1948 and 1949 . . . , a war which Stalin described as 'a revolution of the armed people against an armed counter-revolution'. The U.S.A. attempted to bolster up Chiang's regime by supplying him with 130 million rounds of ammunition and 3,000 million dollars, most of which, to America's chagrin, fell in the hands of the Chinese Communists. Finally, Chiang and his men were completely routed

from the mainland of China, and the Peoples' Republic of China was proclaimed on 1st October, 1949. Chiang's regime is now confined to the little island of Formosa in the Pacific. Rumours are now widespread that General Chiang is planning to wage a large-scale war with Red China. Shall he be successful in his venture?

The present Communist Government of China has its headquarters at Peking. Chou En-Lai is its Premier and Foreign Minister, Mao Tse-tung is its President and Chu Teh is its Commander-in-Chief. The U.S.S.R., Burma, India, Pakistan, Great Britain, Ceylon, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, the Eastern German Democratic Republic, Albania, Viet-nam, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Indonesia and Afghanistan have given recognition to the Communist China. But the countries of both the Americas have not so recognised her. The present government has won the hearts of the Chinese people due to its land-reforms, its efforts to spread education among the masses and its successful planning. Thus it appears that the sleeping giant has rubbed out the dust of centuries from its eyes. It remains to be seen how shall it move the world, as Napoleon had prophesied.

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INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

By PROF. N. SUBRAHMANYAN, M.A.

The concept of Sovereignty, as a formulated theory, (Bodin's *De la Republique*, 1576 A.D.) is just less than four centuries old; and as a legal doctrine (Austin's *Jurisprudence*, 1832 A.D.) is just over one century old. But it has had a rather chequered career in the history of recent political thought and has greatly failed in its practical application to the affairs of the world. The Austinian Sovereign, like the Hobbesian contract, though a logical perfection has led to power lust and supplied a justification for that lust. Recently, political pluralists, like Gierke, Barker and Laski have led an attack against the classical theory of Sovereignty; and the very function and aim of the state have come in for radical reconsideration. According to Laski, the Modern State "is pluralistic and constitutional and responsible" (*Grammar of Politics*). The guild Socialists, Syndicalists and the Anarchists have been contributing their mite towards bringing the concept of sovereignty into disfavour. The protagonists of the principle of state sovereignty have been ruining their own cause by allowing militant nationalism, jingoism, and imperialism to shatter world peace. This explains the high rate of infant mortality among the earlier types of international co-operation.

The internationalist who was only 'a doctrinaire and a visionary' and whose theory was not supposed to have

any legal status began to assume real shape and influence world affairs. International Law without the necessary sanctions behind it for the enforcement thereof becomes a dead letter and a mockery. But in the modern world expediency and regulated self-interest have given greater scope and power for International Law in the 'public' and 'private' spheres. Man is a creature of competing loyalties and must look for his safety in the international sphere if it cannot be obtained in the national sphere. Hence arose those international organisations which have become supra-national in their importance and world-wide significance. They are not definite limbs of an organised world state; they are but voluntary organisations whose moral influence is often equal to and occasionally followed by physical power. The history of these international organizations is of recent origin, unless of course overseas empires, etc., are also considered to be international organisations, which they are not. They are not international regional arrangements for the purpose of bringing together different autonomous states with a definite objective in view.

The Political state itself constituted a regional organization for definite political, economic and social purposes. But it was not the result of a conscious endeavour. States which originate as a result of debates and discussions in a constituent assembly, e.g., the U.S.A., may

be considered to be regional arrangements of a permanent nature. But the extraordinary permanence of such an 'arrangement' makes it substantially different from other kinds of 'arrangements.' Following the U.S.A. many other countries organized themselves on a federal basis. Such an organization has more or less become a fashion while unitary states are becoming less in number. This is so frequently the case that confederacies, the corporative state, and the Soviet Union too have something to do with the federal concept. These arrangements envisage a division of powers among the units constituting the whole.

The more modern type of extra-territorial regional arrangements are economic, or ideological. The era of group formations in the international sphere for economic or ideological reasons is of a more recent origin, while groupings for purely military reasons are of a slightly older date.

International conferences, involving states situated in different parts of the world, became a common feature in world politics after the first world war. The Washington Naval Conference was in fact an understanding on military matters arrived at by Sovereign States; while the Ottawa agreement was much more of a domestic affair than an international agreement. Permanent organizations of world-wide importance came to be thought of and the League of Nations was the first among such. Economic arrangements, transcending the sovereignty of individual states, became not only possible but in some cases necessary. The I.L.O. was constituted by the victors in the World War I as an independent arm of the League. The Communist International, in all probability, thought that it was bringing the workers of the world to unite over the heads of the respective political states; but it was essentially an ideological grouping.

In the international sphere, the League of Nations after the First World War, and the U.N.O. after the Second World War, constitute the two major attempts made to establish a kind of all-embracing organization which can pool together the moral influence of all the worthwhile states and also their military resources if necessary. Though Lake Success is organisationally more perfect and institutionally more efficient than Lake Geneva, the former too is in a formative stage.

During the last three decades many typical regional arrangements have come into existence and largely affected the trend of world events. The World Bank and the World Court are two instances of useful institutions. The latter, however, is limited in its utility for it has no sanction behind its judgments. Groupings of political powers for defensive or offensive purposes are also not unknown to history. The various power blocs maintained to uphold the balance of Power in Europe were more informal and subject to frequent changes but effective through a long period of European history. The Monroe Doctrine tried to constitute the whole of the New World as a region distinct in its foreign policy as distinguished

from Europe. The ABC Powers (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) of South America who united in an effort to resist the U.S.A. are an example of concerted effort on the part of different sovereign states to resist a common alien. During the inter-war period the tendency to bring into force regional arrangements has been very marked. The comintern and the cominform were communist arrangements among states ideologically like-minded. When the Fascists and the Nazis established the Rome-Berlin Axis it was fully ideological, though Madrid and Tokyo sympathized with the Axis for other reasons. Hence ideology began to play a large part in determining these groupings or arrangements. States wedded to a communist way of life or a democratic way of life, etc., began to form their own cliques; and these cliques developed into international regional arrangements of a more or less stereotyped fashion; i.e., political sympathy, military pact, economic aid were all parts of such arrangements. One of the better known regional arrangements of modern times is the N.A.T.O. which has obviously for its purpose resistance of communism, i.e., Soviet Russia, however much that organisation might swear to the contrary. The Pacific Pact and the Middle East Defence Organisation are extensions of the N.A.T.O. The Arab League which was formed among sympathetic Muslim States in the Middle East to resist Zionism is also a regional arrangement which invites comparison with the N.A.T.O. for the Arab League too is based on ideological differences.

Sir Winston Churchill made a rather unorthodox proposal during the darker days of the Second World War. He proposed a union of West European states based upon a principle of voluntary association for common defence and other purposes. It was not merely a sensational offer; it was a very feasible proposal too. Heavy defeat at the hands of the German armies during two gigantic wars made the Benelux countries unite for many purposes, but unfortunately it has just been a 'nominal' union. The British Empire, after the Second World War, changed into the British Commonwealth of Nations; and this change introduced a new system of international regional arrangements. The place of India, an independent Republic, in the British Commonwealth indicates clearly the novelty of the arrangement. The French who tried to follow the British in this constitutional experiment changed but the name of their Empire into a 'union', but the essential characteristics of the old French Empire continue to be the same.

That most of the states in the world, in one form or another, are associated with such regional arrangements shows that state sovereignty is slowly yielding place to international alignments. For good or for bad, such regional arrangements have become a normal feature of modern international relationship. Though this is certainly not a step towards the formation of a world state, it perhaps reduces the number of warring elements in the world.

ONWARD MARCH—INDIA

By RATHINDRA RAY

Nearly seven years have elapsed since the establishment of independence in India. During this time, the Indian Government with the co-operation of the National Congress has tried to create conditions for the success of democracy in this country. In this post-independence era, the Congress has had to deal with many difficult problems. The partition of India caused a severe set-back to the solution of the food problem of India. Food shortage grew up to nearly four million tons a year. This was primarily due to the fact that 78 per cent. of the pre-partition population remained in India and only 66% of the total rice-growing areas and 65% of the total wheat-growing areas fell to India's share. There was also a great shortage in cash crops because, while the manufacturing areas remained in India much of the jute and cotton producing areas had been transferred to Pakistan. Thus, trade and industry were affected adversely.

Communal disturbances took place at this time and millions of displaced persons migrated to India and had to be provided with food, housing, shelter and the other basic necessities of life. The rehabilitation of these new citizens of India required all the resources and energies that the Government and the public could afford at that time. Thus, a great proportion of the resources of the country were used for this purpose so that less attention could be given to the planned economic progress of the country. Communal disturbances caused a great deal of confusion. These led to a chain-reaction of communal frenzy all over the country which was exploited by extremists much to the detriment of the nation's welfare and progress.

THE INTEGRATION OF STATES

Then came the gigantic task of formulating the Constitution of India. When England left India, her paramountcy over the scattered princely Indian States lapsed and the question of the accession of these states to the Indian Union or their independence became a burning question. The continuance of the feudatory States was out of place in this modern period in history and the Government of India could not countenance the existence of princely rule in nearly 550 different territorial units which might have led to the balkanisation of India. It was a vexed question which might have been exploited by a third party but action was taken at the right time to counter any such move. On July 5, 1947, a separate department was formed under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. By January, 1948, nearly all the States contiguous to Indian territory had acceded to the Indian Union. There was some trouble in one or two places. Police action had to be resorted to in Hyderabad against the Razakars and in Junagadh

there was a revolution by the local people but in the end both these states acceded to Indian Union. The last state to merge was Cooch Behar on January 1, 1950. 222 Kathiawar States joined to form Saurashtra, the first Union of States. 275 States covering an area of 2,15,450 square miles with a population of 34.7 millions were joined together into five such Unions of States. By January 26, 1950, the Indian Republic achieved a political unity unknown for centuries and the difficult task of territorial integration of the States had been accomplished.

The special status of Jammu and Kashmir and its accession to the Indian Union with all the controversies that followed in its trail are well-known. It is only now that it has acceded in a limited manner. Generally speaking, all the states are partners as constituent units of the Republic. On October 1, 1953, 11 Telugu-speaking districts in Madras and a party of Bellary were integrated together to form the Andhra State in response to popular demand.

MONETARY PROBLEM AND PRICE LEVEL

In October, 1949, an 8-point programme was announced to meet the consequences of devaluation and the representatives of the Government were faced with the difficult problem of controlling the steady rise in prices. To bring about a reduction in price level was difficult with the advent of the Korean war. The hoarding of essential commodities and stockpiling for war purposes resulted in inflating the price level instead. With production on the increase a reduction of the price level has now caused a reduction of income and of profits of certain traders and middlemen.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

A practical bent has been given to the Grow More Food Campaign. In an effort to achieve self-sufficiency and to reduce dependence on foreign countries, there has been recently a progressive reduction in the import of foodgrains. While 4.72 million tons of foodgrains were imported in 1951, 3.86 million tons were imported in 1952 and 2.02 million tons in 1953. It is expected that the imports in 1954 would not exceed two million tons and may be less. The Five-Year Plan laid down by the Planning Commission has food self-sufficiency as one of its primary aims for the welfare of the country and its general economic prosperity. The target of foodgrain production in 1955-56 is 8.9 million tons over that of 1951-52. Sugarcane production is expected to increase by nearly 13% over the level in 1950-51. During the same period, the increase in oil seeds is expected to be about 8%. The production of cotton should

increase by 13.5 lakh bales over that in 1950-51, while jute production is estimated to increase by 23.9 lakh bales during the same period. The progress of irrigation is essential for the success of the programme for the increase of crop production and it is expected that the irrigated areas for crops will increase from 10 to 20 million acres during the course of these five to six years.

From the point of view of minor irrigation schemes, the construction of tubewells is a key factor. The Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement has provided for a project for constructing many tubewells throughout the country. Special and better methods of cultivation are being introduced by the Government including the Japanese method for the cultivation of rice. In an effort to improve the general agricultural yield of the country and to foster a spirit of endeavour and incentive, cultivators are offered special prizes for the highest yields on a competitive basis.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 has left private enterprise to govern the bulk of the industries. This Resolution which was later embodied in the Five-Year Plan marks out the key industries and new ventures as being the State sphere. Though a large section has been left to private enterprise, the State has to come into the picture to the extent that it must avoid overlapping and wastage and bring in some amount of co-ordination and planning for the future progress of industry in the country. The Control of Industries Act has been promulgated with this intention. We find the Five-Year Plan has included an increase of Ammonium Sulphate from 46.5 thousand to 450 thousand tons, Super Phosphate from 58.1 to 180.0 thousand tons, mill cloth from 3706 million yards to 4700 million yards, handloom cloth from 810 million yards to 1700 million yards, Pig iron from 15.7 to 21.95 lakh tons, Finished Steel from 9.8 to 12.8 lakh tons, and cement from 26.9 to 45.0 lakh tons. The Five-Year Plan envisages the development of agriculture and industry in India on a complementary basis. The importance of industry is not to be minimised though priority is given to the development of agriculture. Industrial progress cannot be achieved to any great extent without sufficient supply of raw materials and foodgrains. In the same manner biased agricultural development of the country would lead to a large surplus of unemployed industrial labour. Rs. 94 crores are laid down in the Plan for industrial projects in the public sector. This includes the manufacture of capital goods and those of intermediate importance. Rs. 500 crores is provided for the development of transport facilities. The Planning Commission has estimated Rs. 233 crores as available for industrial development in the private sector. Rs. 94 crores is the

aggregate investment required for the public sector for financing expansion of industries. It has been emphasised that the existing capacity for the production of consumer goods should be utilised to the maximum. To increase efficiency of production there has been a merger of the Indian Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. with the Steel Corporation of Bengal. It has been decided to raise the output of this concern to 100 thousand tons of finished steel and 500 thousand tons of pig iron by the end of 1956. This increase involves an expenditure of Rs. 35 crores. A loan of Rs. 15 crores has been obtained for this from the International Bank and guaranteed by the Government. A new Steel factory is to be started in Orissa soon.

NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES—PUBLIC SECTOR

Nationalisation of industries has taken place in various spheres under the direct sponsorship of the Government. Self-sufficiency of foodgrains requires the ensured supply of fertilisers and for this purpose the Sindri Fertiliser Factory was opened by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, on March 2, 1952. The basic capital cost has been Rs. 23 crores. The price of fertilisers has been so adjusted as to provide intensive development of agriculture by means of fertilisers. The price also has been reduced from the initial price of Rs. 350 per ton to Rs. 285 a ton.

The importance of ship-building in the industrial development of India with its lengthy coast line is of great importance. A first attempt in this direction has been made. The Government has entered into an agreement with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company by which the Scindia Ship Building Yard, Vizagapatnam, has been obtained by the State. The Government has acquired two-third interest in this project to the extent of Rs. 180 lakhs. Technical Aid Agreement with a French naval firm has been concluded for the development of this shipping yard. Three ships of 8,000 tons each were completed during 1952. Two ships are still under construction. The Shipping Yard has orders for seven more ships of new designs and fitted with diesel engines. The construction of oil tankers, trawlers and frigates has been planned.

A machine tool factory has been started at Jalahali, Bangalore. It is expected that production will be in full swing by 1955. The aim of this factory is to manufacture precision type machine tools. Machinery worth Rs. 110 lakhs has been imported from abroad for this purpose. The factory has been started with an authorised capital of Rs. 12 crores but the estimated cost is Rs. 8.73 crores. The Government holds 85 per cent shares, while the remaining is owned by foreign European firms.

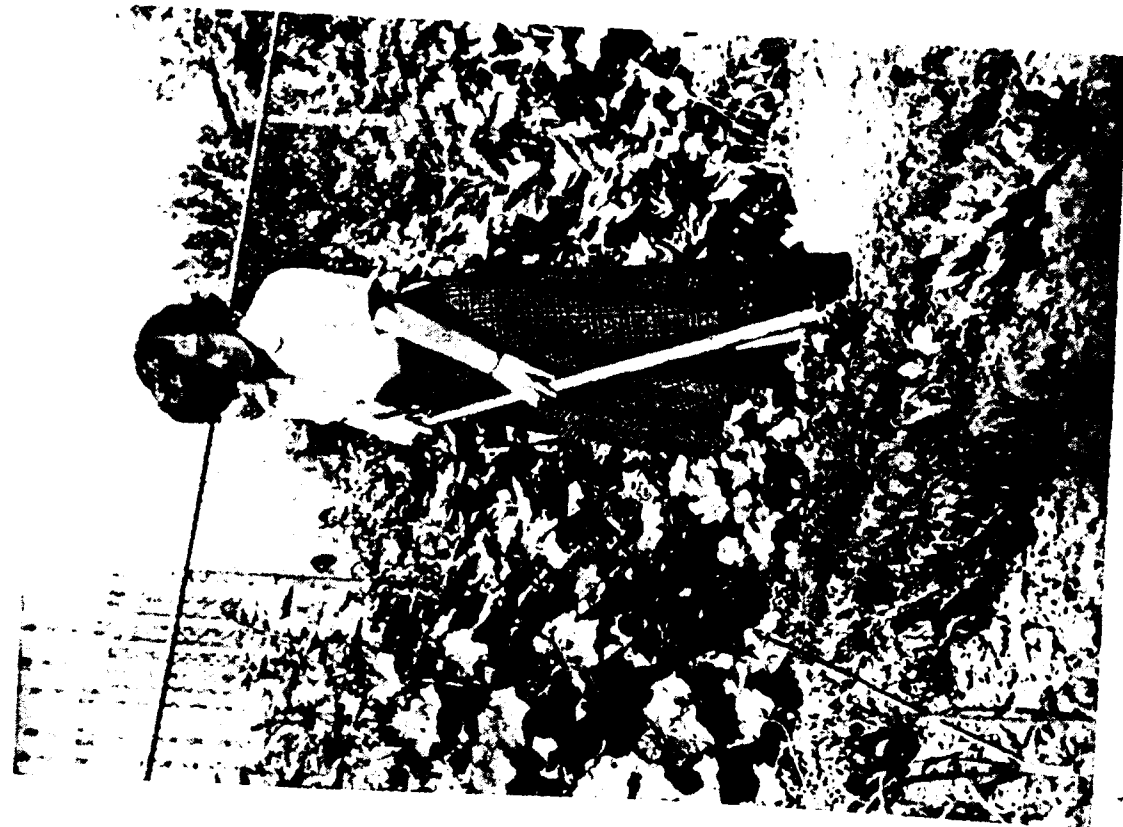
The foundation of the National Instrument Factory was laid on the 27th February, 1953. It is already producing about 250 types of surveying, drawing, mathematical, optical and other instruments. Rs. 1.82 crores is going to be spent on this of which Rs. 80 lakhs is to



The electric light bulbs here show the first known use of electric power from atomic energy. The generator is run by a turbine which uses steam produced by means of heat supplied by the Experimental Breeder Reactor located at Idaho Falls in the United States



An Indian Commission on Secondary Education observes a student assembling a watch at Emily Griffith Opportunity School, a technical and trade school in Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.



A young American girl at work. Hollyhock bushes in the background surround the Children's Garden in New York, providing beauty and also privacy from the city streets beyond the fence.



This girl experiments with a flower arrangement. Girls choose to grow flowers instead of vegetables on their small plots in the Children's Garden in New York City.

be spent within the next five years. The annual value of the products when the factory is in full swing by 1955-56 is expected to be Rs. 4.02 crores. According to the Five-Year Plan, a Dry Core Cable Factory has been set up at a cost of Rs. 110 lakhs and an agreement has been concluded for this purpose with a firm from the U.K. The value of the annual output at present price levels will come to about 87 lakhs. In this connection it may be noted that the annual consumption of cables by the Posts and Telegraphs Department comes to about Rs. 80 lakhs, and the total requirements of these cables now coming through imports are valued at about Rs. 1 crore a year. It has also planned to set up a Penicillin Factory under the ownership of the Government of India. The contribution of the Government will be Rs. 130 lakhs while 350 thousand dollars will come from the WHO for technical assistance and 850 thousand dollars to provide equipment. It should produce 2000 billion units reaching a maximum capacity of 9000 billion units per year. A DDT Factory will be established which will have a capacity of producing 700 tons of DDT per year. The Government contributes Rs. 22.045 lakhs while 3.5 lakh dollars comes from outside. Rs. 7 crores has been set aside for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment to make India self-sufficient in this respect. Rs. 10 lakhs has been allotted for the year 1953-54. Government has also accepted the co-operation of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company of the United States and the Burmah Shell Oil Company of U.K. for setting up two oil refineries in Trombay. The two refineries should have a total refining capacity of 3.3 million tons of crude oil per annum which yields 2.9 million tons of refined petroleum products. The total capital for these two refineries comes to about Rs. 43 crores out of which Rs. 7 crores comes from private Indian capital. Standard Vacuum Oil Refinery will start production in January, 1955 while Burmah Shell Refinery will take another year.

The following eleven National Laboratories have been set up to promote the progress and application of science in the nation's welfare:

1. The National Physical Laboratory, Delhi.
2. The National Chemical Laboratory, Poona.
3. The National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur.
4. The Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.
5. The Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad.
6. The Central Food Technical Research Institute, Mysore.
7. The Central Glass and Ceramic Institute, Calcutta.
8. The Central Drugs Institute, Lucknow.
9. The Central Road Research Institute, Delhi.
10. The Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee.
11. The Central Leather Research Institute, Madras.

Some of them are now in operation helping to foster fundamental research and research for helping the large-scale industries while others are drawing up programme for the purpose. They will be of immaterial help to the medium and small-scale industries helping to reduce costs and improving quality of products. An amount of Rs. 461 lakhs is provided in the Five-Year Plan for scientific and industrial research. For closer co-operation with commercial production, a National Research Development Co-operation for India is under way. India still lags behind many other countries in industrial production.

VILLAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

The rural economy of the country is governed largely by village and small-scale industries. These afford a large avenue of employment for artisans besides helping local growth and meeting local demands for products. A Cottage and Village Industries Board and the Handloom Board appointed by the Government have been set up to co-ordinate the activities of these industries. Rs. 15 crores has been allotted by the Central Government for this purpose and Rs. 12 crores by State Governments for the development of cottage and small-scale industries.

IRRIGATION AND MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

For the greater material prosperity of the nation, the need for greater irrigation has been realised as a basic necessity. A set-back in the last few years has been caused by the effects of the partition of the country. The proportion of irrigated and cultivated area declined from 24 per cent to 19 per cent. Multi-purpose projects have been undertaken which include irrigation projects and which form one of the basic factors in the first Five-Year Plan. The irrigation and power projects now in hand come to about Rs. 765 crores. It may be mentioned here that 5.6 per cent of the water resources of the country are now being utilised for purposes of irrigation. It can clearly be seen that the improvement of electric power, flood control, navigation and irrigation have great possibilities for the whole country. The Damodar Valley Corporation is now on its fifth year of progress. The Hirakud and the Bhakra-Nangal Projects are other multi-purpose projects of great importance. In the D.V.C. itself, the Bokaro Power Station, and the Tilaiya Project are now completed. The Maithon Project and the Hydro-Electric Station and the Konar Dam should be completed in the course of this year. The Bhakra-Nangal Project consists of a dam across the Sutlej, a Power House, the Nangal Hydro-Electric Canal, the Nangal Dam, the two Nangal Power Houses and the Bhakra Canal system. The Nangal Dam and Canal are completed. The work on the Bhakra Dam is well advanced and is scheduled to be completed in 1954. The power from the Nangal

Project is already available in Delhi. The Hirakud Dam provides for an installation capacity of 123 thousand k.w. while 48 thousand k.w. will be installed in the next five years. Work on the different dams is still not complete but both irrigation and power will be obtained from this Project by 1965. The work is still going on in the Tungabhadra Project. As envisaged in the Five-Year Plan various other projects like the Kosi, Koyana, Krishna, Chambal and the Riband are also under way. It is hoped that the Ganga Barrage Scheme will be included in the Second Five-Year Plan. It will be of inestimable value to the countryside when implemented. It is estimated that in the next fifteen or twenty years, the total area under irrigation for the country should be approximately doubled.

RAILWAYS

One of the largest State undertakings are the Railways. This may be said to be the only real national asset that was handed over when the foreign rulers left. After meeting interest and depreciation charges it leaves over a surplus for general revenues. In 1954-55, the surplus is over 3 crores. Since 1947, a large number of new lines have been laid. The Assam Link Project which had to be undertaken as a result of partition was finished in a very short time. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works has been established for the manufacturing of locomotives and boilers at a cost of 16 crores. The target of this factory is to produce 120 locomotives and 50 spare boilers per annum. It is already nearing its target production. This is an example of nationalised industry which has shown considerable success. To meet the minimum requirements of railway development a total amount of Rs. 400 crores has been estimated. Of this Rs. 100 crores is to be set aside for transport and basic industries.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Indian Air Lines Corporation came into existence in 1953. All Indian Airlines are co-ordinated here under State sponsorship. They have nearly 100 planes plying of different types.

The introduction of postal facilities in rural areas and the further extension of telephones in big cities has been found a great necessity. The development plan for Post and Telegraph Offices and Telephones comes to about Rs. 50 crores. On August 15, 1947, the total number of rural Post Offices was 18,121 while in 1952 it had increased to 36,000. About a thousand had been opened during the year 1953. The number of urban Post Offices was raised from 3,995 in 1947 to 5,769 in 1953.

In 1952, the area served per Post Office was 28 square miles at least. In 1956, it is estimated that this area will be reduced to 9 square miles and the total

number of rural Post Offices be increased to reach a maximum of 46,639.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

The economic life of the village and the society have to be transformed to a great extent to keep in tune with the object of the Five-Year Plan. In the year 1952 the first group of rural community projects have been introduced along with training facilities for village and extension workers. Where transport facilities are poor, distances are great and illiteracy is high, the necessity of community projects and the growth of the national extension service should be of inestimable value. It is envisaged that during the years 1953 to 1956 about 120 thousand villages will be brought under the jurisdiction of the national extension service. The community projects started in 1952-53 and the additional 55 development blocks taken up in 1953-54 will altogether amount to 300 development blocks of 100 villages each. In 1953-54, 180 more development blocks will be taken up, 270 such in 1954-55 and 450 in 1955-56. The Extension organisations will be increased in co-ordination with the increase of these development blocks. The work on these areas has been started from October 2, 1952 and some progress has been recorded in the spheres of agricultural education and small-scale industries. The value of these projects cannot be judged merely in terms of money as it is through this means that an attempt is being made to mobilise the people's help for their own good. Thus, an all-round development is sought to be brought about by the active co-operation between the people and their Government. It is expected that the work in this direction in the first Five-Year Plan will cover one-fourth of the villages of India. Once the foundation is laid, the advance will be more rapid in the future.

EDUCATION

Education has been considered one of the most important aspects of democratic progress in the country. One of its primary objects is the building up of leadership in all levels in the country. Although its importance is realised, in view of the limited financial resources and the priority given to food including agriculture and irrigation, it is unfortunate that the resources available for education in the first Five-Year Plan is far below requirements. It is to be hoped that in the next Five-Year Plan this will be given top priority. It should be obvious that without adequate training and equipment of the citizens, any appreciable progress is not possible.

In the first Five-Year Plan, pupils in the primary schools will increase from 151.1 lakhs in 1950-51 to 187.9 lakhs in 1955-56, pupils in the basic schools from 29 lakhs in 1950-51 to 38 lakhs in 1955-56, pupils in secondary schools from 43.9 lakhs

in 1950-51 to 57.8 lakhs in 1955-56, pupils in industrial schools from 14.8 thousands in 1950-51 to 21.8 thousands and pupils in technical and vocational training centres from 26.76 thousands in 1950-51 to 43.6 thousands in 1955-56. Rs. 1.51 crores has been provided for the progress of education in the Plan.

New methods have been introduced to make the training of students more practical and dynamic. The number of Universities and Colleges have increased in huge proportion as also the number of pupils but one cannot say yet that graduates can always take their rightful place in the progress of the nation. Unemployment amongst them is prevalent. To inculcate a healthy respect for manual work youth camps where students may undertake manual work are being organised. A sum of Rs. 1 crore has been set aside for this. Both rural and urban libraries including travelling ones have been introduced in some parts of the country which help towards the growth of greater literacy. In West Bengal, Bombay, Madras and some other parts of the country the response in this direction is encouraging. Literacy centres have also been organised for the fulfilment of social education in the different States. Rs. 7.5 crores has been set aside for social education according to the Second Five-Year Plan. In the spheres of basic education, the project method has been popularised. There has been an increase of vocational and crafts training centres specially for the displaced youngmen who have come over after partition. Such institutions have been specially sponsored by the Central Government and employment for these persons has been found in big and small industries and handicraft centres. It may be said that a beginning has been made to lay a sure foundation but a great deal has to be yet accomplished. The only way to do it is hard and conscientious endeavour.

The problem of language has also been important in connection with the growth of education in different areas of India. There has been an attempt to have one common State language but so far only partial success has been achieved. The promotion of cultural autonomy in the different areas has been encouraged. It is recognised, however, that the mother tongue must be given its due place.

HEALTH

When we turn to health, we find that while other nations have steadily progressed, India has been completely left behind for more than a century and a half. Health is a basic necessity if we are to build a prosperous nation. The output of the nation as compared to many others is low and cannot be improved unless amenities for health are there so that the nation may become strong and virile. In the first Five-Year Plan, Rs. 100 crores has been demarcated for the public health of which the States spend Rs. 82 crores and the Centre Rs. 18 crores. The Central

Government programme consisted of certain selected schemes of which the most important are:

- (i) The National Malaria Control programme;
- (ii) The Anti-Tuberculosis campaign.

During 1952-53, the programme of mass B.C.G. vaccination was extended to 9 States and it is expected to cover the whole of India by the end of 1954. The World Health Organisation and the UNICEF have given considerable assistance in regard to this. Maternity and child welfare and family planning are also matters on which attention is being focussed.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Social welfare of the people is another key problem which includes child welfare, youth welfare, women's welfare and family welfare. These have been given a place in the first Five-Year Plan. The Central Social Welfare Board has so far distributed Rs. 16.62 lakhs to 480 non-official social welfare agencies in the country. It may be mentioned summarily that Rs. 4 crores has been provided in the Plan for the extension of social welfare activities in the country at large. It has to be seen that there is an appreciation of the needs of education and social welfare though a great deal will have to be done before needs are fulfilled or India's attainments in this field can be compared to the more progressive nations in the world. Yet it must be done so that India's cultural heritage is preserved and its separate entity maintained.

BACKWARD CLASSES

The Plan also provides Rs. 29 crores for the welfare of 18 million backward classes including scheduled castes and other criminal tribes. Rs. 9 crores and Rs. 3 crores will be spent for the tribal people and Rs. 12 crores will be spent for the tribal people in the North-East Frontier Agency. Work has started here.

LABOUR WELFARE

The duty towards labour which the Government owes has not been neglected. The presence of a contented and prosperous labour force is essential for the successful maintenance of a suitable industrial democracy and the achievement of the ideals for which a welfare state stands. The effective implementation of the Factories Act is essential. Other measures for the achievement of better industrial health, safety and welfare are planned. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 ensures the fixation of minimum wages where manual labour is prevalent. This Minimum Wages Act includes a number of industries where the economic position is bettered by having a uniform rate of minimum wages. The first stages of social insurance will be achieved in this country when the Employees Insurance Act is functioning properly. This applies to all factories which employ

piecework system, greater diversification and more specialisation in the product of higher counts, development of new lines of production, maintenance of a closer touch with consuming centres in India as well as abroad, raising of import duty of 11 per cent. to 15 per cent., bounty on the spinning of higher counts of yarn, etc. The government partly accepted the recommendations. The government changed the 5% duty on yarn to 5% advalorem or 1½ annas per lb whichever is higher. The duty on machinery and mill store was removed. The steps taken by the government could not fulfill the needs of the industry. The industry as well as the public was not satisfied. The protective duty was, therefore, extended for three years ending on 31st March, 1933. This measure did not prove much helpful to the industry as the depression in the industry continued. More help was needed urgently. Due to inadequate protection the imports from Japan increased. The competition in finer yarn continued. The strikes of 1928 and 1929 proved harmful to the industry. In 1929 the protection was again demanded. In 1929 the Government appointed Mr. G. S. Hardy to investigate the extent and severity of foreign competition. Mr. Hardy recommended protection. In 1930 the Government passed the Cotton Textile Protection Act according to which the revenue duty was increased to 15% on British goods and 20% on non-British goods, grey goods were subjected to a minimum specific duty of 3 annas per lb for all. As such the Imperial reference was introduced from the back door. The duties were further raised to 25% on British goods and 31% on non-British goods for revenue reasons. An import duty of 6 pies per ton on raw cotton and 10% on machinery and dyes used by the industry was also imposed. Japanese competition continued as Japanese exchange depreciated and they placed their piecegoods in Indian markets at abnormally low rates. In 1932 the duty on non-British goods was raised to 50% and the minimum specific duty on plain grey goods was raised to 5 annas per lb on non-British goods. In 1932 an Ottawa Trade Agreement was entered into according to which the British agreed to increase the purchase of Indian cotton. British goods were again preferred. The rates were further increased to 75% and 63¼ annas per lb respectively from 7th June, 1933. At last an Indian Tariff Textile Protection Amendment Act of 1934 was passed which fixed "substantive" protection and stated that the need of protection against U.K. was greater than against Japan. The protection was modified in the light of Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, 1934 and the Mody Lees Act. The Act was to remain in force till March, 1939. Duties on yarn were fixed at 5% on British and 6% on non-British yarn. India incurred a loss of revenue of the tune of Rs. 1 crore due to the preferential treatment to U.K. imports, while the export of raw cotton did not increase according to Mody Lees Act. The Act allotted an annual import quota of 125m. yards unconditionally, 325 million yards if Britain purchases 1 m. bales of Indian cotton and 400m. yards if she purchased 1½ m. bales. The duty on non-

British goods was fixed at 50% advalorem, subject to a minimum of 5½ annas in the case of plain greys.

The Mody Lees Act was due to expire on 31st December, 1935. In 1935 a special Tariff Board was appointed to investigate into the question of protection to the Indian textile industry against the imports of U. K. The Tariff Board recommended that the duty on British plain grey goods be reduced from 25% to 20% advalorem or 8½ annas per pound whichever was higher, the duty on bordered grey, bleached and coloured piecegoods (other than prints) should be reduced from 25% to 20% advalorem and the duty on yarn should remain the same. The Government announced this reduction immediately, even without consulting the legislature, which came into force from 25th June, 1936. At this Indian industrialists were dissatisfied but Government defended their action.

A new Indo-British Agreement was signed in place of Ottawa Agreement according to which the import duties on British goods were reduced and the U.K. would prefer to purchase Indian cotton. The Indian Tariff Amendment Act was passed in 1939 according to which the import duties on British goods were reduced to 17 per cent, on printed goods, 15 per cent. or 2 annas 7½ pies whichever is higher, on grey goods, and 15 per cent on all others. The duties have to be reduced by 2½% if imports fall below 350 m. yards and increased by 2½% if imports increased to 500m. yards in a year, penalties or rewards were made if the consumption on Indian cotton by U.K. decreased or increased from the limits of 5 lac and 7½ lac bales in a year. This agreement was opposed by the Legislative Assembly and Indian textile industry on the ground that it unduly favoured Lancashire industry.

Till the last war most of the industry was centralised in Bombay State due to the following advantages possessed by Bombay :

1. Raw materials: Raw cotton was available from the hinterland of the port of Bombay.
2. Facility for the import of machinery, chemicals, millstores, etc.
3. The presence of managing agents who took the initiative.
4. Humid climate and advantageous geographical position.
5. Presence of capital and credit facilities. Parsee merchants had acquired good fortunes.
6. Presence of efficient and cheap means of transport and communications.
7. Profitable yarn export trade with China.

In the post-war decade the mills began to be constructed in other centres, viz. Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Madras, Sholapur and Nagpur. These centres possessed the advantages of nearness of markets, availability of raw materials, and cheap labour. The China trade in yarn declined. The Swadeshi movement stimulated the growth of weaving outside Bombay. The factory laws were more lax in Indian States than in British India.

In Bombay the taxation increased, the cost of labour became high and the industry became overcapitalised during boom period. All these factors favoured the decentralisation of industry. At present the important centres of industry are Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Kanpur, Nagpur, Indore, Madras and Coimbatore. In 1953 out of 453 cotton mills, 200 were located in Bombay State which holds the pride of place in the industry. Madras comes next having 90 mills. Over 60% of the spindles and looms are centralized in Bombay State.

Between 1925-39 the industry made some recovery due to regulation of competition from U.K. and Japan, tariff protection, and improvement in the general economic condition.

DURING WORLD WAR OF 1939-45 AND AFTERWARDS

The decreased home demand, increased imports from Japan, heavy property tax in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and the doubling of import duty on raw cotton adversely affected the industry. During 1940-41 the industry made good progress due to fall in the imports from Japan, heavy orders from Eastern Group and Government for military purposes and monopoly in the home market. The export of piecegoods increased by about 5 times in 1942-43 as compared to 1938-39. The next year exports fell down mainly due to control. The industry increased production by working double and treble shifts and rationalisation of production methods. But the scarcity of goods occurred. The prices of cotton piecegoods went up abnormally. The dealers began to hoard the goods. Black-market flourished. Whole salers and millowners made huge profits. This was mainly due to the fact that the imports of cotton piecegoods from Japan stopped entirely. The position grew from bad to worse due to this cessation of imports from Japan. The prices rose to five times the prewar level due to general rise in prices, decreased imports, increased exports (even to U.S.A. and England), purchase on military account, etc. In 1943 an arrangement was made between Government and the mill to produce cheap standard cloth. This step was taken with a view to save the consumer from high prices. But the scheme to sell at fixed price failed due to lack of proper organisation and distributing machinery. Strict rationing of cloth was also introduced to check the high prices. Government steadily improved its machinery. The prices of cloth and yarn were completely controlled in June 1943. The mills had to specify ceiling, ex-mill and retail prices on every cloth. Date of production was also to be printed. Textile Central Board and various Statutory Committees were appointed. The Government also fixed the maximum price of cotton and stores. A license had to be obtained from the Textile Commissioner for transporting the cloth.

During and after the war the trend of development was not competitive. A Capital Control Order was issued in 1943 mainly to check the inflation in the country. The establishment of the new mills was

checked by this order. Only those managing agents were given licences for the establishment of new mills who had their old mills also. Thus this internal as well as external competition was lacking.

During war years the production capacity could not be expanded. The reasons were the non-availability of machinery and stores. After war also the foreign manufacturers could not supply the machinery in time. And when the supply position of machinery improved the new mills could not be started for want of capital and high cost of machinery and plant.

Shortage of coal occurred after the outbreak of war. In 1944-45 the output declined due to shortage of coal and raw materials and unsettled political situation.

During war years the Tariffs remained unchanged. According to the recommendation of the Tariff Board the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act of 1947 was passed. The existing protective duties on cotton cloth and yarn were converted into revenue duties from 1st April, 1947 as the industry is much more stronger financially than before World War II and now it can stand on its own feet.

Some plans were made for the post-war development of the industry. The panel for the cotton mill industry prepared a programme for setting up 100 mills distributed over the whole country. In 1947 partition of the country took place. India was deprived of raw cotton from Sindh and so the plans were given up. Pakistan used to supply 1.2 million bales of raw cotton. Besides this Pakistan was also an important consumer of Indian cloth. India lost this market. In 1948 the Government relaxed the control on cotton goods. But experiment proved a total failure. The cloth position became very bad. The control over cotton goods was reimposed. The increased price of raw cotton increased the cost of production. To solve this problem it was decided to grow superior quality of cotton in India. Government also decided to revise the prices of raw cotton quarterly in accordance with the formula suggested by the Tariff Board.

In 1948 the export of cotton piecegoods declined. The reasons were decontrol, increased prices and the imposition of export duties. The devaluation in 1949 gave a fillip to exports. In 1950 the prices of raw cotton were raised substantially, as a result the cloth prices also increased. Many strikes also occurred in Bombay.

On the recommendation of the Tariff Board the Government of India decided to protect textile machinery industry in 1950. A protective duty of 10% advalorem was levied for a period of 3 years on spindles, plainlooms, etc. All the raw materials required for the production of textile machinery are found in India.

The output of cotton piecegoods increased considerably in 1951 and 1952. The output in 1952 was 4599 million yards.

The Government of India abolished price and distri-

cotton controls from 10th July, 1953. But the control over production shall continue. The present state of free competition markets needs the withdrawal of production control also.

Some restrictions have been placed on the production of dhotis. Now mills can produce 60% of their output of dhotis for 1951-52. Due to this restriction the price of dhotis increased.

The production in 1953 marked an all-time record. It surpassed not only the previous production of 4811 million yards attained in 1944 but also the target of 4780 million yards fixed by the Planning Commission for 1955-56. The yarn production also increased. This increased output in cloth and yarn could be attained due to availability of adequate supplies of raw materials, at relatively low prices, continued favourable relation between management and labour, fairly satisfactory transport situation, improved position in respect of power and fuel and the abolition of all price and distribution controls on all varieties of cloth.

Export of cotton piecegoods increased in 1953 as compared to 1952. The free licensing of cotton piecegoods exports, which was extended upto the end of June, 1953, has since been extended upto the end of June, 1954. African Government has banned to import Japanese textiles till the end of 1954. The Indian textile industry can easily secure this market. The Buxton conference fixed a target of export of 1000 million yards of cloth every year from India. During the very first month of 1954 India was able to make a record export of 80 million yards.

During 1953 heavy stocks of goods accumulated as the increasing supplies could not be sold. Fourteen mills gave notice of closes due to difficulties of storage space and finance. Two mills actually closed down in October, 1953. To solve this problem Government took these measures:

1. The excise duty on superfine cloth was reduced from annas 3-3 to annas 2 per yard.
2. The 10% export duty on medium count cloth was abolished.

At present there are 453 cotton mills in India having 11,427,034 spindles and 203,786 looms. About Rs. 51 crores are being invested as fixed capital and Rs. 100 crores as productive capital in this industry. The industry employs 7,43,000 workers. The industry supports cultivators and handloom weavers also.

More mills can be established in India. A number of mills are being set up in Bombay and Uttar Pradesh.

Recently a big cotton mill has been put into operation at Modinagar. The allocation of new units in different provinces has been settled.

THE PROBLEMS AHEAD AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

(1) The industry is urgently in need of modernisation and re-equipment. The cloth output is increasing day by day. It means greater exertion on the existing machinery. Before the last war the industry could not make sufficient profits, mainly due to foreign competition, so as to cover the cost of modernisation and re-equipment. During the second world war the industry made huge profits. But these were distributed in the shape of dividends. The profits were not utilised in making up adequate reserves. The abnormal rise in the price of machinery (about three times the prewar level) and the restrictions imposed on imports also prohibited renewals and replacements. The Planning Commission has rightly remarked that there are about 150 uneconomic units in the cotton mill industry. The modernisation of machinery requires crores of rupees. But it is in the interest of all, the consumer, the producer, the Government and the labourer to make an early attempt for the rehabilitation, renovation and replacement of the old machinery. Government can help a lot by making due depreciation allowances, and making adequate tax-reliefs. Till now the Government has taken a step-motherly treatment in this matter. Modernisation is urgently needed to improve the quality of cloth, decrease its cost of manufacturing and increasing the exports. The importance of modernisation increases when we note that the foreign competitors of Indian cotton industry have already undergone modernisation.

(2) The mills have no effective sales organisation. They do not try to improve the marketing methods. Some exporters receive orders of superior quality and supply inferior quality goods. This practice, and a number of similar practices should be abandoned in the interest of the industry itself as the production of cotton cloth is fast increasing but the level of home consumption has not increased simultaneously due to lower purchasing power. Thus the increased supply can only be sold by exporting to foreign countries. Again Japan has begun to underquote India in open market. If the exports are not increased the industry may be burdened with accumulated stocks. Industrialists must try to stabilise the cotton textile export trade. Every effort should be made to promote exports. The formation of the Export Promotion Committee is a step in the right direction.

SALIHUNDAM—A BUDDHIST STUPA IN THE ANDHRA COUNTRY

By SISIR KUMAR MITRA, M.A., LL.B.

SALIHUNDAM is an almost insignificant village on the southern bank of the Vamsadhara before the river meets the sea near Kalingapatnam in the Srikakulam District (modern Chicacole). A motorable road connects Srikakulam City (9 miles from Chicacole Road Rly. Stn.) with the seaside town of Kalingapatnam. After the 14th mile-post this road touches the fringe of a low-lying rocky hill containing the stupa site and then abruptly it swerves eastwards for Kalingapatnam.

I had an occasion to visit the place in the company of Dr. J. N. Banerji, Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta University and Dr. R. Subrahmanayam of the S. E. Circle of the Archaeological Department, early this year after the Waltair session of the Indian History Congress.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is well-known that the Andhra region grew up to be an important centre of Buddhism during the early centuries of the Christian era. It became practically studded with monuments and stupas, both relic and votive, some of which can be dated back to the 1st and 2nd centuries B. C. The archaeologist's shovel has unearthed such important sites as Amarawati, Nagarjunikonda, Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, Ghantasala and other places.

Before the introduction of image-worship the stupas or funerary structures containing the relics of the Master received the adoration from the followers of the faith. But in this respect too the contribution of the Andhakas (Andhrakas) was of no less significance. The Mahaparinirvana Sutta in the *Digha Nikaya* records a dialogue between Lord Buddha and his favourite disciple Ananda on the method of the disposal of the body of the Great Teacher. "What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?" asked Ananda. The Lord replied, "As men treat the remains of the king of kings, so Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata." Elucidating further he said that the body should be wrapped in new clothes and then consigned to flames. Collecting the remains from the pyre it should be placed within the stupa to be erected at the crossing of four highways. Those who would visit such places with garlands or perfumes would

earn religious merit for themselves. Thus this Sutta prescribes the erection of stupas as well as of paying holy visits to them. But for popularising the custom among the masses, credit goes to these Andhakas or Mahasanghikas or Achariyavadins, as they were also called, as opposed to the Theravadi Buddhists of Western and Central India. The common run of the people got in the doctrine of deification of Buddha preached by the Mahasanghikas and their sub-sects, ample scope



Six images on Salihundam hill

Courtesy: Dr. Subrahmanayam

to satisfy their religious emotions and they not only adopted the principle of visiting the stupas and other holy places but also erected votive stupas as a mark of their dedication to the Great Being.

To this development also may be traced the emergence of the Mahayana order of Buddhism with its rich pantheon of gods and goddesses. This took the wind out of the sails of the Theravada Buddhism and it itself became the most favourite religion with the masses. In the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* it is stated that the Mahayana teaching will originate in Dakshinapatha (South India), pass on to the eastern India and prosper in the north. Evidently this came about sometime in the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D.

But the question arises, why the Andhra country of all else gained so much popularity with the Buddhists and how the thought-current of the region could influence and divert the course of religious thinking of



the people of the whole of India? A reference to the political and economic condition of the region may be necessary for an answer to it. The Inscriptions of Asoka alluded to the well-knit military organisation of the Kalinga country. It is well-known what a stubborn resistance the army of Asoka had had to face during the Kalinga expedition. An almost similar account may be obtained from Pliny (1st Cent. A.D.), who is presumed to have based his report on the earlier account of Megasthenes. Ptolemy (2nd Cent. A.D.) refers to "the City of Paloura" (near modern Chicacole or Srikakulam) as the port from which started vessels bound for the Golden Land (Suvannabhumi). Thus grew up an emporium of trade and commerce in the Andhradesa, where congregated the mercantile people from all over the country for ready business. The establishment of this rich commercial contact helped the development of the region financially and organisationally. Through this channel again the thought-current that developed here permeated the countries both inland and overseas.



Tara. Salihundam village.
Courtesy: Dr. Banerji

THE SITE

As far as it can be gathered from the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1919-20), the site of Salihundam, was first noticed by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu of Parlakimedi in 1919 and the first excavation was conducted by the then Superintendent of Archaeology, Mr. Longhurst in 1920-21, followed by subsequent attempts in later years.

The main stupa is at an altitude of about 400 feet on the top of the hill which slowly rises, thus enabling the visitors to climb almost without any trouble. We however climbed half the height in our jeep, i.e., practically upto the base of the hill. From there we took

the narrow terraced pathway leading to the stupa which was apsidal in structure. The apex of course is not there now, but the brick-built walls of the circular chamber are still standing with an opening to the north. It contained a relic-casket of stone, a broken portion of which was shown to us during our visit.

From the top of the hill we had a clear view of the Vamsadhara, which from this point takes a northerly course in its journey towards the sea, and it is well-known that rivers flowing from south to north is regarded as particularly holy, e.g., the Ganges at Benares. So from that point too this Buddhist site acquired a special distinction.

The date of the stupa is still an open question. But during the last session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair, Mr. A. S. Gadre, Superintendent of Archaeology, S. E. Circle, referred to the find of an inscription at Salihundam which according to him was written in the Brahmi script of the Asokan age. As such Mr. Gadre holds that the stupa must have been erected sometime in the 1st or 2nd century B.C.

Coming down a few yards by the path, one meets a Buddha *chaitya* and a votive stupa on either side. The votive stupa is to the north, much smaller in size than the main stupa. Most probably it was set up by some worshippers to acquire merit or to mark their dedication to the faith. The Buddha *chaitya* was nothing but a prayer hall for the monastic order. It is rectangular in area with a raised dais at the farther end of the chamber on which may be seen the remains of a stucco image of Buddha in *padmasana*. It is learnt that the full image was recovered by Mr. Longhurst, but later the stucco figure could not be saved and the portion above the waist of the deity is now gone. These subsidiary structures, as suggested by Dr. Subrahmanyam, belong to the Pre-Gupta age, probably to 1st or 2nd Century A.D.

SCULPTURES

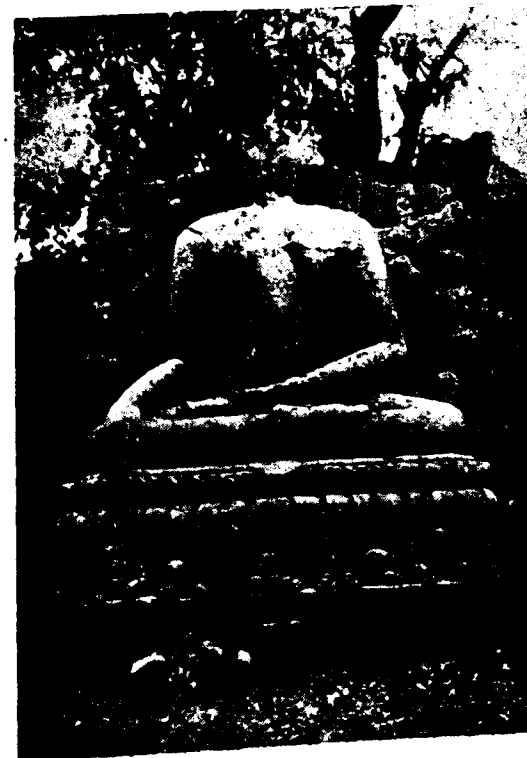
There is another hillock, quite close by, but of lower altitude than the one described above. On the top of it we noticed six stone sculptures placed on a brick pedestal. The first one is the most popular deity of the Mahayana pantheon, Bodhisatva Manjusri on a seat supported by figures of lions. He is the God of learning and enlightenment, and can be identified by the book, which he holds in one of his hands. It is the sacred text of Prajnaparamita.

Another very important Bodhisatva figure is also there in the group. He is Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara the symbol of universal love and mercy. The image is badly damaged, but the lotus stalk and the nectar-pot in his hands enable us to establish his identity.

The second image is a fragmentary one, broken almost beyond identification. But it was found to contain the oft-repeated couplet of "Ye dhamma hetuprabhava tesañ hetuni Tathagata..." inscribed on its reverse. This

there is little doubt that it is also a Buddhist image of the Mahayana order.

An unbroken image of Buddha is also there on the platform, showing the Lord seated in the *padmasana* pose (cross-legged) in *bhūsparsa mudra*, touching the earth with three fingers of his right hand, as if drawing strength and firmness from the Earth to thwart the evil effects of Mara during the final stage of his meditation.



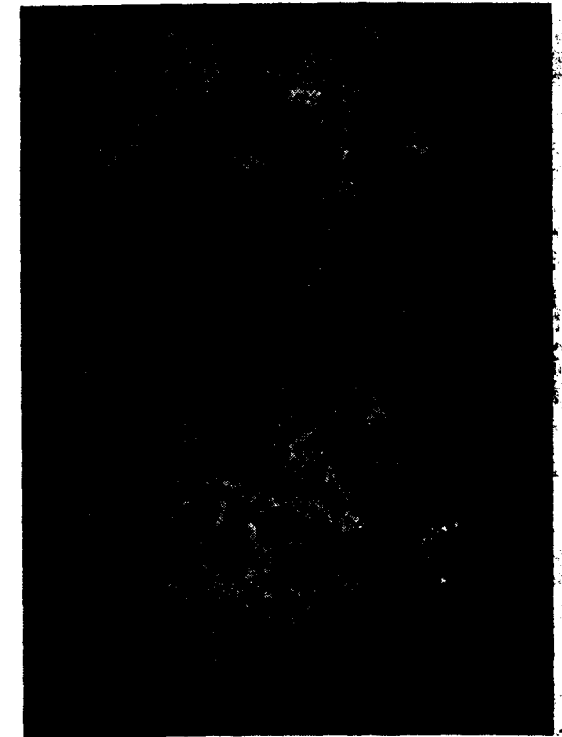
Buddha in *virasana*
Courtesy: Dr. Subrahmanyam

The fourth image is the principal female deity of the Mahayana school, Tara, seated on a fully blossomed lotus in *ardhaparyankasana* pose. She has six hands holding a sword in the upper right and *nilotpala* (blue lotus) in the left. She is the consort of Avalokitesvara. According to the conception of the Mahayana order, each kalpa or age is presided over by a Meditative (*Dhyani*) Buddha, from whom emanated a Bodhisatva as well as his consort or energy (*sakti*), a female deity, commonly known as Tara. They are of different complexions symbolic of their association with different Bodhisatvas, e.g., Sveta Tara, Rakta Tara, Shyama Tara, etc.

We noticed two other Tara images near the sculpture-shed of the Department. One of them was Nikotpalā Tara, the spiritual daughter of Dhyani Buddha Aksobhya. The other a four-handed image of Tara was seen seated in *virasana* pose on *visvapadma* (double-petalled lotus). She held a bunch of Nagakesara flowers and a nectar-pot

(*bhringara*) in her two left hands. The upper right hand is broken, but the lower one was in *varada mudra* (boon-conferring pose).

The last image of the group is very curious indeed. It is a Mahisamardini (the goddess killing the Buffalo Demon), quite boldly executed. To find a Hindu deity in the company of so many Buddhist images is no doubt strange, but Dr. Banerji firmly suggests that it is a



Marichi
Courtesy: Archaeological Dept., S. E. Circle

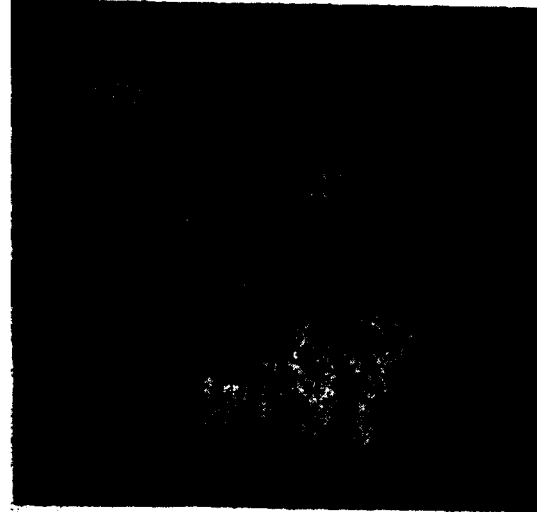
later addition when Buddhism might have been on the wane.

Then we trekked down into the little hamlet of Salihundam for a study of the images preserved in the sculpture-shed of the Archaeological Department. The principal image there is that of Marichi, a goddess of the Buddhist pantheon. She is regarded to have originated from Dhyani Buddha Vairocana. She is the goddess of dawn. Her features as may be noticed in other extant sculptures as also described in the texts are as follows—Marichi would have eight hands and three faces. The right face would be of red hue and the left one would be that of sow (*sukari*), and of bluish colour. She should be standing on a chariot drawn by seven pigs.

But the image before us does not conform exactly to the textual specification. She is seen here having six hands (not eight), and standing erect in *alidha* pose on the chariot. The central face, though damaged, is of

old disposition, but the faces on either side show sweetening attitude. But all are human faces and none that of a cow.

Most of the Bodhisattva and Tara figures have elaborate dresses with a crest in front containing a small figure of the Dhyani Buddha. In the image of Marichi also we did notice that the Vairochana Buddha was seated on the back of the *mukuta*. It is however badly bruised now.



Salihundam Buddhist Stupa site.
Dr. Banerji, Dr. Subrahmanyam, Prof. Rao
and S. K. M.
Courtesy: Dr. Banerji

Almost all the hands of the deity are to some extent damaged. The only hand which survived is the lower left holding a *paasa* (noose). The upper hand on the left side must have had an *Asoka* flower. On the right side can be seen the fore-arm portion only of a hand holding a sword.

The most distinguishing feature of this sculpture is that the chariot is drawn not by pigs as prescribed in the texts but by horses. These images are datable to the late Gupta period and as such might have been influenced to some extent by the Brahmanical Surya, whose chariot is drawn by seven horses. Further in conception too there is some amount of likeness. Marichi is the presiding deity of *usha* or dawn, whereas in the Brahmanical pantheon, Usha is a consort of Surya and may be seen in Surya sculptures along with her partners Pratyusha and Chhaya. Surya is also known as Marichimali.

The charioteer of Marichi, a female figure of fairly developed body may be seen holding *Asoka* flower in her left hand and the reins of the horses on the right. A seated figure of Bodhisattva holding *vajra* and *ghanta* (bell) may be seen on either side of the standing deity.

There was a fairly good collection of sculptures in and around the shed, but what attracted our attention was an image of Buddha seated in *vairochana*. Unfortunately the upper portion of the sculpture including the head of the deity has broken off. The Lord is seen seated in *bhuparsha mudra* on a double petalled lotus. The pedestal is divided into three panels, the central one showing the figure of a Bodhisattva in *jnana mudra* pose with two couchant lions on the panels on either side. On both sides of the deity too are the figures of two lions standing on their two hind legs. Above the Lord may be seen two *makara* motifs, with their mouths agape. All these ancillary figures surrounding the deity are of a highly virile nature. The firm posture of the Lord in this set-up cannot but generate a like feeling of confidence and courage in the minds of the worshippers.

A study of the sculptural remains at Salihundam clearly indicates that till the late Gupta period (4th-5th Cent. A.D.) this stupa continued to receive adoration and veneration of the people.



By MANIKLAL MUKHERJI

For Bengalis living on the plains the fascination for a journey to the hill stations is very great indeed.

So, when I was called upon to accompany the Chief Inspector of Boilers, West Bengal, to Ootacamund I was right glad to do so.



Ooty Lake

Ootacamund or Ooty as she goes by the name, has been rightly called the Queen of the Hill Stations.

Among the notable places to visit in South India, Ooty is one and a favourite health resort. It is noted for its scenic beauty.

Ooty stands at a height of 7,228 ft. above the sea level enclosed by four hills, namely, Elk Hill, Dodabetta, Snowdon and Club Hill and has a very salubrious climate.

Now let me describe our journey to Ootacamund in brief as it may help the future tourists.

We left Calcutta on the 11th of February, 1954 by the Madras Mail. The Mail started from Howrah Station exactly at 16-30 hrs. and we had to bid goodbye to our friends.

In the Railway Compartment I felt myself at home in the company of some Madras gentlemen. It was, therefore, natural for me to try to know from them about the place I was going to. But they could not give me any informations except that I had to go *via* Madras.

At about 10-15 on the morning of the 12th February we found ourselves at Waltair. All this while the great Eastern Ghats stood at our left in awe and grandeur. The Mail stopped here for 45 minutes. We finished our meals at Waltair. When the Mail started again we found that we were going in the same direction in which we came and the hills stood on our right.

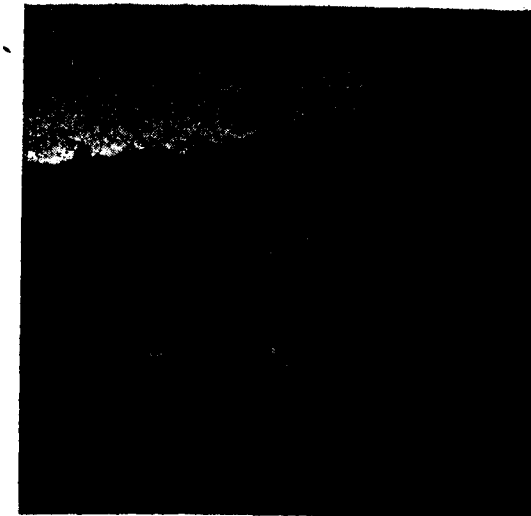
At stations where the Mail stopped we found plenty of oranges, ripe plantains, Kaju Badam, butter milk, and coffee.

The tourist may well count upon good coffee during his journey in the South but a good tea is a rarity. But we remember to have been supplied with good Stanness tea at Hotel Cecil after we reached Ooty.

The journey from Waltair to Bezwada was aweful because of the excessive heat we felt during the day.

At almost all the big stations in the South there are arrangements for supply of both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes and the prices seemed comparatively cheaper than those at Calcutta.

We reached Godavari towards candle-light on the 12th February. The vast Godavari lay below and was found to have dried up at some places. Some cones and boats were seen over the waters. As the Mail was crossing the bridge like a huge caterpillar which it did in some five or six minutes I found little urchins standing in the waters knee-deep in expectation of a copper coin which a devout Hindu almost invariably throws into such sacred rivers as the Godavari, Narmada, etc.



Lake and Botanical Gardens, Ooty

We took our meal for the night at Bezwada and went to sleep. When we woke up it was dawn. The vast sheet of backwaters of the Bay of Bengal looked very nice with the rising sun. At about 7-30 on the morning of the 13th February we reached Madras. Here we were kindly met by Sri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madras, whose hospitality we cannot forget.

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A TRIP TO THE NILGIRIS

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Madras seemed to be a very pretty little city and

looked very clean indeed, unlike Calcutta which has its dark and filthy corners that seem to be veritable hell.

We found the tramlines lying with no tramcars but the State buses were plying in quick succession. I came to know the tram cars were not running owing to a dispute of the Electric Supply Co. with the Madras State Government at the time.



Charing Cross Fountain, Ooty

We went round the markets and visited some hotels and restaurants and found the Moore Market to our liking. It can be cited as a parallel to the Hogg Market at Calcutta.

At vegetarian hotels a bellyful of meal can be had on payment of annas nine to ten. The recipe includes rice, chutney (Sambhar as called in Tamil), chutney, butter milk, etc. Every meal at Madras, I was told, begins and ends with butter milk. But every preparation contains a combination of tamarind and pepper. Butter milk holds the balance of diet, perhaps.

For breakfast or tiffin the Idlys and dhosas (all prepared from Dal and rice) with coffee are very refreshing indeed. All things are supplied hot at Madras hotels.

In the afternoon I went to the Park station and had a journey in the electric train to the Madras Beach and also to Egmore, about 4 miles from Madras Central. Egmore can well be called the "Scaldah" of Madras.

Towards the evening I had a journey to Mylapore in the South with my friend Sri Venkata Krishnan. Mylapore is 5 miles from Madras Central. The bus fare was three annas and six pies. To my utter surprise I found that at every Bus Stop crowds waited in queues and there was no rush or scrambles for a seat in the bus. I wished things were so in Calcutta and we may hope that the Calcutta Police would kindly see to this in Calcutta.

Mylapore looked exactly like Ballygunge or Gariahat of Calcutta and it is famous for the great Kapalikeshwar

temple. Mylapore is also the home of the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri whom India cannot forget.

Let me say something about the Kapalikeshwar temple of Mylapore. It is a tall temple with stone carvings. The upper part of the temple depicted the story of Ramayana in stone carvings and paintings. The great Siva Linga within the massive stone walls is a charm in itself. It was then candle-light and the Arati (evening worship) was going on.

It is a very fine sight. The Arati continued for about half an hour and it is a peculiarity of Madras which every tourist must admire.

We retraced our steps to the Bus stands and returned to Madras Central just after seven o'clock in the evening, and took train again at 10.20 hrs. It was the Cochin Express which reached Coimbatore early morning where we had our breakfast and some rest on the 11th February, 1954. We started again by the Nilgiri Express at about 7.45 and reached Metupalaiyam, a distance of 1357 miles from Howrah at about nine o'clock.



Another view of the Charing Cross Fountain

There is a Rack Railway provided with second and third classes only running from Metupalaiyam to Ootacamund, a distance of 91 miles above the Nilgiris. There is an alternative Bus route which cuts short the distance to 32 miles but the path is a very winding one with as many as 12 Hairpin Bends which the driver has had to negotiate very cautiously.

Sri D. N. Chetty, Technical Advisor (Boilers) to the Government of India, Sri Mahdi Ali Mirza, Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, Hyderabad and Deccan, Sri R. P. Singh, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Uttar Pradesh, Sri L. B. Sato-ker, Technical Assistant, Bombay and Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Delhi Secretariat all met us at Metupalaiyam.

It was noon when we reached Ootacamund. It

was then still very cold. The wild groves of Eucalyptus were standing against the lofty Nilgiris and a very cool breeze carried their refreshing smells to us.



Government House, Ooty

The Nilgiris stand at the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghats. The townlets of Wellington and Coonoor are indeed very fine to look at. To go to Ooty the tourist has to leave these townlets behind. Until recently Ooty was the summer resort for the Government of Madras.

During his journey uphill to Ooty the curious tourist would find groves of arecanut and bamboo up to a height of about 2,500 ft. and beyond that tea and coffee plantations can be found along with forests of Eucalyptus and pines.

As the tourist ascends the hills on his way to Ooty from Metupalaiyam he will have to gaze and gaze at the tall arecanut groves on both sides of the road. Above the height of 3,000 ft the Bus driver will find very narrow and winding paths and several Hairpin Bends which only the hands of an expert driver can negotiate. I was told that the width of the hill way is between 25 ft. to 16 ft. Looking down the deep ravines overgrown with forests causes the heart shudder. Elephants, deer, wild goats, leopards and panthers can be found at these places. The wild fowls offer a very nice game for the adept hunters.



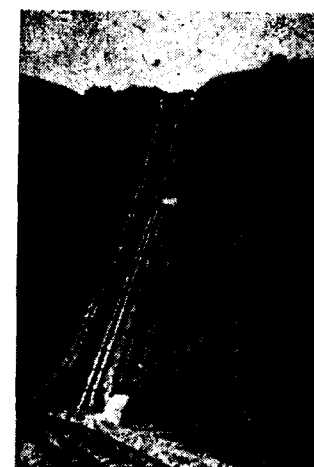
Ooty market

The Ootacamund Rly. Station stands at the heart of the town. There are taxis, bullockcarts and tongas. I was told that the name "Ootacamund" has been derived from the Toda word "mund" which means a village of the Todas.

The Todas are the primitive inhabitants of the Nilgiris whose number has dwindled down now to 400 only.

They are a peace-loving people, very fine in manner, tall in stature with aquiline nose like the ancient Aryans. They appear to dress themselves like the ancient Romans but they are called aboriginals. They are very intelligent and generally live by pasturing cattle. They have very peculiar customs quite different from those of other aboriginals. They are fetish-worshippers. They live in barrel-shaped huts. But with the advent of modern civilisation they have been receiving education and taking to other means of livelihood. They are very hospitable.

Ooty is administered by a Municipal Council. There are churches among which St. Stephen's Church is the oldest and finest. There are schools, hospitals, electricity and water supply in the town. I found some cinema houses too.



Rainstock pipes.
Paikara Hydro-Electric Works

There is a Municipal Market not very far from the Rly. Station. The Central Bus Stand is also very near to the Rly. Station. Daily one train goes from Ootacamund to Metupalaiyam and one train comes. The outgoing train leaves for Metupalaiyam at 1.45 noon and the incoming train arrives at 1.15 P.M.

We saw buses leave Metupalaiyam at 9 in the morning and reach Ootacamund at 12.45 or so.

There are many hotels here and the daily charges including seat-rent vary from Rs. 3 to Rs. 12. The best hotels are the Hotel Cecil, Savoy Hotel and Spencers Hotel. Tourists can book themselves in these hotels in advance by previous intimations. Of the other hotels the names of Modern Lodge, Dasa Pfakash, India Coffee House, Hotel De Luxe, Vijaya Vilas may also be mentioned. Non-vegetarians will also find good Moslem Hotels here. There is no restrictions as to caste or creed in all the hotels. But a scrupulous Hindu must note that if he wants to have a non-vegetarian meal he will have to take these from Moslem hands and cooked by Moslems. One day

when I was taking my meal at a vegetarian Hotel I found one Indian Christian taking his meal which is very common in the South. We from Calcutta cannot imagine a non-Hindu taking his meal in a Hindu Hotel openly. There the proprietors do not object and people too are accustomed to this also. I wish this practice could be encouraged everywhere in India and if anyone has any objection he should go to a hotel of his choice. But I found some Brahmin hotels at Madras where there are restrictions. The hotel charges at Ootacamund are naturally higher than those prevailing at Madras. I remember when we halted at Madras we got a nice meal for nine annas only; of course it was a vegetarian meal. Unlike the hotels at Calcutta I found the hotels at Madras and Ooty were very keen in supplying everything hot.



Ootacamund

The nights were very cold at Ooty though it was then the middle of February. Here the temperature rises to 68 or 70 degrees at noon when the sun is just overhead but the average temperature throughout the day appeared to be within the range of 48 to 60 degrees. I was told that the rainy season is very severe here only in the months of June and July.

At nights we had to use the rugs and quilts and when we came out in the open we had to put on warm clothings. I was suffering from eye troubles before I reached Ootacamund but in a day or two I was naturally cured.

The place is very dry, hence daily hot baths had to be taken otherwise there would be no sleep at night.

Our daily vegetarian meals consisted of rice (called Sadam in Tamil), Dal (called Sambara in Tamil), curry (called potato in Tamil), some other hodge-podges which I could not take, ghee and butter milk and also Panper.

Our breakfast consisted of idlys and dhosas (all prepared from dal and rice) and coffee. Sweets are not so common in Madras and there is no wide variety of the same.

The Central Boilers Board sub-committee having almost finished its work on the 19th February Sri S. N. Mahalingam, the Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers, Madras, who accompanied us from Madras kindly

chalked out a programme for sight-seeing. Accordingly we visited the Government House and the Botanical Garden at Ooty in the afternoon of the 19th. Some snapshots were taken of which some appear in the body of this article. For the snapshots I must thank Sri S. N. Mahalingam, Sri S. N. Sen Gupta and Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath for their kind courtesy.

The Botanical Garden was very nice. The botanist will find many things to study here. Besides, there were some specimen of artistry. For instance the map of the Republic of India was drawn with the help of shrubs and their cuttings. The Asoka effigy was also made of shrubs. There were some shrubs which looked like stone carvings. There is a small lake which is very beautiful. The Government House stands at the top of the Botanical Garden.

Wandering through the Botanical Garden we went to the Government House. It is a four-storied building with big rooms and halls, the walls of which are of teakwood. There were several oil-paintings and course-of-mail of the ex-Governors of Madras and the British kings and queens. A small portrait of Mahatma Gandhi is the recent addition. There we found a room which, we were told, was meant for Rajaji. It was simple in its decorations. The grandeur of the Government House is gone with the exit of the British rulers from India.



The writer and his friend, Nath

Of the other noteworthy places I give below a list which may help my readers and the would-be tourist.

In this connection I have to state that there is a Tourist Association very near to the Rly. Station at Ootacamund which helps all tourists who approach them.

Lastly, I must say that a tour of the Nilgiris would be incomplete without a tour of Wellington, Coonoor and Kotagiri.

PLACES OF INTEREST

1. Ooty lake (very near to Rly. Station).
2. Fish Dale (Wilson Fish Farm)—near Ooty lake.
3. Race Course—near Rly. Station.
4. St. Stephen's Church—about a mile from Ooty Rly. Station.

5. Botanical Gardens and Government House—
not very far from St. Stephen's Church.
6. Mysore Palace—2 miles east of Ooty Rly.
Station.
7. Baroda Palace—near Mysore Palace (on the
Fern Hill).
8. Jodhpur Palace—2 miles north of Ooty Rly.
Station.
9. Nawanganar Palace—near Jodhpur Palace.
10. Ramakrishna Mission—near Mysore Palace.
11. Marliamund Lake—3 miles from Ooty.
12. Kulhatti Falls—8 miles from Ooty.
13. Glenmorgan Lake and Pykara Hydro-Electric
Works—12 miles from Ooty.
14. Dodabetta Peak—on the Kotagiri Road.
15. Sim's Park (containing rare plants of the world)
at Coonoor.
16. Love Dale—4 miles from Ooty.

LIFE IN KULU VALLEY

BY G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

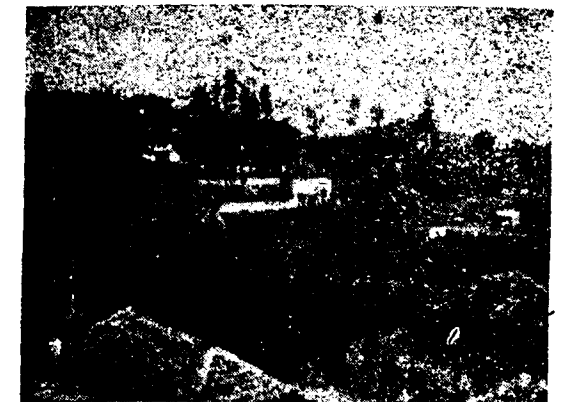
Of all the leading holiday-resorts in the Himalayan region, Kulu is singularly famous and is hailed as the "Valley of Gods." Located in the East Punjab and watered by the Beas, the valley presents magnificent sights of Nature and a pleasant climate with colourful meadows and the awe-inspiring grace of the Himalayas welcome the visitors from all corners of the breathing world.

pinus and deodars, slumbering streams passing through fertile plains and waterfalls with an excellent background of Dhauladhar Range all the while.

The dwellers of Kulu are noted for their simple and unsophisticated life of peace and gentleness. Working in perfect harmony with Nature, their needs are limited and activities straightforward. Though essentially sons of the soil, they are not wanting in the arts of making of rugs and blankets. Their hand-made shawls have

The green high-lands of Kulu
Courtesy: Films Division

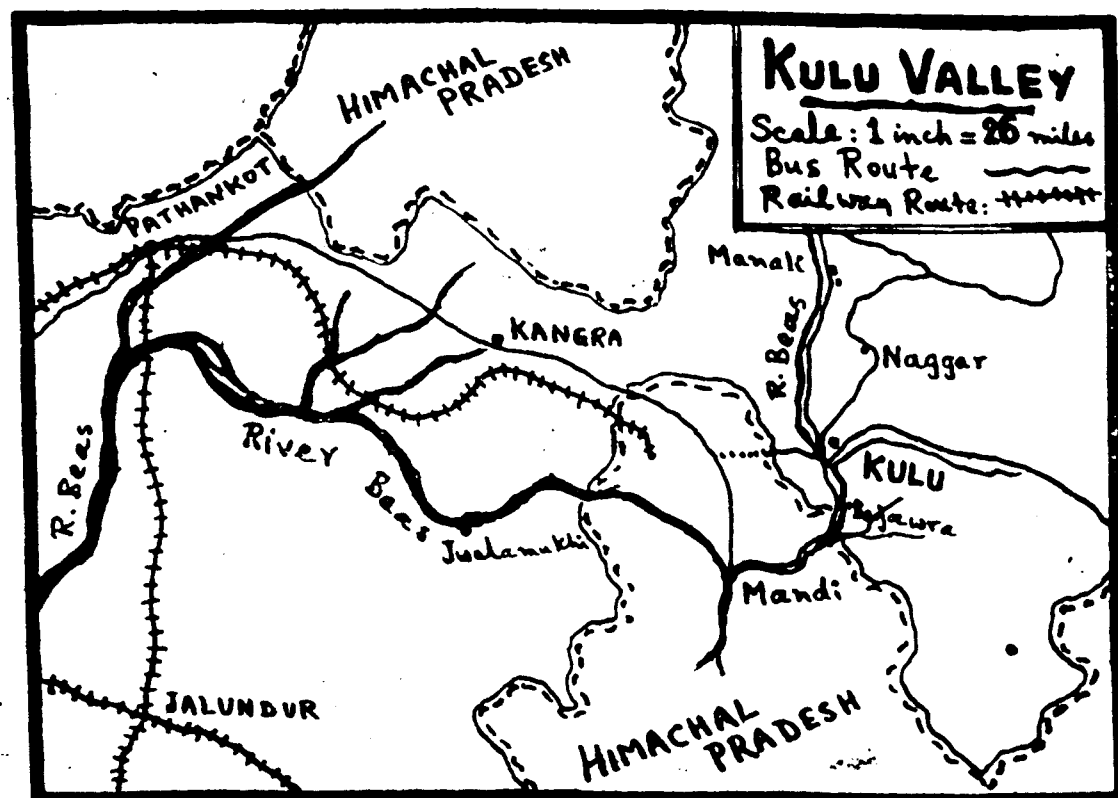
Lying 175 miles away from Pathankot, the nearest railway station, Kulu affords a memorable motor drive presenting "long lingering" sights of rich forests of



Rest-house near Kulu

today a world market. The Kulu and Kangra shepherds, Gaddis as they are known, are indeed an interesting race in themselves. Moving nonchalantly with their flocks of sheep, through dales and forests, they enjoy a life of plenty and blessedness.

Perched at an average elevation of over 5000 feet above sea-level, Kulu enjoys a wonderful climate with comparatively a little rainfall. Nevertheless the soil produces, besides all kinds of shrubs and trees, orchards of pears, cherries and perhaps the finest variety of apples in the whole world. The tea plantation is carried



on at a large scale and is an important product of the region.

To every visitor and particularly to poets and Nature-lovers, Kulu is a darling spot to which they turn up often and again. Standing on the edge of the valley, one will enjoy the unforgettable sights of the flow of majestic Beas, the blooming of cherry blossoms and the sky-neighbouring Himalayan peaks clad in snow. The valley becomes particularly enchanting in winters. The graceful snowfall, twittering of birds and the flowers with a thousand colours, have an effect of magic which the visitors can hardly resist.

The people of Kulu are extremely religious-minded and have a great faith in the doings of gods and devils. There are naturally a number of temples, the constructions of which reveal that at one time both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished here. With the advance of time, however, the latter slowly merged itself into Hinduism which continues to be the chief religion today. Among the best-known temples are perhaps the Bajaura Temple at Kulu, Siva's Temple at Naggar, and the Harumba Devi Temple at Manali. Not far away lies the great temple of Jwalamukhi which is one of the best-known shrines of Northern India.

Kulu is a haunting place for the sportsmen. A variety of wild and rare animals and beasts, like the Himalayan bear and the snow-leopard, provide excellent opportunities of big game-hunting. Among birds the wild

geese, woodcocks and several kinds of "chikori" can be shot with a little effort. Fishing in the valley is an art in itself and is best-suited for those who are less adventurous and ease-loving. The lofty peaks and the snow-covered passes challenge the mountaineers and provide for them new thrills and exhilaration.

The happy shepherds of Kulu, watching their herds of sheep and goats on a hill-side enjoy chanting a number of folksongs. These interesting songs portray their passionate attachment to their native hills and fields, their feelings while rocking the cradle and their joy for having new ornaments. The young woman in love sings of her lover's hard-heartedness, of her desire to be married to the person of her choice, and of her supreme sacrifice for the pleasures of her master. The marriage, which is considered to be as essential as love itself, also becomes the central theme of a number of songs, which are sung mostly by women on that auspicious occasion. There is thus not a single topic or activity which does not find expression in their folk-songs.

As people in all parts of India, the inhabitants of Kulu have many delightful festivals celebrated by them with great enthusiasm and earnestness. The most important among them is Dasara when they offer their homage and prayers to Sri Raghunathji. Thousands of anxious devotees gather in a spacious Deodar-fringed ground at Sultanpur from far and near, and worship the idol amidst the glowing music of drums, trumpets and

CITY CHILDREN LEARN THE JOYS OF GARDENING

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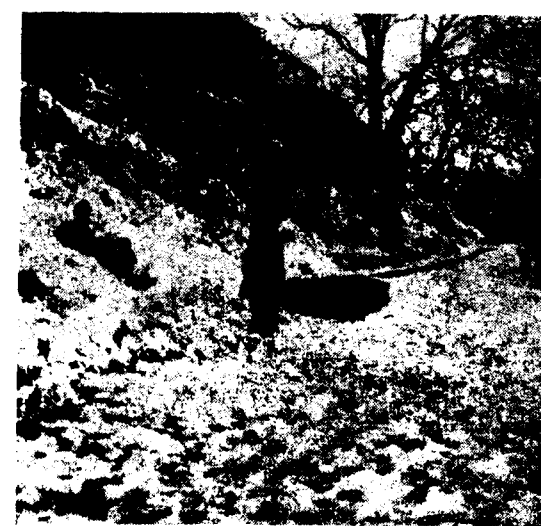
pipes. Men and women, ceremoniously dressed in their best, with their faces beaming in joy, then enjoy taking part in the folk-dances. Such religious dances, in their

The peculiar customs and the novelty of the inhabitants have thus added more glamour to Kulu, making it an ideal spot for holidaying and fun. With its lovable



A view of the Kulu Valley

traditional costumes, are a regular feature to mark the significance of the occasion. These festivals also provide opportunities for the sale and purchase of ornaments, blankets and shawls of the finest kind.



Snow-fall in Kulu

surroundings and tranquillity of Nature, Kulu is a land of dreams and lasting charms.

CITY CHILDREN LEARN THE JOYS OF GARDENING

The desire to "grow something"—to plant seeds in the soil and with their own hands tend and harvest the



A young farmer prepares his plot of ground in the Children's Garden for a second crop



This boy's family will have radishes for dinner grown by his own hands on his plot of ground in the Children's Garden



Individual "tunis" in the Children's Garden are 5 by 10 feet in size



This young gardener nets a butterfly for the insect collection at the Children's Garden

resulting crops—is felt by most children whether they live on a farm or along crowded city streets. For several years the Plant and Flower Guild of New York City has helped many young Americans fulfil this desire by working in the Children's Gardens which flourish in the shadow of surrounding skyscrapers.

The Children's Gardens occupy a four-block-long plot of ground which serves as the front garden of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Rather than turn this ground into a pretty, but useless, lawn in front of its hospital, the Institute donated the space for use as a working farm for young gardeners. Here from May until September children work on their individual gardens—each a plot of ground 5 by 10 feet—and experience the satisfaction of watching the vegetables or flowers they have planted grow to maturity.

Operation of the garden, which involves a maintenance cost of some \$12,000 annually, is under supervision of the Plant and Flower Guild. The cost is defrayed in large part by popular subscriptions; it covers the salaries of two men who do all work too heavy for the child gardeners, and the expense of seeds, fertilizers and similar incidentals.

Any child between 10 and 14 who lives reasonably close to the garden may qualify for a plot of ground. The plot is his to work on without any cost whatever. The only requirement is that he care for his garden; if he abandons it for as long as a week the plot is given to another child as there is always a long waiting list.

The Children's Gardens serve a multiple purpose. They provide safe and healthy outdoor activity for city children while furnishing them fundamental instruction in the methods of planting and tending simple crops; they give the young gardeners a rudimentary knowledge of insect life and its bearing on agriculture; and, since the children carry home for family use the vegetables and flowers they have grown, the gardens make it possible for them to feel the joy of contributing in a material sense to family life.—USIS.

PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

"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," says the protest note handed over by the Government of India on March 15 last to the Portuguese Legation in Delhi.

Dr. Gaitonde was arrested on February 17 and deported 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 protest note went on to say that "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" and it concluded by saying, "It hopes that the Portuguese Government will yet acknowledge the necessity of extending the normal democratic and civil liberties to the people of Goa."

PROTEST REJECTED

But, the Portuguese Government refuse to see reason. They have rejected the protest of the Indian Government as "incompetent." 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.

This contention, apart from political considerations, is really very interesting. While India, of which Goa is an integral part, is made out to be a "foreign State," Portugal, situated thousands of miles away, is as the "home State" for Goa, a suggestion that is on its very face simply preposterous.

ANOMALOUS POSITION

It was in December 1948, at the Jaipur Session of the Indian National Congress, that the Indian position was made perfectly clear in regard to the French and Portuguese possessions in India, when the following resolution was adopted:

"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 possession 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 that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any changeover, therefore, must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire, and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India."

And, ever since then, the Government of India has been making strenuous efforts to get this matter settled with France and Portugal in a peaceful and democratic way, but though the French Government has already transferred Chandernagore to the Indian Government and the question of the remaining French possessions in India is under consideration, the Portuguese Government has refused even to discuss the question of transferring these Portuguese colonies to India. It was this intransigent attitude of the Portuguese Government that compelled the Government of India to withdraw its envoy to Portugal recently, although the Portuguese Legation in India continues to function still. But, these conditions cannot continue to exist for long, and a showdown may be expected any moment.

In this connection, it is interesting to recall that the Portuguese were the first European Power to touch India's shore, when they established a vast maritime empire in the east; but, all this was soon afterwards snatched away from them by other rival Powers. It is only a chance that Goa, Daman and Diu have continued to be in Portuguese possession. Does this chance give Portugal any permanent right over these areas? Portugal does not claim today any of the areas that once belonged to it but were later taken away by others. Now, that the British Power has ceased to exist in India, Portugal should realise that its so-called "empire" on the Indian coast cannot continue to exist any more. The earlier Portugal realises this historical fact the better. Now that the people of Goa and the other two principalities want their part of the country to be merged with their Motherland, the merger has to come about, sooner or later.

AN ANCIENT CITY

Goa is a very ancient city. It was formerly ruled by Hindu Rajas. Its name appears in the *Puranas*

and certain inscriptions as Gove, Govapuri and Gomat. From the 2nd Century A.D. to 1312 A.D., it was ruled by the Kadamba dynasty, after which it came under the suzerainty of Muslim invaders from northern India till 1370 A.D., when it was annexed to the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar. Following the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom after 1482 A.D., Goa passed into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah, king of Bijapur. At this time, Goa was important as the starting-point for pilgrims from India to Mecca for the *Haj*, as also a mart with no rival except Calicut on the west coast, specially as the centre for import trade in horses from Hormuz. The mediaeval Arabian geographers knew Goa as Sindabur or Sandabur, and the Portuguese as Goa Velha.

VASCO DA GAMA'S DISCOVERY

India has always, since time immemorial, played a prominent part in the civilisation, trade and commerce of the world. It has had a great fascination for the people of the Europe in the middle ages. India and its gold were the great lure that led them to discover the sea-route to this country, as it was regarded as the richest country in the world, a country which supplied the markets of Europe with so many articles of commerce, and the land journey at that time was very risky and perilous. Columbus was the first European adventurer who thought of discovering this sea-route to India. For this purpose, he begged the leading sovereigns of Europe to equip him with a fleet. And, he set his sails to discover this country, but instead of touching the Indian coast, he landed in America and presented a new continent to colonise. He died under the impression that he had discovered India.

But it was Vasco da Gama, a native of Portugal, to whom belongs the credit of having discovered the sea-route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. He landed at Calicut on the western coast of India, on May 20, 1498 A.D. Accompanied by the small band of his companions, who were as brave, daring and unscrupulous as himself, they were well received by the Hindu Ruler of the place, known as the Zamorin, and were very hospitably treated by him, as is the Hindu custom. Little suspecting that these same people who were then sitting at his feet, praying him to grant them permission to trade in India, would soon uproot his authority and supplant his dynasty.

BUILDING AN EMPIRE

Vasco da Gama set up a marble pillar in Calicut as a mark of his discovery of India. He wanted to set up a Portuguese factory also, but he could not succeed in getting permission for it, as the Muslim traders there were opposed to permission being granted to the Portuguese to trade there. He, therefore, returned to Portugal in September 1499 A.D., when he was received by the king, Emmanuel I, with every mark of distinction and he conferred on him the title of *Dom*, thus elevating him to the rank of an untitled noble, carrying with it pensions and other property.

Another fleet of thirteen ships was then sent to India immediately afterwards, under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and soon after its arrival in Calicut, the Portuguese had built a factory of their own. Cabral then returned to Portugal. The people of Calicut soon revolted against this highhandedness and they rose up in arms against the Portuguese whom Cabral had left behind and killed them all.

To avenge this action of the Indian people of Calicut, a powerful armament of ten ships was sent out from Lisbon under the command of Vasco da Gama as the Admiral of India early in 1502 A.D. Immediately on arrival at Calicut, Vasco da Gama bombarded the town, treating its inhabitants with a savagery too horrible to describe. He then proceeded to Cochin in November, doing all the harm he could on the way to all that he found at sea. After making favourable trading terms with it and with other towns on the sea-coast, he returned to Lisbon in September, 1503 A.D., with richly laden ships. He and his captains were welcomed with great rejoicings in Portugal and he received additional privileges and revenues for himself.

Vasco da Gama had left behind him another Portuguese adventurer named Alphonso de Albuquerque as the Governor in India. He soon built a fortress in Calicut in 1503 A.D. and in 1510 he plundered this town and burnt the palace of its kings, thus showing his gratitude to the Zamorin for the patronage he had given to the Portuguese.

BATTLE FOR GOA

Goa was then attacked by the Portuguese under Albuquerque on February 10, 1510 A.D. and the city was captured without much struggle, as the Portuguese had the advantage of the use of firearms, about which the Indian people were ignorant till then. Albuquerque then entered the city of Goa in triumph. But, three months later the king Yusuf Adil Shah returned with an army of 60,000 troops, forced the passage of the ford, and blockaded the Portuguese in their ships from May to August, when the season of hostilities due to the monsoon enabled the Portuguese to put to sea and escape. But in November, Albuquerque returned with a larger force and after overcoming a desperate resistance, recaptured the city and massacred the entire Muslim population of the city. Goa thus became the first territorial possession of the Portuguese in Asia.

Albuquerque then started on a campaign of extending the Portuguese Empire in India and the East. Goa, due to its geographical position, was at this time a flourishing and opulent trading centre, and because of this, it appeared to him most suitable for the realisation of his dreams of founding an ambitious Empire. This was therefore made the centre of all his commercial and imperial activities, and along with Ormuz, the naval base at the head of the Persian Gulf, commanding the approaches to the Red Sea and

Malacca, another bastion in the East Indies, controlling the spice trade, it was to ensure the security of his empire, and to open up at the same time further opportunities for fresh conquests in the Far East.

The disturbed political conditions in India prevalent at that time assisted his schemes, and with the help of their policy of *divide et impera*, i.e., by playing one Indian prince against another on the Malabar coast, he prevented the Zamorin of Calicut from uniting the several states under his suzerainty. The result was that within a short time the Portuguese had explored the whole of the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and their flag waved triumphantly over many Eastern lands. In this campaign of conquests, the Portuguese were greatly assisted by Christian missionaries.

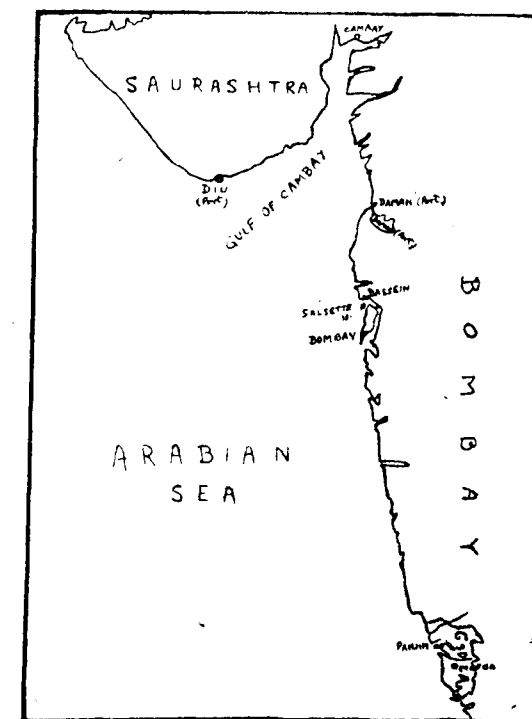
Some Dominican friars came out to Goa in 1510 A.D., but no large missionary enterprise was undertaken until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1517 A.D. From their headquarters in Goa, these Franciscan preachers visited many parts of western India, and even journeyed to Ceylon, Pegu and the Malay Archipelago. For nearly 25 years they carried on their work of evangelisation single-handed, with such success that in 1534 A.D., Pope Paul III made Goa a bishopric, with spiritual jurisdiction over all Portuguese possessions between China and the Cape of Good Hope. A Franciscan friar named Joao de Albuquerque was sent to Goa as its first bishop in 1538 A.D. In 1542 A.D., Saint Francis Xavier went to Goa and took over the Franciscan College of Santa Fe, for the training of native missionaries. This was then renamed as the College of St. Paul, and became the headquarters of all Jesuit missions in the East. On February 4, 1557, Goa was made an archbishopric.

EXTENDING THE EMPIRE

In 1521 A.D., a Portuguese sailing vessel was driven by storm to the shores of Damian, and soon afterwards an expeditionary force was sent there to conquer it. It was taken by them from the Sultan. It was sacked and burnt by the Portuguese by him. It was subsequently rebuilt, and in 1531 A.D. it was again taken by the Portuguese, who made it a permanent settlement of theirs and have held it since. The territory of Damian proper was conquered by the Portuguese in 1559 A.D., that of Nagar Haveli was ceded to them by the Marathas in 1780 in indemnification for piracy.

In 1535 A.D., Bahadur Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat, when hard-pressed by the forces of the Mughal Emperor Humayun, was compelled to come to terms with the Portuguese, and he ceded to them Salsette, Bassein, and the islands of Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta and Trombay, along with rights to construct a fortress on the island of Diu, but they were besieged in 1538 A.D. and 1545 A.D., the second

siege being one of the most famous in Indo-Portuguese history, but the Portuguese came out successful and they have made it another permanent settlement of theirs ever since.



In 1546 A.D., dissensions having broken out in the Adilshahi family still ruling at Bijapur, one of the contestants to the throne named Prince Male Khan sought the help of the Portuguese, who at the close of hostilities remained with the territories of Salsette and Bardez. These, together with the city and island of Goa make up the four districts known as the *Velhas Conquistas*, or the old conquests. The *Novas Conquistas* or the new conquests consisting of seven districts comprise the rest of the present-day Goa territory, which were acquired at different times after 1745 A.D.

The Portuguese power continued to prosper till the appearance of the Dutch and the British in Indian waters in the beginning of the 17th century after Christ, by which time they had become masters of Ormuz, Diu, Damian, Goa, Cochin, Mangalore, Nagapatam, and Ceylon. But, they waned in importance in the East, as they grew rich and rolled in wealth. According to Alfonso de Souza, Governor of Portuguese India, who said in 1545 A.D.:

"The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets, and not being able to hold them up with one hand—they were grown so heavy—they dropped the sword too; being found in this posture

Your colleagues wish you *bon voyage* on your impending journey to Munich; all the many satisfactions that come from an honorable career; and many additional fruitful years in which to enjoy the honor about to be conferred and many others that must come to one who so richly deserves them.

Sincerely yours,

Traian Stoianovich	F. Ganther Eyck
Paul Alpert	Ludwik Krzyzanowski
Feliks Gross	Roman Michalowski
Basil J. Vlavianos	Ilse Lichtenstadter
Arnold J. Zurcher	

Editorial Note:

After receiving his honorary Degree at the University of Munich, on his way back to America via Hawaii, where he will be teaching International Affairs at the University, during the Summer Session from 23rd June to 7th August, 1954, Dr. Das will pay a very short visit to India. He will arrive at Bombay on the 3rd June, 1954, and be at Calcutta on 11th June, 1954. He will leave Calcutta on the 15th June early morning for Hawaii (via Japan).

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'WHITE-COLLAR' UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA A Paradoxical Phenomenon in Country's Economy

By PROF. G. P. GUPTA, M.A.

Ours is a country of contrasts and the contrast is not invisible in our modern economic life wherein our people are 'poor in the midst of plenty' and we have 'growing unemployment in the planned economy.' During the post-independent period India has suffered more than many upheavals in the economic life of her people but a question which has created a stir in the press, platform and the Parliament of the country is the 'problem of idle hands.' Economists, politicians, industrialists and social-reformers—all have been out to trace the origin and parentage of this menace, but in the absence of concrete figures none seems to have found out either the head or the tail of the problem. Unemployment, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, has become a 'riddle wrapped in a mystery in an enigma.' It is really a pity that some experts on the subject have designated it to be a problem of recent origin, a temporary phenomenon in the country's economic system and a purposive unrest created by the Reds. This evidences lack of imagination and indifferent attitude on the part of the people to really understand the problem in its correct perspective.

NOT A NEW PHENOMENON

Unemployment, to understand correctly, is not a recent phase of our economic life, though it has raised its head in the past sixteen months or so. To put it other way, unemployment is a 200-year-old child which is coming to its bloom in the fifties of the present century. Unemployment as we have it today was brought to this Holy Land long ago by Robert Clive and Lord Macaulay—the two great stalwarts of our British masters. To be factually correct, the germs of unemployment were laid in on the day when the East India Company decided to harness Indian agriculture for the development of British industries, and British-made manufactures were made 'white elephants' on Indian purses thereby

leading our cottage crafts to decay and destruction. It was the most inauspicious day in India's economic history when British manufactures were imported in our country to uproot the 'wonders' of the Indian handicrafts from the economic map of India. The present under-employment (the term 'under-employment' has been coined to lessen the impact of the problem) in our agricultural sector is the legacy of our British masters for which we paid a very heavy price in terms of our 'cottage glory.'

More tragic than this was the day when Lord Macaulay introduced for our youth the modern type of education and started modern universities and colleges—the manufacturers of paper-degree-holders and the factories turning out the educated unemployed. Whatever may have been the virtues of the modern pattern of education given to us by Macaulay, it certainly snatched away from our young hands 'the dignity of labour' and 'the gospel of dirty hands' which were the keystones of our culture and civilisation. The present 'white-collar' unemployment (the term 'white-collar' is used for educated men and women who like 'table-chair jobs' to do) is the outcome of this education which is completely divorced from practical training for life. Thus unemployment is not a 'local product' but an 'imported phenomenon' brought over here for more than two centuries ago and which we have reared and nourished to our own detriment.

GROUPS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in this country takes many forms and it is difficult to measure. Nevertheless it is possible to distinguish the sectors in which unemployment can prove a serious disease in the body politic from those in which ameliorative measures can provide some temporary relief. The unemployed in our country can be classified into four broad categories, viz.,

(1) In the first category we include our cultivators and other landless labourers, who work on land for part of the year and for the rest of the period go without work. This is under-employment and has been a regular feature of India's agricultural economy. The chief characteristic of this phenomenon is that people have time but have no work. The lot of these under-employed can be improved by developing agriculture, by providing them with supplementary occupations in the form of cottage industries and also by developing the industrial sector of our economy which would gradually absorb the surplus rural working population.

(2) The second group of unemployed belongs to the category of unskilled landless labourers who flock in the towns and cities in search of manual labour and domestic service. These people are either fully unemployed or under-employed or not gainfully employed. Their jobs are unstable, uncertain, uneconomic and insecure. Their lot depends upon the industrial development and on the economic prosperity of the upper middle classes which can hire such labour. Here comes in the role of the price factor and the cost of living which is not a subject of our present discussion.

(3) In the third group we have 'disguised unemployment.' It exists among those who have no independent income but who continue their hereditary occupation in the absence of alternative means of livelihood. This problem is peculiar to agriculture and is found in some degree in the case of artisans too.

(4) In the last category we put college graduates and other educated middle-class men and women who have either no work to do or who prefer to remain unemployed simply because they cannot get table-chair jobs of their taste and liking. This is 'white-collar' unemployment which forms the principal theme of our study in these pages.

WHY THIS IMPACT NOW ONLY?

As already stated, unemployment is not a recent phenomenon in our country. It has not emerged out Athena-like from the brow of some socio-economic Zeus, but it has existed in our economy for the last two hundred years. This presents before us two obvious questions as to why is the impact of unemployment felt by the people now only and why did the Government not view this problem with concern earlier than now? The reply to these poses is not far to seek. Previously, unemployment was a problem with the agriculturists, landless labourers, domestic servants and street beggars, who by nature are meek, illiterate, ignorant and neglected. These neglected classes of society, groaning under the pressure of unemployment or under-employment had no 'voice' to shout out their miseries at the doors of Government Houses, Assemblies and Legislatures. They did not know the technique of demonstrations, processions, strikes and hunger-marches, so as to break the silence and indifference of their rulers against their difficulties. Thus unemployment remained a subject of theoretical discussions only. Now, during the post-independent period when inflationary effects were subdued, military recruits were undone, retrenchments in civil services took place and universities and colleges multiplied

indiscriminately, the scope of unemployment assumed a different colour. A new class of 'white-collar unemployed' came up in the field. Indisciplinary activities by the graduates, strikes and demonstrations in and outside the universities and colleges brought the problem of new unemployment to the forefront. Unlike their contemporaries, the educated unemployed with their 'fertile' brains organised themselves in unions, demonstrated before the Government Houses and shouted for jobs. They indulged in violent activities and began breaking buildings, walls, window-panes and heads. Such happenings in the various parts of the country led the Government to give a serious thought to the problem of unemployment. It has been evident for sometime that the general anxiety about the growing unemployment in the country relates principally to the lack of jobs for the educated youth in the cities and towns. Clerical workers now account for nearly 30 per cent of the total registration in the employment exchanges and this is growing steadily further.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of white-collar unemployment is quite a serious matter to the country. It cannot be solved by relief work or doles; they will on the other hand worsen the problem. It may be noted here that this is not altogether a new problem in the country. There was a substantial volume of educated unemployment in the thirties during and after the worldwide depression. But the numbers of unemployed involved then were much less than now. Moreover, the prices of food and raw-materials were then low and consequently the distress was not so acute as it is today. The most unsatisfactory aspect of educated unemployment now is that there are no reliable statistics to measure the magnitude of the problem. Even educational statistics are not available for recent years. According to an *ad hoc* enquiry conducted in 1952 by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment applicants for technical jobs were 10 times the number of vacancies available; while for clerical jobs there were nearly 30 times the vacancies. Roughly speaking, over a million students pass High School every year and half that number receive professional and university education. For this vast army of educated young men and women who forget their hands in the classroom while coming out from the colleges and schools it is not possible to provide jobs of their liking. Obviously supply far exceeds the demand and the quality goes on deteriorating.

FAULT OF EDUCATION?

For the mounting number of educated unemployed the system of education is at fault. Education, as it is today does not make the students self-reliant and resourceful. Universities and colleges are agencies to distribute paper-degrees and these can be safely compared with factories 'manufacturing educated unemployed.' In the varsity education there is absolutely no provision of manual work

with the obvious result that the graduates coming out from there decry manual labour and hanker after table-chair jobs. University doors are open to all and sundry irrespective of capacity, capability, taste and inclination of the candidates. Literacy seems to have been confused for higher education. In fact, India first needed literacy on a large scale but she has sailed in the dangerous waters of higher education for the masses. Right that higher education is essential for the success of democracy in the country but presently we need consolidation and not expansion. Every person who completes his course becomes almost automatically an applicant for a job of one kind or the other. But finding fault with the system will not help its helpless victims; for such victims are powerless to get over them. The state should try to forge out some new and novel measures to overcome this problem.

PROVISION IN THE PLAN

To the increasing educated unemployed who have cried out for bread the Finance Minister has thrown out stone by saying that he saw no easy and immediate solution to the problem. The solution of the problem depends on the capacity of the Government to increase the outlay in the capital expenditure under the Five-Year Plan. To the Finance Minister the Plan is like the Mahabharata with magnificent asides on almost everything, so that from its treasures of irrelevance something on almost anything can be found. In the Plan, for the educated unemployed who are waiting without there is a desperate interest in quick decision within. As desired by the Finance Minister the Planning Commission has increased the outlay of the plan by Rs. 175 crores to Rs. 2244 crores. Against this the employment targets of the Plan are:

Industry	4,00,000
Construction of Multipurpose plans	2,50,000
Agriculture in newly irrigated areas	14,00,000
Repairs & Improvements of tanks	1,50,000
Reclamation & Cultivation of lands	7,50,000
Mining	4,000
Industrial Housing	1,00,000
Road building	2,00,000
Cottage Industries	20,00,000
Total	52,54,000

The basic weakness of these estimates at the present time is obvious. Firstly, it does not tackle the urban unemployment problem. Secondly, the employment possibilities in the primary sector depend upon the display of the private initiative by cultivators. They are therefore not related directly to the Plan expenditure. In fact, further outlay on the working capital for current expenditure on agricultural operations will be necessary before agricultural development can provide the contemplated employment.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

The central scheme for educational expansion in rural areas provides for the employment of about 80,000

additional teachers in villages in the next two years. This is one of the most obvious lines in which the absorption of the educated unemployed can be achieved. As part of a general programme of finding jobs for the educated young men and women this expansion of rural education is quite appropriate. But as a major step towards more employment it is apt to prove inadequate for several reasons. Firstly, the pressure of the educated youth is mostly in the cities and towns and it is extremely doubtful if this pressure would be diverted by providing employment in rural schools, particularly when the tendency in educated persons is to hunt out urban jobs. Secondly, it is doubtful if the M.A.s and B.A.s who seek neck-tie and coat-collar jobs would at all agree to work in rural areas away from charms and attractions and that too on petty sums of two digits. Thirdly, the type of teacher who will be immediately ready to seize this opportunity will most probably be one who is already in a village or small town and who is not quite the same kind of problem as the youth in the cities. Last but not the least, the scheme will be a palliative to solve a part of the problem without assuring the permanent solution to the ever-increasing numbers of the educated idle. In any way, the Government's efforts seem to aim at avoiding the present pressure of the problem without finding out a permanent remedy to it.

THE WAY OUT

The problem of educated unemployment needs a check, remedy and a prevention. The gravity of the situation demands for long-term and effective measures to round up this growing menace. The followings measures if carried out immediately and wholeheartedly can go a long way to lessen the existing intensity of the problem and also to check its further complications. The suggestions are:

(1) Education must be diversified. Polytechnic institutions should be set up on decentralised basis to impart technical training to our youth. In primary stage, basic education as envisaged by the Father of our Nation should be provided for.

(2) Universities and colleges should not be allowed to crop up indiscriminately. Strict restrictions should be imposed on further increase of Universities and colleges until the existing ones consolidate their position from the points of view of finance, standard, management and discipline.

(3) The curriculum and the standard of teaching in secondary schools should be revised on the lines suggested by the Expert Bodies. Adequate provision for manual labour must be made in the syllabi of all standards so that men and women after their college life may not be mere 'Babus' and 'Mem Sahibs' but may take up to the dignity of manual labour. There is no reason why the recommendations of the Higher Secondary Education Committee be not implemented from the next session. In countries like America

where new educational experiments are not frowned upon the system of study through practical work has been found very successful. There is no reason why similar experiments should not be made here.

(4) The doors of the University education should not be kept open indiscriminately to all and sundry irrespective of capacity, capability, taste and aptitude. A policy of 'elimination' should be followed in admitting the students to the University stage. Only those who are brilliant, have real aptitude for learning and who are brilliant in society should be allowed to go in for higher education. Others should be 'filtered' and checked at the University 'gates' and be diverted to other jobs or to other branches of technical training as they may like to take up. Such 'filtered' youth, we are sure, will not make problem to the Government and will take up to the manual work more easily and willingly than when they are full-fledged graduates. The present mounting number of students in the Universities and colleges is not there because all of them have a craze for learning or have aptitude for academic pursuits but because they had no alternatives after their High School stage. If some alternatives are provided even now, we are sure many of the collegiates will quit class-rooms and join these alternatives. Such alternatives as suggested earlier should be provided for just before the students enter the universities and Colleges.

(5) To persuade the educated youth to take up to the jobs on petty salaries in the name of national service (the Government has done now in its scheme of rural educational expansion) attempt should be made to narrow down the gaping gulf between the salaries being offered to them and salaries being already drawn by incumbents of equal qualifications. This will remove from a sense of fear, suspicion, hatred and frustration from the minds of our young graduates and they will then

lend their unstinted support to powers-that-be in solving country's problems.

(6) Positive schemes of assistance should be devised wherein doctors should be tempted to stay in rural areas by providing them medical education and equipment on that specific condition. Similarly a compulsory stipendary training scheme for industrial engineers should be put into effect if the education of engineering graduates is not to be wasted through long years of unemployment. Similar schemes may be introduced for teachers, technicians and other professionals and field-workers.

Besides these, a many-sided effort is needed, but the primary condition of such effort should be the rejection of the present attitude of helplessness in matters of finance and of organisation of opportunities. In any way, the permanent solution of 'white-collar' unemployment lies *inter alia* in revolutionary changes in the system of education. No short-term measures however effective can bring permanent end to this problem. The economists and economic planners cannot afford to ignore education as an important item in the scheme of economic development and full employment. But employment here does not mean simply giving work whatsoever to the idle hands; on the other hand it must result in productivity. Only then permanent solution to this economic malaise will be discovered.

'White-collar' unemployment is a question which demands immediate solution and any delay in this respect may lead the country to unforeseen consequences. Who knows the educated unemployed if allowed to continue as such may burst out and change the political map of India. Let the Government shed all feelings of fear and pessimism, for if the salt lose its savour wherewith shall it be salted? Presently there should be no cause for helplessness and pessimism; efforts should be made to prevent this growing menace.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEVAGRAM AND SOME REFLECTIONS

By CHANDOS REID RICE and THEODORE D. RICE,
Fulbright Professors in India, 1953-54

One characteristic of a democratic self-governing nation is that it begins almost immediately to place heavy responsibility on education and to raise high expectations with regard to its results. Whether the leaders of the country initially contend that education should be for all the children of all the people or not, to the people of the country very quickly begin to demand this right. As this expectation increases, the question arises as to the purpose of education. It can no longer continue to be designed to meet only the

needs of the elite. Nor can it be designed to be purely vocational, whether for the professions, for civil and clerical positions, or any other vocation, skilled or semi-skilled. Rather it must be designed to meet the needs of an increasingly literate population which is seeking for improvement. This insurgence precipitates a crisis in that the average man may be apt to say, "Now my son, you too must have the opportunities which previously were provided only for the few." He may therefore resent attempts to change the patterns

of the existing educational system for he may consider these changes to endanger the chances for his child to have an education similar to that which the most successful have had. Yet the concept of education must be changed, and the purposes of education for the total population must be redefined. This must be done without creating discrimination against any group, without denying opportunities, and without setting up different school systems for rural and urban areas, or for technical or non-technical students. The purposes of education designed to meet such varied needs would seem to have two main themes. The first is that of improving the neighbourhood, the village, the community and the general social condition of the area which the school serves. The second is that of improving the quality of living of the individual himself. This means that education should be closely related to the life of the community and should have an emphasis on progress and improvement rather than upon acquisition of information alone. It means that education must deal with the development of those attitudes, skills and patterns of action which are essential to any group who are responsible for defining their own ways of living. In other words, education must be designed to teach the individual how to be a contributing citizen as well as to give him information.

Our brief time in India has made us aware of many ways in which educationists are attacking this problem. While India is committed to compulsory primary education, the overwhelming task of finding teachers, of providing books and materials so that all may attend school, is yet to be mastered.

At the same time the number of persons actually continuing their education through the secondary school and the college has increased to the point at which the educated unemployed are one of the nation's first problems. This crisis sharpens awareness of the need for broadening the purposes and the program of the secondary school and for concentrating on the improvement of all walks of life rather than on training for a limited number of vocational choices.

Because the preponderance of India's population is rural and the economy is agricultural, it is quite natural that the emphasis on education as related to life should find its focus in the improvement of village life and industry. It is for this reason that the Basic Education program at Sevagram seems to offer promise in setting a new direction for Indian education.

We visited the school and training centre for four days during which we took an active part in the program and felt ourselves so much a part of it that we were loth to leave.

First of all we were impressed with the fact that here is a staff fully dedicated to its task of developing good education. They are a close-knit, thoughtful, creative group seeking for new ways to achieve an educational program which is dedicated to a better

way of life. There was evidence of wide understanding, of common purposes, of group thinking about the task at hand.

Second, we felt that our visit to Sevagram was a spiritual experience for us. It was not alone dedication of the staff to high purposes, nor the gathering together of people of many faiths in common worship, although both of these factors contributed to the spiritual reality. This quality came rather from the lifting of the individual out of himself into a sense of common purpose, of identity with the group as a thing bigger and more significant than the individual—something of which he was a part. We were aware of this quality in the early morning when the sound of spinning wheels formed a background for meditation just before the dawn. This was a social experience—something in which one felt an inner compulsion to take part, to carry his share.

We were impressed with the courageous efforts we found here to undertake education within the limitations of the resources of average village life. Founded upon the belief that universal education must be suited to the life of the community in which people live, this program embodies all the natural tasks of village life, teaches how they can be carried on effectively, efficiently, and co-operatively, and uses them as the basis for problem solving, for reading, writing, arithmetic, science, music, and the arts.

The self-government practised at Sevagram seemed to us particularly effective. Every one shares in the common tasks, and those designated for specific duties are held responsible by the group for performing them well. Staff and students alike are called upon to perform the common tasks, whether cooking, cleaning, purifying the water, operating the dairy, maintaining accounts or harvesting the crops. Incentive is high, for if food is poorly prepared or wasted, there may be no replacement. If money is not accurately accounted for it comes from the common pocket. If a crop fails there will be less variety in the meals.

There is greater commitment here to learning through doing, through genuine problem solving, through utilizing common purposes of daily living than we have found in any other schools in our experience. These are no make-believe situations. They are genuine; they are not "learning to live"; they are living.

The complete identification of the staff with whatever tasks are carried on contributes to the success of the program. The teachers do not sit apart as overseers of the field work. They pull weeds or plant cotton side by side with students. The art teacher considers the planting of trees, the cleaning up of the grounds as a legitimate part of art work in the school.

These features of the program of Sevagram seem basic and universal enough to serve as tangible aids

as the reappraisal of education in India goes on. They are characteristics to be envied and sought after both by primary and by secondary schools. They are challenges to schools outside India as well. It is the spirit of looking forward that has impressed us as we talk with Sevagram's leaders. Because of their quest into further possible qualitative improvement we are encouraged to look at problems which appear to us to need attention if the purposes of Sevagram are to be fully realised. We find similar aspects of these problems standing in the way of the realisation of similar purposes in the United States. We therefore raise them in a spirit of mutual inquiry, for any light upon them will benefit education everywhere.

The outstanding feature of the program at Sevagram is the way in which the many aspects of village life have been analysed and utilised as a basis for what is done. We are concerned that there seems to be a tendency to pick up the Sevagram program *per se* and transport it to other settings. How can those who have contact with this dynamic enterprise learn to transpose its spirit and the processes of community analysis in order that the Basic Education may serve needs peculiar to the community whether it be in a city, a mining area, a fruit-growing area, a fishing village, a tea or a coffee plantation? We were impressed with the fact that Sevagram is extending service to twenty villages in the area in which it is located. Here, however, is another of the major problems facing Indian education. How can the way of life at Sevagram school be extended to villages so that they develop their own programs, their own communities of interest, their own search for improvement rather than deferring to services proffered from outside? The concept of basic education takes the school out of isolation and makes it a part of the total community life. Yet because the implementation of this concept is difficult to achieve, there is a tendency for the school to become its own model community rather than for it to be integral with the village in which it exists.

When the work day is so long for children and teachers, how can they be helped to express a variety of interests? How can they be encouraged to read, meditate, discuss in areas beyond the limits of their experience? What steps within budgeting and other limitations can be taken to encourage creative activities?

Even though teachers and students know each other well through their mutual responsibilities, should not objective records be developed to increase the insights of teachers into the changes which are or are not taking place? Such records help the staff to recognise more clearly the goal they seek, and help identify strengths and weaknesses in a program.

If they are co-operatively developed and maintained they also help both teacher and student in developing a better understanding of the individual.

We were impressed with Dr. Aryanayakam's statement that he gave much thought to introducing some new practice, some new feature each year so that the program never becomes stationary or monotonous. This is a precept which might well be followed in every school. We were reminded of a similar program in the United States. In the school we have in mind students and teachers had developed a cannery, a chicken hatchery, fruit tree spraying, a home science cottage, a farm implement repair shop and many other essential agricultural services. However, some eight years after the school had brought many of these services into being, the school newspaper carried an editorial in which student editors challenged other students to the effect that the earlier school generation had developed what they had, but that the present groups were resting content to operate what had been created without making further contributions. We raise the question, then, as to how those participating can engage even more fully in evaluation of how well their purposes are being realised and wherein these can be further developed. The critical and continual self-evaluation and search for new developments among the student group might aid them in looking objectively at their work and at their own part in it.

As was indicated, these questions are posed in a spirit of mutual inquiry. We note with regret tendencies in our own country to propagate form and not spirit, and the difficulties encountered in developing the thinking process and habits of procedure that engender local initiative and drive. We find too that much readily available data for counselling and self-evaluation is overlooked because no effort is made to keep a running record of student development. We find further that some of our leaders with high dedication are struggling to help raise the level of expectation with a sense of isolation which forces them to exercise individual initiative when those with whom they work should be sharing with them every step in critical analysis of the adequacy of effort and of next steps to be taken.

The quest for an educational development that makes a difference in communities and in homes is one of foremost importance throughout the world. The development of Basic Education in India, and particularly the pioneer work at Sevagram, is a beacon and a challenge. It is all the more so as it moves into the "cutting edge" of such problems as have been raised here. We are humbly grateful to have had opportunity to visit Sevagram and to have felt the devotion, the spirit and the purposing which it typifies. We go on with our work much inspired and sobered by the immensity of the task that lies ahead.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Rajeswar Das Gupta"

My attention has just been drawn to an article under the caption "Rajeswar Das Gupta" published in the September 1953 issue of your esteemed journal, in which my name appears as its author. I was naturally taken by surprise as I did not write it nor was it sent to you with my knowledge or approval. I first thought that some one else holding my name was probably the author; but the academic degrees and the official designation as published leave no doubt that it went to you as if I sent it.

This has created a very embarrassing situation as while I am strongly in favour of commemorating the memory of persons like that of the late Rajeswar Das Gupta whom I knew personally and held with regard, yet I am under the painful necessity of addressing my note of dissent as the article contains incorrect statements and in some, out of conformity with truth. There is at least one very important omission also. I invite your attention to a few of them:

1. The late Das Gupta has been head-lined as "The Pioneer Agriculturist in India" and has also been called "a pioneer in Agricultural Research." He was certainly one of the pioneers, but certainly not "the Pioneer" even in Bengal. If he had been living today he would have himself disclaimed it, as this honour really belongs to his great preceptor, the late N. G. Mukherjee whose life-sketch (copy sent separately for favour of your perusal) I had the honour to read at the last anniversary of the State College of Agriculture on August 25, 1953 when H. E. the Governor unveiled his portrait. As for calling him a pioneer in Agricultural research, the term would have been equally disowned by him as an officer whose duties were propaganda and extension had so little to do with research that to call him a pioneer in research is a complete misnomer.

2. It has been stated that Mr. Milligan "was the first Agricultural Expert to come out to India." He was not even the second or third but was preceded by a good many. Even in Bengal there were one and possibly two who had joined service in India before Milligan came. Moreover, his name was "S. Milligan" and not "E.S. Milligan."

3. I wish I could associate myself with the high eulogy paid to Das Gupta's book; but I had not the remotest opportunity to go through it. I had seen the first part published probably in the thirties. It has since had a second edition as stated in the article, but

I have neither seen it nor the second part. I am not therefore in a position to make any comment on his book.

I think it was about a year ago that Das Gupta's son had been to me. I had told him that I would gladly lend my hand in the matter, but before that I must go through the book. I was left completely in the dark until the information on the publication of the article came to me indirectly and made me aghast.

4. The article states that Das Gupta joined the Sibpur Engineering College "with agriculture as a special subject." This statement is as much misleading in its direct implication as in the more important trend of agriculture. To impart agricultural education in those days an agricultural section was attached to some Engineering Colleges like Sibpur and Poona. Das Gupta had his training in this section at Sibpur when the late N. G. Mukherjee was the professor. I would not have referred to it but for this historical aspect from which the reader is bound to be misled from the way it has been stated in the article.

5. The article has omitted a crucial aspect in the life of Das Gupta, viz., the circumstances of his sudden and premature death. He was a man given to hard work and toil unequalled by few. No task was difficult for him, and the way he would get things done in the face of immense odds will ever remain an eloquent tribute to his wonderful parts, energy and resourcefulness. It is his hard incessant work during the visit of the Royal Commission on Agriculture which overstrained him to such an extent that on return from one of the tours with the Commission he felt very uneasy and died soon after. The circumstances were too tragic for tears, and his biography will be incomplete without the incorporation of this important fact.

You will thus see, Sir, that if I had not been kept in the dark while his biography was in the course of publication, vital facts like the above would not have been omitted, and gross inaccuracies as cited in the preceding would not have lowered the standard of precision leading to a highly embarrassing situation.

I earnestly hope that in the general interest of all you will publish this note in the earliest issue of your esteemed journal.

INDUBHUSAN CHATTERJEE, M.Sc (Agr), L.Ac.



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 SULTANATE OF DELHI (711-1526): By Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. Published by S. L. Agarwal and Co., Agra. 12 maps, and 12 illustrations. Pp. riv+420. Price Rs. 10.

The first edition of this very useful and scholarly book was favourably reviewed in our January 1951 number. In three years a new and greatly improved edition has been called for proving the value and readability of the book. In many respects it marks a much needed improvement on our current college text books on pre-Mughal history. Dr. Ashirbadi Lal's scholarship has raised him to a place of honour among our research workers, and he now proves himself also a master of popular but true history writing. His independence of view brings him into conflict with the upholders of popular theories, but his reasons are all here. The printing is neat and clear.

INDIAN ART OF WAR: By Major Alfred David. Published by Atmaram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. iv+82. Price Rs. 4.

This is a rather popular attempt to trace the course of Babur's battles for the benefit of young military students. But while the tactical study is good, the history does not go deep enough. The maps and plans are very clear. The preliminary study of the Mughal, Maratha, Rajput and Sikh military systems is good, but necessarily does not rise above the class-work level.

J. SARKAR

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION: By K. C. Chakravarti, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. M. R. Jayakar. Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Arthur Probsthain, London. 1952. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 9-8.

In this work the author claims "to give in a simple, lucid, popular and attractive style the main development of India's cultural history" and "to deal in greater details with her main contributions to civilization." It consists of twenty-one chapters of which the first explains the continuity and individuality of Indian culture and the second tells the story of the discovery of Sanskrit literature and the decipherment of the Brahmi and Gupta scripts by Western scholars in recent times. In the following chapters the author traces the development of Indian culture from pre-historic times down to the end of the Gupta period, special chapters (XIV-XVIII) being devoted to India's achievements in the branches of the mathematical sciences, art and architecture, education, philosophy, medicine and chemistry, while

other chapters (XIX-XX) deal with the expansion of Indian culture in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The concluding chapter (XXI) attempts an estimate of South Indian contribution to Indian culture. The book is enriched with a number of maps, plans and other illustrations. An Appendix, a Bibliography, and an Index bring it to a close. It will be noticed that almost all the important aspects of our ancient culture and civilization have been brought by the author within the compass of his work. For the energy and enthusiasm displayed in this task the author deserves full credit. And yet it must be admitted that his work is disfigured by serious blemishes. He seriously takes (p. 76) the Ramayana and the Mahabharata to represent the Heroic age of India covering the post-Vedic and the pre-Buddhist periods (1000-600 B.C.). His statement (p. 159) that "Asoka became a monk with yellow robe" rests merely on the evidence of late traditions. His identification of Gandhara with "Afghanistan and the Frontier Province" (p. 119) and "the modern Kabul Valley" (p. 123) is wrong. His reference to Amarasingha the lexicographer as "one of the nine gems in the court of King Chandragupta Vikramaditya" (p. 207) involves a number of assumptions. The *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesha* do not belong to the branch of "juvenile literature" (p. 224) in the usual sense of the term. Of the two Indian Buddhist monks who are said to have visited China in 65 A.D., one is wrongly called Gobharana (p. 305). The statement (p. 299) that "the Iron Pillar of Delhi was set up about 415 A.D. by Kumaragupta in honour of his father Chandragupta Vikramaditya" is based on a series of guesses. The identification of an Ajanta painting as a representation of Bijay (sic) Simha's invasion of Ceylon (p. 310) and of another painting as a commemoration of the Persian King Khusrū II's embassy to Pulakesin II (p. 329-30) reflect obsolete views. On page 312, Pali is wrongly described as "the spoken dialect of Magadha." On page 325, we have the astounding statement that "the spread of Aryanism was complete in the Deccan before the 12th century B.C." Instances of careless composition are the references to Sir William Jones as "Chief Justice of Calcutta" (page 25), to the derivation of "Sanskrit" written in modern times and known as Devanagari from "an older type of Devanagari" (p. 27) and to "Sanskrit character of the second century A.D." (p. 304). The long list of errata at the end of the work is not exhaustive as is shown by the examples Telegu (p. 69, etc.), Erythrian Sea (pp. 172-185), Purogupta (p. 192), Kuchu (p. 303) and Rummindia (p. 367). The complete absence of diacritical marks is deplorable. The inclusion of obscure and obsolete works in the bibliographical list is inexplicable.

U. N. GHOSHAL

clear communication with the child. The suggestions given are indeed very good. Nevertheless the problem has succeeded in over-awing courage and an experienced man like C. V. Wedgwood has flatly declared, "History is, by its nature, unsuitable for a school subject."

Must we then banish all history from the schools? An answer in the affirmative would be far worse than even the deadening despair of the present because history, properly presented, is the only subject still capable of teaching how to discriminate between a fact and an opinion. In other words, by abolishing history we abolish the best discipline for forming balanced judgments.

In that case it is essential to have at least a working formula to judge the presentation of facts. Viewed empirically the best formula appears to be the one which Chesterton laid down, "The highest and noblest thing that history can be is a good story. Then it appeals to the heroic heart of all generation, the eternal infancy of mankind." It had then appeared too naive to the pundits. The Unesco has now proved that between the joker and the pundits, the pundits were the more rash.

About the small book of Sri Atulnanda, the least that we can say is that he has given us a fascinating story in a fascinating way. The story of Asoka, as an individual and a King, is itself a story of high dramatic intensity. As we all know, his glory lay not in the Kalinga War nor in the shrewd way he obtained the throne but the way in which he became, acted and lived the ideal of the philosopher-King, an ideal which was never realised so well or completely either before or after. He came to be known, as Radhakrishnan points out in the Foreward, not for any great originality of doctrine but for the qualities of piety, charity, humanity and commonsense. And the splendour of his fair is worth remembering in this age of crisis which is both the reason and the justification for this venture of Sri Atulnanda.

But this book is more than the story of Asoka. It is the story of India as it once was and as it aspires to be again. This last may seem to be a bold statement, in the midst of the corruptions, the industrialist and the people's hourly struggles against various difficulties and discomforts, which form the visible features of Indian life today. Nevertheless it is true that the Asokan heritage has not been fully forgotten or disowned. The man to whom the common man of India still looks for guidance, Pandit Nehru, cherishes it and his insistence on peace and neighbourliness, in the framework of general well-being for all, is but an attempt to resuscitate the ideals and tradition of the Asokan way of life, which alone can resolve the crisis of the modern world. If Nehru fails, it will not be his fault. It is, however, up to us to see that his chances of failure are absolutely minimised, if, of course, we care for the great message of Asoka. And this message is brought home to all by Sri Atulananda in a charming manner and one leaves this book with the feeling that there is still scope for us to try rising above ourselves. There is no doubt that this, if any, is the way to write history for the young, and we hope the author will give us other books of this type. Meanwhile the present work should be translated in all the vernaculars of India and reached to every home.

SAMBHU CHATTERJEE

IDEALISM AND PROGRESS: By Govinda Chandra Dev, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Surendranath College, Dijnajpur, E. Pakistan. Published by Das Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta-12. August 1952. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 10.

philosophical terminology.

Historically viewing he is in line with the modern current of thoughts. Ancient ethics rested upon explanation of reality similarly pre-supposed. Kant, Fichte, Hegel and other master-minds of the 18th century reached their explanation of reality by complicated operations of thought. But under the pressure of realistic and scientific method of thinking these logical castles in the air gave way. Approach was again made to reality, as it is, for motive. This too failed at the horrors of stark materialism. In the 19th century Rammohun and Keshub Chunder chalked out new lines of comparative study and synthetic thinking respectively. Keshub Chunder Sen went ahead and propounded the Religion of Harmony and Church Universal. Rammohun, after hard studies and wide travels all over Northern India, got a new meaning of Vedanta which was in consonance with human progress in the material world as well. Keshub was not satisfied with that much. He gathered round him a group of scholars and philosophers for synthetic study of all Scriptures and Systems of Philosophy. To name two out of them, Upadhyaya Gourgovinda Roy wrote *Vedanta Samanvaya Vashya* and Prof. Benoy-Bhattacharya *Samanvaya Vashya* and Prof. Keshub Chunder Nath Sen wrote *The Intellectual Ideal*. Keshub himself in his famous *Town Hall Lectures* (in English), *Lectures in England and Sermons at the Vishu*, *Lectures in England and Sermons at the Vishu*, *Lectures in England and Sermons at the Vishu* (in Bengali) *ex-Bharatvarshiya Brahma Mandir* (in Bengali) expounded a synthetic view which received hearty response from Dr. Martineau, Maxmuller and others. It gradually permeated the thought of the East and the West. At first there arose in India antagonism from rationalists of the school of 18th century Western philosophers. This, however, gradually died out. On the other hand, the savants, who adopted Keshub's line of synthetic thinking, showed marked confusion and contradictions due to sectarianism lingering in them. Sri Aurobindo after years of hard work gave it a great push forward. Of late Dr. Albert Schweitzer's views have brought about a revolution in the Western world.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

This book was a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of Patna. It covers the period between 1793 and 1833. During the period the Bengal Presidency, including Bengal

Labour and 2. Currency and Banking.

More enumeration of these chapters sufficiently proves that the author does not tread on beaten tracks. The political history of India has been shaped and influenced by the economic policies of the British Government at Home and the monopoly of the key-industries as also trade and commerce by the East India Company here. The story of the decline of Bengal's industries is very sad and depressing, but none the less instructive. It may be said as well that the Britishers built their Eastern Empire on the ruin of the Indian industries. With the spread of political power in Bengal, and for the matter of that over the whole of India, Bengal's vital industries, such as, cotton, salt, tobacco and the like came to be controlled and monopolised by the Company's government. During this period of forty years, Great Britain reaped the fullest benefit of her scientific inventions and appliances in starting new industries. She utilised the political suzerainty of the East India Company by importing raw materials from India, and exporting finished goods made out of them to this unhappy land. To take only one example, in the beginning of the period India was self-supporting in respect of cotton goods. But at the end of it the table was turned, India's cotton industry was almost ruined. She became an importing, instead of an exporting country on this count. The Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth Century England spelt disaster over our country. Law and Science were on the side of the Britishers. At the end of this period, they came to the country in large numbers as free-traders and exploiters. As "free Britons," they spread in the districts for the purpose of exploitation and trade. This also proved disastrous for the people as Indigo plantations proved later on.

There arose a class of Bengalis who by their contact with the British adventurers, made sufficient money. Some of them became landlords, but a larger section remained to constitute the middle-class. But the country as a whole got impoverished day by day owing to the perpetual drain of wealth from India through the monopoly of industries, trade and commerce and the control over agriculture. The Britishers, here and their henchmen, the newly born Bengali middle-class, faced reverses for the freaks of the money-market. But the loss ultimately fell as a heavy burden on the masses of Bengal. The author has described all these aspects of the economic condition threadbare, and most of his conclusions have been based on records, published and unpublished. The book is all the more welcome today when we have been trying our best to resuscitate our dead and dying industries. Lately we have adopted modern scientific methods for industrial improvement. But our national industries should be revived to give health and succour to the people at large. The book presents the tragic picture of their ruin. It also shows the ways and means of reviving them though in an indirect way. This book should be perused by the leaders of industries as well

as by the publicists. Students of eighteenth and nineteenth century Bengal can hardly do without it in appraising the real state of things in this respect.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

IDA S. SCUDDER OF VELLORE: By Dr. M. Pauline Jeffery, M.A., M.D. Jubilee Edition. Published by the Wesley Press and Publishing House, Mysore City. 250 pages of text and 64 pages of illustrations. Price Rs. 5.

This beautiful book, bound in blue reinforced cardboard with coloured dust jacket, contains the life-story of Dr. Ida Sophia Scudder M.D., the founder of the Missionary Medical College for women and the Christian M.B.B.S. Medical Co-educational College at Vellore, South India. For her life-long distinguished medical services at Vellore for over half a century from 1900 to 1950 was added to her American degrees of M.D., B.Sc., F.A.C.S., her Indian honours, the Kaisari-Hind with gold Bar and the Rose both conferred by the Government of India. The Vellore Medical College and the Hospital of Christian Missions have received all-India recognition, nay, international reputation.

On the American edition of Dr. Ida's dedicated life published for the first time in 1933 was passed the appreciative verdict that it is a great book of Christian internationalism. This encomium applies to all other editions—the Indian in 1939, the Danish in 1949 and the Burmese and Jubilee Indian editions of 1950-51. In 1950 the eightieth birthday of Dr. Ida and the Jubilee anniversary of the Vellore Hospital were celebrated when continued showers of loving tributes came from America, England, Iceland, Denmark and other countries. This shows that Dr. Ida has become an international figure. This book is not only a biography, but also a brilliant record of Christian philanthropy. It registers many interesting events of how Dr. Ida, like an angel from heaven, heartily treated and cured her incurable and uncared-for patients.

Dr. Ida's life should be written in Bengali, Hindi and other Indian languages. This book deserves to be a constant companion of those who have dedicated their lives for humanitarian and selfless services.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HANDBOOK OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY (Vol. II): By Siva Prasad Mookherjee. Published by H. Chatterji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 4.

This is a detailed study of India and Pakistan. The author gives a clear picture of the country now divided into two independent States, in all economic aspects including manufacture, transport and trade and the subjects are illustrated by 59 useful maps. The book will be extremely helpful to those for whom it is meant.

FOR DEMOCRACY: By Amlan Datta. Published by Praja Prakashan, Calcutta. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.

The book in two parts, discusses Freedom of Thought, the Class and the State, Socialism and Equality, Dictatorship, Soviet Way of Industrialism, Gandhism, March of Communism, Materialistic Interpretation of History, etc. It is a critical and rational study of the subjects selected by the author. The author has tried to keep himself above bias in his treatment of the most controversial subjects of the day and has been able to throw a flood of light in the discussions which will enable the readers to draw their own conclusions. The essays are thought-provoking.

A. B. DUTTA

FACTS ABOUT PEPSU: Director of Information and Public Relations, Pepsu, Patiala.

This small booklet of 56 pages with an index gives detailed information about the State, which are not easily available here in Eastern India. The statistics given are accurate. We wish every State had published such short accounts of their respective States.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

CHALTI PATHE (On the Way of Life): By Arinal Kanti Basu. Messrs. Chakravarti Chatterjee and Co. Price Re. 1-4.

In twenty-three chapters the author has presented some of the lessons he has culled out of his wide experience of life. A journalist and political leader of renown, he has put forth his thoughts and ideas in a simple manner with no pretension to literary embellishment. To the man of the world it will undoubtedly prove to be of interest as well as profit.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANDHANIR CHOKHE PASHCHIM: By Sm. Shefali Nandi. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2-12.

The authoress who went to England to learn the Montessori or Kindergarten system of education for little children, alone and unaccompanied by husband and son, has written this book of travel in Europe, which has a special charm of its own. Wherever she toured she kept an open eye, not over the outward or material features of the West but attempted to assess the inner workings and aspirations of the common man in Europe. She saw that in consequence of the impact of two World Wars, the backbone of high-handed Imperialism is broken and the question is everywhere in everybody's mind, how the economic superiority and stability of Europe is to be maintained and improved upon, for on that basis alone the liberty, prosperity and happiness of every individual and every home rest secure. She observed the ways and standards of living of London and noticed several admirable features of London of which any civilized country in the world may be proud and say the last word almost to perfection. She visited Ireland and had a very interesting talk with De Valera who prided upon his being a schoolmaster himself, and visited the mighty centres of European culture and civilization, viz., Paris, Switzerland, Venice and Vienna. We hope the thinking public will appreciate and enjoy this well-written book.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

DHUNDALI TASVEEREN: By Narendra Narayan Lal. Published by Lakshmi Prakashan Mandir, Kadam Kuan, Patna. Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-14.

MRITYU MEN JEEVAN: By Arun. Published by Nishkama Press, Meerut. Pp. 157. Price Re. 1.

The first is a collection of twenty-two short stories delineating with skill and sympathy some of the regrettable and reprehensible aspects of our social life, such as, the penury and privations of the artist as well as of the writer, temptations and seductions in the path of youth, the neglected and ill-treated young widow. With a few strokes the young author can paint a scene vividly or portray a character impressively. His "blurred pictures," as he has called his book, have, indeed, the mystery and beauty of a bride behind the veil.

Mrityu Men Jeevan consists of a novelette (from which the title is derived) and eighteen short stories. The novelette is a fine psychological study of a devoted wife and mother who, once conscious that she has fallen victim to an incurable, obnoxious ailment and is consequently unable to discharge her appointed duties to her family as before, voluntarily installs a refugee cousin of hers in her place, thus crowning her life with supreme sacrifice. The short stories, which show in a marked manner the author's proficiency in technique and in turns in images and expression, deal with the gaiety of youth, mutual suspiciousness of people at the time of the country's partition and other allied subjects. A creditable achievement on which the author is entitled to praise.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **VIJNAN VICHAR:** By Papatlal G. Shah, M.A., B.Sc., C.S.I., I.A. D.C. (Retd.), Bombay. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay-2 for the Gujarat Research Association, Bombay-1.

(2) **KHORAK:** By Dr. J. D. Pathak. Published by the Gujarat Research Association, Bombay-1. Thick card-board Pp. 255 : 107. 1949. Price Rs. 2-8. As. 8.

Vijnan Vichar has run into four editions during a period of twenty-two years. Shriji P. G. Shah has retained his love of science, cultivated since the time he was a Professor of Science in the Foreman Christian College, Lahore and has never relaxed it. And even before founding that unique and useful Institution, the Gujarat Research Association (1936), he was pursuing his self-imposed task of enriching the literature of his Province by publishing popular scientific works. This is one of them and furnishes information on all matters relating to science which an ordinary reader should have. The Book on Food, with appropriate tables, charts and statistics, tells us what part food, rather diet plays in our life, in health and in sickness. It is a valuable guide to health, but the pity is that no one needs this advice and continues to suffer as before.

DANG: A Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 2.

A very serious and bitter controversy is raging at present on the question of the Dang forests, near Surat, and its aboriginal dwellers, viz., whether they belong to Gujarat or the Deccan. Two of the ministers of the Bombay State are of the opinion that their mode of life, habits and dialect, are more allied to the South (Maharashtra) than to the North (Gujarat). This bulletin, which sets out *in extenso* the personal inquiries made on the spot by the members visiting the forests, reports that the dwellers or tribesmen of the Dang Forests are allied to Gujarat, and should be declared to belong to it. It is a very elaborate Report and all conclusions of the Committee are supported by maps, charts, illustrations, linguistic tendencies, wedding songs, rituals and customs current amongst them. The Sabha is to be congratulated on thus establishing a precedent, which other literary bodies might follow with advantage.

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. Chintahavan 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.

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what he paid tribute to the role India has been playing in world affairs. Canadians were glad, he said, that Mr. Nehru and other Indians have found it possible to spare time from their pressing pre-occupations at home to help in the solution of world problems and India has assigned so many able public servants to work in the international field.

What India has helped the world to understand by achieving her national emancipation in a non-violent manner is that the era of world dominion by a single group of nations has ended. It follows that if an enduring world society is to emerge in the second half of this seething 20th century it will be longer delayed if any nation or group of nations continues to aspire to a position of world mastery. With some adjustments here and there—as in the colonies—the nations of the world have to agree to live together as they are, with all their good qualities mutually recognized and all their bad qualities mutually tolerated.

We are now in a period when the world is not dominated by one nation or a group of nations.

Is this to be merely another interlude, or the new foundation on which world society will be fashioned? Generals and some politicians in the West are heard talking about the West's "mission" to save

the world from Communism. Voices are heard discussing preventive wars. Military strategists, like General Van Fleet, write about the need to raise Asian armies so that Asia can "save" itself.

It would be unnatural if such ideas were not heard and if such policies were not pursued in this age of transition. What India can do, and what enlightened opinion everywhere expects that she will do, is to continue in the many ways open to her to foster spiritual opinions throughout the world, by her deeds as in Korea and by her sentiments as at the United Nations. This will act as the greatest deterrent to war. Restraint must eventually come to everyone from within, not through external coercion. There is no other country in the world better able to help bring about restraint through spiritual opinion than India. There is everything in the Indian character, history and culture to enable her to collaborate with other nations who believe in these ideals, and with all people who seek an honest peace, though they often seem to be going down strange paths to find it.

No one expects India to be able to present the world with a cut and dried solution or pathway for the problems that make for war. We know that for some time the fresh young shoots of the new internationalism will be overshadowed and obscured by the delaying fog of the old order.

India and Indonesia

L. S. Palar, the Indonesian Ambassador to India, writes in *Careers and Courses*:

India and Indonesia stand very close to each other in the political field. Both are young nations—their independence came after the 2nd World War. During centuries of colonialism, our people have lost in several degrees their national personalities. We have lost much of what was dear to us in our culture, in our economic potentialities, in our political inspirations, etc. After independence we are trying to rediscover our personality, trying to recognise ourselves again. In doing so we have to conduct the same policy, of course, adoptive to the situations of each of our countries. We are involved in efforts and activities to strengthen ourselves economically, politically and in matters of our culture. In these activities we do not want to be disturbed by events abroad. That means that we should not try only to keep foreign influence and disturbances from abroad outside our territory, but also that we should try to influence events abroad, try to have a say in their developments—especially in cases concerning Peace or War. That is one of the most important reasons why we have joined the United Nations—one of the most important fields of International political activities.

In conducting their foreign policy, India and Indonesia usually meet each other and march together. India is fortunate in getting its freedom earlier than my country by graceful withdrawal of the British. Recognition of other big powers was also achieved easily. My country had a tougher course. Although we proclaimed our independence in 1945, that is earlier than India's independence, we had to fight two wars with the Dutch before achieving freedom duly recognised by the Big Powers and other independent countries.

During our fight for freedom, India and Indonesia met each other as reborn nations after centuries of Colonialism. When Holland started its first Military Action against Indonesia, India rushed to our help. In co-operation with Australia, India brought the Indonesian case before the United Nations and fought gallantly before the Security Council and General Assembly to secure Indonesian independence and its recognition by the big powers. While Indonesian guerilla fighters were giving the Dutch army a hard time, India and other friends of ours were mobilizing the majority of the members of the United Nations to demand from Holland the fulfilment of Indonesia's desires.

After achievement of our independence both India and Indonesia carried out almost the same foreign policy, that is an active and independent policy to secure peace. This policy is not merely what is usually called neutral policy. It is in the first place directed at bringing together the parties involved in the Cold War in order to give them the opportunity to settle their differences by negotiations, by peaceful means instead of by Arms.

India and Indonesia have co-operated closely in carrying out the active and independent foreign policy in the United Nations. We have tried to be mediators between the opposing power blocs. Indonesia has wholeheartedly and very actively supported the Indian efforts to solve the Korean problem, by conducting a policy of conciliation and mediation. We could support that policy especially because it was an expression of our own views, of our own foreign policy. We are proud of the election of India as Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and as the Custodian of the prisoners of war in Korea. We have shared the anxieties and concerns of India during the performance of this extremely difficult task and we are proud with India that it has done this job with honour.

India and Indonesia have co-operated closely in trying to get support from other countries for this active and independent foreign policy. The emergence of the Asian African Group in the United Nations is largely the result of the efforts of India and Indonesia. It is well known how this Asian African Group has influenced the efforts of the United Nations to solve the problems of peace and war. It is well known also that this Asian African Group is the active and alert champion of freedom of still dependent countries. The struggles for freedom of Tunisia and Morocco have been brought before Security Council and General Assembly by the Asian African Group. They have met there with the determined efforts of the colonial powers to continue their obsolete grip over these nations. But the fight is still on and you can find India and Indonesia on the advance fronts.

We are not only co-operating in fighting for freedom for dependent nations, but we also work together in trying to improve conditions in so-called Non-Self Governing Territories.

India and Indonesia take the same stand on questions of racial discrimination. In her efforts to bring about a reasonable solution of the apartheid problem in South Africa—India always find Indonesia at her side.

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CO-OPERATION ON ECONOMIC PLAN

Both countries, only a few years old as independent countries, can be considered as economically young countries in the modern sense of that word. Both are producers of raw material and have just started large-scale industrialisation. Producers of raw materials are not usually economic complements. Thus, exchanging goods each of the countries needs, cannot be a strong basis for close co-operation. This co-operation may, however, be conducted in trying to get for both of us a good position in the world market for raw materials. This takes place where India and Indonesia co-operate in getting the so-called Commodity Agreements, where regulations are made for producing, stockpiling and selling of raw materials and commodities.

Producers of raw materials can also help each other in establishing a more balanced productive system for each of their countries or for their common area. They can help each other in providing for know-how, technical assistance and training of personnel. If they are not able themselves to provide for their requirements out of their own resources, they may act together in getting the requirements from more fortunate countries. This happens, for instance, in the Colombo Plan.

If we compare India and Indonesia it becomes clear that India has advanced further in industrialisation. This means that there is a possibility of India providing for some of Indonesia's requirements in the field of manufactured goods. India, for instance, can export to Indonesia—textiles, small machinery, tools and jute products while Indonesia can export to India oil products, vegetable, fats and sugar. This exchange of goods has, in fact, already started to a certain extent, but it can be largely extended. Here close co-operation is imperative and it is one of my tasks to bring it about.

CULTURAL CONTACTS

From beginning of the Christian era, for almost 15 centuries, Indian culture has influenced and inspired Indonesian culture to such an extent that the still existing expressions of the Indonesian culture of those times are almost similar to Indian culture of the same period. Sanskrit words and Sanskrit names are so common in Indonesia that the well-known Prof. Raghu Vira, of the International Academy of Indian Culture at Nagpur has written a volume entitled *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Dr. Raghu Vira, who visited Indonesia in 1951 said that what struck him most was the number of Sanskrit words used in Indonesia. He continued to say that in Indonesia the whole life from the cradle to the grave was one vast memorial of the past ages where India and Indonesia worked in co-operation with each other and developed common habits and modes of life, of thought and their expressions in literature and arts.

Ancient survivals of Hindu Indonesian architectures are still to be found, especially in Java. The Buddhist stupa called the Barabuder was erected in the 8th Century A.C. and also the Javanese Hindu temple Prambanan, which is mainly dedicated to Lord Shiva.

The first contacts between India and Indonesia are not known. Students of Indonesian History assume that it must have been at the beginning of the Christian era. Indian merchants brought it about while sailing their route between India and China. It is also possible that the gold riches of Indonesia had attracted the foreigners, because even the Greeks had mentioned these gold riches already in their classics.

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The island of Sumatra was called in Sanskrit *Swarnadwipa*, which means gold island. Arab historians told that the kings of Sumatra used to throw gold in the sea just to store it there. The island Java, then called *Jayadvipa*, is mentioned in the epic Ramayana as the gold and silver island.

As already mentioned, Hinduism has played an all important role in Indonesia for about 15 centuries. Hinduism still exists in Indonesia, but only on the island of Bali. It has finally retreated to that island, after the appearance of Islam and the almost general conversion to Islam in Indonesia. Hinduism then isolated itself in the Island of Bali and succeeded in maintaining its hold there, but of course mixed with the elements of original old Indonesian culture. But it is predominantly Hindu in its classical form. If one wishes to study Hinduism of about five or six centuries ago, he has just to go to Bali—to the world-famous island of Bali. Indonesia is now predominantly a Muslim country. About 60 per cent of the population is Muslim. It does not mean, however, that the Islam has simultaneously destroyed all expressions of Hinduism and Hindu culture in Indonesia.

It is a well known fact that in Java, where more than two-third of the population of Indonesia lives, the great majority of the people which is Muslim has Sanskrit names. It is rather strange thing here in India to meet a Muslim with a Hindu name. In Java, you can meet them everyday, every hour and practically every minute. Our President, Sukarno has a Hindu name; my predecessor Dr. Sumarno also has a

Hindu name. And I have been told my own name is of Sanskrit origin though I come from the Northern part of Celebes, now called Sulawesi where Hinduism has not played any role at all.

The relationship had been so close between India and Indonesia in those times. These extremely strong cultural and religious relations came to an end when the Dutch appeared in Indonesia and the British in India as conquerors.

The Dutch isolated the Indonesian people, destroyed their connections with countries and peoples abroad and used Indonesia and its population exclusively as producers of merchandise they needed. The change in their colonial policy, started in the beginning of the 20th century, was not enough to prevent them from losing Indonesia. India and Indonesia have recently freed themselves from the Colonial bonds. Their struggle to achieve freedom was in the first place a political struggle. After having achieved political freedom they have started the struggle for economic freedom. In their activities to establish and to maintain themselves as free nations, they have to co-operate closely. These co-operations cannot be close enough. Cultural relations and co-operation between India and Indonesia are only natural because of the old bonds that still express themselves in forms, which each of us recognises as our own. This is a strong basis on which to strengthen our political, economical, social and cultural relations.

Wherever they meet...

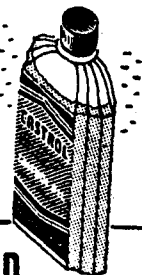
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Iqbal (1873-1938)

The 16th anniversary of death of Allama Iqbal is being celebrated in Pakistan and abroad on 21st April, this year.

A poet, philosopher and prose-writer, linguist, jurist, statesman, educationist and art-critic—that sums up the genius of Mohammad Iqbal.

Iqbal was born on 22nd February, 1873 in Sialkot. His family originally came from Kashmir. He received his early education in Sialkot, passing his Intermediate examination from Murray College, Sialkot. In 1895 he moved to Lahore for higher studies. He obtained the degree of M.A. in 1899. Soon after this he was awarded McLeod Arabic Readership in Oriental College, Lahore. In 1905 he went to Europe for higher studies. He obtained his degree from Cambridge and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1908. Before returning home he furthered his philosophical studies at Munich and was admitted to the Ph. D. degree on a thesis which was published in London under the title "The Development Of Metaphysics In Persia."

On return home Iqbal started practice as an Advocate at Lahore, and also continued as a part-time professor at his old college. All inclination to write Urdu verse was shown by him at a very early stage of his student life. Iqbal wrote some great poems in Urdu before turning to Persian as a vehicle for his poetry. The first poem he published in Persian was Asrar-I-Khudi in 1915. The poem was translated in English by Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge in 1920. Steady output of poetry continued till the poet's death. Asrar was followed by Rumuz-I-Bekhudi in 1918. After Rumuz came Payam-i-Mashriq, a collection of poems composed in response to Goethe's West Ostlicher Divan. This was followed by the Zabur-I-Ajam and the Jawid Namah. After this Iqbal turned to Urdu again and published two books of poems Bal-I-Jibril and Zarb-I-Kalim. Two small poems in Persian, Musafir and Pas Chai Baid Kard, published about this time, also deserve mention here. His last book of poems Armughan-I-Hijaz containing poems in Urdu and Persian was published.

Iqbal continued his philosophic studies throughout his life and he delivered a series of lectures which were published as "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam". A revised edition of these lectures was published by the Oxford University Press in 1934. Iqbal took a keen interest in politics all his life. In 1927 he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In 1930 he was elected as president of the All India Muslim League. In 1931 and 1932 he attended the Round Table Conference in London. And in 1933 he was elected as the president of the Muslim Conference. He made out a case for Pakistan in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930.

After a protracted illness Iqbal breathed his last on 21st April, 1938.

THE POET OF THE EAST

Year after year, 21st April is celebrated as the anniversary of the death of philosopher-poet of the East

—Dr. Iqbal. Sixteen years have passed since he died, but his poetic message of hope, courage and action continues to inspire the people throughout the world. He used Urdu and Persian as the vehicles of expression, but spoke a universal language—the language of love.

Iqbal was truly a poet of revolution. His poetry points a fierce finger of light on the deepening crisis caused by conflicting ideologies of godless communism and heartless capitalism and shows the way out, that of spiritualism. Deeply conscious of the changes, his poetry was sure to bring about in the world today he said:

"After me, they will read my poetry and find its meaning and say that world was revolutionised by a man who knew himself."

He upheld the cause of a down-trodden and perplexed humanity. His outlook on life was based on the intensely humanistic system of thought which was given to the world by the Prophet. He realised that the mystic philosophies of the ascetic inaction had sent the Asiatic nations to sleep. Most of the Greek influences, the Vedanta, and its other-worldly teachings about Maya, Illusion and Nirvana had led the Orient to its present decadence. It was very simple. When the world does not matter, you would not want to worry about its betterment and progress. You would merely give it up

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

In order to achieve your own personal Nirvana or Salvation. You would go off to some remote jungle or monastery.

In Islam it had to be different. A Muslim was to live in the world as a good citizen and a useful member of society and while maintaining a balance between the Love of God and his own material requirements, he had to work out his salvation. No priests or church were to be responsible for him. In his environments he had to attain the highest perfection which a human being can ever get, and thus be nearer God.

Here Iqbal in his poetry laid utmost stress on the individual, who was also to be an integral part of humanity. Iqbal wanted man to attain highest dignity and then, unlike the mystics who in their pure spiritual existence wanted to be absorbed in God, man had to become so perfect and exalted that he absorbed God into him. This Man of Iqbal is not Nietzsche's reactionary and destructive Superman, it is the common man, belonging to every nation, and every race, the down-trodden man, who was to bring the Kingdom of God on earth.

Thus he defied the Death-wish and fatalism of the Eastern mind by his Will to Life. He defies God and lovingly challenges him in the following lines:

It is like this mention not aught.

Man said: verily it is like this, but it ought to be like that!

And again he addresses God:

Thou didst create night and I made the lamp
Thou didst create clay, and I made the cup
Thou didst create the deserts, mountains, wood-lands

I produced the orchards, gardens, and the groves;
It is I who turn stone into a mirror
It is I who turn poison into an antidote!

In England about this time T. S. Eliot wrote "Waste Land"—the epic of a disillusioned and dejected humanity, emphasising the futility and emptiness of life. And in the end he fell back on 'Shantih, Shantih, Shantih'—the peaceful escape of negation.

In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Iqbal was singing of hope for man's final victory in the struggle for a better world. He had infinite faith in people's destiny, in their own selves. He sang of the final victory of the workers when the worth of a human being will be at last recognized.

He was not merely another emotional revivalist indulging in romantic flights of imagination. With classical restraint he warns against dangers of anarchy. He hated subjugation whether it was by the Mulla, (the Priest) or by the Khwaja (the capitalist). He was bitterly against imperialism.

Thou hast agreed to remain Europe's bondsman
I blame thee and not thy masters.

And, only slaves have plenty of leisure
The soldier-man has no time to waste.

Iqbal's ideal man is not a Muslim or an Indian, or an Asiatic:

This mortal made of clay is Gabriel's neighbour
His abode is not Bokhara or Badakshan.

Iqbal's God is not a sectarian, nor a national God. He is the God of Love, who in every verse of the Quran reminds us of His infinite Mercy and Beneficence. His Prophet was not the prophet sent to the Arab or Semitic people. He was God's Messenger to all Mankind. Iqbal was inspired by this universal love. Addressing the Mosque of Cordova in Spain he wrote:

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goods from abroad. Before the war textile products headed the list of exports. Now they hold the second place, after iron and steel products. The progress made by the French iron and steel industry is the most considerable as recorded from year to year. For iron and steel products the figure for exports rose from 112 billion francs in 1952 to 144 billion in 1953. The wool industry also showed progress. The exports of wool thread and materials rose from 19 billion francs in 1952 to 32 billion in 1953.—*New from France*, 15th April, 1954.

The Zagreb Fair's Contribution To Yugoslavia's International Trade

The Zagreb International Fair is the oldest institution of its kind not only in Yugoslavia (the first Zagreb Fair was held in 1910), but in the whole of South-eastern Europe, has always been an indicator of economic developments in Yugoslavia. The commercial success of the exhibition can be compared with any other fair of international standing. In the international exchange of goods the Zagreb International Fair has found the place it deserves according to its tradition and importance. After the war, the Zagreb Fair, following its traditional repute and the sudden development of New Yugoslavia's economy, increased its activity from year to year. In terms of space it has trebled, and by number of exhibitors, its displays have become an increasingly important meeting-ground for business men from many European and overseas countries, thus enabling them to steadily increase the trade.

The number of foreign exhibitors and the exhibition space available have shown a marked and steady increase since the war, particularly in the past two years:

Year	Foreign exhibitors	Foreign countries	Exhibition area in sq. meters
1947	52	12	7,787
1948	221	15	13,570
1949	234	13	20,717
1950	283	15	18,519
1951	247	12	14,007
1952	680	13	18,963
1953	731	16	26,218

* The number of foreign visitors increased proportionately with the above figures. As regards domestic exhibitors and visitors the development here was in another direction. If one considers actual figures, one can see that the number of domestic exhibitors in the period from 1947 to 1949 rose by about 20% per annum, (731 exhibitors in 1947, 927 in 1948 and 1126 in 1949), but in the period from 1950 to 1953 this number fell to only 458 domestic exhibitors. While in the first post-war years the Yugoslav exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair desired to show an outline of the general economic development of the country under the Five-Year Plan, from 1949 onwards the domestic exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair were primarily seeking commercial effects. Therefore, the products displayed by the domestic companies and factories now have a purely commercial character and offer the visitors a picture of the sales and export possibilities of the exhibitors. The commercialisation of the exhibits at the Zagreb Fair took place parallel with the reorganisation of the Yugo-lav economy by liberalising all economic enterprises. The result was a steady improvement in the quality and finish of the country's products. Thus, the samples of the domestic exhibitors at the Zagreb Fair now represent articles which, by their quality, can in every respect be marketed on any international

market. This fact is reflected in the even increasing business deals closed at the Fair, and the increased interest of foreign exhibitors and buyers for this institution.

It is true, certain confusion arose among foreign businessmen owing to certain restrictive measures taken by the Yugoslav Government regarding imports. This was necessary, however, to mitigate the consequences of serious droughts which struck the country. Nevertheless, all these measures were correctly interpreted by most foreign business circles, and this is proved by the record number of foreign exhibitors and exhibits. The management of the Zagreb Fair was only able to accommodate all applicants by enlarging the exhibition area by about 30%.

The business deals closed in 1953, amounting to 50,000 million dinars, entirely matched the foreign manufacturers' optimism and confidence in the Yugoslav market and in the Zagreb International Fair as one of its major manifestations.

It is also interesting to examine the composition of the foreign exhibitors by nationalities. When the first post-war Zagreb Fair was held in 1947, the only participants apart from the USSR and her satellites, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, were Belgium, Italy, Holland, Switzerland and the Free Territory of Trieste. In 1949 the USSR and all countries of the Soviet Bloc abstained from exhibiting, but in spite of this, the number of countries taking part at that Fair remained almost at the same level, and subsequently increased, reaching its peak in 1953 with 16 foreign countries participating. At the same time the Fair grounds were enlarged by 80 per cent in order to accept all the goods registered for exhibition. In 1953 the exhibiting firms at the Zagreb Fair were from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Greece, India, Italy, Israel, Japan, Holland, Western Germany, the Free Territory of Trieste, Sweden, Switzerland, and U.S.A. Applications were also received from firms in Finland, Iran and Turkey, and from four Latin American countries, Columbia, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador. The importance of the 1953 International Fair is also reflected in the fact that seven countries had organised collective exhibits.

The Yugoslav part of the Zagreb Fair represents a rounded-off picture of all national export possibilities taken as a whole, and the visitors will see there many products not shown on other fairs, or shown elsewhere only in limited number. Apart from improved and diversified products of the heavy industry, the Yugoslav companies exhibit timber and wood products, important chemical products and building materials, tobacco, industrial and medicinal herbs, leather, furs, plastics and consumer goods made of plastics, and finally a wide choice of high quality food products, alcoholic and soft beverages. Foreign manufacturers are able to market through the Zagreb Fair such products as tools, industrial, mining, building and agricultural equipment and machinery, motor vehicles, precision instruments, electrical goods and telecommunication apparatus, chemical and pharmaceutical products, and to a lesser extent, other consumer goods.

Encouraged by successful exhibitions in the past, many foreign exhibitors filed their applications during the 1953 Fair for participation at the next Fair, to be held in Zagreb from 3rd to 14th September of 1954. From the applications received up to the present, it is evident that interest is not lessening. The past results of the Zagreb Fair and the interest shown for it by domestic and foreign exhibitors and buyers, is a guarantee for the further successful operation of this Fair.—*Yugoslav News Bulletin*, April 30, 1954.