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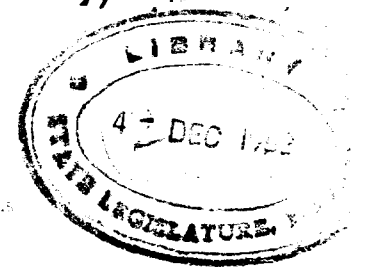
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(Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University)

Dr. Kalidas Nag

Harindranath Chattopadhyay

Prof. Dr. K. R. Srinivas Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt.

Dr. Amresh Datta, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Satyendra, M.A., Ph.D.

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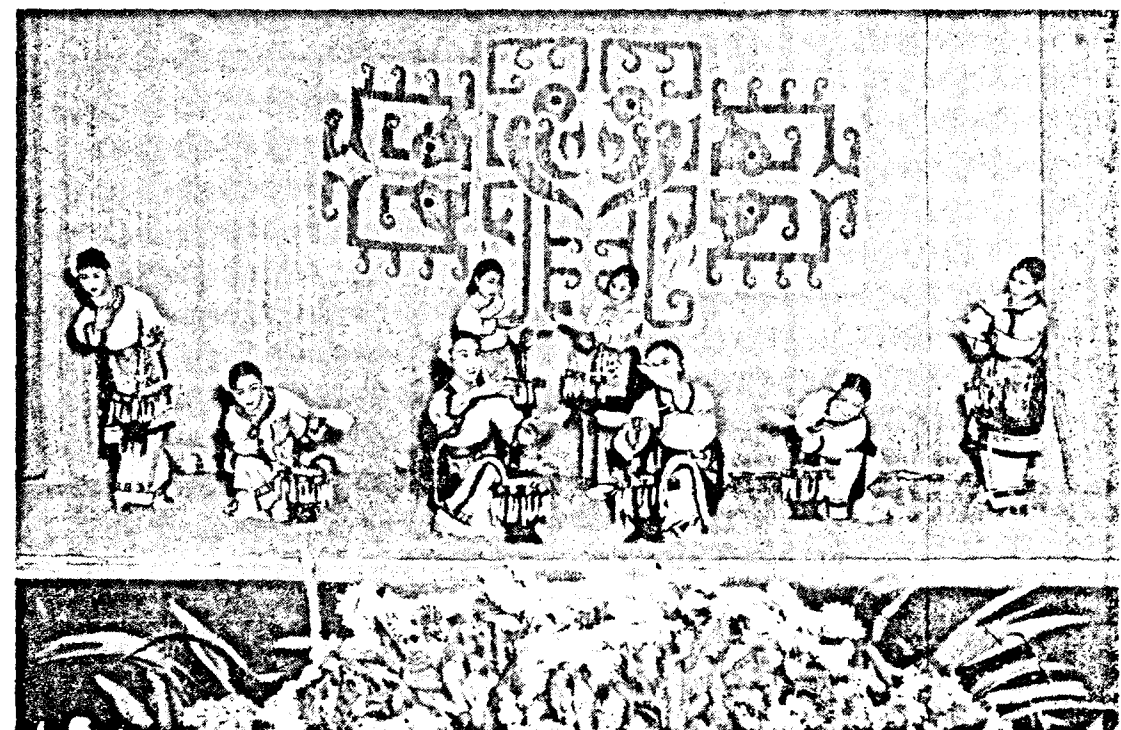
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Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, President Rajendra Prasad, H. E. Marshal Tito and Vice-President Radhakrishnan at the New Delhi Station. His Excellency Marshal Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, arrived in New Delhi on December 17



A dance recital by a group of the visiting Artists of the Cultural Delegation of the People's Republic of China at Delite Cinema in Delhi on December 9



HILL WOMEN

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NOTES

The New Year and the Old

Another year of travail for the weary world is drawing to a close. It is nearly a decade since the end of World War II; and yet the evils generated by that catastrophe still afflict mankind.

The New Year carries some faint glimmer of hope. Perhaps the troubled peace of today might gain strength tomorrow, and sanity return to the nations-in-arms, drawn up in two belligerent camps. The world needs peace but as yet greed and lust for power stand in the way.

But New Year means self-examination, so let us turn to our own affairs. The world will go on its way, and there is little we can do to influence the shaping of the destinies of mankind, in either way, unless we march forward ourselves as a nation. Mere uttering of words of portent, however acclaimed or denounced they be, would be of little avail unless we can demonstrate to the world our capacity to back our will with strength and endurance. Mighty forces are in play in the World today and as yet we are but as flotsam in the tides.

Let us come down to facts. There has been a lot of talk about our progress, particularly with regard to the Five-Year Plans. It has been claimed, by those we have put in control of our affairs, that achievement along the lines planned has been in excess in all directions. Shortages have been eliminated and that the building-up of the structure of our economic prosperity of the future is progressing apace. All this has been proved by masses of that wonderfully elastic and elusive material, namely, Statistics. And in India of today it is deceptive as well since the basic figures are unreliable in the extreme.

We are willing to give full credit for what has been done. The rigours of scarcity, in food and clothing have been alleviated to a major extent. And if and when the entire first Five-Year Plan materialises, we might become self-sufficient in both for some time

to come. Provided, of course, if the people have the wherewith to avail themselves of that plenty.

What about the purchasing power of the common man? What about his being assured about the future? What about the health, education and the standard of living of Sri Man-in-the-street and Srimati Housewife? What about the mental, moral and physical well-being of all of those who are near and dear to them?

It is no use quoting footling statistics to prove that his and her average income today is as high as it was planned for at the end of 1956. Can they make both ends meet by that income and can they live as free and happy people should? Is medical care and hospitalization assured for even a fraction of them? Has every adult the means to procure protective and sustaining food, equivalent to 2,500 calories, every day of the year, for himself or herself and family?

The answer is, most emphatically, *No*. And what about the all-round lowering of moral values in every sphere of life? We are told that in ten years time there would be no unemployment. We would say that unless this debasing of moral values is stopped, the majority of our people would become *unemployable*.

It is barely six years since the passing of the Father of the Nation. Where stands the Congress, in the terms of truth, morality and integrity, today? It is not necessary to express in words the degradation and downfall.

It is about time our ministers and other voluble spokesmen looked up the history of India. It was not material poverty that brought on seven centuries of slavery for the Indians. Indeed, materially speaking there was hardly another nation or country so well off as was the "Fabulous Ind," when the first band of hungry and unkempt invaders crossed the mountains of the northwest. Gross perversion of moral values, almost total isolation from the rest of the world and a deliberate degradation of the vast

majority of its people through caste barriers, were the triple curses that led to the enslavement of the Indian.

A survey of moral values, as they obtain in the India of today, is urgently called for now. The First, Second and the Third Five-Year Plans will all end in futility if our nationals become totally degenerate. And there is no time to lose if we are to ward off the logical consequences.

Police Strike in West Bengal

Constables of the Calcutta Armed Police force and a number of constables attached to various police stations went on hunger-strike on the 10th December for the amelioration of their various grievances. A Press Note issued by the Government of West Bengal on that day gave the removal of a corrupt constable from the post of mess manager as the cause of the hunger strike.

By the following afternoon, i.e., on December 11, the police called off their strike on the assurance given by the State Government that its decisions on the grievances relating mainly to pay, house rent allowance and food concessions would be announced before the end of April, 1955. The Military and the National Valunteer Force who had been called out on the morning of December 11 to take over the duties of the striking police, were then withdrawn as the policemen resumed their duty. All persons arrested on charges of breach of discipline were released. About 5,000 policemen—3,000 armed and 2,000 unarmed—had been affected by the strike.

Next day about 250 constables of the Howrah police went on hunger-strike demanding immediate redress of their grievances which were similar to those of the Calcutta policemen. The policemen, who carried out their normal duties, called attention to the failure of their efforts for an increase in wages and improvement in other service conditions.

The West Bengal Government in a Press Note on December 12 made it clear that the decisions regarding the Calcutta police forces would be applicable in the case of West Bengal police also. But instead of any signs of abating, the strike spread to other districts affecting larger number of men and by December 14, the number of hunger-strikers exceeded 2,500 in the five districts—24 Parganas, Hooghly, Bankura, Murshidabad and Howrah. Policemen posted at various places were replaced by the troops.

The policemen demanded, according to a report, a minimum total monthly emolument of Rs. 120 in place of the existing Rs. 57. Their other demands included free medical treatment of their families in their departmental hospitals; free education for their children and allowances for working overtime.

The Government Press Note issued on December

14, stated that the hunger-strike in Howrah had been resorted to "for reasons other than those which had been in operation in so far as the Calcutta police were concerned. It has now come to the knowledge of the Government that the whole trouble in Howrah had been started principally by four or five constables who are being prosecuted for alleged criminal acts for which they are under suspension."

The West Bengal Police Association in a resolution on the same day urged the policemen to give up the hunger-strike, which the Association had earlier condemned.

From the 15th, the situation in the various districts became fluid and in some places strikers gave up their fast and resumed their normal duty and the hunger-strike by policemen came to an end by the morning of December 19.

The most curious part of the whole incident was the apparent total ignorance of the higher authorities about the impending strike. It is a pointer towards the gross incompetence of the administration in curbing disruptive forces.

Censure Motion Against Speaker

The censure motion against the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, tabled by the combined forces of the Opposition, met with a debacle as reported in the daily press of December 19, of which we append an extract below, from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. This move is typical of the thoughtless and reckless moves of the Opposition leaders:

"The censure motion moved against the Speaker by Shri Vijneshwar Missir in the Lok Sabha was rejected by an overwhelming voice vote after a two-hour exciting debate.

"The movers and supporters of the censure motion collapsed after a thundering reply from the Prime Minister, strongly vindicating the honour and conduct of the Speaker and severely reproaching the behaviour of the former.

"The debacle was so complete that the Communist and P.S.P. groups and their allies in the no-confidence motion did not even challenge a division when it was put to the House.

"A section of the Opposition also were against the motion, as was apparent from the speeches of Sardar Hukum Singh and Mr. Frank Anthony. Shri S. S. More, Shri A. K. Gopalan and Dr. N. B. Khare, three of the spokesmen on behalf of the supporters of the motion, failed to establish charge of partiality against the Speaker.

"The proceedings of December 4 when an adjournment motion of Shri Gurupadaswamy was disallowed by the Speaker, and on which the debate mainly turned, were quoted with great effect by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava (Congress) against the behaviour of the Opposition and in defence of the right and conduct of the Speaker.

"The Opposition were put in a straight jacket by the limitation imposed on the scope of the debate, which was not allowed by the Deputy Speaker to ramble in a general denunciation against the Speaker. The Opposition did not come prepared to quote chapter and verse in support of their motion, as they apparently did not anticipate the debate to be fixed for today.

"In view of the limitation of scope, Acharya Kripalani did not participate in the debate."

"The Prime Minister was extremely generous to the Opposition in his attitude to the debate on the motion. For instance, he did not stand on technical objections to the admissibility of the motion. He offered proportionately more time to the sponsors of the motion. He offered free voting on the issue. But he was indignant at the tabling of a no-confidence motion against the Speaker without sufficient justification, and his admonition to those who sponsored this motion could not be more harsh or severe. Stressing the seriousness and gravity of such a motion, he characterised the move as frivolous and irresponsible and as gross abuse of a right given under the rules and the Constitution. By this motion, he said, 'we have lowered the honour and dignity of the House and of the Speaker, and we have proved before the world that we are little quarrelsome men, who indulge in frivolity and who indulge in accusations without weighing what they mean.'

"Characterising the no-confidence resolution as vicious the Prime Minister observed those who signed it have done so without reading it or they lack intelligence. It is an insult to the intelligence of the House to ask it to support the motion."

The no-confidence resolution was tabled by 21 Opposition group members. The resolution reads:

"That this House, having taken into consideration the conduct of the Speaker of the House as regards giving his consent to adjournment motions, disallowed questions, etc., feels that he has ceased to maintain an impartial attitude necessary to command the confidence of all sections of the House; that in his partisan attitude he disregards the rights of members of the House and makes pronouncements and gives rulings calculated to affect and undermine such rights; that he openly espouses the version of the official spokesman on all controversial matters as against information supplied by other members of Parliament; that all these acts constitute a serious danger to the proper functioning of this House and ventilating effectively the felt grievances of the people; and therefore, resolves that he be removed from his office."

The signatories to the resolution are: Vijneshwar Missir, J. B. Kripalani, Asoka Mehta, Shankar Shantaram More, K. S. Raghavachari, Dr. N. M. Jaisooriya, Hirendra Nath Mukherjee, A. K. Gopa-

lan, T. B. Vittal Rao, M. S. Gurupadaswamy, Sadhan Chandra Gupta, Dasaratha Deb, Sarangadhar Das, Tridib Kumar Chaudhury, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. N. B. Khare, Amjad Ali, N. C. Chatterjee, V. G. Deshpande, K. Kelappa and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani.

Hindu Marriage and Divorce

The Rajya-Sabha passed an amendment on December 14, which is a significant move against polygamy. The news, as published in the daily press, runs as follows:

The Rajya Sabha decided to-day in favour of extending to wives of polygamous Hindu marriages, solemnised before the commencement of Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, the right of divorce.

The Sabha, which sat continuously for eight hours today, adopted many Clauses of the Bill, all dealing with the controversial subject of nullity and divorce of a Hindu marriage. The Clauses adopted today deal with void marriage, voidable marriage, which divorce petition cannot be presented, divorced persons cannot remarry, legitimacy of children of void and voidable marriages, punishment for bigamy and contravention of other conditions of a valid Hindu marriage.

These important amendments, all moved by Mr. Chaman Lall (Congress) were carried by the Sabha, changing in material particulars and the scheme of the Bill as suggested by the Joint Select Committee. Under the first amendment, pre-act marriage would be excluded from the purview of the provision for voiding marriages. The second amendment removes the differences between pre-act and post-act voidable marriages. This amendment, while following the existing rule of Hindu law that marriages are voidable on grounds of impotency, idiocy or lunacy, and consent for marriage having been obtained through force or fraud, introduces a new provision, namely, that the marriage would also be voidable if the wife was pregnant at the time of marriage by a party other than the husband.

The third amendment of Mr. Chaman Lall provides that in the case of a marriage solemnised before the commencement of the Act, the wife can apply for divorce on the ground that the husband had married again before such commencement or that any other wife of the husband was alive at the time of solemnisation of the marriage, provided in either case the other wife is alive at the time of presentation of the divorce petition.

A fourth amendment to the divorce Clause, also moved by Mr. Chaman Lall, was a verbal one, changing the ground of "leading an adulterous life" to "living in adultery."

Serving the People?

We do not know how much credence to give to the news item printed below from a report in the *Spectator* of December 16. But should it prove true

there is hardly any language strong enough to condemn the affair. It is absolutely unthinkable that in a democratic State the personal convenience of any one man, however, highly placed, should be rated so high that the people in general could be put to so great an inconvenience as has been reported. It is high time that our rulers realized the wisdom of abandoning the arrogant habit of riding roughshod over people's sentiments and interests—a habit imbibed by the officialdom from the past imperialist regime and of late apparently transfused to some of the Ministers even. The *Spectator* reports as follows:

"Aurangabad: This is Hyderabad State and anything and everything happens. Very recently an incidence took place when the railway train was detained for the Chief Minister of Hyderabad for a period of one and a half hour. On his way back to Hyderabad via Parli the Chief Minister was addressing a public meeting at Parli and so the train was detained at Parli. The public travelling by the same train became restless as further connections at Parbhani, Purna, etc., would have been missed. All the passengers from the Second class were asked to vacate the entire accommodation to enable the Chief Minister, the P.W.D. Minister, and their paraphernalia and they had to travel either by Inter or Third up to Parbhani."

Meeting of the Associated Chambers

In his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday (December 13), Mr. G. M. Mackinlay referred to the "too static condition" within the private sector and remarked that the general causes of it were not easy to define without entering the political arena which they as a commercial organisation tried to avoid.

"But what fundamentally worries us all—commerce and industry as a whole—", he said, "is the increasingly apparent trend of Government policy towards a too rapid degree of socialisation of the State which is tending to suppress and curtail the activities of the private sector and to create an undercurrent of unreasoned and vague distrust of it."

He would not be honest with himself nor would he be reflecting the current thoughts of the business community, Mr. Mackinlay said, were he to attempt to strike a note of well-being, confidence and optimism.

The vital necessity, if the current and future Five-Year Plans are to be successfully implemented, of giving great security and encouragement to the development of the private sector of the country's commercial and industrial economy was stressed in a resolution adopted by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at its annual meeting in Calcutta on Monday.

The resolution on 'Taxation' stressed the need for (1) positive incentives to work, save and invest by alleviating the burden of direct and spreading the inci-

dence of indirect taxation, (2) a permanent and adequate solution of outstanding sales tax problems and (3) greater moderation and gradualness in the imposition and enhancement of excise duties.

In the resolution on 'Industry', the Association drew government's attention to the heavy burden placed upon employers by the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, as they now stand, governing the payment of retrenchment compensation, the Association urged the Government of India to amend the Act in such a manner as to (1) prescribe a limit to the amount payable to a workman as retrenchment compensation and (2) to provide that, on the termination of a workman's services, the employer shall be liable to pay either retrenchment compensation or retirement gratuity, whichever is appropriate, but not both.

In another resolution, the Association viewed with concern the heavy increases in shipping cost and the serious decline in port efficiency caused by widespread indiscipline amongst stevedoring labour which have followed the establishment of dock labour boards at the principal ports in India. The Association requested the Government to take urgent steps to examine the position at each port in order to introduce such measures as may be necessary to ensure that costs are kept at a reasonable level and that a satisfactory standard of work and discipline is maintained.

The Association also urged the need for a fundamental change in Government's policy towards road transport to ensure that India does not fall behind other countries in road transport development and that India's road system and the vehicles using it are commensurate with the growing needs of the agriculture and industry of the country.

Sri Deshmukh's Speech

The following is the text of Sri Deshmukh's speech:

"I have listened carefully to the brief but pointed remarks made by you, and I appreciate the frank and forthright manner in which your fears or suspicions—or your 'psychological troubles' as you have called them—have been expressed. We are passing through an important transition in our economic development. We are moving steadily into a new era, an era of progressive, well-ordered growth, with widening of opportunities for the people to participate in the development of the country. This reorientation is in its initial stages. There are some who think—and not without justification,—that this reorientation is proceeding too slowly. There are others who are apprehensive that in trying to go forward, sufficient attention may not be paid to the need for stability and orderliness in development. The problem is to find a golden mean, and this implies readiness on the part of all concerned to adjust themselves to the facts of experience.

"You have referred to the economic situation in the country and have listed the 'highlights' of the scene. I can hardly improve upon your description of them.

"Our economy today shows obvious signs of strength and stability, and I think there is little doubt that in this matter of developmental planning, we are set on the right road. The gains of the last three years will be evident to anyone who compares the economic situation now with what it was when the Plan was first launched. There has been a substantial increase in food production, industrial production has shown a steady, upward trend; prices have come down; inflation has been wiped out and, the balance of payments position has improved. At the same time, long term bases of development are being steadily built up through our irrigation and power projects, through improvements in the transport system and through larger investment in capital goods industries.

"There are, perhaps, a few 'shadows' in the picture, they are bound to be when one considers the large canvas on which the picture is being painted, but I doubt if it is correct to say that the shadows are more prominent than the highlights. My own assessment is that while some 'shadows' exist, the highlights provide the overtone for sober confidence. You have referred in your speech to certain anxieties which commerce and industry feel in present conditions and you have commented, with commendable forthrightness, upon some aspects of Government policy as you have understood them. I hope in a later part of my speech to deal with the more important of the individual points which you have raised.

"But before I do so, I should like to give you an assurance. The point of view which you have put forward will be duly conveyed to the appropriate quarters and you may be certain that in any final decision that Government may take in these matters, the views you represent will be given their due weight. After all, there is, I venture to think, little in the ultimate aims of our economic policy on which there can be serious divergence of view among practical minded men committed to a practical programme of development and expansion. With that in view, I would ask you, if I may, to concentrate on how best we can achieve these objectives in the fast-changing social and economic conditions in this country.

"I would take the opportunity to restate the objectives of our planning and the methods we propose to employ in implementing them. We want to double per capita incomes in about a generation. We want to eliminate unemployment within, say, 10 years, and we must make a sizeable impression on the problem in the next five years.

"We want, at the same time, to move in the direction of a more even distribution of incomes, of wealth and of economic power. These are our basic aims—I believe they will find wide acceptance—and we want to achieve them through democratic means.

"There is hardly a parallel to this kind of effort elsewhere. Some countries plan for limited objectives, such as an improvement in the balance of payments, and

external solvency or viability, some plans stress anti-recessionary or anticyclical budgeting; there are others which are 'total' plans, but which are sought to be carried through by authoritarian means.

"There is hardly an instance of a country of our size attempting to secure rapid development in the manner we have deliberately chosen, that is, through democratic means. If we are to find an adequate answer to our special problems, we shall have to think in new terms, along lines which are suited to our environment and our approach, and we shall have to eschew dogmas or set theories of whatever hue or colour.

"The First Five-Year Plan is now in its fourth year. It has produced some results which are satisfactory, but it has also brought to the fore new problems. The increases in production, agricultural and industrial, are the results of the effort that the country has put in, although they have been assisted by special circumstances like good monsoons and the fact that we had, to start with, considerable unused capacity in industry. A careful husbanding of our resources, coupled with the emergence of recessionary conditions in the world at large has enabled us to keep inflation in check and at the same time to move forward with basic development. But, we are still only on the threshold, and we want to step up our investment substantially and to industrialise rapidly. I need hardly dilate, in this city at any rate, on the seriousness of the problem of unemployment.

"This I consider—though, you, Sir, have not mentioned it—a major problem in our economy. The First Plan has increased employment opportunities, but we are still in a situation in which while employment is increasing, unemployment is increasing too. In other words, new jobs are not being created at a rate sufficient to absorb the annual increases in labour force. The only solution to this problem is more capital formation and a judicious choice of our investment.

"How is the rate of investment to be increased? The answer, in the ultimate analysis, is larger sacrifices in the present and harder work all round. To some extent, we can rely on friendly external assistance, and, judging from past trends and enlightened opinion in countries abroad, I have no doubt that if we do our part well, external resources will be available to us in reasonable measure. The task for us is to concentrate on effective mobilisation of our own resources.

"In this context, I think, some of the canons of public finance, both in the matter of taxation and of spending, need readaptation. The burden of taxation to which, Sir, you have made a reference, has to be related to the dynamic picture which we have in mind—that of rising incomes and rising expenditures, coupled with rising productivity, both in the public and private sectors. One cannot, of course, start off by assuming conditions which one is seeking to create. There is always the problem to secure that an increasing proportion of the new incomes generated or of the new output in real terms is made available for investment.

"These aspects of the problem are under study and you will be interested in knowing that here, in Calcutta, in the Indian Institute of Statistics, a programme of studies bearing on economic growth, the implications of physical resources planning and the optimum relationships between different parts of a developing economy have been taken in hand. The results of these studies and researches will be taken into account in formulating the Second Five-Year Plan. On present expectations and estimates, the Second Plan, will have to provide for considerably larger outlays both in the public and in the private sectors, outlays which may necessitate investment of the order of 10 to 12 per cent of national income annually. This can be achieved only through larger public as well as private saving.

"For an effort on this scale, close and unstinting co-operation between the public and private sectors is necessary. This was stated in the First Plan Report and it remains the policy of Government. To secure and maximise this co-operation I would myself strongly deprecate this constant anti-thesis between the private and public sector as if these interests were separate and the two must function in opposition. I would rather stress the co-operative role of the two. The broad line of demarcation between the two has been laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. Government stand by the policy embodied in that resolution which gives a definite place to the private sector in the country's development.

"I suggest that nothing that has since occurred has altered that basic position; but I think, you will admit as people handing the day to day affairs of the world, that no policy can remain rigid in this dynamic world and that some shift of emphasis is bound to take place as the country's economy develops, and its needs expand and one has to take stock of the position from time to time. It is a truism that in an under-developed economy like ours, massive sums for large-scale industry are unlikely to be raised by the private sector, rapidly enough or in a manner not involving undesirable social consequences, so that inevitably the public sector may have to take on that kind of development from its own resources. Obviously development cannot be allowed to wait till the private sector is in a position to shoulder such a burden.

"I do not see why the simple proposition that the State, in the public interest, may have to take over for development certain types of industry which may well be beyond the scope of the private sector, should be construed as involving any reflection upon the private sector or as creating anxieties for it. It is merely the realistic acceptance of a state of affairs which cannot be allowed to continue and thereby retard development. This does not of course mean that the private sector will not have ample scope for full play its resources and enterprise.

"Where the objective is to develop the economy rapidly, it is hardly correct to view any or every

extension of the public sector as so much encroachment on the private sector. Even in the case of industries reserved for the State, there is no reason why private capital or assistance from abroad should not find a place. If one looks at the problem dispassionately, I am sure it will be generally agreed that there is still great scope for private enterprise in this country. In the coming years I feel if the progress of development is maintained as it ought to, that there will be more for the private sector to do than it easily can, and it will be necessary for Government through appropriate institutions, like the Industrial Development Corporation and the Industrial Finance and Development Corporation—or in other ways—to assist the private sector.

"There is, therefore, little room for hesitancy or uncertainty which you, Sir, have referred to. There is perhaps a certain amount of adjustment—psychological adjustment if you like—called for on both side, but about the need for a fruitful partnership between the public and the private sectors in the interest of the common goal of higher living standards all round, there can be no doubt. A great deal, I think, is to be gained by keeping constantly before our mind the objective and the co-operative and complementary roles of public and private sectors. A far-reaching process of economic and social change such as we have initiated—wisely and cautiously but not timidly, I believe—inevitably raises problems of adjustment in the transitional phase and nothing is gained by magnifying them.

"I mentioned earlier the need for a re-adaptation of canons of taxation. Among the 'shadows' which you say are over-hanging commerce and industry you have mentioned the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. You must have seen from the papers that the report of the Commission was signed only a few days ago. It is a monumental work such as one was entitled to expect from a Commission with its distinguished Chairman and membership. The report will take some time to be studied by Government and printed for publication. Both these matters are, I need hardly assure you, receiving urgent attention. But you will realise that at this stage I am not in a position to say anything about the Commission's recommendations. I have no doubt that the Commission have viewed the problem of taxation as a whole and the needs of the various sections of the country's economy, and I am not clear why the private sector should take a pessimistic view of what the report is likely to contain.

"You have dwelt at length, Mr. President, on the Companies Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament. I note with satisfaction what you said about the work of the Company Law Committee and its recommendations. That we have been in no hurry to introduce far-reaching changes in the present Company Law is evidenced by the fact that it has now taken nearly five years, since the original proposals were made, to bring the Companies Bill to its

present state. I am also happy to learn that the business community appreciates the anxiety and efforts of Government to work in close collaboration with it throughout this period. If nevertheless, Government consider it necessary to deviate from some of the recommendations of the Committee, believe me, Mr. President, they will do so only if they are convinced that this is in the long-term interest of the private sector itself.

"I am sure you will agree with me that what is of basic importance in the private sector is the dynamism of private enterprise and not static adherence to traditional forms or institutions. You will recall that it was because some of these forms and institutions lacked the basic spirit of enterprise, and in some cases became the refuge of antisocial forces that Government were compelled to amend the Indian Companies Act in 1951, and assume extensive powers to regulate the constitution of Boards of Directors and the appointment and remuneration of Directors and Managing Agents.

"These powers were taken by Government with the full approval of the Company Law Committee, which was still then in session, and as far as I am aware with the general approval of the Chambers of Commerce within the membership of your Association. For over three years now, Government have exercised these powers in hundreds of cases on the recommendation of an Advisory Commission. It is my understanding that, apart from complaints of delay in some marginal cases, the manner in which these extensive powers have been used has not materially interfered with the working of companies concerned. On the contrary, Government have always attempted to meet the companies concerned as far as they could consistently with their responsibilities under the Amending Act.

"It is unfortunate that I am not at present in a position to comment on those new proposals regarding Managing Agents, to which you have referred in your speech. They are still under the consideration of the Select Committee, and I do not know in what form they will eventually emerge. But as far as I can see, they merely enlarge the scope of the discretionary authority vested in Government by the Act of 1951 in one or two directions and otherwise elaborate the powers already conferred on Government by this Act, I do not myself think that these proposals, even if they are finally accepted in their present form, will spell such grave disaster on the private sector as in now prophesied in some quarters. You are, however, entitled to demand that if Government were to be clothed with these additional powers, they should be exercised with due circumspection and due regard to the legitimate interests of all those who are likely to be affected by them.

"On this score, I would assure that it will be Government's constant endeavour to make use of their powers only when they must and only in the long-term interests of trade and industry in this country. It is

my hope that it may be possible at the appropriate stage to associate representatives of the business community and of others who are closely connected with the working of companies in the private sector with the administration of the Companies Act, so that there may be increasing awareness of each other's responsibilities and limitations.

"I listened with interest to your observation on the proposed amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution. You will appreciate my inability to deal with it except in a general way because the whole matter is still under the consideration of Government. Here again, I think one has to look at the picture as a whole and not take an alarmist view of the position just because it is proposed to make an amendment.

"In any case, there is no ground for your fear that owner's right to compensation in case of acquisition of his property by Government will be whittled down. We stand by the principle of fair compensation for the acquisition of property for public purposes.

"But recent decision of the Supreme Court, I am told, equate every curtailment of property right by authority of law with the compulsory acquisition of a property right for which the law has to provide and the State has to pay compensation. I doubt if the Constitution-makers in enacting Article 31 intended to set so much store by private property. And in any case, this view of the Constitution makes it impossible to undertake necessary regulatory legislation, lest some right to property should be infringed. For instance, take the case of a life insurance concern which is being grossly mismanaged to the prejudice of thousands of policy-holders; or the case of an undertaking engaged in an essential industry or trade which is going to rack and ruin. I am sure you will agree that it should be constitutional for the State to intervene under a valid law for the sake of rectifying such situations without such intervention being necessarily regarded as acquisition by the State. There are also problems of land reform which may have to be treated as exceptions to the general rule in Article 31. These are the typical view-points from which we are considering some amendments of that Article but I do not myself believe that by and large the amendments are likely to affect private industry and enterprise except in regard to this regulatory power and so far as the normal acquisition of private property is concerned, the present policy is likely to be continued.

"I now turn to the points you made on labour relations which I shall bring to the notice of my colleague, the Labour Minister.

"You have complained about certain employers having been required to pay gratuity in addition to retrenchment compensation. I am not aware of the particular cases you had in mind. There is, however, a certain distinction between the two, gratuity being in the nature of a retirement benefit, which should be conserved for the old age of the employee, while retrenchment compensation

is an assistance to the employee to tide over the inevitable period of unemployment. Since retirement benefits have not been regulated by statute, the question whether the payment of gratuity is necessary in a particular case has to be left to be settled between the parties and, if necessary, by eventual resort to tribunals.

"You have also mentioned that conventionally accepted retiring ages are not recognised. I think the difficulty arises on account of the necessity for ensuring that retrenchment is not resorted to under the guise of retirement of a workman on reaching the age of superannuation. The proposed provision in Law already provides that if there is any existing contract of employment containing any particular stipulation regarding the retirement age, such retirement would not amount to retrenchment and there is no requirement that the stipulation should be in writing. All that is intended is to prevent employers from changing the stipulated retirement ages solely with a view to evading payment of retrenchment compensation. If the contract of employment does not already contain a stipulation in that behalf, there is nothing to prevent employers from making such a stipulation just as they would change any other contract of employment.

"You also mentioned that you called the intractable problem of bonus and modernisation. I need not say anything about the first as there are now fairly well regulated standards laid down by the Appellate Tribunal and there is no immediate proposal for legislation in this respect. On the subject of modernisation of plant and machinery, there is, I think, no disagreement between Government and Industry on the necessity of undertaking it where the circumstances make such a course unavoidable. The only difference is one of approach and emphasis. What Government desires in the interest of both the employers and the employees is that the Industry should 'expand and rationalise' rather than 'rationalise and retrench' and that capital and labour should co-operate in evolving schemes for modernisation."

The Man-in-Industry

The following report about the latest British move, in the settlement of the vexed questions arising out of the relations between the Employers, Labour and the Public, might well serve as an indicator for us in India.

The *Sunday Times* (December 19), writing on the forthcoming conference which, under the presidency of the Duke to Edinburgh, is to discuss the human problems of industrial communities, says: "The meeting of leaders of industry, both managing and operative, held under the chairmanship of the Duke of Edinburgh, has left the man-in-the-street slightly puzzled. What is it all about?"

"His Royal Highness and the other sponsors of the scheme might well reply that that is just what they propose to find out as it progresses. An industrial and

mechanical civilization creates many human problems—some not yet recognized, others ill-defined. We have pains and discomforts, but many of them we cannot locate or even name.

"The Commonwealth industrial welfare conference seeks to find out more about the pains and discomforts in that part of the body of mankind most directly affected—the man in industry itself. The diagnosis may itself suggest a cure, though long and difficult remedies may be needed for the deepest disorders.

"Two things, especially, about this project bear the stamp of the Duke's own mind. One is that the people engaged in it represent actual workers by hand and brain, and meet round the table as equals, friends, and co-operators facing a common task. Though the task is a unique one, the new scheme cannot fail to further that movement for unity in industry which the *Sunday Times* has repeatedly advocated, and which has made some conspicuous advances in the last few years.

"Secondly, the task is deliberately handed to the younger generation. To the conference in 1956 will be invited 280 men and women from the Commonwealth 'between the broad age limits of 25 and 45.' These men and women may not have the accumulated wisdom and experience of their elders, but the problems they are to study will take many years to solve, and it is they—the industrial leaders of the future—who will have to face them in practice. They are the new Elizabethans, embarking on voyages of discovery."

All-India Rural Credit Survey.

The long-awaited Report on the All-India Rural Credit Survey has been published by the Reserve Bank of India. The Survey was undertaken on the recommendation of the informal conference of co-operators, economists and administrators convened by Shri Rama Rau, Governor of the Reserve Bank, in 1951. The conduct of the Survey was entrusted by him to a small committee of Direction. The basic data relied upon are principally those collected during the survey from 1,27,343 families in 600 villages selected from 75 districts spread over different parts of India; but other material has also been extensively drawn upon in the formulation of the Committee's recommendations.

The Report points out that out of nearly 36 crores of people who inhabit India, about 30 crores, or five out of every six, live in the rural area. Some 70 per cent of the total population is either engaged in agriculture or is dependent on those so engaged. About half the national income is derived from agriculture, animal husbandry and allied activities. If the rural population is taken by itself, those who are sustained by agriculture whether as earners or dependents, and whether as producers, labourers, or others, constitute more than 80 per cent of the total; and of the remaining 20 per cent, more than two-fifths find their livelihood in rural industries. India, therefore, is essentially rural

India, and rural India is virtually the cultivator; or, if the last term may be enlarged, rural India is virtually the cultivator, the village handicraftsman and the agricultural labourer.

The first Five-Year Plan lays considerable emphasis on increased agricultural production. The emphasis is likely to be even greater in future plans. This will be rendered necessary by a fast-growing population. On one computation which takes this factor into account, the mere maintenance of the current levels of computation will necessitate a stepping up of agricultural productivity from 70 million tons in 1951 to 85 million tons in 1961 or an increase of 21 per cent. The dynamic programme of agricultural production that will be needed to achieve such an increase will not be possible without an equally dynamic programme of agricultural credit.

Large holdings in India are relatively few and are likely to be fewer as a result of the land policies which Governments have adopted in pursuit of social ends. The medium and small cultivators, who now constitute about 70 per cent of the total, will become increasingly important as the persons whose needs have to be studied and borne in mind in the formulation of policies of agricultural credit and agricultural development. Medium and small holdings now account for about 41 per cent of the agricultural produce of the country; but, as large holdings give place to the not so large, more and more will the latter be significant even in terms of their share in the total production.

At the end of the first Five-Year Plan, the total cropped area will have increased by 100 lakh acres, but only a small part of this additional cropping will be on reclaimed land. With new land left to be brought under cultivation, the increased production must for the greater part take place on holdings already cultivated; the modes of increase, in other words, must in the main be in the nature of more intensive utilization of land; they have to consist, for example, of better seed, more water, more fertilizer, better implements and better techniques of cultivation. All this will mean a considerable outlay in terms of finance and effort. Part of the cost, as in irrigation, will no doubt be borne by the State, but for the rest, most cultivators will have to be helped with credit to meet the initial and recurring expenditure needed for improvement of land and increase of production. This will be in addition to about Rs. 750 crores which the cultivator, at the present level of his productive operations, may be said to be borrowing every year by way of short, medium and long-term loans.

For the cultivator generally—whether his farming economy be small or medium or, in relative terms, even large—there is great need of enlargement of the scope of his subsidiary occupations; these may be either agro-industrial like the processing of paddy, sugarcane, cotton and groundnut, or of a mixed farming type like

dairying and the rearing of livestock in conjunction with the cultivation of land. The following percentages give an indication of the extent to which the main agencies of rural credit contribute to the total borrowings of the cultivator:

Credit agency	Proportion in the borrowings (per cent)
Government	3.3
Co-operatives	3.1
Commercial banks	0.9
Relatives	14.2
Landlords	1.5
Agriculturist moneylenders	24.9
Professional moneylenders	44.8
Traders and commission agents	5.6
Others	1.8
Total	100.0

What strikes the eye at once is the startling insignificance of co-operative credit in this picture. In quantitative terms, it is little more than 3 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivator. That or worse is the position in many States. Nor is that all. For, what reaches the medium and small cultivator from the co-operative institutions is a mere fraction of the little that co-operatives provide. As a rule, the credit supplied by co-operatives tends to follow ownership of land; it could be related to produce, if produce were channelled through co-operatives; but co-operative marketing is itself ineffective and insignificant. The Survey passes judgment that the co-operative movement has been a failure during the fifty-year record of its functioning.

The only other type of institutional credit which is of some significance to the cultivator is that which is supplied by Government as taccavi advances. But in the opinion of the Survey, the record of taccavi is a record of "inadequacies." Government loans are not only inadequate, but like co-operative loans, are found on investigation to gravitate to the big and large landholder in preference to the medium or small farmer. As direct financiers of the agriculturist, commercial banks are utterly negligible. They supply less than one per cent of the total.

The moneylender and the trader between themselves lend more than 70 per cent of what the cultivator today borrows. The moneylender takes no account of purpose, and charges as high a rate of interest as he can. The trader lends on advances for production, but pays as low price as he can. Summing up the position, the Committee observes of agricultural credit, as is supplied by the different agencies, that it falls short of the right quantity, is not of the right type, and by the criterion of need (not overlooking the criterion of credit-worthiness) often fails to go to the right people. This is the picture of today. But what about the future? Rural credit must be directed principally towards improved productivity; it must answer the long, medium as well as short-term needs; it must be supervised; it

must be available to all who are credit-worthy and at a moderate rate of interest. In Indian conditions, it means reaching down to an enormous number of small-farmers, making advances against the credit instruments and securities they can offer, and keeping an effective control over the use to which the credit is put. The problem of future policy thus presents itself as a two-fold consideration in the context of credit: Co-operation has failed, but co-operation must succeed. According to the Committee, in the village itself no form of credit organization will be suitable except the co-operative society. The foremost objective of the policy then becomes the positive and deliberate creation of conditions in which co-operative credit will have a reasonable chance of success.

Essence of the Solution—State Partnership: In the opinion of the Committee, the initial help in reorganizing the co-operative credit institutions should come from the State. The manner of the help cannot be merely administrative. The State's way of help hitherto has been to over-administer and under-finance. The Committee has proposed for setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term operations) Fund under the Reserve Bank of India. The Fund should accumulate Rs. 5 crores annually besides an initial non-recurring contribution of Rs. 5 crores. Under each State Government, there shall be the State Agricultural Credit Fund and the State Co-operative Development Fund. The Reserve Bank of India should collaborate with the State Governments in drawing up plans for the co-ordination and re-organization of co-operative credit institutions on the lines recommended. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank should be statutorily empowered to make long-term loans to State Governments. The Bank should also be enabled to give long-term accommodation exceeding five years to land-mortgage banks (a) by way of direct loans and (b) by purchase of the whole or part of special development debentures of the land mortgage banks.

An important recommendation of the Committee is for the creation of one strong, integrated, State-sponsored, State-partnered commercial banking institution with an effective machinery of branches spread over the whole country. This State Bank of India should be formed by the statutory amalgamation of the Imperial Bank of India and the other State-associated banks, namely, the State Bank of Saurashtra, the Bank of Patiala, the Bank of Bikaner, the Bank of Jaipur, the Bank of Rajasthan, the Bank of Indore, the Bank of Baroda, the Bank of Mysore, the Hyderabad State and the Travancore Bank. The Committee has suggested that the composition of the share capital of the State Bank should be such that the Government of India and the Reserve Bank will together hold 52 per cent of the share capital and of the votes.

The Imperial Bank is the largest Indian joint-stock bank. After its nationalization and integration into the proposed State Bank, it should continue to perform the present commercial banking activities, otherwise a vacuum shall be created in the Indian banking world and Indian trade, commerce and industry will suffer for lack of proper banking facilities. The Bank of France, a State Bank, does all sorts of commercial banking activities and in the changed circumstances there is no objection if the new State Bank does all forms of normal commercial banking activities. The old idea that a State Bank must not compete with ordinary commercial banks in the country is an out-dated conservatism which had its origin in the old idea of *laissez faire* doctrine which now lies buried under the debris of dead ideas.

The Report will consist of three parts. What is now published is the General Report. The Survey Report and the Technical Report will follow soon. Copies of the General Report can be had from the Economic Adviser, the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

Along with the Rural Credit Survey Report, the Report on Rural Finance by Mr. Davis should also be considered. Mr. Davis is Consultant to the Ford Foundation and one of the best-known authorities in the field of agricultural credit and marketing. He visited India in the latter half of 1953, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation at the invitation of the Government of India, for making a study of the agricultural credit position in the country. In his report recently submitted to the Government of India, Mr. Davis observes that a satisfactorily-working all-India rural credit structure cannot be built up at one stroke. It will result from guided growth which can only come from united, strong and steadfast effort of forces commanded or supported by the Central Government and the States.

In the opinion of Mr. Davis, the Indian agriculture needs a strong, permanent central agency to determine policy and co-ordinate and direct action. He therefore suggests for the organization of an all-India Farm Credit Council at the Centre, which will evolve and guide a comprehensive and integrated policy of agricultural credit in the country. The Council, as suggested by him, should be composed of the top-level officers of the Reserve Bank of India, the Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Finance, the Planning Commission, and the agencies responsible for the National Extension Service programme and the Community Development Projects and representatives of the States, the public and financial community. He has also recommended for the setting up of a Central Agricultural Finance Corporation, because such a corporate body is best fitted to take over permanent direction of the rural credit system of India.

To him the co-operative credit movement is the best solution for the problem of rural credit, but he is constrained to admit that the movement has not lived up to the high promise with which it was spread over the country many years ago. He ascribes this failure of the movement chiefly to the weakness of the co-operative credit structure at primary level, following from the smallness of the size of the village society, insufficiency of capital and lack of means to employ trained well-paid personnel to manage it on efficient lines. The slowness of the growth of the co-operative credit system in this country is ascribed by him to the lack of two major factors, namely, failure to mobilise the savings of members through, if necessary, charging even a higher rate of interest from members and failure to tap public savings invested in the bonds and debentures of credit institutions through the development of a broad investment market.

He also suggests that the possibility of developing private community institutions out of what in the past has been personal finance given by the moneylenders should be explored and that should be taken to ensure a broader participation in rural credit by commercial banking institutions.

Economic Policy

Of late the industrial policy of the Government of India has been under fire—the leftists assailing it as receding from socialism, while the capitalists accuse the Government of much too rapid a drive towards socialism. A clarification was obviously needed and was much awaited. The Government of India's White Paper on industrial policy, Sir Chintaman Deshmukh's speech to the Associated Chambers, the industrial policy statement by the Finance Minister in the House of the People and the House of the People Resolution for Socialism should be taken jointly in realizing the real implications of the Government of India's industrial policy.

In his address to the Associated Chambers, the Finance Minister assured the private industrialists, businessmen and others that the Government of India stood by the policy embodied in its industrial resolution of 1948, which gave a definite place to the private sector in the country's development. The Finance Minister rightly cautioned his audience that no policy could remain rigid in this dynamic world: some shift of emphasis was bound to take place as the country's economy developed and its needs expanded, and one had to take stock of the position from time to time. He said that where the objective was to develop the economy rapidly, and the field for expansion was so limitless, it was hardly correct to view any or every extension of the public sector as so much encroachment on the private sector.

But in assuring the private sector, the Finance Minister seems to have given interpretations to the

industrial policy of the Government which the industrial policy of 1948 does not seem to warrant. He is reported to have stated that he did not see why the simple proposition that the State, in the public interest, might have to take over for the development of certain types of industry, which might well be beyond the scope of the private sector, should be construed as involving a reflection on the private sector. By "take over" he did not mean nationalization; he meant undertaking the establishment of new units not necessarily for permanent retention. The industrial policy of the Government of India does not clearly vouchsafe the meaning which Mr. Deshmukh has given to it in favour of the private sector. His interpretation of the word "take over" does not seem to fit in with the industrial policy declaration of the Government of India in 1948.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 lists certain industries like the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy and the ownership and management of railway transport as being reserved exclusively for the Central Government. In the case of certain other industries also, such as coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, ship-building, manufacture of telephone, telegraph, wireless apparatus and mineral oils, the State, including Central and State Governments and other public authorities, will be responsible for further development except to the extent that it regards the co-operation of private enterprise necessary for the purpose. The rest of the industrial field is to be open to private enterprise, individual as well as corporative, but the State will intervene whenever the progress of any industry under private enterprise is found to be unsatisfactory. The industrial policy then refers to existing industries and goes on to say that the State has always the right to acquire any existing industry, of course, but there is some kind of assurance that existing industries under these six heads will not be touched for at least 10 years and at the end of the 10-year period, the matter may be reconsidered.

In his speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting on December 2, Pandit Nehru is reported to have stated that there is a vast field completely open to private enterprise. There is another field which is open to private enterprise subject to State control and regulations and there is another field where the State normally will take it up. Of course, he says, it is difficult to have a very rigid division between the two categories. The real outlook of this document on industrial policy is to evolve a certain pattern which is, Pandit Nehru says, a socialized pattern. The conception is a dynamic conception, not a rigid one, towards a certain objective having regard to all other factors. The Prime Minister points out that that statement still governs us and there has been no

change at all in it. It may be that in working that policy, some wider interpretation may be necessary to suit the changing conditions.

A sober and comprehensive statement on industrial policy contained in a White Paper issued on December 17, 1954, says that in the six industries (stated above) which have been the subject of controversy in the Congress Party during the last few weeks the private sector can co-operate "so long as it is clear that the controlling interest is held by the State." Despite this reservation, it adds, a large field is open both to the private and to the public sector for development. "Indeed," it concludes, "if a larger measure of industrialization is essential for raising living standards in future years, the scope available for expansion is almost unlimited."

Given the requirements of public interest, in the sense set out in the industrial policy resolution, the Government believes that there is no reason why the development of the public sector should in any way restrain or restrict the development of the private sector or *vice versa*. The Government of India points out that a large part of the industrial field continues to be open to private enterprise and initiative, and it is the Government's policy to encourage and assist such enterprise. But where the establishment of an industry is considered imperative in the interests of the development of the country's economy, it is obviously the duty of the Government, if it could raise the necessary finance, to enter the field. This is inevitable if production has to be kept expanding.

On December 21, 1954, the House of the People adopted a resolution, at the conclusion of the debate on industrial policy, that the objective of the country's economic policy should be a socialistic pattern of society, thus removing doubts on this score. Pandit Nehru's approach to the achievement of a socialistic society was peaceful, co-operative and democratic. He preferred peaceful economic progress, because, unlike other countries, India had practised this approach in relation to her problems. It is no use creating a conflict to be able to write on a clean slate. Speaking on the resolution, the Prime Minister of India stated his ideal was a socialistic society, which he defined as *casteless and classless*. He, however, does not believe that the objective could be achieved by rigidly following a doctrine. For instance, he says, by socializing a factory, a socialistic end was achieved, but it neither promoted employment nor added to the country's wealth. He saw no harm, in fact, he expected a lot of good in retaining the private sector. The most important aspect of the private sector, according to him, is the Indian peasant. At the same time, it is necessary that the public sector should expand and take the initiative in determining industrial progress.

Pandit Nehru warned against the temptation, in

an India progressing towards a classless and casteless society based on the socialistic pattern, at complete nationalization if this were to lead away from employment and greater production. But he admitted that nationalization of industry was bound to increase. He rejects the Communistic approach as totally impracticable in Indian conditions, although he is prepared to accept a Communistic society.

He deprecates expropriation without compensation, as that is against our Constitution and against the policy of the Government. This kind of expropriation on a big scale is done after big upheavals which upset a country's economy, politics and everything. In the House of the People, the Finance Minister declared that the Government stood by the industrial policy resolution of 1948. Nothing had happened since the enunciation of that policy which warranted a change although there might be a shift of emphasis. He stated that there was no basic incompatibility between the public and the private sector and expansion of one did not necessarily imply contraction of the other. To the leftists his reply was "Our approach to economic problems is not doctrinaire but pragmatic." He did not agree that the investment in the private sector had not been quite good though it should have been better. Nor did he think that the public sector had been neglected by the Government.

Notwithstanding Mr. Deshmukh's defence of the private sector, its performance has been obviously poor in the Five-Year Plan. Out of the estimated annual capital formation in the private sector for Rs. 300 crores, the first two years witnessed capital formation at the rate of Rs. 26 crores a year and the third year Rs. 46 crores. The private sector is intent upon hiding their profits, rather than ploughing them back into capital formation. Moreover, the inflow of foreign capital in the petroleum industries has raised the volume of investment in the private sector in the third year of the Plan, otherwise the domestic capital formation would have been negligible.

Out of these policy statements, a flexible demarcation in industrial enterprise emerges as follows:

- (1) There is a vast field completely open to private enterprise;
- (2) There is another field which is open to private enterprise subject to State control and regulations; and
- (3) There is a third field which is to be the sole, exclusive monopoly of the State.

The mixed economy has been reaffirmed and in it there is no real conflict of interests. There is only the rosy picture of socialism, but like the star and the moon and the sun, it will be aspired after, and hardly to be realized. The private sector has been given a new lease of life and Pandit Nehru who once had no patience with those who "make private enterprise the god of society," seems now to have had patience when

he declares that the private industry must exist in the Indian economy and that it has a role to play in our economic structure. This point of view is further strengthened when he says that there can be no expropriation without compensation.

Economists in India's Planning

Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said in course of the inaugural speech delivered by him at the Indian Council of Economic Affairs at Calcutta on November 15, 1954, that now that India had a planned economy, one of the main tasks facing the Indian Economists was to devise an economic plan in which there would be adequate provision for food, shelter and reasonable protection against disease for the common man. Such a task was no longer beyond realisation as it had been earlier when man's knowledge of science and technology had been relatively much too poor. The leading countries of the world, the United States in particular, provided an example of the progress that could be achieved if advantage was taken of the new knowledge of the forces of nature and harnessing them for the benefit of mankind.

India's per capita income was very low—not unnatural in an economy where 80 per cent of the people had to depend on subsistence agriculture. The greatest economic need of the hour in India, Dr. Ghosh emphasises, was to divert an increasing number from agriculture to some other gainful occupations, at the same time attending to the requirements for achieving self-sufficiency in food. According to Dr. Ghosh, provision would have to be made for securing jobs for the 15 million rural unemployed and another 15 million underemployed in addition to that for the absorption of 1.5 million new job-seekers coming to the field every year as result of population growth. Unemployment in the urban areas where about one in four educated was looking for a job would also require attention of the planners.

India's vast possession of man-power was now being wasted though in the ultimate analysis a country's wealth was the result of work done by men. Germany during the economic crisis of the nineteen-thirties and more recently China under Communist rule had provided an example what great things could be achieved even in a relatively short period by the rational and planned utilisation of human labour in its simplest form.

Continuing, Dr. Ghosh writes that it was for the Indian economists to discover how, consistent with our ideal of constitutional democracy where private and public enterprise existed side by side, "we can tackle the problem of unemployment, the problem of the speedy formation of productive and social capital and also the vital problem of continuously increasing productivity per man by using modern machine tools and modern knowledge."

India did not lack in technicians capable of undertaking construction works, notes Dr. Ghosh. To keep 15 million persons gainfully occupied in such works for 240 days in the year, according to his estimate, would require an annual expenditure of 550 crores of rupees. "Can we afford that expenditure? Again 15 million underemployed men in rural areas may be given seasonal work in brick-making, and building houses and paving village roads with such bricks. We are confident that we, as a people, shall not remain poor in future. Why should we not begin building *pucca* houses from the very beginning?"

Indian engineers had designed flat roofs which would cost only half of that of a reinforced concrete one. The production of cement could easily be trebled without great difficulty. The supply of third class coal was abundant in India and such coal could be used with advantage for brick-burning purposes. Dr. Ghosh estimates that the cost of pushing into rural areas 10 million tons of such coal every year would be around 20 crores of rupees including transport charges. It was for the Indian economists "to consider if free supply of 50 crores of rupees worth of cement and 20 crores of rupees worth of coal to rural areas would create the incentive for building *pucca* houses and *pucca* roads there on such a scale as would make seasonal unemployment a nightmare of the past. If a subsidy of 70 crores of rupees by way of free supply of coal and cement would relieve seasonal unemployment and produce houses and roads worth 350 crores, such subsidy is worth giving."

Turning to the problem of urban unemployment Dr. Ghosh says that its solution should not prove difficult. The emphasis on industrialisation proposed to be given in the second Five-Year Plan when carried into effect coupled with the development of small-scale industry could very well do away with the spectre of unemployment. In any case educated unemployment "looks paradoxical in a country where more than 75 per cent of the people are illiterate. It should not be beyond the capacity of our planning authorities to utilise the services of the educated unemployed for eradication of illiteracy and providing facilities for universal free primary education. A National Education Service Corps may be created for utilising the services of those who, among the educated, fail to secure gainful employment."

Pointing to the fact that unemployment was most acute among persons in the 18–25 age group, Dr. Ghosh writes that it might not be impossible for trusted leaders to canalise the idealism characterising the youths for purposes of mass education at a moderate cost. The trouble was that, unlike the Chinese, the people in India had not yet realized that accelerated economic progress was not possible without shedding some tears and without some tightening of the belt; and the Government had "hesitation in using its powers to enforce the principle—Waste not

in luxuries, Want not in essentials. How else one can explain the lifting of ration on sugar resulting in import of millions of tons to meet the increased demand, or the import of silk and other luxury goods? The import of these consumable luxuries is much worse than the controlled import of gold, which has been prohibited. How else can one explain factories and workshops, and power houses working much below capacity in this undeveloped country of ours? How else can one explain the reluctance to utilise existing capital assets and machine-tools of rapidly expanding industries in double or triple shifts and thus avoid, for the time being, sinking new money in capital goods? Modern technology is advancing so fast, that a machine or a process becomes obsolete in ten years; and it is wise to provide for complete depreciation of an industrial plant within eight years by working double or triple shifts," says Dr. Ghosh.

Appeal for Abolition of Sales Tax

An appeal signed by leading Nurseries of Calcutta, pleading for exemption of sales tax on seeds, plants and flowers, has come to our hand. The appeal describes the difficulties of the nurserymen most of whom were small businessmen, and states the case for the removal of sales tax on those perishable goods which, it is maintained, clearly fall in the category of essential commodities; and apparently puts such a claim on a firmer foundation by pointing to the fact that in other States there had either been or was no sales tax on vegetable seeds and plants.

It was extremely anomalous, runs the appeal, "that while vegetables have been exempted from sales tax on the ground that they are perishable articles, seeds have been subjected to imposition of such sales tax. This policy is unjustifiable and does not seem to be based on sound principle as seeds are also perishable articles and have no other utility than producing more vegetables."

The "Mirror of Public Opinion"

How puerile is the claim that the Press is the mirror of Public Opinion! The following extract, from the *Worldover Press* of October 29, goes to show that it is the same all over the world:

Press controls in Communist-dominated countries are nothing new to the average person, but many are unaware of the extent to which dictatorial censorship has invaded the republics of Latin America. The inter-American Press Association, meeting at Sao Paulo, Brazil, reports that an estimated 20 per cent of the 162,000,000 inhabitants of Latin America are living under "perennial or periodic curtains of censorship and intimidation, tantamount to censorship." The Association sent cablegrams, protesting against press curbs, to the heads of state in eight countries: Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

Not all press trouble comes from censorship, however. There is, for example, the strange one-sidedness brought about even under conditions of free ownership and operation. Take the case of Sweden, as reported on recently by the Swedish International Press Bureau. In that progressive country, there is the same disparity between tendencies in the press and popular political opinion that you find in the United States. Over the years in the U.S., Democrats and Republicans are about even in numbers, while the press is substantially 82 to 88 per cent Republican. The same discrepancy exists in Sweden.

Newspaper ownership in Sweden results in 78 papers standing for the Conservatives, or 22.8 per cent of all papers. Yet the Conservative vote is only 14.2 per cent. The Liberals, with 59 papers, or 49.8 per cent of the whole—almost half!—get only 24.6 per cent of the votes. And the Social Democrats, with 36 papers, or only 16.8 per cent of the whole, get 46 per cent of the votes and are the largest party. Clearly, people are not influenced by editorial opinions.

The place of the newspaper in various countries affords some very interesting comparisons. What countries, would you guess, had the most copies of daily papers bought, per 1,000 inhabitants? The United Kingdom leads off, with 611 copies per 1,000. Little Luxembourg follows with 447, while Iceland is third with 439. Norway has 396, Belgium 384, Denmark 381. The United States tags along with only 353. At the low end of the scale are Italy, with 107, Greece with 71, Portugal with 64, and Turkey—progressive now in so many other ways—with only 32.

The Muslim Brotherhood

In view of the severe punishment that is being meted out to the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt the following comment, from the *Worldover Press* of October 29, is interesting. It should be noted in passing that it was reported sometime back that Pakistan had pleaded for mercy for the members of the Brotherhood.

How often time's changes confound the prophets of doom! Egypt and Britain have signed the Suez pact. Just three years ago, Sheikh Sayid Sabek of the Muslim Brotherhood, declared: "We shall knock on the gates of Paradise with British skulls."

NATO Authorises Atomic Defence

The annual Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was held in Paris during the third week of December with Ministers from fourteen countries participating.

In a statement on the meeting of the NATO Council, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons on December 22 that there had been a steady increase in the efficiency of NATO forces. But still it was no time for any relaxation of their efforts.

"In order to attain this position of defensive and deterrent strength," Sir Anthony continued, "we look forward in coming years to an important contribution from the German Federal Republic. Even more significant, however, will be the effect of the new weapons with which NATO forces are now beginning to be equipped."

Reuter, in a dispatch from Paris on December 18, reported that the NATO Council had authorised Army Commanders to plan Atomic defence.

He referred to public interest and speculation about the report of the Military Committee on the pattern of NATO military strength over the next few years and said that though the NATO Council had approved the report as the basis for defence planning and preparations by the NATO military authorities, the approval "did not involve the delegation of the responsibility of governments to make decisions for putting plans into action in the event of hostilities."

"Responsibility in this matter rests, therefore, with the governments. It will, for obvious reasons, not be possible to publish the detailed arrangements finally arrived at."

Referring to the Western attitude to the Soviet Union, Sir Anthony Eden said that after careful examination of the "underlying purposes as well as the recent manifestation of Soviet policy," the Western Foreign Ministers "could find no reason to consider that the Soviet threat to the free world has diminished. The massive military power of the Soviet Union is still growing rapidly. Soviet policy is still aimed at confusing, dividing and weakening the West."

Moscow Conference of Powers

In an effort to forestall the ratification of the Paris and London Agreements between Western powers for the remilitarization of western Germany and her inclusion in a Western European Union, the Soviet Government in a note on November 13 invited all European powers as well as the Government of the United States of America to a General European Conference to be held in Moscow on November 29. The objects of the Conference were stated to be a discussion of the need for establishing in Europe "a system of security embracing all European countries, regardless of their social and political systems."

Most of the European countries refused to attend the conference on various grounds. The Government of Finland while sympathising with the objects of the conference signified their inability to join the conference unless other European powers also were present. Consequently, only eight European countries—U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Albania—participated in the conference with an observer from the People's Republic of China. It may be said that the conference was of the Soviets' allies.

The conference sat for four days from November 29 to December 2 and issued a Declaration after its final sitting which was unanimously approved by all the participating governments as well as by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

"The participating governments," runs the Declaration, "deem it necessary to draw the attention of all European States to the fact that implementation of the Paris agreements would lead to a serious deterioration in the situation in Europe. It would not only create new and graver obstacles to the settlement of the German question and to the reunification of Germany as a peaceable and democratic State; it would pit one part of Germany against the other and convert Western Germany into a dangerous breeding ground of war in Europe. Instead of a peaceful settlement of the German question, these agreements would give a free hand to the militarist element in Western Germany, thereby increasing the menace to the security of the European nations."

It was pointed out that the decision to rearm Germany would greatly enhance international risk and tension and was contrary to international obligations of the Western Powers. The provision for a half-a-million strong army in Western Germany in the Paris agreement was five times the strength of the army all Germany had been allowed to have under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Dismissing the suggestion that the inclusion of a remilitarized Western Germany in a West European military alliance would make it possible to restrict the growth of German militarism to certain limits the Declaration pointed out that such efforts had always ended in a fiasco in the past. "One cannot ensure peace in Europe by opening the way of the re-emergence of German militarism and lulling oneself with the invention of guarantees against it, the ineffectiveness of which is only too obvious."

The decision to remilitarize Western Germany, it was pointed out, had been taken behind the back of the German people who could in no way benefit from such a move. It would curtail the democratic rights of the people of Western Germany and would make the powers of the militarists supreme. The formation of the Western military alliance including Western Germany further could not be regarded as a defensive measure as none of those countries were not being threatened by any State. The bankruptcy of the politics of dealing with the Soviet Union from a "position of strength" had been quite apparent.

The world is beholding again the not so unfamiliar military coalition of a number of European States directed against others. "If these military alliances in Europe should enlarge their land, air, and other forces, and if it should come to a resurgence of aggressive German militarism," the Declaration said, "the other European States will inevitably be com-

peeled to take effective measures for their self-defence, to guard themselves against attack. For this it follows that all countries interested in safeguarding the peace and security of Europe must not allow the re-emergence of German militarism, must prevent intensification of the arms race, and assist in uniting the efforts of all the European countries in safeguarding the security of Europe."

The eight governments considered that for the settlement of the German question it was necessary first and foremost:

"To renounce the plan of remilitarizing Western Germany and including it in military alliances, which would remove the chief impediment to the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis;

"To achieve agreement on the holding in 1955 of free all German elections, and the formation on the basis of these elections of a national government of an integral, democratic and peaceful Germany."

It was pointed out that the withdrawal of all occupation forces from both parts of Germany would greatly facilitate the reunification of the country and make a solution of the German problem much easier.

For the maintenance of security in Europe, the participating governments suggested the abandonment of restricted groupings of European powers which should be supplanted by a system of collective security based on the participation of all European States regardless of their social and political systems. A unified and peaceful Germany would also be a member of such a system of security. It would also be open to the United States and other Powers upon whom rested the responsibility for setting the German question, "a question of paramount importance for the peace of Europe." Such a collective system should oblige all the countries to settle all their disputes peacefully in accordance with the stipulations of the United Nations Charter.

The Declaration goes on to say:

"The parties to this conference declare that they have decided, should the Paris agreements be ratified, to adopt joint measures in the sphere of organization of their armed forces and their command, as well as other measures required for strengthening their defensive power, protecting the peaceful labours of their peoples, guaranteeing the inviolability of their frontiers and territories, and providing defence against possible aggression.

"The Parties to the conference have agreed, if the Paris agreements are ratified, to re-examine the situation with a view to taking reliable measures for the safeguarding of their security and for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

"Meanwhile the signatories would continue their efforts for a peaceful system of collective security in Europe embracing all European nations," the Declaration concludes.

The well-known Soviet political commentators, V. Berezhkov and L. Sedin analyse the political significance in an article in the Soviet political weekly, *The New Times*, and write with reference to the attempts of the West to minimise the importance of the steps envisaged in the Declaration, that all the arguments of the existence of an Eastern military bloc since long before could have but one purpose—"to keep the public ignorant of the serious warning against ratification of the Paris agreements and the rearming of Western Germany sounded by the Moscow Conference."

Reaction to Moscow Conference

Discussing "M. Molotov's rump conference on European security," the *Daily Telegraph* writes on November 29 that it was purely accidental that British, French and American notes declining invitations to attend the conference would be delivered about the time the conference began. The Russians had not expected any other attitude from the Western powers, "it was obvious from the outset that this conference if held at all, would be an entirely one-sided affair, devoted to threats or specious appeals to the West."

"The Communists," adds the *Telegraph*, "are doubtless about to produce a final blast of propaganda against the European agreements; but the Moscow conference will be worth watching for any indication it may give of the attitude the Russians propose to adopt after ratification."

The three chief Western powers—Britain, France and the U.S.A.—in identical notes delivered on November 29 to the Soviet Foreign Ministry by messenger—rejected the Soviet invitation for participation in an All-European Security Conference.

According to *Reuter*, France had proposed in her Note to the Soviet Union a four-power conference after ratification of the Paris agreements on Western defence. It had been stated in the Note that British, U.S., French and Soviet Foreign Ministers should meet if there were good chances of finding solutions for the problems of European security.

Reuter adds: "The Note also contained the following proposals:

"1. Agreement should be reached on the Austrian State Treaty;

"2. The Soviet Government should explain its attitude towards free German elections, the first indispensable step towards reunification of the country;

"3. There should be a diplomatic exchange of views on all other European questions of common interest, which could later be examined by a four-power conference, and in particular questions relating to European security; and

"4. If circumstances appeared favourable, a wider conference should be called of all European countries and other interested States to consider other aspects of European security."

Soviet Union and Gandhiji

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes on December 10: "The leader of the Soviet Cultural Delegation in India, Mr. Kozhenykov, has forcefully condemned the attack on Mahatma Gandhi in the Soviet *Encyclopaedia*."

"I honestly feel," he says, "that the remarks about Mahatma Gandhi in the Soviet *Encyclopaedia* are not correct. This has been so due to their ignorance and lack of knowledge about the situation in India."

"Mr. Kozhenykov's statement follows an even more authoritative repudiation from Moscow of the authors of the attack.

"Both are to be welcomed, and it is satisfactory that the Soviet Union does not consider Mahatma Gandhi to have been a reactionary, a counter-revolutionary, and a class-conscious anti-proletarian."

Detained Chinese Students in USA

The *Free Lance*, Calcutta's newly started evening daily, reports in its issue of December 22 that thirty-one Chinese students who had been denied exit visas to leave the United States had in a letter on December 16 asked Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the U. N. Secretary-General, to use his "good offices" to assist their departure from the United States.

That was the substance of a *Reuter* message from New York.

It is a bit curious that foreign nationals, against whom there was apparently no legal charge pending, should be detained against their will. This was clearly against all international practice and law. The U.S. authorities owed an explanation of their conduct.

Churchill's Woodford Speech

Sir Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, caused a great stir by his dramatic announcement at Woodford on November 23 that even before the war had ended and while the Germans had been surrendering by hundreds of thousands "and our streets were crowded with cheering people, I telegraphed to Lord Montgomery directing him to be careful in collecting German arms, to stock them so that they could easily be issued again to German soldiers whom we should have to work with if the Soviet advance continued."

Sir Winston added: "I am giving you the story straightly and bluntly so you may see for yourselves how wisely you are being led."

The British Premier was apparently justifying the recent decision to rearm Western Germany and including her in the ranks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Field-Marshal Montgomery confirmed having had received the telegram in question.

A storm of criticism raged in the British Press and Parliament over the statement of the Prime Minister. In the House of Commons, on November

25, Sir Winston further disclosed in reply to a question by Mr. Sydney Silverman (Labour), that he had sent a message to (then) General Eisenhower on May 9, 1945, which read as follows:

"I have heard with some concern that the Germans are to destroy all their aircraft *in situ*. I hope that this policy will not be adopted in regard to weapons and other forms of equipment."

A later *Reuter* dispatch, dated December 1, from London, says:

"Sir Winston Churchill said today that, perhaps, he did not after all send a telegram in 1945, ordering Field-Marshal Montgomery to stack surrendered arms, in case they had to be handed back to the Nazis to stop a Russian advance."

The Prime Minister regretted his Woodford speech adding:

"I must also admit the truth of what *Manchester Guardian* said to the effect that historical events are best treated in their context. I hope I shall remember that next time."

On the same day, however, F.-M. Montgomery confirmed for the second time the receipt of such a telegram in 1945. Marshal Zhukov, wartime Soviet army chief, who had led the Soviet troops into Berlin and was now Deputy Defence Minister, in an article in the *Pravda* on December 16, discussing the revelations made by Sir Winston Churchill, accuses the British Premier of treachery at the end of the war.

"The history of international relations and the history of war," writes Marshal Zhukov, "knows few examples of such betrayal of the obligations and duties of an ally as this act of perfidy committed by Mr. Churchill and Field-Marshal Montgomery at the end of the Second World War. It is understandable, therefore, that Churchill's brazen statement has rightfully aroused indignation everywhere."

Marshal Zhukov refers to his representation to Marshal Montgomery in 1945 about the existence of German troop formations in the British zone of occupation in Germany which had been explained away by the British Field-Marshal. According to him, "the actions of the British had also been known to the American Command at that time."

"Guiana—the Road Backwards"

Commenting on the recommendations of the Robertson Commission on the situation in British Guiana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, deposed Prime Minister of that country, writes in an article in the *Vital* that the recommendations had caused no surprise inasmuch as the appointment of the Commission has been no more than a mere farce. The Communism, as expected, had justified all the steps taken by the British Government and had put the blame squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the People's Progressive Party.

But Dr. Jagan points, though his party had publicly disapproved many features of the Wadding-

ton Constitution which, in line with the traditional imperialist pattern, had placed all real power in the hands of officials appointed from London, the "destruction of the constitution was caused not by our refusal to work it because of preconceived views. The fact is, we were working it. The snag came about because we were working it not according to the plans carefully laid down. The constitutional structure was not designed to accommodate six P.P.P. ministers in a policy-making Executive Council of ten. But once having got control of the Executive Council our working of the constitution could have led and was leading to only one inevitable conclusion—the exposure of the Governor and the limited constitution. It was really to forestall this exposure that the troops marched in on October, 1953, and not because of our 'disruptive and undemocratic ends'."

The Robertson Commission could not recommend the restitution of constitutional government in British Guiana so long as the popularity of the People's Progressive Party had not been crushed. But the influence of the party was as strong as ever. As a correspondent of the London *Times* puts it:

"There is little doubt what the result of another general election would be. The P.P.P. remains the only organised political body in the sugar estates and the villages. The new party, the National Democratic Party, has made little impact and is almost unknown in many places."

Under such conditions the Commission had found nothing better than to suggest the banning of the Progressive Party and the disenfranchisement of some of the 'extremist' leaders; and postponement of the elections and "marking time." The Government had accepted the latter part of the recommendation only as disenfranchisement and the imposition of a ban would stir world public opinion.

The Commission had based their recommendation of "marking time" on the assumption that in any election the P.P.P. was more likely to contest than to boycott it and after such elections would either (1) refuse to take seats or (2) with a majority, refuse to elect Ministers and thus be obstructive, or (3) elect Ministers and again provoke a constitutional crisis. Neither the Commission had set a time limit after which constitutional government would be restored.

Russia Backs Down in Romania

The following report from the *Worldover Press* of October, 22, shows that Moscow is at last trying to move with the times.

Receiving only minor attention in the West, two significant moves by the Soviet Union in Romania not only carry forward the new Moscow line of greater flexibility but indicate a new desire to woo the restless satellite peoples. When Romania fell under Russian control, the U.S.S.R. organized joint Russian-Roma-

nian companies to operate the most important industries, with the Russians owning 51 per cent. This deal was never popular, and it has now been abandoned. The Romanians will get their own industries back, but they will have to pay Russia for its majority shares.

Another aspect of Russian domination has also gone by the board. Three years ago, Russia started a great drive to spread the speed-up among Romanian workers. Stakhanovites, rewarded by high pay on a piecework basis, increased steadily to some 25,000, but fellow-workers gave them the cold shoulder and the stakhanovites themselves suffered illnesses and intolerable fatigue. While the system, on paper, was at its height, it was recently called off. In the long run, these steps may win Russia friendship, but temporarily it will probably suffer a considerable loss in prestige.

Co-Existence in the Far East

In view of the imminent visit of Dr. Hammarskjöld to Peking the following comment of the London *Observer* is very interesting:

The *Observer* (December 19), commenting on the problem of co-existence in the Far East, writes: "The proposal by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit the head of the Chinese Government—which his organization still refuses to recognize—and its acceptance by the Chinese Communists are unprecedented. Though Dr. Hammarskjöld's mission may still fail in its immediate purpose, it could not have been conceived unless both the United States and China were now willing to start exploring terms for co-existence in Asia.

"The tension in the Far East, symbolized by the lack of diplomatic relations between these two great Powers, remains the principal cause of anxiety in the world today. True, there have been moves towards a *de jure*. China has co-operated in bringing about the Geneva armistice, and neutral Asian opinion with its gentle but persistent warnings against the continued policy of violent infiltration is beginning to make its impact on Peking.

"In the United States, the decisive rejection of any idea of 'preventive war' has been followed by the new agreement with General Chiang Kai-shek, the strictly defensive terms of which mark the definite abandonment of all the fantasies that the General's troops might one day be used to invade the Chinese mainland.

"The risk, then, is no longer that a major war may break out overnight in the Far East. It is that warlike incidents may continue to be used deliberately to maintain the atmosphere of tension and to divide the Western Powers."

The *Observer* goes on: "Today the fate of Formosa has become the key to co-existence in the Far East. For there is not the slightest prospect that such co-existence can be achieved on any basis other than the *status quo*—with China under Communist, and Formosa under anti-Communist, government.

"While the Communist Powers continue to insist on the 'liberation' of Formosa, American recognition of Peking will be impossible. Quite apart from any strategic considerations, no American government could surrender millions of Chinese opponents of Communism to the tender mercies of a Communist government; and nobody who believes in the rights of man should ask them to do so.

"Conversely, the Peking Government cannot possibly surrender its claim to Formosa while the island is the seat of a rival Government of China recognized and armed by the United States. Only if the present situation, both in China and in Formosa—representing the actual outcome of the Chinese revolution—is accepted as legal by both sides can peace be assured in the Far East.

"In the new mood of American opinion, we believe the time has come of serious discussion of the terms of co-existence in Asia, which, from the American viewpoint, are terms of recognition. The danger today is not a major war; it is the continued failure to reach a settlement."

Tension in Thailand

The *Worldover Press* of October 22, gives this picture of the troubles of Thailand in facing the present critical situation:

For an area possessing all the ingredients of a first-rate crisis it would be hard to beat north-eastern Thailand. With a 500-mile border along Laos, with many of the country's 3,000,000 Chinese favorable to Mao Tse-tung and a large fraction of these dominant in north-eastern industry and commerce, a deadlock has arisen over the disposition of some 40,000 refugees from the war in northern Indo-China. They are Vietnamese, for the most part, but a large majority want to return home even with the Vietminh in control, while others who fled long ago have built up farms along the border and don't want to be removed. The Thai government, however, fearing an addition to Vietminh armies, refuses to send the refugees into Communist-nationalist territory of northern Vietnam, but only to southern Vietnam. Nor will it allow the refugees to stay where they are.

Meanwhile, former premier Pridi Phanomyong threatens an internal revolt from his exile's perch in Communist China, and thousands of disgruntled north eastern Thais, not communists at all are angry over a severe drop in prices for their products. They have scant confidence in the Thai government at Bangkok, which in its insensitivity to corruption and slowness in making urgent reforms, resembles nothing so much as the declining Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek. The Manila Pact cannot really prevent trouble, and U.S. aid, which strengthens the regime, cannot reach through it to the people and win them.

Poetry and Politics

In the aftermath of Paris and Moscow Conferences, one feels that somehow we of the modern world have lost all balance, in thought and in judgement, and one looks for the reason why. Perhaps the following comment by Devere Allen in the *Worldover Press* gives the answer:

A Renaissance of Know-Nothingism, even if it seems like a contradiction in terms, is definitely in the making. The news magazines and daily papers are printing more and more letters in which the ultimate epithet is "egg-head," that most recent symbol of intellectualism. Most letters that come to this column are kind, while critical ones are often deserved. The nasty ones always have the "egg-head" approach. Some pompous dope who has spent less than ten minutes on a complex issue, and shows it, bawls you out because you have given, to an understanding of it, sweat, tears, and eyestrain.

In this foul climate of discussions, you may as well be warned. If you like, you may now stop reading and go back to playing with your blocks. For there will be, in what follows, a few kind words for poetry and its international significance. From the viewpoint of the Great Majority, no one could sink lower. Which may explain in part, however, why we find ourselves in such a negative phase of world politics, earthbound and uncreative in discovering solutions for international problems, and usually late with solutions when we propose them.

If you haven't noticed the decline in poetry, it may be because you couldn't care less. Here's what the Oxford University Press says in its bright but egg-headish little paper, *The Periodical*: "English readers as a body have turned their backs on new poetry with a degree of determination that is little short of unanimous." This publishing house speaks nostalgically of the late 1600's and the early years of the 20th century, when bringing out poetry was profitable because the public flocked to buy it.

It is the same in the U.S. says Louis Untermeyer, in that fine inter-American monthly, *Americas*, "Even the most chauvinistic admirer of North American culture must be happy about the state of contemporary poetry in the U.S.A. . . . In most of the countries of Europe and South America, poetry is not only understood but appreciated: what is more, it is popular." One might add that in Latin America and parts of Europe, poets are granted a social standing, and often a leadership in thought and affairs, almost inconceivable to those lands where a poet is only one thin step above a pervers. But alas, even that Chilean Nobel Prize winner, Gabriela Mistral, said the other day, "Latin American poetry is going through a stage of decadence, since no new great poets are arising and quality is falling." For poets and egg-heads, things are getting tough all over.

You can say that this is all the fault of present-day poet, but you won't be convincing, because you don't read them, and hardly read the oldtimers—unless you're a rare exception. No, it must be feared the real trouble lies much deeper. As a brilliant Italian said, "We are living in an age of prose." By that, he meant we have turned "practical," that we over-emphasize technics and utility, that we magnify power rather than subtlety and imagination. In short, that the very qualities we need most urgently for an inspired direction of foreign policy and international relations, are the aspects of life we are repudiating all along the line.

There have been poets, it is true, who when elevated to key posts, appeared impractical to the degree of being fumbling. One such was the late Premier Azana of Republican Spain, who with a firmer hand might have averted the gathering of Fascist forces and prevented the civil war. But on the whole, a people which loves poetry and reveres poets should have the wit to see through humbugging politicians, cut across the illusions of power politics, and know dictatorships for the idiocies they are. The real world revolution will bring the poets back, and banish know-nothingism from world relation. Truth is in Pope's words:

"Vain was the chiefs, the sage's pride;

They had no poet, and they died."

A Correction

There was some inaccuracy in our comment last month (p. 425) with reference to a report in the *New York Times*, that the news of the expulsion of Dr. C. S. Liu, Editor of a Chinese daily, from Calcutta, had found no mention in the Calcutta Press. It has since come to our notice that the news of the expulsion of the Chinese editor had been reported in fair details in the *Hindusthan Standard* on 19th November.

Suresh Chandra Deb

An eminent journalist, Suresh Chandra Deb, died on the 15th December last at the age of 72. He was an inhabitant of Sylhet. He came to Calcutta as early as 1899 and was inspired by the national activities and patriotic speeches and writings of Surendranath Banerjee and other leaders. Suresh Chandra was associated with Bipin Chandra Pal in 1905 in editing his weekly *New India*, on the eve of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. He also served the *Bande Mataram* since its start in 1906. In 1908, he again went to Sylhet and was placed in charge of the National School there. When Bipin Chandra Pal came back to Calcutta from England and began to publish the *Hindu Review*, his service was again requisitioned. During the eventful days of the Non-co-operation, Suresh Chandra helped Pandit Shyam-sundar Chakravarty in editing *The Servant*. Suresh Chandra was associated with the Khadi Pratishthan of Satish Chandra Das Gupta for some time. He served a term of imprisonment during the Civil Disobedience Movement. But he was always active as a journalist.

He served the *Hindusthan Standard* and the *Nationalist* as an assistant. He was also associated with this *Review* for some years. He wrote for the *Indian Annual Register* regularly for about a decade. We mourn his loss very deeply.

"Kiran-Dada"

Bengal has lost one of her most devoted sons in the person of Kiran Chandra Mukhopadhyaya whose death took place on the 12th December last. Kiran Chandra died at the age of 74 years after leading a long life fully dedicated to the service of his country and the uplift of his fellow nationals.

He was of the first batch of revolutionaries in Bengal and worked in conjunction with Sri Aurobindo, Swami Niralamba (Jatindranath Banerji) and Swami Prajnananda (Devabrata Basu). His complete dedication to the cause was exemplary and he was one of the most active members of the group that conducted the famous quartette of revolutionary papers, the *Bande Mataram*, the *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya* and the *Navashakti*. He was one of the closest collaborators of Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab.

It was Kiran Chandra who published the process and mechanism of the percussion bomb in *Yugantar*. He was closely associated with "Bagha" (Tiger) Jatin, the famous terrorist from 1909 to the latter's demise.

He was first imprisoned for writing the revolutionary pamphlet *Kah Panthak*. He was interned from 1915 to 1920 under the D.O.I.A. After release in 1920 he aided Pandit Shyamsundar Chakravarty in the publication of the daily *Servant*, and joined Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement. He established the famous "Satyasram" in the district of Khulna at Daulatpur. He was arrested again in 1924 on suspicion of revolutionary activity and released in 1928. But he was imprisoned in 1930 on suspicion of being implicated in the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid and spent eight years in confinement, mostly at Deoli.

On release in 1942, he came back to Calcutta and started reorganising the Saraswati Library. Then came the 1942 Movement and his arrest and detention for three more years. After release he tried to reorganise his lifelong endeavour for the uplift of young men by a realignment of the studious and serious elements amongst the Calcutta students. He died in harness while carrying on with this noble project of uplift.

"Kiran-dada" as he was known to young and old was a shining example of the fully dedicated and spotless nationalist. Quite naturally he was completely ignored by our gaudy and tinsel gods-that-be. Inhuman police tortures had left his body a wreck but not his spirit. He neither asked for recognition nor was he accorded it by those utterers of false credentials who have climbed to office on the steps built by others like Kiran Chandra. May his noble soul rest in peace.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF VALUES

By DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.,
University of Saugor

THE first half of this century has revealed the emergence of two great Idealists who interpreted the idealistic tradition anew and restated the case on a more solid foundation. One is Bosanquet and the other is Dr. Radhakrishnan. In the systems of both these thinkers there is a keen perception of the demands of the age, an evaluation of the thought of their contemporaries, a deep sense of obligation to the great spiritualistic traditions of their respective lands and cultures, a profound awareness of the spiritualistic basis of life and thought, and an yearning to make life liveable in the light of an ideal. In these days of formalism and solipsism, academic philosophers do not feel the necessity of probing into the depths of life; and the subjectivistic tendencies of modern science have really retarded the true course of philosophy. Yet the social and political problems that have been agitating the world of man since the beginning of the century are more acute today; and the reflective and critical intellect of man cannot remain contented with the feats of logical formalism. This is at the centre of Dr. Radhakrishnan's thought.

There are certain values constitutive of human life. They are at the back of all human action. They are significant because of their teleological relation to life; and life then acquires its significance from those absolute values that are embodied in it. In the absence of such absolute values life would lose all the meaning that it has for us. They therefore not only emerge in conscious living, but make a valuable life possible. They have an objective existence, for, they are the stuff out of which human life is made. They exist in so far as they are operative and effective in human life giving rise to the various institutions; and they are also the essence of the nature of the universe. A philosophical interpretation of reality demands an answer to the problems of value. It is here that we find Prof. Radhakrishnan illuminating. His thought is permeated by the idea of the primacy of the values of the spirit; and as a result, his interest is largely in life and its problems. All the logical and the cosmological questions have only a secondary importance. In his address at the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy (1926) he said:

"We are not so much in need of a keen analysis of particular problems as those of essence and existence, sense and perspectives or a pragmatic insistence on methodology and on the futility of metaphysics, interesting as they all are, but philosophy in the larger sense of the term, a spiritual view of the universe broad-based on the results of sciences and aspirations of humanity." The Greek ideas of rationalist philosophy, humanist ethics, and nationalist politics too will not do.

There is a higher ideal, the life of the Spirit, which gives rise to all other ideas and ideals. This does not mean that we have to begin with an assumption as though it were real. We start with an analysis of experience and we do accept whatever is revealed in this analysis. Even religion is not a creed or code, but an insight into reality. It is as much true and real as the findings of the scientists, in so far as both the scientific and the religious experiences point to existent facts. We cannot reject the one and accept the other. They reveal the complementary aspects of the same reality. But one of these experiences goes to the very heart of the universe and brings back to us that living reality which we yearn for. The true religion, then, is a rational way of living. Thus he observes:

"If ever the spirit is to be at home in this world and not merely a prisoner or fugitive, secular foundation must be laid deep and preserved worthily. Religion must express itself in reasonable thought, fruitful action, and right social institutions."

Such a foundation would render religion a living thing and not a dogma; for, to be spiritual is not the same as rejecting the value of reason. It is a going beyond reason where alone reason is perfect in that it becomes creative thinking. It is in this sense that philosophy and religion become the two aspects of a single movement.

Prof. Radhakrishnan considers values to be the clues to Reality. It is the striving towards the realisation of the values of truth, beauty and love that distinguishes the spiritual being called Man from the biological. Physical and economic necessities and conflicts do not condition human existence, for the human endeavour all the ages has been towards the enduring realisation of those values that vaguely seem to reveal the value and the destiny of the individual. Man by virtue of his self-consciousness reveals his superiority over the forces of nature. And yet man is not a total stranger in this world. He is, as Pringle-Pattison and a countless number of thinkers have taught us, organic to the universe. This organic connection is made known to us in the conception of values, for values are not the fictions of an individual mind.

"Religion, by insisting on the organic connection between the world of nature and the world of values, delivers us from isolation and transiency."

This vital relationship exists in *rerum natura* and the religious consciousness reveals it to us. It is a consciousness that overcomes the discursive activities of the intellect by presenting us with that which

1. *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 58.

includes reason, affections, and will. In such a mood when the whole of the individual self is active, the spiritual is apprehended in the natural; for the experience of the values not only touches the inmost being of man but takes him to that stage of existence where time, space and motion are reduced to nothing. In any experience we are conscious of a peculiar unity, a unity that draws us more and more into the depths of the universe; and an understanding of the real nature of the unity presented in such experiences takes us into the inner nature of the universe. This inner nature constitutes the very meaning of our experience. In other words, we have knowledge on the one hand and experience on the other. This experience precedes knowledge and extends beyond it. Knowledge is only that aspect of experience which becomes conscious of itself. It is in this experience which includes our knowledge and transcends it that we have to discover the springs of life; and precisely for this reason, the ontological being is intuited as trans-social whence arises the significance of the social institutions and activities. As long as we admit the necessity of the social institutions, so long we cannot escape from the conclusion that these institutions embody a striving towards the supreme values of life. These values must be enduring if they are to satisfy the human individual. That is, they cannot be mere accidents, the creations of a human mind.

They reveal "an order of being which is more than merely human, a spiritual reality which is the source of the significance of what happens in the temporal process."²

That this is implicit in the contemporary systems of thought, Dr. Radhakrishnan has been able to present in his *Reign of Religion* and in his *Idealist View of Life*.

The religious affirmation of God as a fact is no doubt a profound interpretation of existence; but it comes with a certainty that seems to be absent in our empirical affirmations because religion "is something inward and personal which unifies all values and organises all experiences."³ It is an actual experience, and the sense of actuality is implicit in the experience of the values of the spirit. This fact is ignored in the contemporary trends since they are either purely analytic or completely abstract. Behaviourism, for example, explains man by leaving out his humanity, and his humanity consists of his apprehension of values. The other schools of psychology resolve concrete experiences into their components and they forget that values can be found only in the whole. Pragmatism, humanism, and the space-time idealism accept that the values are ultimate and yet they refuse to recognise their objective status. And it is only an idealist that accepts that

the universe has a meaning, a value, that the highest value is inseparable from the truly real, that our minds are a part of the universe embodying a value, and that it is impossible to conceive of a universe of beings that do not strive after a perfection of the spirit. It is here that Prof. Radhakrishnan brings the fruitful doctrine of the supplementation of the creative intuition by the reason of man.

The universe has a meaning and it is always a meaning apprehended by a conscious being. This meaning is not a property residing in the mind, nor in the object alone. Yet it must somehow exist in the object if I am to apprehend it. In this apprehension I am not a passive spectator receiving the ideas, but I consciously enter into the content of the given and reconstruct it for myself. In other words I make it intelligible. But this is a very difficult task since all language is 'matter-moulded,' and meaning comprehends the objects and goes beyond them. My linguistic expression can at best arrive at a nearest approach to the meaning which is fully revealed in the act of experience. Language, experience, reality are the three aspects of my experience; and our contemporary systems accept only one or two of these and even then treat them as if they have no real relation to one another. But as Prof. Radhakrishnan rightly points out, they are all intimately bound up, and they can be understood only when we focus our attention on the experience proper. To begin with, all our mental processes appear as a unity within our individual consciousness. This unity is characterised by a certain awareness. There is the functioning of reason, of conscious adaptation, in the life of the sentient organism. We go higher up in this comprehension when we analyse our dreams and discover the possibility of the disembodied existences, and the impossibility of imaging our own personal cessation of consciousness. And as we slowly begin realising that the apprehension of meaning presupposes a conscious mind, we are compelled to accept that the self has a value, or better, is a value of the highest kind. The experiences of ecstasy that we have in the aesthetic, social and religious spheres make us realise that the value we realise, owes its being to that transcending of the limits of individual existence that we find here. In ecstasy we have a feeling of revelation, an awareness of a revealed intuitive knowledge. This knowledge has a certitude that we are compelled to hold to the reality of the spiritual. Such a reality answers to our religious, moral and social needs in the highest sense. The spirit or the soul, then, is not a principle of explanation, but a definite fact, an existence. Thus we are told:

"Thought, when it thinks itself out to the end, becomes religion by being lived and tested by the supreme test of life."⁴

When the self is thus logically and ontologically established to be the supreme value, what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? The self must needs be won constantly, for this value can be realised only when we know how to live on earth.

Value then turns out to be one and one alone. It is all-inclusive and coherent in itself. God is that aspect of the Absolute apprehended by the religious consciousness, as it is that aspect of beauty revealed in the aesthetic. Yet we have to explain the diversity of cultures; and here Prof. Radhakrishnan brings in the dialectic of the Spirit.

"The varied cultures are but dialects of a single speech of the soul. The differences are due to accents, historical circumstances, and stages of development. If we are to find a solution for the differences which divide races and nations today, it must be through the recognition of the essential oneness of the modern world, spiritually and socially, economically and politically."⁵

This is the secret strength of Dr. Radhakrishnan's Idealism. It is based on a dialectic which is no longer as static as that of Hegel, and which is not so purely materialistic as that of Marx. It accepts the process of change, of movement, accepted by Croce, Bergson, Alexander and Whitehead with one difference, viz., that it involves a definite and concrete and realisable *nissus* to the ideal. This *nissus* is regulated by the theory of value. We have seen that Value is the clue to reality. It is the form in and through which Reality is manifested to us. And value in its turn is the content of the manifestation seeking an adequate form. In other words, we are always directly apprehending the symbols in our daily existence; and symbolism can be excluded from our higher experiences only when our higher experiences can afford to perish.⁶ These symbols are unified into a harmonious whole by an act of the mind, while the harmony is the experienced reality for the spirit. That which we analyse intellectually is the synthetic whole of experience. It is a whole experienced in and as the self-consciousness whence arises the profound equation of the apparently finite self with the Absolute. It is the nature of one's own self that is revealed in the larger environment and this "offers the only justification for a life of truth-seeking and good-realising." From this Dr. Radhakrishnan proceeds to argue that self-knowledge is inseparable from self-existence, and that this alone is the true and direct knowledge that we have. No further proof is needed for the reality of the self, since it is the basis of all proof. And the distinction between the subject and the object is only a logical one, not a real ontological one. The destiny of the finite self is in the direction of the realisation of this oneness or unity.

The values constitute the many pathways to reality; and the religious includes the cognitive, the aesthetic and the ethical sides of our life.

"Our instinct for truth, our moral sense, and artistic craving are all organically bound up."

As long as we fail to realise the organic whole, so long do we fail in understanding ourselves and reality. Hence arises the significance of the religious consciousness which is a synthetic realisation of life. From this it is easy to follow Dr. Radhakrishnan's theory of the primacy of the spiritual value. The spirit which is intensely revealed and definitely affirmed in the religious consciousness is prior to the symbols that constitute the empirical universe of appearances.

"The truth we discern, the beauty we feel and the good we strive after is the God we apprehend as believers."

And God is to be interpreted as light, love and life.

A true philosophy originates in life and comes back to life after going through the several schools; and the true philosophers have been responsible for a socio-spiritual reformation of mankind. This is achieved by an enquiry into the nature of Reality either from the standpoint of the self, or from that of the objects. Both these points of view converge, as we have seen, in the concept of Value. The subjective interest of the mind cannot be dissociated from its tendency to arrive at a synthetic vision. But the synthetic vision can be complete only in a state of self-transcendence which alone has absolute validity. In order to realise this state of existence the finite self must die to its finitude; and that it does lose this nature is evident from an analysis of those experiences which involve values of the spirit. These are the essentially human values and they constitute the content of human consciousness. The world which embodies these values is then beginningless and endless; it is its real and fundamental nature to be ever at unrest.⁷ And the real, we know is beyond contradiction; and yet the forms in which it is manifested to us are to a certain extent self-contradictory. However, we judge something valuable and this implies the recognition of a fact, not the creation of a fact. Valuation is thus prior to our judging. That is, valuation is implicit in the consciousness of an individual. As Green said:

"All other values are relative to values for, of, or in a person."

Values depend upon the integration of the world of objects into the conscious self. The self then is to be rightly treated as an organised whole and in this aspect it represents the synthesis of the subject and the object which are inseparable.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

4. *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 771.

5. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 350.

6. See *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 109.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

8. See *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 59.

"When we raise the question about the unifying agency in selfhood we are raising the more general question of the principle of unity in all existents, physical and biological included. Their unity is of the same character as the unity of selfhood, though less complex and less personal, but in principle it is the same."

This principle takes us back to the integration of the environment and to the awareness of the universal working in man.

This awareness leads to the struggle to realise a harmony between the individual and his world; and harmony seems to embody the conscious presence of the values sought. It also implies that the fragmentariness of man is overcome only in the whole. So "he strives after values, frames ideals and struggles to build up a world of unity and harmony." This struggle begets the various institutions which are taken to embody the trans-social ideal; and the purpose of the whole thus gets embodied in the life of the individual. It is in the difference of the degree of the embodiment that one differs from the other. In this way two elements of uniqueness and universality develop together till the former is merged in the latter. And yet the uniqueness of the whole is not lost, for the values we strive for are organic to existence. When we abstract states of consciousness from the objective world, they become meaningless and valueless. The value belongs to a state of consciousness not in itself but in its real organic unity with and within the whole. Nor can we value these states of consciousness apart from the individual to whom they belong. All value, as Bosanquet said, is in individuality. Finite individuals apart from the universe can have no value at all. If I am conscious of my unity with myself, I cannot deny my unity with others; and the unit of value is always the whole.

Connection with the past and the creation of the future are the two characteristics of the whole which is the unit of value. These two characteristics are respectively known as *karma* and Freedom in the system of Dr. Radhakrishnan. *Karma* is a principle of continuity having the retrospective and the prospective aspects. These two aspects reveal the principle of the self-determination of the Whole by the Whole as such.

"Faith in *karma* induces in us the mood of true justice or charity which is the essence of spirituality."

It does not land us in a deterministic universe, but it only prevents us from overemphasising the place and the importance of indeterminism. It focusses our attention on the nature of the human soul which represents an order of reality more complex than that of the physical or biological universe, and more

specific than any. We come to realise its organic unity with the universe and its fragmentariness, to overcome which it moves on perpetually. And in this movement it is directed naturally enough to the realisation of that Value which only the Whole called Reality can and does embody. And the development of the individual is a process from consciousness through self-consciousness to spiritual consciousness. The first stage of the process fosters only a psychological unity, while the second yields a logical unity of the individual with the environment. The consummation of the process results in the spiritual unity wherein we have the awareness of the reality and nature of the self as being a subject which is identical with an object. This awareness is foundational in a larger sense whence are we able to say that the universal Spirit is embodied in the finite world of individuals and things. This gives rise to the dissatisfaction of the finite centre of self-consciousness with every form of finitude; and the reality of universal spirit is then the plainest and simplest implication of our ordinary life.

"At the human level," says Dr. Radhakrishnan, "the secret tendency of man's nature to be a superman is found at work. The destiny of man is to manifest this secret aspiration. While for the self-conscious individual, religion is only faith in values, for the spiritual being it is vital contact with reality which is the source of all values."⁹

We begin our life in a given or assumed framework of values and we endeavour to realise that Value which is the source of all other values; and this is assuredly a spiritual Value that we strive after. This spiritual Value is comprehensive and all-inclusive and also individual in the true philosophic sense of the term. And it is the knowledge of such a Value that brings us closest to reality. Here do we find the close and intimate connection between knowledge and reality.

Summarising the positive characteristics of the world, Dr. Radhakrishnan informs us that the world is an ordered whole, that every existent is an organisation with a specific mode of relatedness, that the organisms tend towards greater interactive union with their surroundings or environment, that nature is in a continuous flux, that the varied changes are meaningful, and that the highest kind of experience that we have is all-inclusive and productive of personalities possessing such experience. Such an experience is the end of the cosmic process. The process then embodies certain values relative to the process and to the nature of the persons; and it is directed towards the experience of the supreme value called the all-inclusive spiritual reality, which alone is the reality in and of the cosmic process. This reality is taken to be God by the religious conscious-

ness and Dr. Radhakrishnan interprets this concept in terms of love.

God, he observes "is the Absolute from the human end. When we limit down the Absolute to its relation with the actual possibility, the Absolute appears as supreme Wisdom, Love and Goodness." And it is the "internal transcendence of God to the true process" that "gives meaning to the distinctions of value, and makes struggle and effort real."¹¹

This self-transcendence is a character of finitude as such, when we do find that the values that appear to be relative to the finite self have their niss in the Absolute Spirit. And when we admit the reality of love, we are forced to accept the principle of self-transcendence. Love is the best thing in the world; but one cannot have it for nothing, for human life is a continuous tension between the limited effort of the individual and the supreme purpose of the universe. This tension appears as an unresolved discord and the individual must needs seek for harmony. Any case of harmony is an act of integration, an act of growing impersonality.

"The test of authentic spiritual insight is an increased integration of the personal life, quickened sensibility, heightened power, and universal tenderness."¹²

In and through this integration of personality the finite self acquires its real impersonal, or better, super-personal nature whence it becomes the medium of the spiritual power. It becomes the "I, yet not I" of the mystic consciousness. And everything seems to have a value only because of the spirit in it. As the Maitri Upanishad points out the knower is like a smokeless fire burning aglow. This is the supreme value. And the other values through the realisation of which the spirit advances, are intrinsic values characteristic of the experience as such. All the values that we have in the finite world are in a sense non-competitive for they can be shared without diminution of the supreme value which is embodied in them.

Values are facts in the world and are constitutive of the individual and his objects. Value is not a mere object of feeling, nor is it a mere subjective fiction; for what experience insists vehemently can not be rejected complacently. Of course, it is not man that is the subject-matter of valuation. It is man as experiencing. And man in the act of experiencing affirms his consciousness and is gradually transforming it into an all-inclusive reality. As such the only value, the end-in-itself, is the whole or reality. The parts of the whole are not really parts but certain identities that sum up the spirit of the whole in them in virtue of their self-transcendence.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-313.

12. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 98. See also p. 49.

Each finite centre is a whole striving towards the consciousness of itself in terms of the spirit. That is, these centres of experience cannot be regarded as the means. Consequently we are led to the identification of value with being as such. But there is another feature of selfhood which we have to accept; and that is their fragmentariness, however much we may reject it as being ultimately unreal. It is a fragmentariness that takes us to the world of becoming at the same time when it makes us accept only the world of being. This brings us to the idea of the self appearing both as a means and an end.

Each entity is at once a means and an end for it entails the casual sequence. The cause we know ceases to be a cause when it achieves its end, when it is complete or perfect; and yet since it is identical with the effect, it is a means to its effect, it is a means to itself. It is a continuing entity. This twofold process is implicit in the supreme value called the self. It has a continuity and the various stages of this continuity constitute the many transformations that have come over it in its march. And the end too continues unchanged. Each entity is a means to itself for it is a continuing entity and it is also a means to the other ends that involve the cessation of its particular process. That is, every entity is and is not final. In other words, each is an intrinsic value and also an instrumental value. It is both at the same time as long as it is moving in the world of becoming. It is a means to many ends and is also many ends-in-itself. We identify values with the ends; the ends that are in the actual process become human values; and the final end which is no longer a means is the universal value. Since each entity is a means to many ends, it is many intrinsic values and instrumental values in one. These are unified and harmonised by the supreme end or value that is present in the whole process as the goal of the process. The temporarily terminating values are aspects of the ontological value which they seek to become. But when an end or value comes into conflict with other ends we have the disvalues; and the emergence of the disvalues is inherent in the very act of temporal termination. Hence the world of man as long as it is subject to the mutations of time, it has to encounter the disvalues. This is the source of the doctrine that values need to be vigilantly preserved, that value implies a struggle towards a harmony of the spirit. This struggle is inescapable for all values move in and beyond time, for they constitute the meeting point of the temporal with the supra-temporal.

There seems to be some such theory as outlined above at the very basis of Dr. Radhakrishnan's Idealistic Spiritualism. Such a basis renders it more realistic and acceptable. Into the dialectic of the Spirit, he has successfully brought the philosophy of

9. *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 271-272. Cf. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 46.

10. *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 302.

organism, welding it into a unity with the objective Absolutism of Samkhya. Yet it is not a mere repetition of the old doctrine which does not seem to take full cognisance of the world of empirical facts. His insistence on the idea of the organic connection between man and his universe, and his valid emphasis on the reality and value of the immediate experience, make his Idealism a growing concern with a clear and definite *nisus*. It is an idealism that is both spiritual and human at once. Its basis is in values which are facts of immediate experience. The immediacy of values is related to the ideals in their referential character. They are united or harmonised at the point of realization, at the point when the ideal is revealed in immediate experience; and the striving self is then fulfilled in the concrete richness

of a reality which is seen and felt as identical with itself. This is the point where thought becomes aware of itself and passes into self-consciousness which is the real value. In other words, the philosophy of value tends to emphasise the reality and significance of the self as the reality that exists. It is an all-inclusive and coherent reality that can be visualised conceptually as the Universal Self-Conscious Person. It is not a person in the ordinary sense of the term; for it is that true Individual whose aspects are the finite centres of experience. This true Individual is the Value; and "we have to turn to religious experience for the living substance of our knowledge of" the supreme Value, "and all that dialectic and philosophy do is to clarify our intuitions."*

* *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 173-174

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION (III) Fundamental Rights : Right to Equality

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

IN my preceding article¹ in this series I dealt with some preliminary points in connexion with our Fundamental Rights. I shall now begin the consideration of some of our specific Fundamental Rights.

As will appear from Part III of our Constitution our Fundamental Rights have been divided into seven categories. They are as follows: (1) "Right to Equality," (2) "Right to Freedom," (3) "Right against Exploitation," (4) "Right to Freedom of Religion," (5) "Cultural and Educational Rights," (6) "Right to Property," and (7) "Right to Constitutional Remedies." In this article I propose to deal with some aspects of the first category of the Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Equality as guaranteed by the Constitution. And this leads us on to the consideration, in the first place, of Article 14 of the Constitution.

II

Now Article 14 of the Constitution has laid down:

"The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

* And, under Article 12 of the Constitution, the term "State," here,

"includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the (constituent) States (of India) and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

As Fazl Ali and Mukherjee JJ. and some other Judges of our Supreme Court have rightly pointed out,² Article 14 of our Constitution corresponds to "the equal protection" clause in Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, which declares that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Before, therefore, we deal with the implications of Article 14, it may be desirable to know what "the equal protection" clause in the American Constitution really means. And, as a matter of fact, we find that the American interpretation of this Clause has greatly influenced some important judicial decisions in our country.³ This will be evident as we proceed further.

Now dealing with the "meaning and effect of the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws" Professor Willis⁴ has stated that "the guaranty . . . means the protection of equal laws."

"It forbids," he continues, "class legislation, but does not forbid classification which rests upon reasonable grounds of distinction. It does not prohibit legislation, which is limited either in the objects to which it is directed or by the territory within which it is to operate. It merely requires that all persons subjected to such legislation shall

3. See *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri v. The Union of India and Others* (1950) and *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* (1952), in *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950, and 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, respectively.

4. See *Ibid.*

5. See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 579-80.

be treated alike under like circumstances and conditions both in the privileges conferred and in the liabilities imposed." The inhibition of the amendment . . . was designed to prevent any person or class of persons from being singled out as a special subject for discriminating and hostile legislation." It does not take from the states the power to classify either in the adoption of police laws, or tax laws, or eminent domain laws, but permits to them the exercise of a wide scope of discretion, and nullifies what they do only when it is without any reasonable basis. Mathematical nicety and perfect equality are not required. Similarity, not identity of treatment, is enough. If any state of facts can reasonably be conceived to sustain a classification, the existence of that state of facts must be assumed. One who assails a classification must carry the burden of showing that it does not rest upon any reasonable basis . . . Many different classifications of persons have been upheld as constitutional. A law applying only to one person or one class of persons is constitutional if there is sufficient basis or reason for it."

Further,

"The guaranty protects both civil rights and political rights. At first it seemed to be assumed that the protection of the guaranty extended only to civil rights, but more recent cases have extended the protection of the guaranty to political rights." The right of voting must be regarded as a political right. Yet discrimination against negroes in the matter of voting has been nullified under the equality clause."

Professor Willis has also stated⁵ that, although "the original purpose of the (equal protection) clause was the protection of the negroes," yet "the language of the amendment was so general" that "it was not long before the Supreme Court extended its protection to other persons." Thus, "it was held applicable to prevent discrimination against Chinamen. The protection of the guaranty has also been extended to other aliens so as to prevent discrimination against them in favour of citizens."⁶ Moreover,⁷ although according to the language of "the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws," protection is to be "given to persons," yet the Supreme Court of the United States has extended this protection to private corporations within the jurisdiction of a State since corporations are also persons. Municipal Corporations, however, are not protected by

the guaranty on the ground that "the purpose of the guaranty in the Fourteenth Amendment was to protect private persons and not departments or agencies of the state," and that "the state ought to be able to protect itself against itself."⁸ And this protection is against⁹ the actions of "all the agencies and instrumentalities of a state. It applies to municipal corporations, boards, commissions, state universities, and other agencies of the state—whose acts are therefore the acts of the state." Further, it "applies especially to the action of state legislatures . . . it also applies to the judiciary and to the actions of the executive branch of the government."

Professor Willis has added,¹⁰ however:

"This constitutional guaranty (of the equal protection of the laws) protects individuals against only state action. It does not protect individuals against the conduct of other individuals. Likewise it does not protect individuals against the action of the federal government. The language used in the guaranty is 'no state'. The only possible way individuals could be protected against this kind of action by the federal government would be by extending the protection of the due process clause¹¹ of the Fifth Amendment to include equal protection of the law. The Supreme Court has not made its position on this point clear, but it has intimated that due process of law does include equal protection of the law. It has declared that arbitrary action is forbidden by the due process clause . . . While the Supreme Court has not yet declared federal legislation lacking in due process because of the denial of the equal protection of the laws, it has intimated that classification may be so grossly unreasonable as to violate the due process clause. From this it would be reasonable to assume that individuals are guaranteed the equal protection of the laws against the federal government under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, but they are not, of course, guaranteed this protection in the Fourteenth Amendment."

This view of Professor Willis is practically endorsed by Professor Willoughby who has observed¹² that the (equal protection) "provision of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees to individuals and to corporations that they shall not by State law be excluded from the enjoyment of privileges which other persons and corporations similarly circumstanced enjoy, or that they may not have imposed upon them burdens which others similarly circumstanced¹³ are free from." But Professor Willoughby has also stated:¹⁴

"No similar express provision is directed to the Federal Government by the Fifth Amendment which

6. Prof. Willis refers here to two American judicial decisions. See *Ibid.*, p. 579n.

7. Prof. Willis refers here to an American judicial decision. *Ibid.*, 579n.

8. See *Ibid.*, p. 580.

9. Prof. Willoughby, however, thinks otherwise. According to him, "the requirement as to equal protection of the law does not operate to prevent the States from restricting the enjoyment of political privileges to such classes of their citizens as they may see fit." See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. III, p. 1933.

Prof. Willoughby's book had been published in 1929. Prof. Willis's book was published in 1936. Perhaps this accounts for the difference in their points of view.

10. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-74.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 574-75.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 572-73.

16. The relevant clause in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States runs as follows:

"No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

17. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. III, p. 1931.

18. The *quotation* in this quotation are mine.

19. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1923.

1. Published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954.

2. For a further elucidation of this point see my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 576-77.

contents itself with prohibition relating to due process of law. However . . . this due process clause has been given an interpretation which brings within its scope many forms of arbitrary or unreasonable discriminatory action which might be brought, and, when the States have been concerned, have been brought within the prohibition of denial of equal protection of the laws. Indeed, to such an extent has this been true, that it is still difficult to say precisely in what specific respects the prohibition of the denial of equal protection of the laws operates to impose restraints not already covered by the prohibition²⁰ with regard to the depriving of persons of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Professor Willoughby also agrees²¹ with the view that a reasonable classification by law is "not a denial of equal protection," and that "the requirement of equal protection of the law applies to all persons *similarly situated or circumstanced*."²² Where, therefore, "there are rational grounds for so doing, persons or their properties may be grouped into classes to each of which specific legal rights or liabilities may be attached." And this "legislative discretionary right applies to the exercise of all of the powers of the States,—to their taxing and police powers as well as to their other powers."²³

Thus, for example, he says,²⁴ "the practice of certain professions may be limited to persons of the male sex, or to those of a certain age, or to those possessing other qualifications that may reasonably be held to indicate a fitness for the profession." Thus, again, the refusal, as it was held in *Craves v. Minnesota*,²⁵ "to grant a license to practice dentistry to persons not possessing a diploma from a dental college of good standing was not unconstitutional as making an unreasonable classification between those possessing such a diploma and those without it."²⁶ "Clearly," said the court in this case,²⁷ "the fact that an applicant for a license holds a diploma from a reputable dental college has a direct and substantial relation to his qualification to practice dentistry."

Further, Professor Willoughby has shown²⁸ that in *Missouri v. Lewis*²⁹ the Supreme Court laid down in 1879 "the important principle . . . that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not prevent the application by a State of different laws and different systems of judicature to its various local subdivisions." The Court held in this case:

"There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent any State from adopting any system of laws or judicature it sees fit for all or any part of its territory The Fourteenth Amendment does not profess

to secure to all persons in the United States the benefit of the same laws and the same remedies Diversities which are allowable in different States are allowable in different parts of the same State."

What Professors Willis and Willoughby have said with regard to legally permissible classification under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is also endorsed by Judge Cooley and Judge Story. Thus we find in Cooley³⁰ that "a State may classify the objects of legislation so long as its attempted classification is not clearly arbitrary and unreasonable." And Story³¹ has said that, although the equal protection clause "is a formal declaration of the great principle . . . that all are equal before the law," yet this principle "must needs be applied with some reserve and caution." "There may be discriminations," he has observed,³² "between classes of persons where reasons exist which make them necessary or advisable," although "there can be none based upon grounds purely arbitrary."

"The law, for instance," he continues, "may, with manifest propriety, establish the age of majority, and declare that such as have not reached it shall be incapable of entering into contracts; but no one would undertake to defend upon constitutional grounds an enactment that, of the persons reaching that age, those possessing certain physical characteristics, in no way affecting their capacity or fitness for general business or impairing their usefulness as citizens, should remain in a condition of permanent disability. Such an enactment would assail the very foundations of a government whose fundamental idea is the equality of all its citizens."

Finally, we find in the judgment³³ of the United States Supreme Court in *Barbier v. Connolly* (1885), delivered by Mr. Justice Field:

The Fourteenth Amendment, in declaring that no State 'shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws,' undoubtedly intended not only that there should be no arbitrary deprivation of life or liberty, or arbitrary spoliation of property, but that equal protection and security should be given to all *under like circumstances* in the enjoyment of their personal and civil rights; that all persons should be equally entitled to pursue their happiness and acquire and enjoy property; that they should have like access to the courts of the country for the protection of their persons and property, the prevention and redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts; that no impediment should be interposed to the pursuits of any one except as applied to the same pursuits by others *under like circumstances*; that no greater

burdens should be laid upon one than are laid upon others *in the same calling and condition*, and that in the administration of criminal justice no different or higher punishment should be imposed upon one than such as is prescribed to all *for like offences* Class legislation, discriminating against some and favouring others, is prohibited, but legislation which, in carrying out a public purpose, is limited in its application, if within the sphere of its operation *it affects alike all persons similarly situated*, is not within the amendment"³⁴ (and therefore not invalid).

Thus, progressive income and inheritance taxes are held to be constitutional.

"The reason," says Professor Willis,³⁵ "for progressive taxation in the case of inheritance taxes and income taxes is the ability of those receiving or giving to pay. A progressively increasing tax on property as the amount of property held by a single owner increases might be upheld for the same reason. A large estate can better afford to pay a heavier percentage tax than can a smaller one."

The "equality clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment does not, therefore, always require uniformity of treatment.³⁶ But, "if what is called a tax, is not really a tax, but confiscation in the guise of taxation, the Supreme Court might declare the (relevant) law unconstitutional."³⁷

It may, however, be mentioned here that the question of the reasonableness of any basis of classification permissible under equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, is eminently a matter for judicial investigation. The determination of this question by the Legislature or by the Executive is not final or conclusive.

III

I have shown above the interpretation which has been put upon the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Let us now see the interpretation which has been put upon Article 14 of our Constitution by the Supreme Court of India. As will appear from the relevant *Supreme Court Reports*,³⁸ the "meaning and scope" of Article 14 have been elaborately explained in three judgments of the Supreme Court, namely, in its judgments in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri v. The Union of India and Others* (dated 4th December, 1950), *The State of Bombay and Another v. F. N. Balsara* (dated 25th May, 1951), and *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* (dated 11th January, 1952). One noticeable thing in these judgments is that, although there was a difference of views among the Judges concerned in regard to some other points in two of these judgments, there was practically no difference of

views among the Judges in these three cases so far as the interpretation of Article 14 was concerned. The reason seems to be that their views were, as would appear from a careful perusal of the judgments, profoundly influenced by the American interpretation of the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment referred to before.

Thus, we find, in the first place, that in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri v. The Union of India and Others*, the Supreme Court held:³⁹

"The guarantee against the denial of equal protection of the laws does not mean that identically the same rules of law should be made applicable to all persons within the territory of India in spite of differences of circumstances and conditions. It means only that there should be no discrimination between one person and another if as regards the subject-matter of the legislation their position is the same."

And if we refer in this case to some individual judgments, we find Fazl Ali J. first referring to the views of Professor Willis, as quoted by us before, on "the meaning and effect of the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws" in the United States, and then observing:⁴⁰

"There can be no doubt that article 14 provides one of the most valuable and important guarantees in the Constitution which should not be allowed to be whittled down, and, while accepting the statement of Professor Willis as a correct exposition of the principles underlying this guarantee, I wish to lay particular emphasis on the principle enunciated by him that any classification which is arbitrary and which is made without any basis is no classification and a proper classification must always rest upon some difference and must bear a reasonable and just relation to the things in respect of which it is proposed."

He has also stated⁴¹ "that a law may be constitutional even though it relates to a single individual, in those cases where on account of some special circumstances or reasons applicable to him and not applicable to others, that single individual may be treated 'as a class by himself,' and "that it is the accepted doctrine of the American Courts, which I consider to be well-founded on principle, that the presumption is always in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment, and the burden is upon him who attacks it to show that there has been a clear transgression of the constitutional principles."

And Mukherjea J. has said:⁴²

"Article 14 of the Constitution . . . corresponds to the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment of the American Constitution We think we can cull a few general principles from some of the pronouncements of the American Judges which might appear to us to be consonant with reason and help us in determining the true meaning and scope

20. Under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

21. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1937.

22. The italics are mine.

23. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1937.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 1937.

25. 272 U.S. 425—See *ibid.*, p. 1937n.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1937.

27. *Ibid.*

28. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1941-42.

29. 1879, 101 U.S. 22.—See *ibid.*, p. 1941n.

30. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, p. 15n; also pp. 562-64.

31. See his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Vol. II, 1891, pp. 705-707.

32. See *ibid.*

33. 113 U.S. 27. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, pp. 210-11; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 889-90; also Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1929-30.

34. The italics in this quotation are mine.

35. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 588.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 598.

38. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950; 1951, Vol. II, Part VII, July, 1951; and 1952; Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952.

39. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950, p. 873.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 877-78.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 878-79.

42. See *ibid.*, pp. 910-13.

of Article 14 of our Constitution It must be admitted that the guarantee against the denial of equal protection of the laws does not mean that identically the same rules of law should be made applicable to all persons within the territory of India in spite of differences of circumstances and conditions. As has been said by the Supreme Court of America, 'equal protection of laws is a pledge of the protection of equal laws', and this means 'subjection to equal laws applying alike to all in the same situation.' In other words, there should be no discrimination between one person and another if as regards the subject-matter of the legislation their position is the same There can certainly be a law applying to one person or to one group of persons and it cannot be held to be unconstitutional if it is not discriminatory in its character. It would be bad law 'if it arbitrarily selects one individual or a class of individuals, one corporation or a class of corporations, and visits a penalty upon them, which is not imposed upon others guilty of like delinquency.' The legislature undoubtedly has a wide field of choice in determining and classifying the subject of its laws, and if the law deals alike with all of a certain class, it is normally not obnoxious to the charge of denial of equal protection; but the classification should never be arbitrary. It must always rest upon some real and substantial distinction bearing a reasonable and just relation to the things in respect to which the classification is made; and classification made without any substantial basis should be regarded as invalid."

Further :⁴³

"It must be conceded that the Legislature has a wide discretion in determining the subject-matter of its laws. It is an accepted doctrine of the American Courts and which seems to me to be well founded on principle, that the presumption is in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment and the burden is upon him who attacks it to show that there has been a transgression of constitutional principles."

Justice Mukherjea also agrees⁴⁴ with the American view in analogous cases that

"The fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution are available not merely to individual citizens but to corporate bodies as well except where the language of the provision or the nature of the right compels the inference that they are applicable only to natural persons."

"This follows," he says, "logically from the rule of law that a corporation has a distinct legal personality of its own with rights and capacities, duties and obligations separate from those of its individual members."

Kania C. J. agreed "with the line of reasoning and the conclusion of Mr. Justice Mukherjea" in the case under reference.

Although Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ. differed in this case from Kania C. J. and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ. in some respects, they agreed with them so far as the meaning and scope of Article 14 were concerned. Thus we find Patanjali Sastri J. saying :⁴⁵

"It is undeniable that equal protection of the laws cannot mean that all laws must be quite general

in their character and application. A legislature empowered to make laws on a wide range of subjects must of necessity have the power of making special laws to attain particular objects and must, for that purpose, possess large powers of distinguishing and classifying the persons or things to be brought under the operation of such laws, provided the basis of such classification has a just and reasonable relation to the object which the legislature has in view. While, for instance, a classification in a law regulating labour in mines or factories may be based on age or sex, it may not be based on the colour of one's skin. It is also true that the class of persons to whom a law is made applicable may be large or small."

And Das J. has observed :⁴⁶

"Equal protection of the laws', as observed by Day J. in *Southern Railway Company v. Greene*,⁴⁷ means subjection to equal laws, applying alike to all in the same situation.' The inhibition of the article that the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws was designed to protect all persons against legislative discrimination amongst equals and to prevent any person or class of persons from being singled out as a special subject for discriminating and hostile legislation. It does not, however, mean that every law must have universal application, for all persons are not, by nature, attainment or circumstances, in the same position. The varying needs of different classes of persons often require separate treatment and it is, therefore, established by judicial decisions that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the American Constitution does not take away from the State the power to classify persons for legislative purposes. This classification may be on different bases. It may be geographical or according to objects or occupations or the like. If law deals equally with all of a certain well-defined class, it is not obnoxious and it is not open to the charge of a denial of equal protection on the ground that it has no application to other persons, for the class for whom the law has been made is different from other persons and, therefore, there is no discrimination amongst equals. It is plain that every classification is in some degree likely to produce some inequality, but mere production of inequality is not by itself enough. The inequality produced, in order to encounter the challenge of the Constitution, must be 'actually and palpably unreasonable and arbitrary.'⁴⁸ Quite conceivably there may be a law relating to a single individual if it is made apparent that, on account of some special reasons applicable only to him and inapplicable to anyone else, that single individual is a class by himself."

Secondly, while delivering the judgement of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay and Another v. F. N. Balsara*, Fazl Ali J. summarised the principles laid down by the Court in the case of *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhury v. The Union of Indian and Other*, in connexion

46. See *ibid.*, pp. 931-33.

47. 216 U.S. 400 (1910).

48. Mr. Justice Das quotes another extract here from the judgement of Day J. in *Southern Railway Company v. Greene* (1910), 216 U.S. 400.

with the question of the meaning and scope of Article 14. The principles were as follows :⁴⁹

"(1) The presumption is always in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment, since it must be assumed that the legislature understands and correctly appreciates the needs of its own people, that its laws are directed to problems made manifest by experience and its discriminations are based on adequate grounds."

"(2) The presumption may be rebutted in certain cases by showing that on the face of the statute, there is no classification at all and no difference peculiar to any individual or class and not applicable to any other individual or class, and yet the law hits only a particular individual or class."

"(3) The principle of equality does not mean that every law must have universal application for all persons who are not by nature, attainment or circumstances in the same position, and the varying needs of different classes of persons often require separate treatment."

"(4) The principle (of equality) does not take away from the State the power of classifying persons for legitimate purposes."

"(5) Every classification is in some degree likely to produce some inequality, and mere production of inequality is not enough."

"(6) If a law deals equally with members of a well-defined class, it is not obnoxious and it is not open to the charge of denial of equal protection on the ground that it has no application to other persons."

"(7) While reasonable classification is permissible, such classification must be based upon some real and substantial distinction bearing a reasonable and just relation to the object sought to be attained, and the classification cannot be made arbitrarily and without any substantial basis."

Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, Das, and Bose JJ. appear to have agreed with Fazl Ali J. in his views about Article 14 as they fully agreed with him in his conclusions in the case under reference.

Finally, we find that, in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*, essentially the same view was taken of Article 14 by the Judges concerned, as we have seen in connexion with the other two cases referred to above. We need not, therefore, state here the views of these Judges in detail. We may, however, sum them up as follows :⁵⁰

(a) "Article 14 is designed to protect all persons placed in similar circumstances against legislative discrimination, and if the legislature takes care to reasonably classify persons for legislative purposes and if it deals equally with all persons belonging to a well-defined class, it is not open to the charge of denial of equal protection on the ground that the law does not apply to other persons."

(b) Laws must "operate alike on all persons under like circumstances."

(c) "Equality of right is a principle of republicanism and Article 14 enunciates this equality principle in the administration of justice"

49. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part VII, July, 1951, pp. 708-709.

50. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III; March, 1952, pp. 306-307, 294, 313, 316 and 320.

the same rule must exist for all in similar circumstances. This principle, however, does not mean that every law must have universal application for all persons who are not by nature, attainment or circumstance, in the same position."

(d) "The protection afforded by the article (i.e. Article 14) is not a mere eye-wash but it is a real one and unless a just cause for discrimination on the basis of a reasonable classification is put forth as a defence, the statute (in question) has to be declared unconstitutional."

(e) Article 14 "only means that all persons similarly circumstanced shall be treated alike both in privileges conferred and liabilities imposed."

Further the Supreme Court laid down in this case :⁵¹

"A rule of procedure laid down by law comes as much within the purview of Article 14 of the Constitution as any rule of substantive law and it is necessary that all litigants, who are similarly situated, are able to avail themselves of the same procedural rights for relief and for defence with like protection and without discrimination."

The Supreme Court also held in this case that the operation of Article 14 would not be excluded merely because it was proved that in enacting a law the legislature had no intention to discriminate, although discrimination was the necessary consequence of the law.

IV

We have shown above the extent to which Article 14 is a protection against any unfair and unreasonable legislative discrimination. But is it also a protection against any unfair and discriminative application of a law which is itself constitutionally valid? As early as 1886 the Supreme Court of the United States laid down, in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, the following general principle⁵² on this question :

"Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution."

And we also find in Professor Willoughby :⁵³

"While no constitutional objection may be made to any law of the State, it has been held that its officials may exercise their public authority in such a discriminatory or arbitrary manner as to bring them within the scope of the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, it will be remembered, was one of the grounds upon which, in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (118 U.S. 356) it was held that due process of law had been denied. In *Torrance v. Florida* (188 U.S. 519) the administration of a State law and not the law itself was challenged and the court said: 'Such an actual discrimination is as potential in creating a denial of equality of rights as a discrimination made by law.'"

51. See *ibid.*, p. 285 and p. 322.

52. 118 U.S. 356 (1886). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed. 1950, p. 1168n; also Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1931.

53. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1932.

43. See *ibid.*, p. 913.

44. See *ibid.*, p. 898.

45. See *ibid.*, p. 890.

It is clear from the above that in the United States an unfair and "discriminatory" application or administration of even a valid law comes within the inhibition of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As will appear from what follows, the same principle obtains in India to-day as a consequence of Article 14 and the judicial interpretation put thereon.

Thus we find Mukherjea J. stating⁵⁴ in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* :

"It appears to be an accepted doctrine of American courts that the purpose of the equal protection clause is to secure every person within the States against arbitrary discrimination, whether occasioned by the express terms of the statute or by their improper application through duly constituted agents. This was clearly laid down in *Sunday Lake Iron Company v. Wakefield*⁵⁵. In this case the complaint was against a taxing officer, who are alleged to have assessed the plaintiff's properties at their full value, while all other persons in the country were assessed at not more than one-third of the worth of their properties. It was held that the equal protection clause could be availed of against the taxing officer; but if he was found to have acted *bona fide* and the discrimination was the result of a mere error of judgment on his part, the action would fail. The position, therefore, is that when the statute is not itself discriminatory and the charge of violation of equal protection is only against the official, who is entrusted with the duty of carrying it into operation, the equal protection clause could be availed of in such cases; but the officer would have a good defence if he could prove *bona fides*."

Secondly, Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. stated⁵⁶ in the same case :

"Discrimination may not appear in the statute itself but may be evident in the administration of the law. If an uncontrolled or unguided power is conferred without any reasonable and proper standards or limits being laid down in the enactment, the statute itself may be challenged and not merely the particular administrative act."

He then quoted Professor Weaver (*Constitutional Law*, p. 404) to say⁵⁷ :

"Discrimination may exist in the administration of the laws and it is the purpose of the equal protection clause to secure all the inhabitants of the state from intentional and arbitrary discrimination arising in their improper or prejudiced execution, as well as by the express terms of the law itself. The validity or invalidity of a statute often depends on how it is construed and applied. It may be valid when given a particular application and invalid when given another."

He also quoted Professor Willoughby in support of his contention.⁵⁸

Thirdly, we find in the judgment of Fazl Ali J. in the same case :

"As a general rule, if the Act is fair and good, the public authority who has to administer it will be protected. To this general rule, however, there is an exception, which comes into play when there is evidence of *mala fides* in the application of the Act."

The implication of this statement is that in case of *mala fides* in the application of a law, the application may be challenged under Article 14.

Fourthly, Das J. also said⁵⁹ in the course of his judgment in the same case :

"The Court will strike down, not the law which is good, but the abuse or misuse or the unconstitutional administration of the law creating or resulting in unconstitutional discrimination."

Fifthly, even Patanjali Sastri C. J., who otherwise differed from the majority of the Judges in this case, held :⁶⁰

"As the prohibition under the article (i.e., Article 14) is directed against the State, which is defined⁶¹ in Article 12 (of the Constitution) as including not only the legislatures but also the Governments in the country Article 14 secures all persons within the territories of India against arbitrary laws as well as arbitrary application of laws⁶². . . . even executive orders or notifications must not infringe Article 14. This trilogy of articles (i.e., Articles 12, 13 and 14 of the Constitution) . . . ensures non-discrimination in State action both in the legislative and the administrative spheres (sic.) in the democratic republic of India To sustain a law as not being discriminatory is not, however, to leave the party affected by a discriminatory application of the law without a remedy, for, as we have seen, state action on the administrative side can also be challenged as a denial of equal protection and unconstitutional."

Finally, we find that, while delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court on April 9, 1951, in *The State of Madras v. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan* and *The State of Madras v. C. R. Srinivasan*, Das J. had stated :⁶³

"The charter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate article in Part III."

It is clear from the above that a discriminatory or *mala fide* application of a valid piece of law also is not permitted by Article 14. Of course this discriminatory or *mala fide* application has to be established before a Court of Law. The burden of proof is upon the person who alleges discrimination. There may be a difficulty here. For instance, if a person alleges that there has been discrimination against him in the matter of the application of a law, the Government official concerned

will say that he has exercised the power vested in him by the law "in good faith within the limitations imposed by the law and for the achievement of the objects the enactment had in view." Then "the person who alleges that he has been discriminated against will have to establish *mala fides* in the sense that the step was taken intentionally for the purpose of injuring him; in other words, it was a hostile act directed against him." Thus, when a law is valid and, therefore, not open to challenge, the validity of any notification or order, etc., issued under it, may, when impugned, have to be considered independently. This appears to be the view⁶⁴ of Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar and also, in effect, of Justice Fazl Ali, in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*. Thus, a mere allegation of discrimination, *mala fides*, or hostile intention, in the matter of the application of valid law is not enough. This has to be established by legal proof. But this is unavoidable in the interest of justice.

V

It will be evident from what has been shown above that Article 14 of our Constitution is a great protection against any form of unfair and unreasonable discrimination, whether legislative or administrative. Its benefit extends to all persons, resident aliens as well as Indian citizens, except, of course, in respect of such matters with regard to which our Constitution, or any law duly made thereunder, has conferred upon the Indian citizens any special rights and privileges, or imposed upon them any special duties or obligations. In *Truax v. Raich* the Supreme Court of the United States declared⁶⁵ in 1915 : "The description—'any person within its jurisdiction' (in the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment)—, as it has frequently been held, includes aliens. 'These provisions',⁶⁶ said the court in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356, 369, 'are universal in their application, to all persons within the territorial jurisdiction, without regard to any differences of race, of colour, or of nationality; and the equal protection of the laws is a pledge of the protection of

equal laws.' As we have seen before, Professor Willis has taken the same view about the applicability of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in the United States. So far as the meaning and scope of Article 14 are concerned, our law is largely⁶⁷ analogous to the corresponding law in the United States. The expression "any person" in Article 14, therefore, is significant.

In respect of one important point, however, there is a difference between the law in India and that in the United States. In view of the definition of the word "State" in Article 12 of our Constitution, as shown in the earlier part of this paper, Article 14 applies to the conduct of the "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."⁶⁸ The equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, however, applies only to the conduct of the constituent States of the American Union, although, as we have seen before, the due process clause in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which applies to the conduct of the Federal Government, has practically met the requirements of the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment so far as that conduct is concerned.

In conclusion, I should like to state that in this article I have dealt with only one aspect—although a very important aspect—of our Fundamental Right to Equality. In my next article I propose to deal with some other aspects of this Right, together with, if space permits, a few other matters relating to our Fundamental Rights.

68. Largely, because the corresponding American law seems to be much wider in its scope, particularly in respect of "the freedom of speech and of the press" as provided for in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. "It has been suggested," says Prof. Willis, "that the guaranty of freedom of speech and of the press does not extend to aliens, but this suggestion is clearly wrong. Of course, this guaranty cannot be invoked to keep aliens from exclusion or deportation by the federal government; but after admission to this country resident aliens are entitled to the guaranty, as much as anyone else, against both the States and the Federal Government, because they are entitled to the protection of the due process and of the equality clause." See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 490. Article 19 of our Constitution, however, is meant only for Indian citizens.

69. Also see in this connexion *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77.

54. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, pp. 330-31.

55. 247 U.S. 350.—See *ibid.*, p. 331n.

56. See *ibid.*, p. 355. The italics in the quotation are mine.

57. See *ibid.*, p. 355.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-57. Professor Willoughby's view has already been quoted by us.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 294 and 304.

62. See the earlier part of this article.

63. The italics are mine.

64. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, May 1951, Vol. II, Part V.



RISE AND FULFILMENT OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

Second Phase: Fulfilment (1942-1945)

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

II

JAPAN attacked and occupied Southern Sumatra on February 14, 1942. When they landed on Java on March 1, the Dutch Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces surrendered in the name of all the Allied Forces in Java, though Major-General Sitwell's army of 8,000 British and American troops wanted to continue the fight and the fact was not unknown to the Dutch. When the Indonesians came to know the whole story, they felt themselves betrayed in their hour of peril and concluded that the Dutch were a cowardly nation. The circumstances of the Dutch surrender confirmed the Indonesian suspicion that they (the Dutch) were eager to make a deal with Japan like that of Vichyite France with Germany. Such a deal would leave the Dutch in charge of the Indonesian administration; but under Japan's control.

Dutch prestige sank low in Indonesian estimate. Not a few Indonesians were convinced that given the necessary equipments, they would have fought as well as, if not better than, the Dutch. The Japanese began in Indonesia with almost everything in their favour. They were enthusiastically received. Popular feeling regarded them as liberators. The feeling was strengthened by the withdrawal of the Dutch ban on the display of the Indonesian national flag and the singing of the Indonesian national anthem "Indonesia Raya."

Within six months of their arrival the Japanese interned practically all the Dutch and a large number of Eurasians in Indonesia and also a number of Indonesian Christians. The resultant vacuum in the country's administrative and technical structure had to be filled up mostly by Indonesians. The socio-economic status of Indonesians appointed in the places of Europeans and Eurasians rose. Japan, in fact, had an acute shortage of military government personnel. She therefore made virtue of a necessity and gained not a little thereby. Japan's policy of Indonesianisation explains to a great extent her initial popularity in Indonesia.

Japan perhaps did not anticipate any serious opposition from the nationalist leaders. She seems to have been under the illusion that she could harness the resources of Indonesia to her colossal war machinery without having to make concessions to Indonesian nationalism. She was disillusioned before long. Indonesia discovered within a short time that her economic welfare was being subordinated to the invader's. The Japanese drained the country of food-stuffs, oil and quinine. Badly needed consumer goods, such as, textiles and machine parts were not coming

in. Japanese control over the school curriculum and initial Japanese efforts to replace Dutch with Japanese as the official language and also as the medium of instruction in the secondary and higher schools did not contribute to the popularity of the 'liberators' from Nippon. The rudeness and brutality of the Japanese created strong antagonism. A number of minor rebellions against the Japanese took place even before the end of 1942.

The invader's realisation that he must have the support of nationalist Indonesia led to a reversal of his policy. Soekarno, a detainee at the time of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, had been released shortly after the occupation. He contacted Hatta and Sjahrir in Java. These latter were already in touch with an underground movement being organised by Sjarifuddin, among others. It was decided that the national struggle was to be carried on both above ground and underground. Soekarno and Hatta were to work above ground through the Japanese. Sjahrir, commissioned to organise an underground resistance movement, was to maintain close touch with them. Soekarno and Hatta were to press for political concessions from the Japanese. Hatta was further assigned the twin tasks of securing funds for the underground movement and of facilitating the travels of its members from place to place. He did his duty well and was able to keep in touch with the principal Indonesian underground organisations throughout the Japanese occupation.

Japan promised self-government to Indonesia in the near future and allowed the creation of an all-inclusive nationalist organisation, the Poesat Tenaga Rakyat (Centre of People's Power) or Poetera on March 9, 1943. The Poetera incorporated all nationalist associations—political and otherwise—of Java and Madura. Soekarno and Hatta were its Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively. The Poetera was hailed as a genuinely nationalist organisation leading Indonesia to self-government. The creation of a Central Advisory Board as an ancillary to the Poetera confirmed the belief that it was so. Again, Soekarno was the Chairman. This and similar local boards were supposed to be consulted by the Japanese authorities before drawing up any important measure about Indonesia.

The Poetera was regarded by a majority of its leaders and active members as an instrument in the long-term struggle for independence. It did much to arouse Indonesian nationalism and to further the cause of independence. It strengthened Japan's war efforts

RISE AND FULFILMENT OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

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at the same time. It was also responsible for the creation of organisations, particularly among the Indonesian youth, many of whose members were indoctrinated "with a positive respect for force and an emotional anti-Westernism." Many, however, became pro-Allied and anti-Japanese in the long run.

The Poetera encouraged contact between nationalist leaders and the masses. By far the most important of its achievements was an accentuation of the nationalist sentiments and of the national will to freedom. Soekarno's speeches broadcast over the Indonesian archipelago played an important role. According to his instructions from the Japanese bosses, he would attack the allies, praise the Japanese and call upon his countrymen to help Japan's war efforts. A scrutiny of the speeches however reveals the soundness of Soekarno's contention that "75 per cent of their content was pure nationalism." They were "moreover, full of subtleties and double talk which generally passed over the heads of Japanese monitors but were meaningful to the population, especially those of Japanese culture. Such talk made it easy for the peasant to equate 'anti-imperialism' with 'anti-Japanese'."—*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* by G. M. T. Kabin, p. 108.

The Japanese set up a large number of puppet organisations under the ægis of the Poetera. The object was to further their war efforts. The Peta, the most important of them, was a Japanese trained military organisation to defend Indonesia against Allied invasion. It was officered by Indonesians and numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand men under arms at its peak strength in the middle of 1945. The Peta was destined to become in the long run the backbone of the Indonesian Republic's army.

Thanks to the shrewd manoeuvring and persistent efforts of Soekarno and others by the middle of 1944 the average Peta member was consciously and strongly nationalist, anti-Japanese, anti-Dutch, but not, generally speaking, anti-Allied. Soekarno and the other nationalist leaders, permitted by the Japanese to address the different Peta units, inflamed them not against the Allies alone, but against imperialism in general. The undergrounds supplemented their work. Before long the members of the Peta came to equate Japan's activities with imperialism.

The Japanese realised by the end of 1943 that the Poetera was doing more harm than good to them, that it was doing more for Indonesian nationalism than for Japanese war efforts. Not a few of the supporters of the Poetera were only more anti-Japanese than anti-Allied. It was therefore dissolved by the Japanese military command.

A new organisation under the name of People's Loyalty Organisation, better known by its Japanese name, Djawa Hokokai, was set up on March 1, 1944. The Japanese sponsors of the Hokokai, warned by their experience of the Poetera, took care to "neutralize and

limit the force of the nationalists" by throwing open the membership of the former to all communities. Soekarno was the Chairman, but only in name. The Hokokai was much more closely supervised and controlled than the Poetera and was under the direct control of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief. A Hokokai branch was maintained compulsorily in every village. But the organisation had neither the prestige nor the popular backing enjoyed by the Poetera. Soekarno and the other Indonesian leaders of the Hokokai were suspected to be prisoners of the Japanese. Things might not be as bad. Yet it is a fact that they had little scope to further the cause of nationalism.

Japan next sought to rally the Indonesians on the basis of religion. A vigorous propaganda campaign was launched to arouse resistance to the Allies on the basis of the defence of Islam against infidels who sought to enslave the Muslim population of Indonesia. An Islamic body composed of all the existing organisations of a non-political nature was ushered into existence under Japanese patronage towards the end of 1943. But Japan's tactlessness had antagonised the Muslims. The latter resented being forced to bow towards Tokyo rather than Mecca and the exaltation of the Mikado on a religious plane. They also began to emphasize national independence above all else "and this was more frequently accompanied by anti-Japanese than anti-Allied overtones."

Influential underground organisations had been from the very beginning working for national emancipation. The one headed by Amir Sjarifuddin had been established a few weeks before the Japanese landed. It owed its existence in part to the initiative and monetary help of Netherlands Indies Government. This was the most important underground organisation at first. The members of the illegal PKI (the Communist Party) were the most numerous among its supporters. The Japanese very nearly crushed it shortly after their arrival. Amir Sjarifuddin was arrested with a number of his collaborators early in 1943. His death sentence* was commuted to one of life imprisonment through the intervention of Soekarno. The Japanese were indeed more afraid of Sjarifuddin's predominantly Communist-led underground than any other of its kind.

The underground which became more powerful than others in the long run was that headed by Soetan Sjahrir. It had a network of branches at Djakarta (Batavia), Cheribon, Garut, Semarang and Surabaya. It drew its principal supporters from among the educated youth of these cities. A third underground movement was the Student Union which played a vital role in disseminating anti-Japanese revolutionary sentiment. A smaller nucleus of underground headed by Sukarni maintained close contact with Sjahrir's Study Group. A large number of study clubs of young

* Sjarifuddin and several others were sentenced to death in February, 1944.

intellectuals and students were active in spreading anti-Japanese nationalist ideas and in collecting information which they passed on to the larger organisations mentioned above.

The infiltration of the Peta and the Japanese-sponsored youth organisation was the principal objective of all the undergrounds. Sjahrir and most of the underground leaders believed that Indonesia's case for independence would be stronger and have greater influence with the Allies if there was a powerful uprising against the Japanese at the time of Allied landings on Indonesia. The undergrounds, by the way, had considerable success in infiltrating and indoctrinating the various Peta units.

The Youth Organisation, an organisation of educated young men from about 20 to 30, was set up by the Japanese in the middle of 1944 to control effectively the hostile educated youth and to keep them from active participation in anti-Japanese underground activities. Many of the known and suspected underground workers and leaders were forced to accept responsible positions in this organisation. Japan thus sought to kill two birds with one stone. For one thing, these workers and leaders would be more easily watched and as such more effectively controlled. For another, their leading positions in the Youth Organisation would create an impression that they supported the Japanese cause.

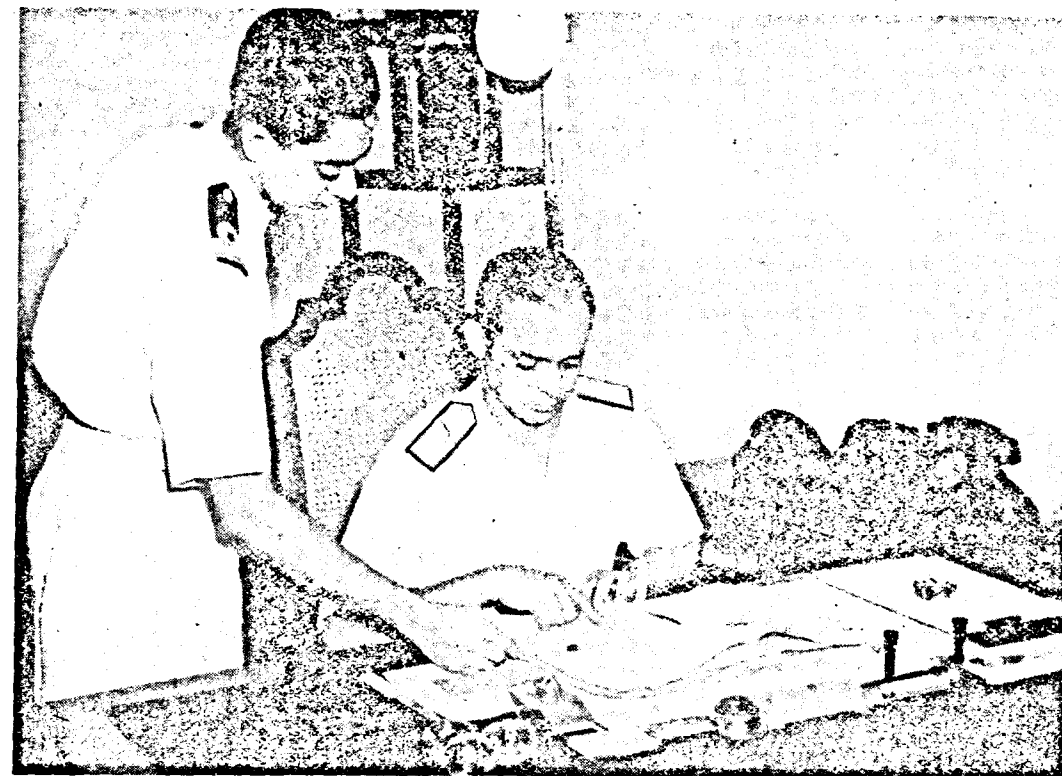
Premier Koiso of Japan announced in 1944 that Indonesia would be given independence "in the very near future." The announcement was immediately followed by a remarkable change in Japan's policy in Indonesia. Control over the Hokokai was relaxed. Soekarno, Hatta and other leaders were allowed much greater opportunities to contact the masses and much greater freedom of speech as well.

Vice-Admiral Mayeda, the Japanese naval chief in Java and in charge of naval intelligence for Indonesia, established the 'Asrama Indonesia Merdeka' (Dormitory for Free Indonesia) at Djakarta in October 1944. The 'Asrama,' a school for semi-educated youths between 18 and 20, had a branch near Surabaya. Non-Communist nationalist leaders were requested by the Japanese to give talks to the students on Nationalism, Economics, Politics, Sociology and Marxism. Sjahrir, Hatta and others agreed. Given complete freedom of speech, they made open propaganda for Indonesian independence. According to Sjahrir himself, they even attacked the army-controlled Japanese administration. Mayeda and his staff began to emphasize the study of Communism before long. The 'Asrama' students were taught that Indonesia's fight for independence was in reality a struggle against capitalist imperialism, that social justice for the world as a whole, not just Indonesia alone, was to be the objective. These schools ran a two-month course till the end of July 1945, and turned out several hundred graduates.

The Japanese military authorities in Java set up the Investigating Committee for the preparation of Independence on March 1, 1945. Soekarno, Hatta and other important nationalist leaders were members of this committee of sixty-two, which included representatives of all the principal, social and ethnic groups of Java and Madura. It reached basic agreements on all constitutional and economic questions. A more or less similar committee was set up by the Japanese military administration on Sumatra on July 25, 1945.

Soekarno's speech before the Investigation Committee for the preparation of Independence on June 1, 1945, marks an important step forward to the maturity and crystallization of Indonesian nationalism. He outlined in this memorable speech the five basic principles—the Pantja Sila—that should guide new Indonesia and serve as its philosophical foundation. These five principles are—nationalism, inter-nationalism or humanitarianism, representative government, social prosperity or social justice and a belief in One God. Soekarno concluded by an impassioned appeal in a militant tone—"And particularly in this time of war, have faith, cultivate in your hearts the conviction that free Indonesia cannot come if the people of Indonesia do not dare to take a risk, do not dare to dive for pearls into the depths of the ocean. If the people of Indonesia are not united, and not determined to live or die for freedom, the freedom of Indonesia will never be the possession of the Indonesian people, never until the end of time! Freedom can only be achieved and owned by a people whose soul is aflame with the determination of *merdeka* (freedom)—freedom or death!" The speech, bordering on the revolutionary, incensed the Japanese. But they thought discretion to be the better part of valour and took no steps against Soekarno.

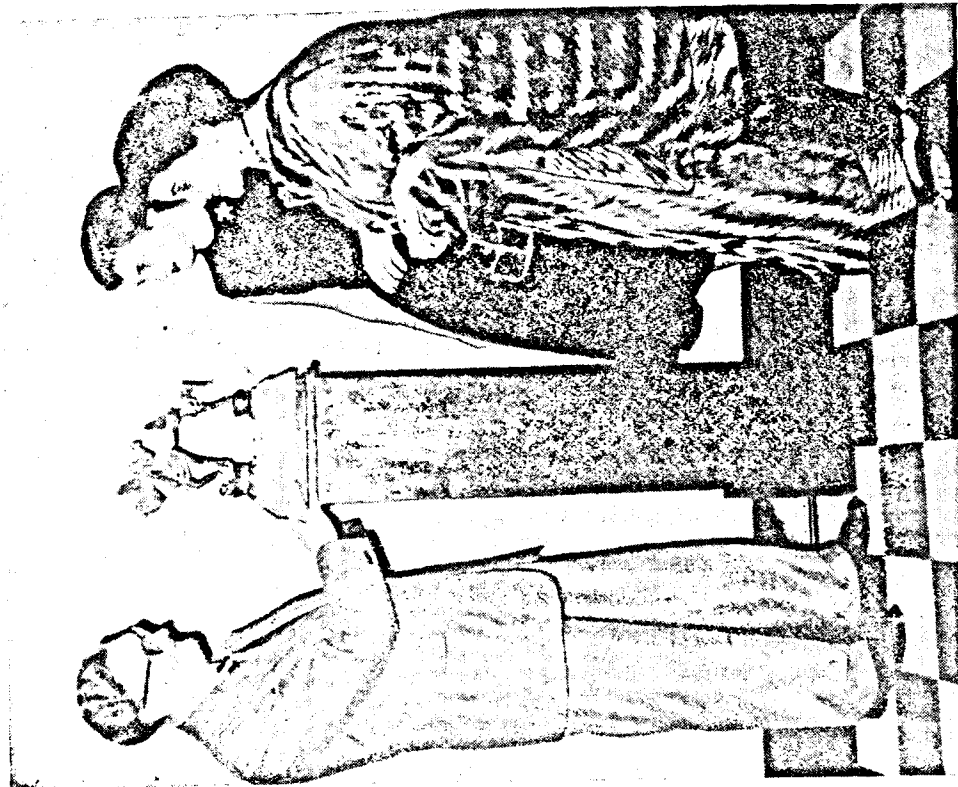
The Japanese gave permission on August 7, 1945, for the establishment of an organisation known as the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee. The committee was to make preparations for the transfer of governmental authority from the Japanese armed forces to its own hands. Soekarno was the Chairman, and Hatta, his Vice. The members were drawn from all parts of Indonesia on a basis of representation roughly proportional to population. Soekarno, Hatta and another member of the committee, K. R. T. Radjiman, were summoned to Dallat in Viet-Nam on August 8 by General Terauchi, Japan's Supreme Commander for South-East Asia. He promised to them on the 11th that independence would be granted to Indonesia on the 24th. A constitutional assembly was to be convened on the 19th. Soekarno, Hatta and Radjiman found on their return that the undergrounds were against any independence that was a gift from the Japanese. The latter had made up their minds to wrest unconditional independence by force. Moreover, the former discovered a few days



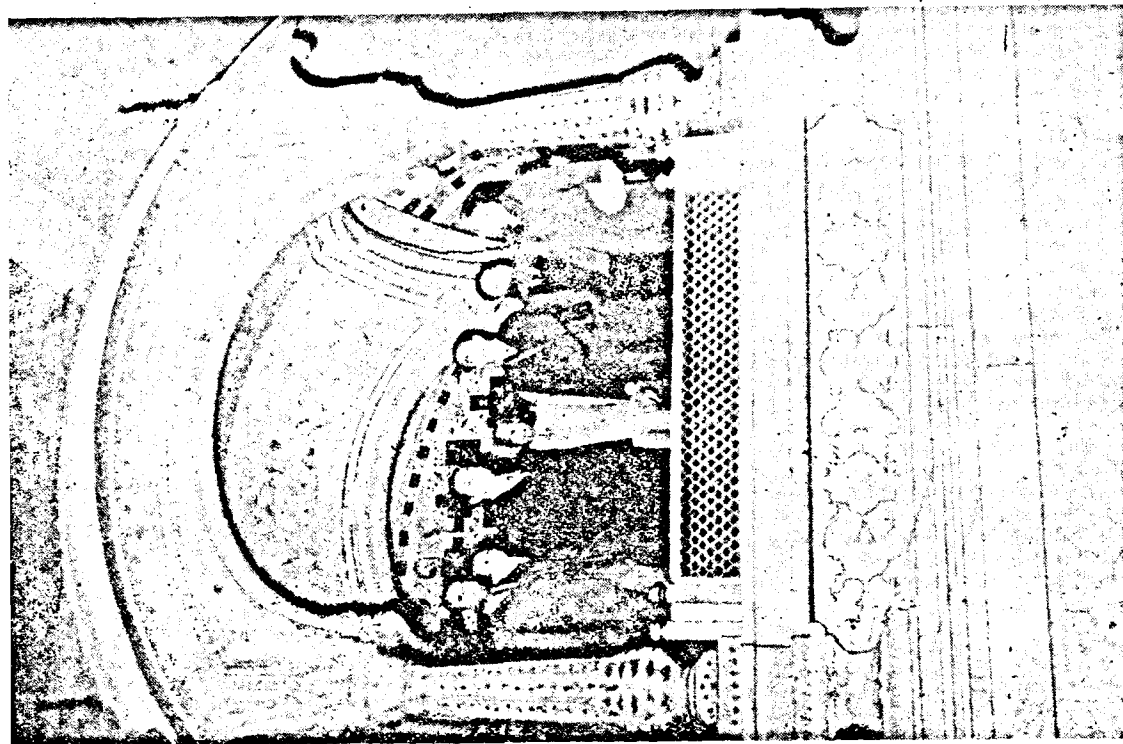
Commodore R. D. Kauri, acting as Naval C.-in-C. in the rank of Rear-Admiral



The youngest boy rate, Campbell, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on the bridge of the Flagship



"Dancing Shiva and Parvati," an eighth century art-piece from India, was the centre of attention at the recent exhibition of art treasures from Asian countries sponsored by the Oriental Club at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia



Members of the Cultural Delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the historic Red Fort, Delhi, on December 12

after their return to Indonesia that Japan had already surrendered to the Allies and was obliged to maintain the political *status quo* everywhere in her 'transient empire'. Nationalist revolution was therefore inevitable.

Japanese occupation had considerably strengthened Indonesia's political consciousness and had made her urge for freedom irresistible.

"The harshness of the Japanese rule much harsher and much more direct than the Dutch, had aroused a consciousness of common suffering and humiliation and a common resentment against the Japanese that enormously strengthened the already existing national consciousness of Indonesians."—*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* by G. M. T. Kahin, p. 128.

Sjarifuddin rightly points out:

"During the three and a half years of Japanese occupation, the foundations of rural society were shaken and undermined by forced regulations. Kidnapping from homes for conscription as labourers abroad or as soldiers, compulsory surrender of harvested crops, compulsory planting of designated crops—all imposed with unlimited arbitrariness."—*Onze Strijd* by Amir Sjarifuddin, p. 11.

Japan's policy alienated the Indonesian peasantry. The series of local agrarian outbreaks, particularly during the last year of the Japanese occupation, was a sign of the times, of the growing political consciousness, of the rising temper, of the peasantry. Indoctrination by the undergrounds plus the cleverness of the nationalist leaders in the Poetera and the Hokokai in general and of Soekarno and Hatta in particular transformed the peasantry's political awakening and the grievances behind it into a national consciousness and ardent desire for freedom unknown to it before. The transformation was due more to the speeches of Soekarno than to anything else.

The Japanese propaganda meant to develop the popular support for their war effort only made the political awakening more complete. Japan's campaign to persuade the Indonesians to equate their national interests with those of Japan miscarried. Indonesia looked to the U.S.A. and not to Japan as her champion and liberator. The ceaseless anti-Allied Japanese propaganda narrowed and intensified the nationalist sentiments of the teen-agers—those between 15 and 20 years of age—specially those with little education, who constituted the majority in the above group. Many developed a chauvinism with a strong, fanatical anti-Western bias, which, more often than not, was sheer hatred of the West and not infrequently manifested in antipathy against Eurasians and Indies Chinese. The relatively educated youth, specially the college and secondary school students were alienated by the policy of forcing the Japanese language on them and the harsh and autocratic administration of the schools. Many left schools in protest. Others were forced to follow suit. A number remained in

schools only to hide their anti-Japanese underground activities.

A large proportion of the students were separated from their homes. If they did not accept scholarships from the Japanese authorities, they had to shift for themselves. Such aid was, however, abominable to most of them. They had, therefore, to find out employments. To support themselves was a new experience for most of them. Getting jobs was no difficulty however. The imprisonment of the European population had created a severe shortage of relatively educated government and commercial workers. The opportunity and ability to support themselves was a novel experience to an overwhelming majority of the erstwhile student population. It gave them, above everything else, a degree of self-confidence unknown hitherto.

Students who left schools—voluntarily or otherwise—took to a serious study of the Social Sciences, a study denied to them before. Many read the writings of Western political thinkers for the first time. Those who had a superficial acquaintance with the political literature of the West, read the same with thoroughness. With the abolition of the Poetera many of its student supporters got in touch with one or more of the undergrounds if they had not already done so. Their political education was furthered and given finishing touches to in the undergrounds particularly in that of Sjahrir. The deep anti-Imperialist and pro-Communist imprint left upon the ex-students of the 'Asrama Indonesia Merdeka' should also be remembered.

The Malaya or the Indonesian language (Bhasa Indonesia) was popularised by the Japanese occupation authorities. It had become the official language and also the medium of instruction above the third grade.

"Because the Japanese were determined to enlist the energies of the entire Indonesian population in the war effort, they penetrated into the villages in the remotest backwaters of islands, using the Indonesian language as they went.

"Thus the language flourished and imbued the people with a feeling new to most of them. As more and more of them learned to speak it freely, they became aware of a common bond. The Indonesian language became a symbol of national unity in opposition to the efforts of the Japanese ultimately to implant their own language and culture. By the time therefore of the Japanese surrender, the position of the Indonesian language had improved enormously both in strength and prestige *vis-a-vis* not only Dutch, but also the various regional languages of the archipelago, which had no opportunity to develop during the occupation."—"The Indonesian Language—By-Product of Nationalism"—Article by Takdir Alisjabana in the *Pacific Affairs*, December, 1949.

Indonesians were appointed to most of the vacancies caused by the removal of the European incum-

bents from administrative and technical jobs. They carried on the work all right, maybe, not equally efficiently in all cases. This exploded the myth of inherent Dutch superiority. When it was further noticed that Indonesians in their new positions gave a better account of themselves than many a Japanese in similar positions the average Indonesian was tremendously impressed. His self-confidence and sense of self-respect were restored. The incubus of inferiority complex was exorcised. The Indonesian raised his head high for the first time in many centuries.

Indonesians who had gained personally by the removal of Europeans from administrative and technical positions, were naturally interested in maintaining the *status quo*. The return of Dutch rule would mean reversion or demotion to former positions. Independence, on the other hand, was to bring still higher promotion. Indeed, the Indonesians had already begun to resent the monopoly of the highest positions by the Japanese.

Indonesia was in ferment. Japanese policy in the archipelago had culminated in a mighty social revolution. Many of the members of the old indigenous aristocracy, who had held relatively high positions under the Dutch, were given higher positions by the Japanese, which were beyond their fondest hopes and boldest dreams under the Dutch rule. Little wonder, they were dead against the return of the Dutch. Their ambitions were whetted ambitions which would not be appeased before they could order their lives in their own way.

Long before the actual surrender of the Japanese the air had been thick with rumours which were not without foundations. The Indonesian undergrounds became more active than before. Sjahrir, who had received radio reports about Japanese peace feelers urged Hatta on August 10, 1945, that he and Soekarno should proclaim Indonesian independence. Hatta was assured of the support of the undergrounds and of

many of the Peta units. The request was repeated four days later on August 14. Neither Soekarno nor Hatta believed as yet that the Japanese would surrender. They feared that Sjahrir's suggestion, if acted upon, would lead to a useless blood bath. Sjahrir, however, believed that Soekarno's unwillingness would be overcome and began to make preparations for a revolution on the 15th. Soekarno remained firm in his attitude. He and Hatta still hoped to avoid bloodshed. An isolated revolution at Cheribon led by Dr. Sudarsono on the 15th was promptly put down by the Japanese. The Student Union underground kidnapped Soekarno and Hatta at 4 A.M. on the 16th and removed them to the Peta garrison at Rengasdengklok. Here Soekarno and Hatta were finally convinced that Japan had already laid down arms. On his return to Djakarta late in the night on the 16th, Hatta contacted a top-ranking Japanese official, who told him that under the terms of the instrument of surrender the Japanese were "merely agents of the Allies" and that they would not sit idle if Indonesia declared independence. Hatta realised that a bloodless revolution was impossible and that the course suggested by the undergrounds was the only means of attaining independence. Sjahrir then met Soekarno in detention and got from him a promise to declare independence.

On the 17th morning Soekarno read out the declaration of independence to a small group that had collected before his residence at Djakarta. Indonesia had reached the cherished goal at long last.

Indonesia was proclaimed a Republic. A new nation was born "by just a turn in the course of world history." The infant Republic had to wait for four years four years of troubles and travails, of sufferings and sacrifices, for internal stability and international recognition.*

* The writer is indebted for much valuable information to Mr. Suwarso, an Indonesian student of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Mr. Suwarso fought for his country's freedom and belonged to the XVIIth Brigade of the Indonesian National Army.

ECONOMY OF THE BULLOCK-CART

By B. K. PODDAR

India is passing through the phase of conflict of the machine and manual labour in a degree not hitherto experienced in this hoary land. Man vs. machine is an age-old problem but in certain matters where machine brings about mass unemployment, the question of its introduction is a hotly debatable point. To take decision either way in a hurry is undesirable and each case has to be judged on its own merits. The ultimate object is to increase national wealth by the totality of factors involved in each industry including employment, economic use of the raw materials, considerable enhancement in the value of the products, utility of waste, widening of the market and growing number of consumers.

Besides the broad economic points that are involved in cases where the effects of the use of machinery are almost readily discernible, there are two spheres where human and animal labour have been in close alliance for centuries and gradual penetration of machine in these fields are bound to affect Indian, particularly rural economy, very adversely. Agricultural methods and a large bulk of the country's transport are from time immemorial mainly dependent on man and cattle and they have helped each other in living perhaps in comparative ease and contentment and also above want. Besides agriculture and transport, the milch cattle have, by providing man with the most balanced diet from his infancy till death, held an

outstanding position in India. The value of milk alone is Rs. 410 crores per annum of which cow and buffalo milk contributes more than 98% of the total. The annual contribution of the livestock in the shape of tractive power, manure and animal products is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2500 crores and is over 15% of the national wealth of India.

It is regretted that domestic animals are not cared for now-a-days to the extent they deserve; rather they are suffering from negligence. The era of veneration for the cows is perhaps over. Even in such a happy state of affairs the element of selfish gain of getting more than what was bestowed upon the animal was never overlooked for the simple reason that for the common man a purely altruistic act without any expectation of a larger or even an equal return is uncommon. These animals wrested an honoured place in proportion to the services they had rendered to the economic order of human society. It is necessary to find out the reason for the loss of warmth of feeling and respect for the cow and it will be found out that it is due to decline in the proportionate benefits to the keeper during the last twenty-five years or so. These two factors have been turning in a vicious circle and the general rut started without anybody almost knowing much about it.

The cattle wealth of India lies not in its quality, but quantity. The yield of milk per animal is much below what it is in most of the civilised countries particularly of the West. The male is weak and its draughtability is very poor. To draw the plough and the cart are the two main tasks they are made to perform; and their productive capacity is exceedingly poor.

If these regions are invaded by machine, the tractor and the motor lorry, with the corresponding loss of usefulness of the animal, it is bound to be treated with further neglect; and the people engaged in earning their livelihood through the services of these animals will lose their bread and occupation.

It is no doubt a curse that the output of the milch cattle and draught animals is much below what their number warrants. The duty of the individual and the State is to improve the quality of both by all means. But to throw them out of service is to violently disturb the present economic structure with germs of utter confusion for the future. The contribution of the animals of traction, particularly bullocks in the service of India is immense. The capital invested in road transport is Rs. 1,200 crores out of which the bullock carts account for about Rs. 670 crores. While railways with an investment of Rs. 838 crores carry 9.5 crore tons of goods, the bullock carts, numbering about 84 lakhs, carry more than 10 crore tons of goods over difficult pathways where motor transport is a complete failure. There are 70 lakhs of people who earn their livelihood as drivers, wheelwrights and assistants. During the farming season, about seven months in a year, the number of bullocks

gainfully engaged is to the tune of 170 lakhs while nearly 50 lakhs labour throughout the whole year. The number of persons living on agriculture and agricultural income is 25 crores of which about 8 crores actually work in the field and farm with the help of the cattle.

Present-day human society cannot do away with milch cattle; efforts will have to be directed both for increasing their number and developing the qualities. The problem will accentuate for the bullocks with the increase of mechanised transport and agriculture. The proportion of birth of he and she-calves is equal and only a few of the bull calves will be required, on attaining maturity, for breeding purposes and the rest will be found absolutely superfluous to the society. With further progress in the method of artificial insemination, a large portion of the bulls will be deemed fit only for the slaughter house. To the majority of the Indian population beef is untouchable and export may find use for just a small portion of what will remain after consumption within the country.

A rapid progress in mechanisation from the totality of its effects will be detrimental to the economic interest of India. There must be a limit put to its expansion even if complete mechanisation of agriculture and transport on some future date is possible. In a country where the population is insufficient for fully working all the sources of production of raw materials and finished goods, it is expedient to take the help of machine. The case is otherwise in a country like China and India teeming with idle hands and suffering from want of employment. A search for profitable alternative employment should proceed hand in hand with the expansion of machine and it is better to allow both to live in peace so long as the cherished goal is not reached. The principle of protecting and helping indigenous small-sized industries suffering from the onslaught of mills and factories has been accepted and the money realised as cess on cotton, oil, match and even *biri* factories is diverted to help the weaker counterpart of the respective industries which have in their employ a large number of workers. In the case of transport, there must be a sector reserved for the bullock carts for profitable work for both man and animal. About tractors, the result is doubtful and it will take long years before cattle go out of the picture altogether. Still there should be a close watch before the problem assumes serious proportions. Improvement in the cart wheel, spokes, axles and rims, shape of the cart and also of the ploughshares is earnestly desired by everybody and if intelligent brains are at work it may be that animal and man will be able to successfully compete with machine which requires a few men to keep it working efficiently. Indian economy has its own peculiarities, and it would be a folly to throw away outright the experience of ages and the system which has so far eminently suited to the needs of the people.

NUTRITION IN INDIA

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

It is no exaggeration to say that the food problem in India is to a great extent the 'Problem of Nutrition.' Although no definite data exist to show the extent to which Indians do not afford a nutritive diet it is a well-known fact that due to heavy pressure of population on land, the lack of subsidiary occupations, the inadequate production of 'Protective Foods,' the inadequacy of transport system, the retardation of economic development for various cogent reasons, the lack of education and the food habits which custom and religion have fixed in the people, they have to remain content with a diet far below the essential required for health. Sir John Byod Orr, the British authority on food, very rightly remarks:

"Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get 'enough' to eat, while a much longer section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root vegetable and insufficient 'protective foods' of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk,¹ pulses, meat, fish, eggs, green leafy vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the vulnerable groups including the infant children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys."

The seriousness of the nutrition problem has been looming large before the economists, politicians and social workers for some time past. Recent surveys and experimental research conducted in various parts of the country particularly at the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor and the Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, have given us a good knowledge of the dietary inadequacies, and medical investigations have revealed many of the deleterious physical consequences.

A diet survey of several families and institutions in Calcutta was made by Dr. Wilson, Bashir Ahmad and Mullick in 1936. It included ten middle class Bengali Hindu families, a male hostel and two orphanages. The survey showed that all the diets analysed fell below the Western standard. They were all-round deficit diets. The deficiency was most marked in

certain directions, viz., animal protein, animal fat, dairy products and calcium. These deficiencies were most marked in children's institutions. The doctors observed:

"Assuming that the Western standard is not rigidly applicable in India and this is probable in the case of fat, the degree of divergence between the figures collected here and the accepted standard is too great to be dismissed, as falling within the range of what constitutes a good diet or what the human species can adapt itself to."

They arrived at the following conclusions:

(i) The diets analysed in this survey are poor in total and animal protein, total and animal fat, calcium and to a lesser extent phosphorus;

(ii) The minimum cost in Calcutta at current price today of a diet which approaches to within a reasonable degree the Western standard, is somewhere in the region of annas 4.4 to 5.6 per man value per day. Under present conditions this is beyond the means of most.²

They recommended the increased use of milk products and *ata* in the rice-eating districts.

Similarly, Dr. Akroyd and Krishnan undertook diet surveys in South Indian Villages in 1936. They investigated into the diet of 4.4 families including 274 persons over a period of 20 days. They divided the families into four groups and they found that the calory intake in Groups I and II was definitely insufficient, and in Group III, though the mean approached the standard requirement, it concealed under-nutrition in a considerable proportion of families. They found, therefore, that one-third to one-half of the group of 44 families studied did not consume enough food during the period of investigation. The intake of protein and fat of animal of calcium origin was low. They observed:

"It is difficult to say how far the families studied were typical of South Indian peasants in general. It is clear that if Group I, which may without exaggeration be described as half-starved, is representative of a large group, the problem of under- and mal-nutrition in South India is more serious than has yet been realised."³

Another survey in the Kangra Valley by the then Punjab Government and the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, revealed that

"The average daily diet of cultivators consisted of cereals. Pulses occupied secondary place in the diet. Vegetables were not conspicuous and the quantity of green vegetables consumed was very small. In the diet of 24 families no green leaf vegetable was included. Only 14 families ate some fruit. The amount of fat consumed was also extremely small and animal fat almost negligible. In 24 out of 60 families no butter, ghee or animal fat was consumed. Meat was almost absent from

2. *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Vol. XXIV, 1936-37, pp. 171-2.

3. *Ibid*, p. 667, et seq.

NUTRITION IN INDIA

4.

the diet. Approximately 50 per cent of the individuals suffered from malnutrition in some degree."⁴

Dr. Lorenzo found that in U. P. the diet consumed by the agriculturists was considerably deficient in necessary proteins and fats.⁵

Another survey connected with the state of nutrition of school children in S. India carried out by Drs. Aykroyd and Rajgopal revealed that in S. India,

"The diet of school children is so inadequate in quality judged by generally accepted standards that diet deficiency must far outweigh other factors as a cause of malnutrition. Out of 1,900 school children in South Indian towns, who were, subject to investigation, 14.7 per cent carried symptoms of food deficiency disease. 6.4 per cent showed phrynoderma, 9.2 per cent angular stomatitis and 3.8 per cent Bitol's spots"⁶

Dr. Marrack gives us the following tables showing the chemical composition of Indian diets and also the percentages of children with evidence of vitamin deficiency:⁷

Calories, Proteins, Fat and Calcium in Indian diets per man value per day

Regions	Calories	Protein	Animal Protein	Fat	Calcium
S. India (Trichinopoly)	2399	62.7	—	26.9	0.31
Assam Coolies	2181	58.8	2.7	12.0	0.173
Nilgiris Tea Plantation	2140	43	—	18.0	0.19
Travancore Tea Plantation	2380	32	—	21.0	0.46
Paharis Tea Plantation	1363	37.3	0	3.5	0.16

POOR INDIAN DIETARIES (1937-42)

(In ozs. per consumption unit)

Food Stuff	Kashmir	Madras	Mysore	Baroda	M.P.	Bengal	Orissa	Bihar	U.P.	Punjab	Assam	Hyderabad
Rice	25.6	14	2.4	8.1	26.4	23.7	24.6	20.1	6.8	...	19	0.9
Wheat	1.3	...	...	...	0.2	...	...	...	17.0	22.4	...	2.0
Millet	...	6	24.9	11.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22.1
Pulses	0.6	1.4	2.1	4.0	1.1	1.4	0.9	0.6	2.4	2.7	1.0	1.7
Leafy vegetables	5.2	0.3	1.3	...	1.5	0.8	0.3	2.0	1.6	3.3	0.2	0.2
Non-leafy vegetables	1.5	3.4	0.9	2.6	3.1	9.2	7.7	0.5	2.3	...	3.4	0.8
Fruits	...	...	...	...	0.1	0.6	...	...	...	...	...	0.6
Oils & Ghee	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6
Milk	2.2	...	1.9	2.3	0.2	3.1	...	0.1	6.4	2.4	0.5	2.1
Meat, fish & eggs	0.2	0.2	...	...	0.1	1.8	0.6	0.1	...	0.7	0.2	0.3
Sugar & jaggery	0.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	...	...	0.6

MIDDLE CLASS DIETARIES

(In ozs. per consumption unit)

Food Stuff	Bengal	Bihar	Bombay	Gujarat	Madras	Punjab
						Hindus Muslims
Rice	10.2	...	8.2	3.6	13.3	1.5 4.1
Wheat	3.1	18.0	3.2	5.6	...	10.9 11.6
Millet	...	...	0.2	0.8	...	...
Other cereals	...	...	...	...	0.8	4.5
Pulses	1.5	4.1	1.1	1.8	1.3	1.8 1.2
Leafy vegetables	0.7	1.2	1.8	...	0.6	4.0 3.0
Non-leafy vegetables	11.6	5.9	3.2	7.0	3.9	4.5 3.0
Fruits	3.3	0.6	...	...	...	0.7
Oils & Ghee	2.2	1.8	2.9	2.6	1.3	1.3 1.4
Milk	11.0	4.1	7.6	10.6	...	10.5 7.0
Meat, fish & eggs	5.6	3.7	4.1	...	...	0.6 2.2
Sugar and jaggery	...	0.6	1.9	1.8	...	1.8 1.1

4. Quoted in *Developing Village India*, 1946, pp. 149-50.

5. A. M. Lorenzo: *Agricultural Labour Conditions in North India*, p. 101.

6. *L. M. Journal*, Vol. XXIV, p. 419.

7. Marrack: *Food and Planning* (1942).

8. V. N. Patwardhan: *Nutrition* (1940).

1. In India, the consumption of milk is only 5.45 ozs. per day (1948) as against 11.8 ozs. in Argentina; 14 ozs. in New Zealand; 18.7 ozs. in Canada; 15.8 ozs. in Denmark; 14.8 ozs. in Ireland; 22.8 ozs. in Sweden and Switzerland; 14.2 ozs. in U.K.; 17 ozs. in U.S.A. and 7.7 ozs. in France. Not only is this all, milk consumption is not uniform in all the Provinces in India. It varies from 1.23 ozs. in Assam; 2 ozs. in M.P.; 2.64 ozs. in Orissa; 2.77 ozs. in W. Bengal; 3.02 ozs. in Bombay; 3.26 ozs. in V.P.; 3.64 ozs. in Hyderabad; 3.97 ozs. in Pepsu; 4.18 ozs. in Madras; 4.33 ozs. in Mysore; 4.37 ozs. in Bihar; 4.54 ozs. in Kashmir; 5.53 ozs. in Delhi; 7.16 ozs. in U.P.; 7.34 ozs. in M.B.; 15.72 ozs. in Rajasthan; 16.89 ozs. in E. Punjab and 19.78 ozs. in Saurashtra.—Vido A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*, Vol. V, No. 2 (1953), p. 18 and Vol. V, No. 3 (1953), p. 11.

A glance at the above tables shows that the middle class diet is relatively better in that it is balanced to a certain extent whereas no such balance exists in the poor man's diet. In the middle class diet, there is a large proportion of fat, milk, flesh-food and sugar. All of them are costly items in the diet and this explains why they are not included in the poor man's dietary.

Food energy is required for maintaining basal metabolism, i.e., the functions of the body when lying still and warm, and for supplementing waste in specific dynamic action. The basal metabolic requirements of calories will of course differ in individual cases according to their size as will be clear from the following table:

BODY SURFACE AND BASAL METABOLIC REQUIREMENTS				
	Height cm.	Weight kg.	Surface area sq.m.	B.M. plus specific dynamic action
Public school youths	180	71	1.88	1,870
Conventional mean man	171	60	1.77	1,770
Average industrial worker	169	61	1.69	1,694

Investigations carried out in India indicate that the B.M.R. for all workers range from 34.3 to 36.7 cal/m²/hr. for males and 30.9 to 35.1 for adult females.⁹ This shows that the B.M.R. for an Indian is less than the corresponding rate for people in Europe. The cause of this lower rate may be due to climate, the very low proportion of protein consumption, or race or it may also be due to chronic under-feeding and universal malnutrition. In a warm climate like India, an appreciably low metabolism is accompanied by a low level of protein consumption.¹⁰ Thus the calories which the Indian working man's diet yields hardly reach the level of those of the diet of the European working man. Mukherjee found that the Bengali Metabolism was on the average 9 per cent below the Western standard.¹¹ while Banerjee's investigation show that the B.M. of the peasants in U.P. is 7 per cent below the English or the American standard. Similarly, Krishnan and Vareed's investigations in S. India showed that the B.M. of men was 12 per cent and of women 16 per cent below the Western standard. A description of the poor Indian dietaries cannot be complete without reference to calories intake and fat and protein contents of their diets.¹² 139 diet surveys were made in different parts

of India during 1937-42 (two of which were made in 1931) which included 3,250 families comprising over 14,000 persons of low income groups, mainly of cultivators, agricultural labourers and agriculturists as well as petty tradesmen and industrial labourers.

Calories: The average calorie intake amounted to 2,560 calories per consumption unit per day. In 92 surveys, the calorie intake was between 2,000-3,000 calories and in 28 surveys it was between 3,000-4,300 calories while 17 surveys have recorded intakes of 1,100-1,500.¹⁴ The lowest intake has been recorded in surveys in Travancore and the highest in the Punjab. It may be mentioned that between 70-80 per cent calories, and in some instances, more are derived from cereals and pulses.

Proteins: The figures for protein intake were available in 132 surveys. These yield an average value of 73 gm. per consumption unit per day. In 98 of these surveys, the protein intake has been recorded between 51 and 100 gm. In 17 surveys, it has varied from 20 to 50 gm. The bulk of the protein in Indian

An allowance of 2,400 calories net per day is considered adequate to meet the requirements of such an individual.

(b) The following supplements for muscular activity should be added to the basic requirements in (a):

Light work: Upto 75 calories per hour of work.
Moderate work: Upto 75-150 calories per hour of work.
Hard work: Upto 150-300 calories per hour of work.
Very hard work: Upto 300 calories and upwards per hour of work.

13. Caloric Chart:		
Ghee or cooking oils	255	calories per oz.
Groundnut in shell	120	"
Sugar	110	"
Cereals and pulses	100	"
Condiments	60	"
Dry fruits	50	"
Milk	20	"
Fruits	13	"
Goat meat	50	"
Potatoes	16	"
Vegetables	6	"

14. The average value of 2,560 is low, but not very low when considered that it includes men and women of all ages engaged in different states of physical activity and children of varying ages. Aykroyd's estimate for an average Indian is 2,500-2,600 calories per day. He concedes that those who perform heavy manual work probably require about 2,800-3,000 calories per day, and if the agriculturist is to work very strenuously on his holding, he must have a correspondingly high calorie intake. Dr. Baljit Singh holds that 2,800 calories per average man daily should be the necessary minimum. According to him, the total number of calories available for actual consumption is estimated to be about 22 per cent below the minimum requirements for good health.—B. Singh: *Population and Food Planning in India* (1947), p. 101.

It may be pointed out that the amount of energy used by different individuals is found to be proportional to the surface area of their bodies; and since men are bigger than women they require more calories than women and boys more than girls, (ii) during the period of adolescence and youth more food is needed in proportion to the size of the body than when a man is full-grown, (iii) more calories are needed in cold than in hot climate and more in winter than in summer and (iv) more food energy is needed in Northern India and wheat zones and less in South India and rice zones.

diets is derived from cereals, pulses and other vegetable sources. About 40 surveys make a mention of animal protein in the diet food of animal origin. Thus the intake of animal protein is very much lower as the diets contain extremely small quantities of milk and milk products and flesh food. It has been estimated that their proportion should be at least one-fifth and higher if possible particularly during growth, pregnancy and lactation.

Fat: The figures for fat intake were available in 127 surveys which shows an amount of 23.5 gm. per consumption unit per day.¹⁵ Most of the fat is derived from vegetable oils, milk, milk products—ghee or butter.

The chief source of energy in the body is the carbohydrates in a diet which is mostly vegetarian as in India; in it there is an excess rather than a deficiency of these. There are certain inorganic mineral substances which must also be supplied in the diet in the form of calcium and phosphorus (and also iron), but Indian diets are very deficient in all these substances. In addition different vitamins in adequate quantity should also be supplied by the food. But all of them are not available in requisite proportions and hence there is to be found a mild chronic deficiency existing among the population.

Thus it will be observed that "the inadequacy of calories, lack of proper balance and lack of uniformity" seem to be the three great alarming drawbacks of the Indian diets and these defects are rooted in the poverty and ignorance of the people, in the social and religious prejudices against the acceptance of cheap animal food like fish, eggs and meat. A close analysis of the peasant and working class dietary in different parts of India shows that the diet is usually lacking in calories and is not too well-balanced and apt to be bulky, as the following table would reveal:¹⁶

	Protein (gms.)	Fat (gms.)	Carbohydrates (gms.)	Total calories
Punjab cultivator	120.0	70.0	560	3,440
" jail diet	113.4	26.8	612.8	2,880
" cultivator (Barry)	104.0	14.13	514.3	2,708
" (K. Singh)	110.2	54.9	769.8	4,014
U. P. farm land	99.9	23.9	487.3	2,310
U. P. mill worker	90.0	45.0	530	2,800
Bihar coal miner	64.1	20.3	505.5	2,599
Bengali jute worker	66.0	41.0	526	2,752
Bengal jail diet	93.3	39.4	693.3	3,508
Bombay mill women	57.0	38.0	413	2,234
Madras farm land	58.32	2.7	536.8	2,222

The main defects in the Indian dietaries may be put as follows:¹⁷

15. According to McCarrison, 80 gms. of fat is required for the boy while Dr. Aykroyd holds that 40 to 50 gms. per adult daily shall be required.

16. R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* (1938), pp. 78-80.

17. C. B. Mamoria: *Dietaries in Rural India* (June, 1951), pp. 236-37.

(i) The fault of the Indian diet lies in its ill-balanced composition, e.g., in the Punjab, U.P., Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, the unchanging combination is of wheat, jowar, bajra or maize, atta and dal; whereas in Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, it is rice and vegetables or dal; in Madras it is rice and tamarind juice curry and in Bengal it is rice, curry and fish. In each case more than three-fourths of the total quantity of food consumed by all the agricultural classes consists of these two only.

(ii) One of the greatest difficulties in India is to secure a sufficient amount of vitamin A, because the food-stuffs which contain most of this vitamin like eggs, oil-fish or fish-oil and leafy vegetables are not consumed by a majority of the rural population.

(iii) The bulk of our population is vegetarian. Meat, liver, eggs are rarely consumed by our people. Inadequate use of these articles lead people to suffer from scurvy, anaemia, rickets, thin bones, poor appetite and bad digestion.

(iv) The calories and proteins obtained from the diet per person per day in India is very low in comparison with other countries as would be gathered from the figures given below (1950-51).¹⁸

Country	Calories (No. per day)	Total protein (gms. per day)	Animal protein (gms. per day)
Canada	3,240	95	57
U.S.A.	3,210	92	61
Denmark	3,130	97	57
France	2,790	91	41
Germany	2,810	76	36
Sweden	3,240	95	60
Italy	2,400	76	20
Switzerland	3,250	97	51
U. K.	3,100	88	46
Ceylon	2,060	48	12
China	2,120	65	5
India	1,570	42	6
Japan	2,100	53	10
Pakistan	2,160	58	11
Egypt	2,400	68	14
Australia	3,290	98	66
New Zealand	3,470	104	70

INCIDENCE OF MALNUTRITION

Food deficiencies may cause well-recognised deficiency diseases which do not invariably cause actual death or infirmity but are certain to lead to general ill-health, to increase greatly the susceptibility to many other diseases of infectious origin (tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia, leprosy) and to impair the efficiency and well-being of the masses. It also lessens the strength and incentive and effective intelligence which are necessary if people are to remedy their situation. Sir McCarrison has shown by a patient study how the stamina and physique of the rice-eating population of Bengal and Madras are far below those of the Northern people who live on wheat, milk, fruits and meat. The faulty diet has a very great effect on body-building. A badly fed

18. F.A.O.: *State of Food and Agriculture, 1952*.

9. V. N. Patwardhan: *Nutrition in India*, pp. 122-123.

10. Table appended.

11. H. N. Mukherjee: *Cal. Medical Journal*, Vol. XX, p. 425.

12. Quantitative requirements are usually estimated in terms of the heat unit calories. A calorie is the unit of heat necessary to raise one kilogram of water by one degree centigrade. An expert Commission of the League of Nations (1936) has drawn up the following statement about Energy requirements:

(a) An adult (male or female) living an ordinary even life in a temperate climate and not engaged in manual work is taken as the basis on which the needs of the other age-groups are reckoned.

child is often small for its age and then, its 'weight for height' will be below the average. It will fall sick easily whereas a well-fed human being has a glossy skin and a glow of health. Infants, growing children, expectant and nursing mothers are those who are most affected by deficiency diseases. They are often lean with sunken eyes and cheeks and occasionally having marked symptoms of anaemia.

(i) Malnutrition raises our death rate in two ways. In the first place, it gives rise to certain deficiency diseases and secondly it lowers the resistance power of our people to infection. It has been found out that in S. India, where milled rice is the staple article of diet, nearly all the pregnant women are in a state of avitaminosis B. As a result, the incidence of premature births is three times as great as it is in the North of India, where wheat is the staple diet,¹⁹ and in consequence the infant mortality rate also is many times greater in Madras or Bengal than in the Punjab or U.P. Similarly, T.B. is twice as prevalent in S. India as in the Punjab.

(ii) Investigations carried out in agricultural regions or ecological areas indicate that fecundity is reduced as a result of deterioration of the food position in the face of an acute pressure of population. During famines and wars, sterility in women and failure of menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of mal-nutrition. Mal-nutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential food-stuffs, such as calcium and vitamins, has a direct effect in the reduction of fecundity. No doubt, the consumption of wheat (which contains vitamin B) is considerably reduced during a famine or a year of scarcity, while milk and milk products as well as some fresh vegetables (all of which are rich in vitamin E, that has also been considered to have favourable effect on reproduction) are entirely eliminated from the diet. The general law of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation which leads to an increase of abortion and contributes to diminish fecundity.²⁰

(iii) The food shortage in India is so acute that in normal years, where there are no apparent deaths due to famine or actual starvation, one-fourth of the children born die before the age of one year, only half surviving up to the age of 20 years. Longevity is very much restricted and the average expectation of life at birth is as low as 26.91 for males and 26.56 for females. Among the survivors, the standard of health is very low while infirmities and deficiency diseases are quite common.

19. R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

20. Spackman has estimated the abortion rate for the general population in India at 10 per cent of the total pregnancies. Reckoning the live births in India at 14 million per annum and adding 1 m. per annum and adding 1 m. for still births, the total pregnancies would be sixteen and a half m. and total abortion sixteen and a half lakhs per annum.—(Quoted in *N. P. Report on Population*, p. 64).

(iv) Not only that, under-feeding causes a retardation of development, especially of young children, as well as symptoms of disease in fully developed adults. Dr. McCay observed some years back:

"As we pass from the north-west region of the Punjab (P) down to the Gangetic plain to the coast of Bengal, there is a gradual fall in stature, body weight, stamina and efficiency of the people. In accordance with this decline in many characteristics it is of utmost significance that there is an accompanying gradual fall in the nutritive value of dietaries and more specially in the average level of protein metabolism attained by the people of the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Bengal."

Similarly, McCarrison supports the above nutritional generalisation. He makes a study of the races of India and their diets and observes:

"Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the manly, stalwart and resolute races of North—the Pathans, Baluchis, Sikhs, Punjabis, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs and Marathas, and poorly developed toneless and supine peoples of the east and south—Bengalis, Biharis, Madrasis, Kanarese and Travancorians."

This remark shows that mal-nutrition increases from the wheat-eating areas of North, West U.P. and the East Punjab plains to the rice-eating areas in Bengal, coastal lands and Madras, so does the incidence of certain diseases as beriberi, pellegara, lesions, cataracts, dropsy, rickets and xerophthalmia.

Thus it may be noted that fertility, resistance to disease, height, weight, general endurance, learning capacity and many of the qualities of personality are strongly influenced by the diet in the sense that proper environment in relationship to the matters of diet and hygiene promotes the development of superior individuals, if we regard greater height, greater weight, resistance to infection, and better learning ability as evidence of superiority.

In determining how far the absence of certain specific food factors lead to diseases, one of the difficulties is that it is seldom possible to observe in man the effect of one food deficiency in isolation. Food deficiencies are usually multiple and the interpretation of their effects is usually complicated by the presence of various infections. Some symptoms, particularly those of a general nature occurring in the earlier stages of a deficiency disease may not only be characteristic of the lack of a particular food factor, but they may well be the result of disease processes unrelated or only indirectly related to the dietary. For this reason, the correct interpretation of the facts is a matter of much difficulty. Nevertheless, a considerable number of specific diseases are now generally recognised and it may be pointed out that faulty and unbalanced diets are as much responsible for disease and mortality as deficient or inadequate diets.

For normal growth and development, it is essential that the right kind of food should be taken. Food must supply energy for the body. Protein, fat and carbohydrates are sometimes known as 'energy-yielding food factors,' since they are burnt or oxidized in the body to provide energy for the body. The protein and fat should not be derived from any one particular source—cereals or pulses—as is the case in most parts of U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan and Chota Nagpur, where the whole population depends on coarse cereals or rice taken with *dals*. There must always be a proportion of *atta* to milk, vegetables, *dals*, animal fat and meat or fish. This proportionate mixture is necessary not only to give mineral salts and vitamins in abundance but also to supply enough cellulose for the proper action of the bowels. It should, therefore, be noted that a properly constituted diet should not only contain energy-yielding foods like cereals—rice, wheat, barley, millets, maize, jowar, bajra and oats, fat and sugar, but also protective foods which protect the body against disfunction and disease and provide strength, give health, protect infant and early mortality and give longevity, such as proteins—animal

proteins like milk, milk products, fish, eggs, meat, and vegetable proteins like pulses, peas, beans, lentils and nuts, mineral salts and vitamins, which are available from green and leafy vegetables, root vegetables, and fruits. Infants and growing children need relatively more animal food and vitamins than animals. Similarly, expectant and nursing mothers have also their special requirements.

In order that the diet be wholesome and well-balanced to suit any regional conditions in different parts of India, not less than one-third of protein, and one-half of fat should be derived from animal sources or milk products, vegetables in purely vegetarian diets. In both cases the quantity of vegetables should be more than four times as great by weight as the amount of non-cereal foodstuffs. When it is necessary to increase the energy value of the diet, so as to provide for hard labour and unusual activity, the amount of starch and sugar should be increased.

The following table prepared by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Research Fund Association in 1944 gives the daily dietary allowances in terms of essential nutrients:²¹

DAILY REQUIREMENTS OF CALORIES AND SOME ESSENTIAL NUTRIENTS									
Person	Nature of work	Net calories	Proteins (g)	Fat (g)	Calcium (g)	Iron (mg)	Vitamin A (I.U.)	Vitamin D (D.V.)	
Men (55 kg. or 120 lbs.)	(1) Light or sedentary work	2400	82	Higher consumption of fats in summer.	1.0	20 to 30	3000 to 4000		
	(2) Moderate work	3000	82		"	"	"		
	(3) Very hard work	3600	82		"	"	"		
Women (45 kg. or 100 lbs.)	(1) Light or sedentary work	2100	67	Higher consumption of fats in winter.	"	"	"		
	(2) Moderate work	2500	67		"	"	"		
	(3) Very hard work	3000	67		"	"	"		
	(4) Pregnancy	2100	101		1.5	"	"	400 to 800	
	(5) Lactation	2700	112		2.0	"	"	"	
Children	Under 1 year	100/kg.	3.5/kg.		1.0	10 to 30	3900 to 4000		
	1 to 3 years	900	3.5/kg.		"	"	"		
	3 to 5 years	1200	3.5/kg.		1.5	"	"		
	5 to 7 years	1400	3.0/kg.		"	"	"		
	7 to 9 years	1700	2.5/kg.		"	"	"		
	9 to 12 years	2000	2.0/kg.		"	"	"		
Adolescents	12 to 15 years	2400	"		"	"	"		
	15 to 21 years	2400	"		"	"	"		

The information given in the above table can be interpreted in terms of common food-stuff consumption per head per day thus: Cereals 14 ozs., pulses 4 ozs., green leafy vegetables 4 ozs., root vegetables 4 ozs., green leafy vegetables 4 ozs., root vegetables 4 ozs., vegetable oil and ghee 2 ozs., fish and egg 1 oz.

Drs. Patwardhan and Ranganathan enable us to compare a typical 'ill-balanced' Indian diet with a well-balanced diet:

COMPOSITION OF AN ILL-BALANCED AND AN IMPROVED DIET

(Ozs. per consumption unit per day)

Food	Ill-balanced diet	Improved diet
Cereals	15 Ozs.	14 Ozs.
Pulses	1.0 "	3 "
Milk	1.0 "	4 "
Leafy vegetables	0.75 "	8 "
Root vegetables	1.0 "	6 "
Oil and fat	0.50 "	2 "
Sugar and jaggery		2 "

21. Quoted by V. N. Patwardhan and S. Ranganathan in "Nutritional Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets."—*Health Bulletin*, No. 23, Fourth Edition, 1951, p. 15.

The following table gives the approximate chemical composition of the above two diets:—

	Ill-balanced diet	Improved diet
Protein	38 gms.	73 gms.
Fat	19 "	73 "
Carbohydrates	357 "	445 "
Calcium	0.16 "	1.5 "
Phosphorus	0.60 "	1.4 "
Iron	9.0 mg.	60 mg.
Vitamin A (I.U.)	500 "	5000 "
Vitamin B ₁	0.5 "	1.5 "
Vitamin C	15.0 "	100.0 "
Calories	1750 "	2795 "

22. V. N. Patwardhan: *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

It will be noted that the more well-balanced diet, containing less of cereals and more of everything else, is infinitely more satisfactory in quality. In the opinion of an American nutrition expert, a balanced diet should consist of as follows:

1. One-fifth for vegetables and fruits.
2. One-fifth for milk, butter milk, butter and ghee.
3. One-fifth for meat, fish and eggs.
4. One-fifth for cereals.
5. One-fifth for fat, sugar, spices and extras.

PRABHAT NEOGY A Study in Sensibility

By N. L. KHANOLKAR, M.A.
The Scindia School, Gwalior Fort

It is not easy to say whether, as an artist, Prabhat Neogy is an escapist or a lover of life at its quickest and its sensitive interpreter.

which Bengal witnessed in the nineteen thirties. Life was then an adventure, a facing of hardship, an evangelical fervour, a dream to shake the people of India out of the



"Sinchan"—Sprinkling water

In his apprenticeship days, Prabhat belonged to that influence and inspiration group of artists who, working under the of Abanindranath Tagore and Gaganendranath, rode the waves of the artistic and cultural renaissance



Leisure

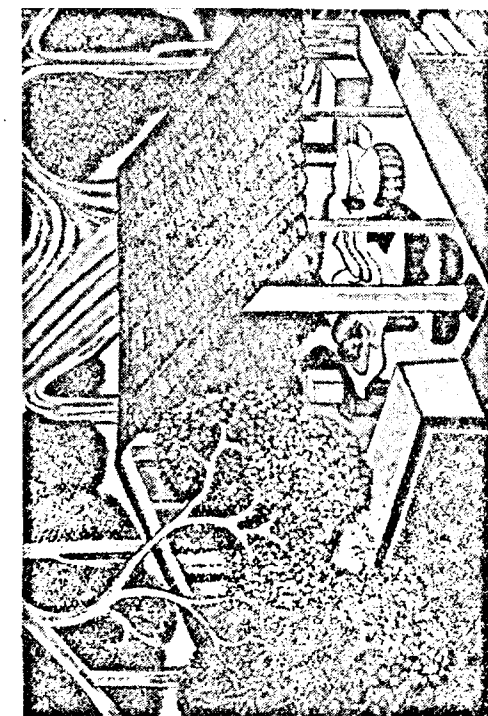
sordid and the boroque. In that context, he was one of those who were in the thick of the battle, painting, arguing, reaching out towards form through experiments, yet belonging truly to tradition.



A river sketch



Homeward bound



The village shop

It was a privilege to have your first attempts criticised by the vigilant and outspoken Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Neogy lived with a group of artists in the Oriental Art Society in Calcutta for a considerable period, and he mentions the name of the famous *Vaishnava* artist Shri Kshitindranath Mazumdar (one of his instructors) with affection and admiration.

It is nearly 20 years since Prabhat Neogy and I have walked under the same cork trees and sat in the shadow of the same mediaeval temples. Occasionally, Prabhat reminisces over the old days, how he starved and shivered, saw plays in the Jorasanko house, read Havell and marvelled over Cezanne and Van Gogh. He was a part of a group then, which regarded creative work with faith. He had knocked about the vast country, Banaras, Madras, Nainital, Kashmir, and has come to anchor in the Gwalior Fort, as a schoolmaster and art-teacher. Here, he has grown roots in water and wood and stone, having discovered something which satisfies a deep need.

In 1939, Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, President of the Hawaii University, Honolulu, offered him a chance to travel, at which Prabhat jumped. He held a one-man show of his pictures at the Academy of Art in Honolulu, painted a mural in the Watumal House (his host) and another in the Sydney University (on his way back) and met artists from China, Japan and Europe. This trip has added a precious ring to his experience. The temptation to stay on in the West,

to take it easy, was great, but the pull back to the country of banana leaves, red earth and *amramanjari* was greater. His creed is that though a holiday abroad brings richness and zest to the mind, a creative artist can do good work only in his own environment. To live permanently away from your own soil is not only to be forlorn but also to be barren.

As a schoolmaster too, Prabhat has made his mark. His sunshine temperament, his love of laughter and his mild ways have influenced many boys, and there are some old boys, who, having drawn and painted under his inspiration have kept up their interest, and are drawn back to him always. In the field of amateur dramatics, too, Prabhat's improvisations and brown paper setting (ordinary packing paper cut and pasted upon black cloth conjures a wonderful effect) have given much pleasure.

Although fond of the good things of life, of music, and congenial company, Prabhat has a retiring disposition. Publicity is an empty phrase for him. He does not believe in labels, either. He is aware that the understanding and interpretation of beauty is a discipline which calls for hard work. Prabhat is not very prolific, too, which is all to the good, because it behoves the artist to lie fallow also. His sense of pattern, of composition is unerring, and his favourite colours are earth brown, moss green and Indian red. "It is enough for me," he says, "if I am sincere to myself and true to the grain of nature. The rest follows."

TEN DAYS IN RAJASTHAN

By DR. L. MUKHERJEE, M.A., B. Ed., Ph.D.,
Lucknow University

PERHAPS with a man forced to lead a sedentary city life a desire to go out and visit places of interest, especially a place like Rajasthan steeped in glory that was once Ind, is natural. The consideration of expense, and inconvenience and the question of available time do often curb that desire, for one feels that the expense may be too great, the area being waterless desert, where one may not find convenient places to stay, may be discouraging or the journey may take a long time to cover and one may not be able to bear the strain and come back without seeing much. But many of us can snatch a short holiday of about ten days or so in order to undertake a journey like the one we did, and it may not be difficult to lay by a sum of a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty rupees in which a journey like the one we performed can be undertaken, provided one does not go in for expensive hotels or has no hesitation to cover the railway journey in an inter class. The same journey if performed in a third class may reduce the expense to Rs. 120 or less, and if performed in a second will increase to Rs. 200 or more. As both the persons who performed the journey were

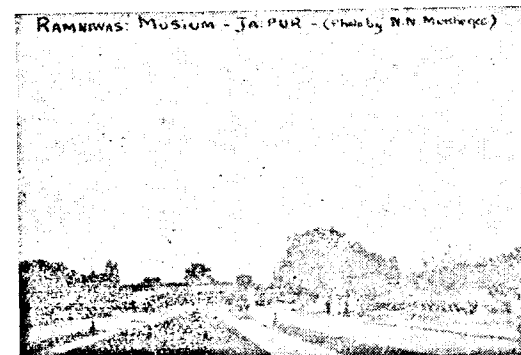
above forty, it will prove that the strain involved, even in a hot season should not deter one to venture.

The immediate reason for our undertaking this tour was the total eclipse of the sun which was visible from only two places of India, Phalodi and Jasalmere, on the 30th June. This rare phenomenon which occurred after 56 years, may not occur again within the lifetime of most of us, and we were therefore eager not to miss this chance of a lifetime. As it was within the summer holidays, we desired to cover incidentally as many places of interest in Rajasthan as we could. At the beginning I found many to accompany me, but gradually one by one they dropped, fearing the rigours or strain or possibly the fact that expenses would far exceed the budget. Ultimately the party was limited to only two of us, myself and Professor N. N. Mukherjee of the Lucknow Civil Engineering College, whose twenty years of life as a surveyor has not dulled the keen enthusiasm for history that still resides within him, though mostly in a dormant form.

We started on the 26th June when the through

TEN DAYS IN RAJASTHAN

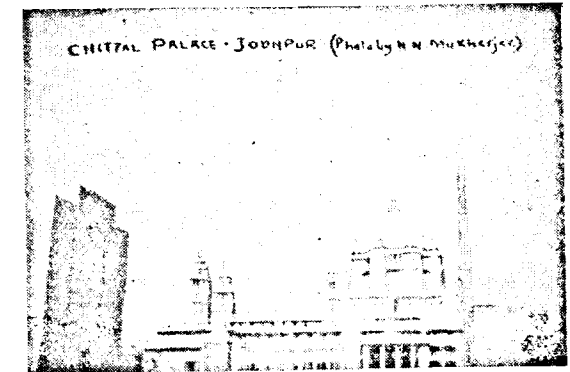
carriages and many trains to Agra side were cancelled owing to rush expected at Kurukshetra. We therefore took the N. E. Railway Agra Express leaving Lucknow at 6 P.M. and arriving at Agra by 10.45 A.M. Mr. R. S. Shukla, an ex-student of my companion, forced us to accept his hospitality. As Agra was not a new place for either of us we merely visited two places, the Taj and Etmaduddaula, the mausoleum of Nurjahan's father, and left for Jaipur by the 7 P.M. train. Most of the sectional carriages provided by Western Railway, in the through train are quite comfortable and some of the new third class coaches can bear its own claim if compared with some of the rickety second class carriages which we find in most of our branch lines in the Northern Railway. We were however less lucky, for we could not get a seat in a Jaipur carriage and had to sit in one of the through carriages going straight to Ahmedabad which was not so comfortable. Any way we reached Jaipur at 3.30 A.M. The Panchayat Raj Dharamsala which was near was ready to receive us even at that rather unusual hour. Though not so comfortable as the Dharamsala of Jodhpur, yet we found this Dharamsala not quite uncomfortable, at any rate it was much better than many we see in U.P. An airy room was provided, for a nominal rental of annas three per day plus an anna for each charpoi that we used. Water was provided in our bath room at an anna per bucket. Fairly clean and wholesome meals are available in the Dharamsala itself at a rupee each.



Ramniwas Museum, Jaipur

Taking our tea, we went out to visit this beautifully planned city of Raja Jai Singh. The princely order of Kachwa Rajputs claims their descent from Kush, one of the sons of Ramchandra. The branch originally settled in Rohtas near Dehri on Son in Bihar; why they migrated to Gwalior in the 3rd century A.D. is still a mystery. The hill fortress of Ambar which overlooks the present city of Jaipur seems to have been constructed by Dhola Raj in 967 A.D. as a defensive measure. Finally on or about 1150 A.D. the fort became the capital. When Allauddin stormed Ranthambhore in 1303 A.D. the Rajah of Jaipur retreated to the interior but soon re-occupied his old fort after making an alliance with the Pathan ruler. Baharimal was the ruler of Ambar from

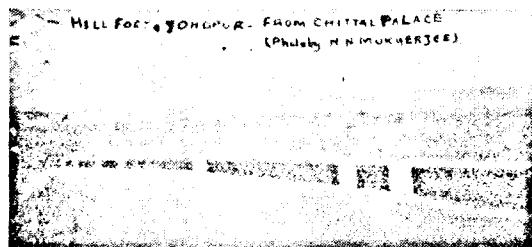
1548-74, he paid homage to Humayun and later to Akbar, to the latter he gave his daughter in marriage. His son Bhagwandas, who was made the governor of the Punjab, likewise gave his daughter in marriage with Akbar's eldest son Salim, better known as Jahangir. He ruled for 16 years and was succeeded by Mansingh one of Akbar's ablest generals who ruled from 1590 to 1614. Because of marriage alliance the rulers of Jaipur were



Chittal Palace, Jodhpur

looked down by the Shisodias of Mewar and legends say that it was Mansingh who instigated Akbar to attack Rana Pratap in 1577. The next stalwart ruler of Jaipur seems to be Jai Singh I, commonly known as Mirza Jai Singh who served both Shahjahan and Aurangzeb ably. He was instrumental in Sivia's coming to Moghul court, it is however commonly held that the suspicious emperor got him poisoned in 1667. The next two rulers were less efficient and then we find the name of Jai Singh II, who was given the honorific title Swai Jai Singh as he was supposed to be 25 per cent more talented than even the most talented of all persons of his day. Amidst the revolution and destruction of the Moghul empire and the Marhatta raids, Jai Singh's rule of forty-four years (1699 to 1743) kept Ambar house clear of all intrigues and made it prosperous. Being a contemporary of Walpole he did for Ambar what Walpole did for England. But our Indian Walpole had his talents in other directions also. He was an excellent architect. So long the capital was a hill fortress 3 miles away from the present city, situated on a spur 350 feet high it had little chances for expansion, so a new capital was constructed in 1728, with a town area of 3 square miles, enclosed within seven gates, each of which differs from the other in architecture. Of these, Nar gate leads to the station. The main street from East to West is 111 feet wide and crosses at right angles another equally wide main street at Ishwer Lat. There are other less important streets 55 feet wide cutting these two and a number of lanes which are 27½ feet wide. All the houses overlooking the streets are built of red sandstone giving the city a picturesque appearance. The royal palace situated in the centre is seven-storied high with

a *Dewani khas*. The present Rajasthan Government levies a charge of five rupees per visitor to see this which is exorbitant considering the fact that at Agra, Delhi or Udaipur such things can be seen cheaply. Near the palace is the *Bawan Cutchery* or the old secretariat while many offices of the present secretariat are housed in the famous *Hawa Mahal*, a six-storied high structure built by Madho Sing in the 18th century. Present Assembly holds its sitting in the town hall.



Hill Fort, Jodhpur

Jai Singh was not only an architect, but an astronomer. He built five observatories, at Jaipur, Delhi, Muttra, Banaras, and Ujjain. Of these Jaipur observatory is the biggest and the best kept. This masonry structure, built at a time when modern precision instruments were unknown, with its azimuth circles, altitude pillars and sun dials, is surely worth a visit. The new town planned by Mirza Ismail, a late Dewan, contains the famous Ram Niwas Park having the zoo and the museum. The only attraction at the zoo is a male goat which seems to have mammary glands which is certainly a freak of nature. The museum is a beautiful structure situated between two portions of the zoo. Close by one finds the Maharaja's College which is a degree college up to M.A. and Makarani's college which is one of the best Girls' Public Schools in India.

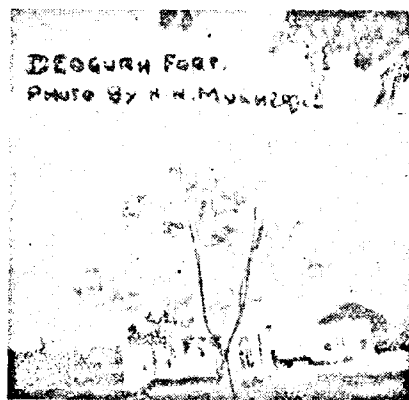
We left Jaipur on the afternoon of the 28th by the through passenger which carries two through III class bogies direct to Jodhpur. Passengers of other classes have to change at Mertha Road, but the change is not inconvenient as Marwar Mail arrives within a few minutes time. At about 9 in the evening we crossed Sambar Lakes where the railway line goes through a causeway for a mile with the salt lake on either side. The piles of salt near the station are also interesting to see. The fort of Mertha a few miles from the Mart, a Road station, was captured by Akbar after a stiff resistance in 1562.

We reached Jodhpur at half past six in the morning and took up our lodgings at Raghunath Das Dharamsala which is a fine building with excellent arrangements for bath. No charge is made for the lodging except a hire charge of annas two per cot and a refundable deposit of Rs. 2.

History of Jodhpur seems to be more chequered than that of Jaipur. A clan of Rastrakutas settled in Kanauj between 946 to 959 A.D. The last ruling king Jai Chandra refused to help Prithviraj in his fight with the

Afghans, but his neutrality did not help him, for he was attacked and killed by Muhammad Ghorji in 1194. His nephew Salaji migrated to Marwar, and from 1212 to 1381 Hatbedi was the capital after which Mandor was their headquarters for the next 78 years.

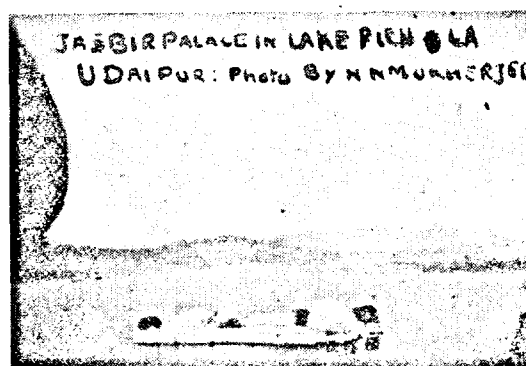
Due to undue interference in the affairs of Mewar where his grandson was yet a minor, Ranmal lost not only his life, but his capital was also seized by the Mewar regent Chounda, and Jodha, the son of Ranmal, had to fly for his life. Although he recaptured Mandore in 1359, he did not think it safe to retain his capital there and in 1358 moved to the hill fortress, a year later the city was founded with the hill fort guarding it. Rathores of Marwar fought with Sher Sha in 1543 and were afterwards subdued by Akbar in 1562. From that time Jodhpur was an ally of the Moghuls till Jaswant Singh, who was formerly Dara's general and was therefore held in suspicion by Aurangzeb, died at Jamrud near Peshawar in a circumstance which lays the blame on the Emperor. Soon after his death in 1671, Aurangzeb attacked and annexed his territory, but the queen with the assistance of loyal chiefs, Copinath and Durgadas, could take her infant son Ajit to Mewar from where Ajit recovered Mandor in 1701 and the rest of the territory by 1707. Ajit's daughter Indrakumari was, however, married to Farrukhiyar, and this seems to be the last example of a Rajput princess married to a Moghul, mentioned in history.



Deogurh Fort

The rock fort guarding the city is situated at an altitude of 490 feet surrounded by a wall a hundred feet high. The fort encloses a space of 500 by 250 yards. Two gates *Jaipol* and *Fatehpol*, guard it. In the city and in its neighbourhood there are ten palaces, the best of which was built by Umrao Singh about fifty years ago and is known as the Chittal palace. It is about 2 miles away from the town and stands on a spur about a hundred feet high. My resourceful companion could secure the permission, rare even for local people, from the brigadier to see the beautifully decorated rooms within. The aerodrome which is one of the largest in

the east, is quite near this palace. At the foot of the spur is a less decorated palace Raikeshbagh. The law courts are near by. Jodhpur zoo is really the Lucknow zoo in miniature, but the tiger's and lion's dens are better kept. The museum has five stuffed animals, Cat, Kid, Kawn, Lamb and Rabbit, all of which are Siamese twins. The town has a College teaching up to M.A. and an Engineering College.



Jasbir Palace in Lake Pichola, Udaipur

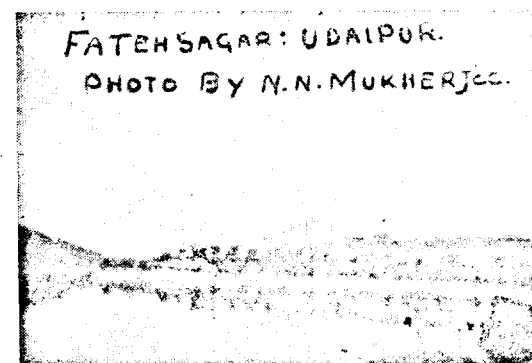
The most important place on the way to Phalodi is Mandor 6 miles away from Jodhpur which was the capital from 1381 to 1459. Ekthambha palace, resembling a pillar and an effigy of Periar Chief, Neher Rao, are the two things worth visiting here. Guides point out a place where Ravana was married to Mandodari thus tracing the history back to the days of the Ramayana, but the authenticity of their description is doubtful.

Our train for Phalodi left Jodhpur at 9 P.M. and was due to reach Phalodi at 3 A.M., it actually reached at dawn. We were lucky in securing a lodging in a Dharamsala reserved for Jains only through the kind assistance of Sri Chunji Lal, the Commerce teacher of the local high school. Phalodi, a city of 16000 souls, traces its origin to 15th century. The place gets an average annual rainfall of only seven inches. At two places there are catchment areas to store rain water: one near a fort three miles away, and the other at Ranisar about a mile away from the town. Nowadays a tube-well has been constructed which helps this scanty supply. Electricity is available but the prohibitive charge of nine annas per unit has affected its being popular. The local *dhauns* can supply good food at a moderate cost.

We expected a high crowd of sightseers for this rare phenomenon, but were sadly disappointed. Except for 14 government meteorologists from Kodaikanal, Poona and Agra, the non-official visitors could be counted on finger tips. Indeed we were the only two, official or non-official, from U.P. and were not commissioned by any. Only one Parsi gentleman came from Poona, and a few teachers were from the Punjab. A few amateurs came from parts of Rajasthan but the Physics or Mathematics professors from the three M.A.

colleges, Jaipur, Jodhpur or Udaipur were conspicuous by their absence and so were the Professors of the Engineering Colleges of Jodhpur and Pillani. Nobody came from the Universities of Delhi or Agra, Punjab or Rajasthan. This one fact will show how much behind we are as compared with the rest of the world in matters of scientific curiosity. However much may we try to take pride in Tenzing's achievement, it is undeniable that an expedition sponsored by New Zealanders and not Indians conquered the Everest and Italians conquered K-2. The Chief Minister Sri Vyasa and Sri Raj Bahadur, the Rajasthani Deputy Communication Minister, were there but at the actual moment of the eclipse they were neither at the official observation post at the Rest House, nor at Ranisar the best place to observe from where we observed.

Although Solar Eclipse of 30th June is now a thing of the past, and many of our readers have heard or read much about this phenomenon, yet a repetition of some of the statements may not be tiring.



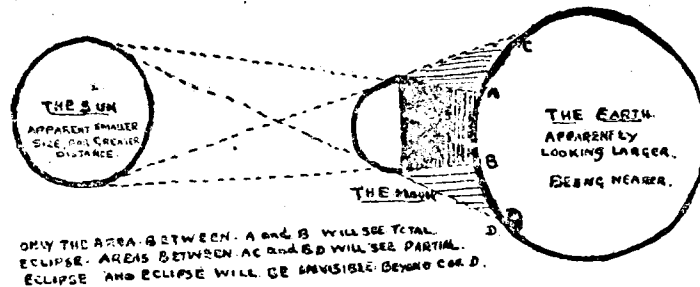
Fateh Sagar, Udaipur

That a lunar eclipse is caused by the shadow of the earth falling on the moon only on the full moon days, and a solar eclipse is possible only on a new moon day when the sun, the moon and the earth may be in a line, is perhaps known to all. As the plane along which the moon revolves round the earth is inclined to the extent of five degrees with respect to the plane of the earth's orbit all full moon nights are not nights of a lunar eclipse, nor are all new moon days of solar eclipse. It is only when the plane of the moon's orbit cuts that of the earth that we get an eclipse. It is also seen that usually two planes cut each other for a period of time, and usually a solar eclipse is followed by a lunar eclipse or *vice versa*. Such was the case on the 30th June for a lunar eclipse followed the solar fifteen days after. As the earth's shadow is larger, lunar eclipses are more frequent, and are usually visible from a wider area than the solar. Eclipses may be total or partial depending on the portion of the earth enclosed between direct and transverse common tangents as may be seen from the figure.

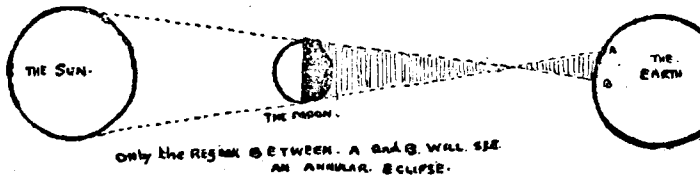
The space enclosed between A and B in the figure will see the total eclipse and that between C and D will see only a partial eclipse. In the eclipse of 30th June, the space enclosed between A and B was fairly wide from Phalodi, Jasalmer, extending through Quetta,

same region. That probably explains why ancient Indian astronomers had held two mysterious planets Rahu and Ketu (nodes and internodes) responsible for eclipse which made a complete cycle over the zodiac in about 18 years' time.

TOTAL AND PARTIAL ECLIPSE.



ANNULAR ECLIPSE: MOON LOOKING SMALLER. APPARENT SIZE OF THE EARTH SMALLER BEING FAR AWAY FROM THE MOON.



Afghanistan, Iran, S. E. Russia, Poland, Sweden, Norway and Canada. U.P., Punjab and Bihar were included in space C and D. Neither the path of the earth nor that of the moon are circles, but are oval-shaped eclipses and the sun is not at the centre of the path of the earth nor is the earth at the centre of the path of the moon. The point where the earth is at the greatest distance from the sun, i.e., when the sun appears smallest, is called aphelion, the opposite is, the perihelion. The corresponding two positions for the moon are apogee and perigee. When the sun is at the perihelion it is likely that the cone of double tangent or umbra in case of an eclipse may terminate before reaching the earth and no place enjoys a total eclipse. If an eclipse occurs when the moon is at its apogee, the apparent size of the moon being smaller, chances are that in the event of an eclipse taking place the umbra will recross itself and form an annular eclipse as was the case on the 21st August 1933, when an annular eclipse, or sun appearing as a narrow ring round the moon was visible from S. Burma and East Coast of India.

It may seem strange that though the time of northern summer may bring the sun directly overhead of the northern hemisphere, yet it is at aphelion and the sun is apparently smaller, that is why this total eclipse was visible from a big area. Total eclipses may occur once in two or three years visible from some part or other of the world, yet it is generally seen that it takes 18 years and ten days for an eclipse to be visible, total or partial, at the same time and approximately over the

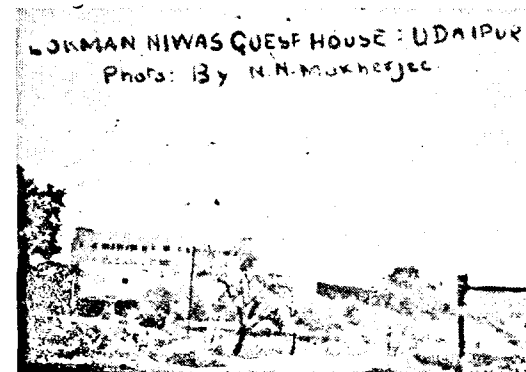
seconds (as mentioned in the *Pioneer* dated July 1, and in other papers including *Science and Culture*, July 1954, page 3). Three of us who observed the eclipse took special care to check our time with our watches, and all of us agree that the eclipse was visible from Phalodi (whatever may be the condition at Jasalmer we cannot say, and is beside the point also as scientists were also at Phalodi) for 56 seconds, thus proving that the predictions of almanac were more accurate than either the earlier prediction or later announcements of these scientists of ours. Official statement published after the eclipse had another gross inaccuracy. It was proclaimed through official agencies in the press including the information published in the *Pioneer* and other papers that *Corona* was visible from Phalodi. I dare say the person making the announcement was not only not an eye-witness to the scene but is also innocent of common optical principles. The totality of the eclipse was over seven minutes before the sun set at Phalodi; at that low altitude the sun on normal days looks red for the light coming from the setting sun passes through a wider thickness of the atmosphere and all rays of wavelengths longer than red or orange are absorbed. How can the faint light of the corona which emits a green light be visible? *Science and Culture* of July is however right when it says:

"Owing to the low angle of the sun near the horizon at the sunset time, and due to long optical path of the rays through the hazy lower atmosphere, the corona was not visible nor photographed (was it only announced for consumption of the uninitiated public that it was visible?).

* * * * *

Coming to the question of ancient astronomers one cannot help admiring the accuracy of the formulae they have devised with observations made without any modern precision instruments. These formulae are so simple that with their help anybody can prepare an almanac or a *Jantri* and predict eclipses months ahead. In this particular case a Bengali almanac published from Calcutta predicted the exact time, duration and places from where it will be visible in India as early as in January. It predicted that it would be visible from Phalodi for 52 seconds. Forecasts from government sources appeared much later, and they all held that it would be visible for 31 seconds. After the eclipse however they said that it was visible for 68

There is one more thing in this connection that I must mention of Phalodi; although astronomers of ancient India had been so accurate, the astrologers it seems played havoc with astronomical phenomena. An eclipse was not only held to be the action of a demon Rahu but to see it was considered inauspicious in some circles. In this particular instance, it seems some astrologers of Rajasthan had branded it rather inauspicious to see. Consequently though we took all these pains to see this, being the chance of a lifetime, the people of Phalodi to whom this rare opportunity was offered for nothing were not enthusiastic. So much so we found some men including teachers of the school who were out for a stroll actually turned away and went home before the eclipse started lest some evil might befall them, so great is the power of superstition in our land.



Laxman Niwas Guest House, Udaipur

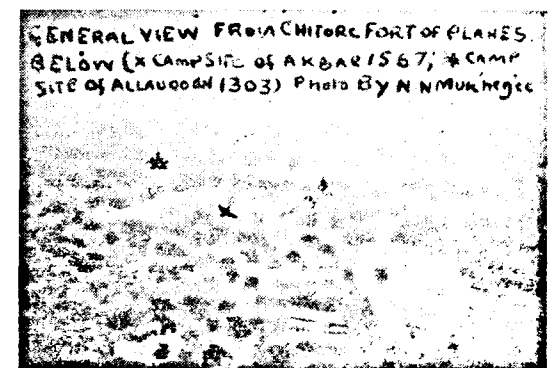
At Phalodi we noticed one more thing that needs be told. After sunset there is always the twilight caused by the refracted rays of the sun from lower altitudes, it gets darker as the sun sinks lower and lower. At Phalodi on the 30th June the opposite was observed, for some time the twilight grew brighter and darker. A moment's reflection will explain why this was the case. I have mentioned that the sunset occurred seven minutes after the totality ceased, the sun was still in the process of clearing itself out and hence every moment more light was being sent. This for some time counteracted against the effect of the sun sinking to low altitudes, and hence more light was available for a period, ultimately of course the effect of sinking down was more apparent, and the sun sank so low that it grew dark.

We entrained from Phalodi at half an hour past midnight and reached Jodhpur at seven in the morning. We went to the same Dharamsala, and having our bath started from Udaipur. The train left at 10-50 and took us to Marwar Junction at half past one. From there we got the Udaipur train at 2-40 P.M. In the latter train up to Phulad the journey was through the plain section, but at that station the engines were reversed and the line was seen rising up through a landscape

whose picturesque memory will surely impress a traveller. The steep hills on one side, deep precipice on the other with soothing verdure in contrast with the barren scrub and of Rajasthan which greeted our eyes so long, was indeed charming. The entire panorama captivates one whose artistic tastes have not been totally dulled by the monotonous humdrum of city life.

There is another thing that adds to this grandeur. Perhaps every spur and every pass in this region has its own tale to tell, for it was on these hills that Rana Pratap fought for his freedom yielding to the great Moghul his dominions, inch by inch, after bitter struggles and in the midst of privations and sufferings, and yet held his head high and erect as one of these very peaks that braves the storm! For seventeen years from 1576 till his death in 1593 he fought bravely and the struggle was carried by his son Amar Singh till 1715, when the circumstances forced Amar to accept a treaty which was more honourable than that offered by the Moghuls to the great houses of Ambar and Marwar, for the Rana was exempted from personal attendance at the Moghul court and no marriage alliance was forced upon the house of Mewar.

Goram Ghat is a station five miles from Phulad; it overlooks a dangerous ford, and the railway line spans the gap between two ridges by a bridge which is both curved and inclined; it takes one's breath away, as the train slowly crosses it. There are two similar bridges of this type further on. A temple situated on one of the high peaks commands a magnificent view. Perhaps in the days of Rana Pratap the patriotic priest in charge of this temple had dual duties to perform, for he was not only attending to the deity, but acted as the sentinel, and warned the arrival of incoming hordes by a sharp blow of conch which would resound through the valleys.

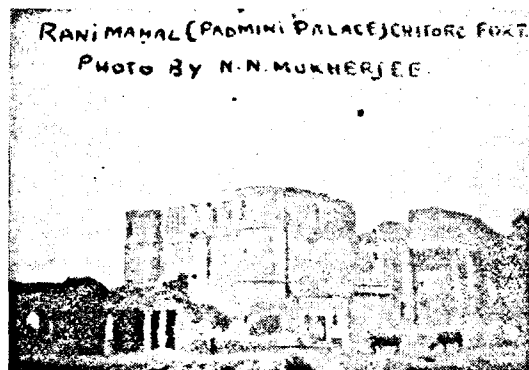


A general view of plains from Chitor Fort

Kumbhal Ghat, the next station is the highest, being at an altitude of 2712 feet. Overlooking the station and on a spur at an altitude of 3568 feet, stands the ruin of the Kumbhal Garh or Kamalmir fort built by Rana Kumbha, the most glorious of the Ranas of Chitor, who ruled from 1433 to 1468 A.D. If the rocks could tell

their stories, they would enlighten us with many interesting events which we know only imperfectly so far.

It was here that Udai Singh a boy of 15 (not a mere baby as the poems about Panna seem to convey) took refuge after a plot to kill him by Banabir Singh, the usurper, was foiled by the heroic sacrifice of his foster mother, Panna, who substituted her own son, and thus preserved the lineage of Rana Sanga. It was at

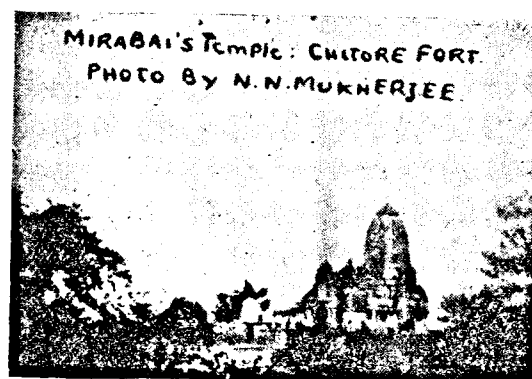


Rani Mahal (Padmuni Palace), Chitor Fort

Kumbhal Garh that Udai Singh was assured of the support of the *Chandawats*, and with their help overthrew Banabir. The fort offered shelter to Udai Singh again in 1567 when Chitore was invaded by Akbar, and though he established a more secure capital at Udaipur, yet for all intents and purposes, Kumbhal Garh was his headquarters till 1571 as stated by the historian Gaurishanker Ojha in his *Rajasthan Ka Itihas* (Vol. II, 733). Then again after Haldi Ghat, Rana Pratap made Kumbhal Garh his headquarters till it was stormed by Man Singh after a stiff resistance a year after as stated by *Rajputana Gazeteer* (Vol. IIA). Whether this fort was again recovered by Rana Pratap is not certain. Some chroniclers say that it was here that Amar Singh had to decide whether the rank of pre-eminence to lead the army would remain with the *Chandawats*, whose ancestor Chunda had relinquished the claim on the throne, and the *Shaktawats*, the descendants of Shakta, the brother of Pratap. Amar decided that whosoever would capture the fort would get pre-eminence. The *Chandawats* tried to scale through the walls and the *Shaktawats* tried to storm the main gates battering it with fighting elephants. This was not an easy task, for the doors had spikes and the elephants were fighting shy, Ballu, the third son of Shakta, in order to maintain the family honour did what Arnold Winkelreid did in Switzerland, namely, to stand against the gate and allow the elephants a human cushion against the spikes while he himself perished. No less was the heroism of the *Chandawats*, for Jait Singh, their leader was injured, and asked his friends to chop off his head and throw it across the walls so that the glory of the first head reaching the fort may remain with the *Chandawats*. The heroism of both thus

vies with one another and though historians like Gaurishanker Ojha say that this happened at Untala (page 788), yet the authenticity of the story is not denied and the rival claims of valour for a great cause will remain ever brilliant no matter whether it was enacted at Untala or Kumbhal Garh.

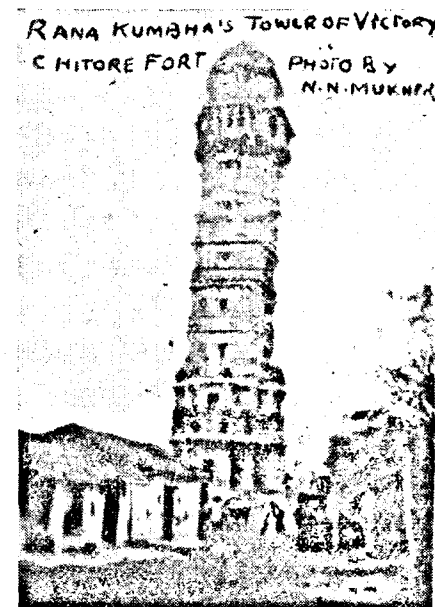
Near Kumbhal Garh the railway passes through two tunnels where the scenery is bewitching. Four miles from Kumbhal Garh the railway passes near the foot of a spur on which stands the fort of Deogarh, the early headquarters of the *Chundawats*, though the *Chandawats* later held Bedonore and perhaps Kumbhal Garh also. The sacrifice of Chunda, the founder of the group, resembles that of Bhishma for he relinquished the claim, on the throne so that his father could marry the Marwar Princess and the son through that wedlock would claim the throne. Like that of Bhishma, the father of course did not deserve the sacrifice, but the glory of the son was not tarnished by this. Though Chunda did not remain a bachelor like Bhishma, yet he remained a guardian to his infant brother Mukul and foiled the designs of the calculating Rathore grandfather, Rammall and his son Jodha. It was his acts that forced Jodha to establish a new capital at Jodhpur as his old capital Mandore was captured by Chunda. Putta, a *Chandawat*, defended the fort of Chitore, when Udai Singh abandoned it after Akbar's invasion and died fighting. It was *Chandawat*, the Salumbra Sirdar, who settled the succession of Rana Pratap the eldest, against the unworthy Jaimal whom Udai had nominated. As for Jait Singh's valour mention has already been made, in connection with Kumbhal Garh.



Mirabai's Temple, Chitor Fort

The next important station is Sardargarh, a hill fort 24 miles away and after going 27 miles further we came to Nathdwara. Eleven miles away from the railway lines lies the famous Haldighat where in June 1576 Pratap Singh fought the Moghul army so bravely. Almost every house at Udaipur shows the Rana on horseback in the act of throwing a spear at Mansingh. Historians however doubt whether such a duel was ever fought. They also decry the story of the complete annihilation

of the Rajput army, for according to Ojha (Vol. II, p. 1756) the Moghul army remained a virtual prisoner at Gogunda (Haldighat) fearing Pratap's counter-attack. So whether Pratap, retiring all alone was chased by a Khorasani and a Multani whom his disgruntled brother Shakta, who is supposed to have joined the Moghuls and who was reconverted seeing Pratap's valour at Haldi-Ghat, killed, is a story which seems doubtful. There is however no doubt that during or after the battle Pratap lost his favourite gray horse Chaitak, for one can see the cenotaph of this only a mile away from Haldighat.



Tower of Victory, Chitor Fort

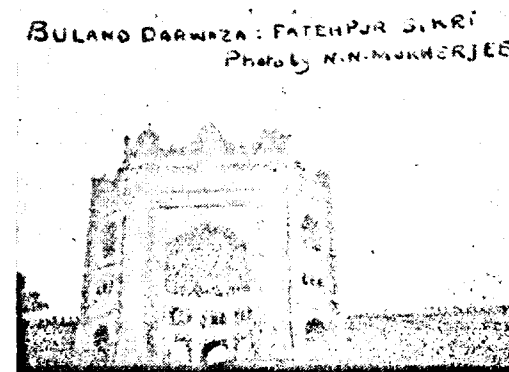
Ten miles from Nathdwara comes Mavali from where one can change for Chitore. It was at Mavali that Udai Singh killed the usurper Banbir in 1537 and recovered his father's throne.

Debari is the last station before Udaipur. The railway passes through a tunnel and near it lies the famous pass where Raj Singh, the grandson of Amar Singh, successfully resisted the Moghul army, when Aurangzeb came to punish him for his protest against the imposition of *Jazia*, and for giving asylum to the Rathore prince Ajit Singh. It seems that at this pass the Moghul army was allowed to enter, and then its passage was blocked, rendering it immobile. Perhaps Rajsingh had the advantage of the advice of the Rathore chiefs, Gopinath and Durga Das, who due to the association of the house of the Marwar with the Moghuls had learnt how slow-moving and unwieldy the Moghul Army had become. Ojha relies on the account given by the Muslim chroniclers that the Imperial Army was allowed to enter Udaipur, but by the very fact that there is no sign of a ravage of the royal fort there, it appears that if this were the fact such permission was given after the subdued army

had signed a treaty and not before. The very fact that the subsequent treaty signed by Aurangzeb in 1681 relieves the house of Mewar from sending even a representative and a token force at the Moghul court thus making Rajsingh virtually independent, shows that the issue of the encounter was favourable to the Rajputs.

Anyway we reached Udaipur at 9-30 P.M. and went to the city two miles away and took up our lodgings at the Fathe Memorial Dharamsala, which is the State rest house. There were no single rooms of Re. 1/8 a day available, so we chose a suite of rooms at Rs. 3/ per day.

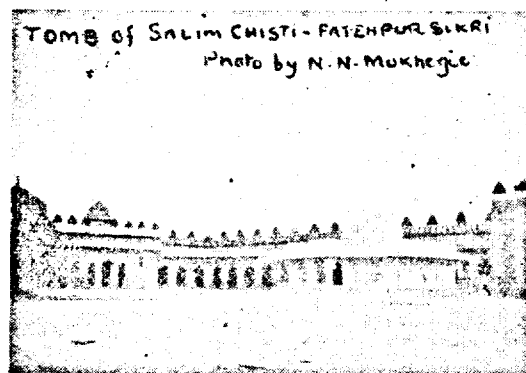
The next morning we busied ourselves in seeing this charming city. The streets are however narrower than those of Jaipur or even Jodhpur and look less clean. Most of them are paved with stoneslabs. Jagadish temple is an old structure and near it stands the fort, the abode of the Ranas only, the outer *mahal* of which we were allowed to see, for the other half houses the *Zanana*. Near the palace stands the Ekalinza fort which was built to guard it. Unlike the palaces at Jaipur or Jodhpur, Udaipur palace is a real fort. Entering through a temple site of Ganesh, we reached Mayur Chak where beautifully carved peacock images each with a posture slightly different from the other can be seen, and the coloured stones with which these embossed images have been made is simply marvellous. Surya Chamar contains an embossed face made of gold of the Sun god, from whom the house of Mewar claims direct descent. On both sides of the Surya image are images of attendant females wearing *saris* which though made of coloured stone appear as if they had been made out of delicate silk. Amar Niwas is a portion built by Rana



Buland Darwaza, Fatehpur Sikri

Amar Singh. Behind the fort lies the picturesque Pichola Lake on which on an island stands the beautiful palace of Jag Niwas started by Karan Singh, son of Amar Singh, but completed by Jagat Singh. *Rajputana Gazeteer* says that the palace granted asylum to Prince Khurram later known as Shah Jahan when he had unsuccessfully rebelled against his father. Jagmandir is a temple built

on another island on this lake. The two islands together with Gangore Ghat make a sight which is too beautiful to be described in words. Overlooking the lake on the other side stands the small fort Sajjan Garh on a spur no less beautiful.



Tomb of Salim Chisti, Fatehpur Sikri

Coming down from the rock fort we entered the botanical garden surrounding the modernized structure of the Summer Palace where the beautiful furniture and Belgian cut-glass beadsteads stand in as great a contrast with the hardships and privations of Rana Pratap as some of the dignified and pompous palaces of modern inheritors of Gandhiji's sacrifice do with the simple hut of Seva Gram or Bhangi Colony from where the Father of the Nation earned India's Freedom.

On the right is the zoo and the museum. Though Rana Pratap refused to bow before Akbar the Great, yet his descendants did not, it seems, hesitate to bow before the image of a British queen Victoria in whose memorial the museum was built and whose statue rather than that of Rana Kumbha or Sanga, Rana Pratap or Rajsingh occupies a place of honour. Neither the zoo nor the museum has any special attractions, except that the latter has some stone relics and a sword supposed to be that of Rana Sanga.

About a mile away stands the catchment area of Swaroop Sagar and then comes Fateh Sagar, overlooking which stands the guest house of the Ranis, Lokman Niwas.

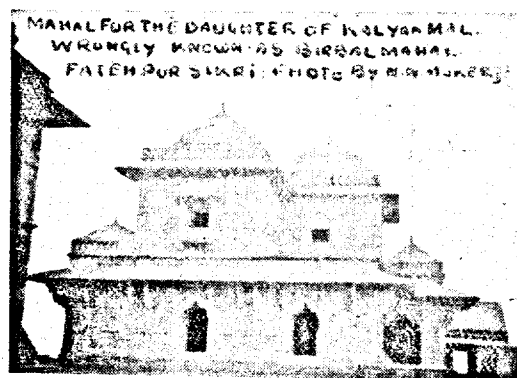
About a mile and a half away from the Fateh Sagar stands the beautiful garden Saheliyon ke Bag with its beautiful fountains and near it is the Teachers Training College, Vidya Bhawan. The M.A. College is however on the way to the station. Unlike other capitals of Rajasthan, Udaipur is on a hill 2300 feet and enjoys an annual rainfall of about 40 inches. It is no wonder therefore that crops like paddy or sugar-cane grow here.

We left Udaipur at 6 P.M. As it was yet daylight we could see Udai Sagar, a big catchment area, built by Udai Singh near Debari. Through Mavali we went to Chitore which we reached at half past ten. The Jain Dharamsala at Chitore allows non-Jains also but charges

a deposit of Rs. 5 and a daily hire of annas ten. It is however not so comfortable, rooms being totally unfurnished. For bath one has to draw water for himself from a well.

Overlooking the whole area of Chitoregarh stands the massive fort of Chitore, which is by far the most important single place which no traveller to Rajasthan should miss. We took a tonga drawn by two horses and went to the fort situated at a distance of 2½ miles from Chitoregarh station. We crossed the Gambhira river and passing through the village situated at the foothill, climbed up the spur 508 feet high from the base and about 1800 feet high from the sea level. The fort is really a walled city 3½ miles long, over a mile broad, and the walls round it measure 12 miles. The spur is an isolated one. The Aravallis of Mewar is in the western side of the railway line while Chitore is in the east.

Bappa Rao conquered the fort from one Man Singh in 738 A.D. and made it the capital of Mewar. Alauddin invaded and sacked it in 1303 A.D. According to folklore, Alauddin first invaded it 12 years ago and the cause of his invasion was the beauty of Padmini, the wife of Regent Bhim Singh. He succeeded by treachery to imprison Bhim Singh but Padmini by a clever ruse assisted by Gora and Badal released the regent. Alauddin retired only to find another chance. Twelve years later Alauddin invaded again when Luxman Singh was ruling. The battle raged in fury and one by one eleven



Birbal Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri

of the twelve sons of Luxman Singh as well as the Rana himself had to sacrifice and at last as the men went for a fatal last attack, Padmini with 1700 female inmates died in funeral pyre called *Johar*. Col. Todd seems to rely on this story which present-day historians like Gauri Shanker Ojha discredit. On the face of it the story seems absurd. While 12 years ago Luxman Singh was yet a minor, within 12 years he was old enough to be the father of twelve adult sons, one of whom at least was married for otherwise we cannot establish the claim of Hamir to the throne. The place which the guides show as the site of committing *Johar* is a narrow tunnel which cannot hold 1700 people. Ojha traces the origin of this legend to the poem written by

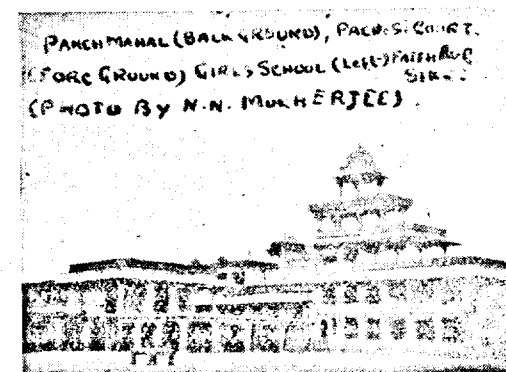
Malik Mohammad Jaisi on or about 1540 A.D. nearly two and half centuries later. He relies on an inscription at Kumbhal Gurh which though describing Padmini as a lady of exquisite beauty also describes her as the wife of the ruling Rana whose name was Ratan Singh. Alauddin invaded only once and during this invasion Ratan Singh died and Padmini became a suti, probably at Samadhiswar, and the invasion lasted for a few days after his death when Luxman Singh a chief died with his sons. The story of *Johar* was probably true, only the number was less than 1700 and Padmini could not be there for she had died a few days earlier. The contemporary Muslim historian Amir Khusru also mentions of a single invasion of Chitore.

Whether the Padmini episode is true or a myth, we can at least judge it for its literary and aesthetic value. That the story has a charm of its own is undeniable. Incidents of a similar bloody struggle are not uncommon in history. One is reminded of the grim struggle for Helen of Troy, the fall of Mark Antony for Cleopatra or even the death of Sher Afghan the first husband of Nur Jahan, in which whatever some may say apparent complicity of Jahangir cannot be denied. But can these characters claim the superb grace and purity of Padmini? Helen was originally the wife of Menelaus, the king of Lacedaemon; but she eloped with Paris of Troy. After the Trojan war she again lived with Menelaus thus showing her inconsistency to both her husbands. As for Cleopatra's consistency the less said the better. Nur Jahan had her early episode with Selim which caused Akbar to force her marriage with Sher A'ghan whom Jahangir was suspected to have got murdered. Coming back to Agra it took Nur Jahan only six years to forget her husband, and thenceforward she was deep in her intrigues to increase her hold on the household of her second husband. Contrasted with this the story of Padmini gives an aroma of grace which is worthy of a true daughter of the land that has produced Sita or Savitri!

Perhaps leaving the authenticity of this story, we may look into the causes of the fall of Chitore, the fort indeed was invulnerable for an attack along steep hills in the days when cannon was either unknown or too weak to smash a rampart. An invader encamping along foothills would cut off any water supply from the Gambhira river no doubt; but Chitore we saw had five catchment tanks, Gaumukhi, Hati Kund, Kattan ban, Ghoraghat and Suraj Kund which in the months of July and August (according to Amir Khusru Allaiddin conquered Chitore on the 26th of August 1303 when the dates of *Hijra* are corrected with English calendar) these were full. But perhaps we were overlooking the question of food shortage. The supply from the areas of the Aravalli was cut off, and though there was some scope of cultivation within the fort it was not enough and after all when invasion was going on all the cultivators must have joined as defenders, leaving the little cultivation that was possible. Food shortage

thus seems to be the plausible reason why at the end the Rajputs adopted suicidal tactics. Gauri Shanker Ojha while silent about the first invasion gives shortage of food as the reason why Chitore fell during the third siege of Akbar in 1567 A. D.

The devastation caused by the plunder and mass destruction of Alauddin is apparent from various ruins including the three-storied Rani Mahal, the abode of Padmini, which was later repaired by Kumbha only to be sacked again by Bahadur Shah in 1535. From this passage an underground tunnel goes towards Gaumukhi and it was within this tunnel that Rajput ladies performed *Johar*. At Gaumukhi water trickles through a spring whose head was made to resemble that of a cow's head. The other end of the tunnel leads to a room situated at the end of the edge of the tank, and on the walls of the room one can find a plaque image of Padmini which has been perhaps a later addition after the invasions.



Panch Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri

Near the gate of Chitore stands Suraj Mandir, the temple of Rana Sanga which was built by Rana Sanga. It is not far from the seventh of the seven gates, Padam Pol, Bhairon Pol, Hanuman Pol, Ganesh Pol, Jothla Pol, Lachman Pol, and Ram Pol.

Near Bhairon Pol stands the monument of Jaimal and Kallu Rathore. Jai Mal was in charge of the defence of Chitore jointly with Patta Chunda when Akbar invaded it in 1567. The invasion lasted for five months from Oct. 1567 to Feb. 1568, when at last shortage of food made the Rajputs order a *Johar* for the woman-folk and a suicidal attack on the enemy by the males. Jai Mal was wounded, but he was borne on the shoulders of Kalla and both died fighting. Patta was hurled by the trunk of one of Akbar's fighting elephants and smashed. His memorial stands at Ram Pol. Historians mention that what to speak of Alauddin or Bahadur Shah even Akbar ordered a mass massacre of the few inhabitants found alive! A few yards from Ram Pol to the east is the site of Pataleswar and near it one can see big guns said to have been used by Rana Sanga, two of them were 12 feet long. A Jain

temple of Shanti Nath is near it, and it was destroyed by Bahadur Shah who spared the structure but destroyed every image including the carvings on the walls. In front of this temple stands the palace built on the site of an ancient ruin of a palace of Rana Sanga. This was constructed by Rana Fateh Singh and now houses the Rajasthan Military Police Training College. Padmini Mahal or Rani Mahal, we have mentioned before, stands on its west about a furlong off, and near the palace is the granary where food was stored. Panna Mahal is a palace situated in the South of Rani Mahal where evidently the young princes stayed. It was here in order to save Udai Singh from the wrath of the usurper Bonabir that Panna Bai, the foster mother, sacrificed her own son Karan.



Dewani Khas, Fatehpur Sikri.

A furlong and a half to the south-east stands another big Jain temple destroyed by Alauddin but recently restored by the Jains of Ahmedabad.

Mira Bai's temple stands in front of the second Jain temple, and is in its west. Folklore places her as the wife of Rana Kumbha, the most illustrious of the Ranas of Chitore (founder of Kumbhal Garh), whose devotion to Vishnu so annoyed her husband that she was ordered to drink poison which had no effect on her. Evidently she was allowed to have her own way and went to Muttra leaving her husband. Historians like Ojha have however a different story to tell. Mira Bai, they say, was born in 1498, full thirty years after Kumbha's death. She was the daughter of the fourth son of Rathore Rao Duda and lost her mother in infancy. Thereupon she was brought up by her grandfather who was a staunch Vaishnava. In 1515 she was married to Bhoja, the third son of Rana Sanga. Her married life seems to have been short and uneventful for she lost her husband somewhere between 1518 and 1523. Thereupon she started living like a Vaishnava devotee in a house where Kali, Surya and Shiva were worshipped. This naturally caused friction but somehow or other Rana Sanga and his eldest son Ratna tolerated her. But after Ratna's death when Vikrama became the Rana troubles started. It was Vikrama, her brother-in-law,

who tried to poison her but she was saved. Thereupon to avoid friction Mira was taken by her uncle Maldeva. When Maldeva died Mira Bai went on a pilgrimage which included Muttra and Vrindavan and ultimately she died in Dwarka in 1545 A.D. Mira Bai stands unique in her devotion to her deity in spite of persecution and her poems show a rare poetic gift in an age when poetry was considered almost a man's monopoly and was almost banned to ladies in household. The temple of Mira Bai, though shorn much of its brilliance due to devastations by Bahadur Shah is worth a visit. Perhaps the association of Mira Bai with Rana Kumbha was caused by two reasons. First was the existence of Jata Shanker Temple built by Rana Kumbha which stands near Mira Bai's temple, and the second was the fact that Rana Kumbha was not only a great general and an architect, but was a patron of art and a poet himself. It was natural for a later chronicler to associate a female poet in the dynasty with this Rana who was himself a poet. Kumbha, according to *Rajasthan-Ke-Itihas* by Ojha (Vol. II, page 538) has left an account of the names of his wives which include Kumbhal Devi (from whom Kumbhal Garh apparently got its name) and Apurva Devi but not of Mira Bai. Of the architectural gifts of Kumbha one may see the three gates, Hanuman Pol, Bhairon Pol and Ram Pol built by him, but by far the greatest is his Tower of Victory 122 feet high built in 1548 to commemorate his victory of Malwa. It is a nine-storied structure containing 157 steps. On alternate stories one may find either a shrine or a parapet meant for rest. The fine carvings and images were all destroyed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat during the second siege of Chitore in 1537 A.D. This tower is perhaps the most prominent landmark of Chitore fort, being visible from miles away. There is another tower said to be built by Jains some half a mile to the north-east, but it is smaller and is not more than 80 feet high.

To the west of the tower stands the *Samadhiswar Temple* where dead bodies were brought before cremation. The three images of Shiva, Chandi and Parvati were disfigured by Alauddin, but were restored by Kumbha only to be disfigured again by Bahadur Shah. They have recently been restored in 1940. Perhaps in the cremation ground near it, the body of Padmini was consumed to ashes in the funeral pyre of her husband, who it seems was Rana Ratan Singh rather than regent Bhim Singh.

Gaumukhi tank which we have described earlier is situated near this place. The beautiful and secluded catchment gets its water supply from an underground spring which is made to resemble a cow's face. It is now used as a bathing place for pilgrims. The surplus water runs down through three narrow pipes so constructed that not a single one was large enough to admit any human being from the enemy camp to come and take the fort by surprise.

From Gaumukhi one has to pass through three

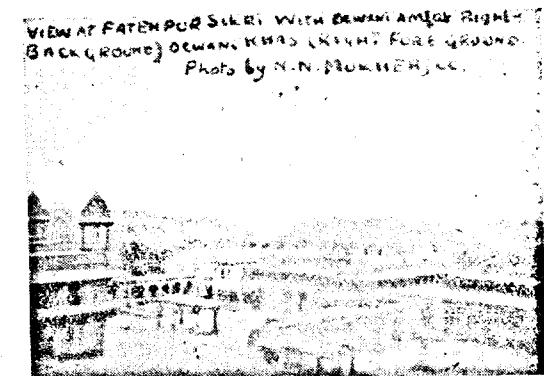
catchment areas, Hathī Kund, Kattan Ban and Ghora Chat to see the place of Ministers, which is known as Jai Mal's Place. Perhaps the last defender of Chitore lived here. It is said that Akbar so admired the bravery of Jai Mal that he made a stone image of the warrior and kept it in front of Delhi Fort. Whether this was done to honour his brave enemy who died fighting, or just to humiliate his memory it is doubtful. It seems Akbar did not spare his last abode and built minarets to prove that he wanted to turn it into a mosque.

From Jaimal's palace overlooking the Choraghat catchment in its east, one has to go further south to reach the temple of Kali or Chitreshwari whom the soldiers worshipped before going to war. It stands to the west of the last catchment area, *Surya Kund*. The original deity had been disfigured at least twice, if not thrice, and what we see now is the new image less than a century old. The last building in the extreme south is the guest house built recently for visitors. So this is Chitore, the Glory of Rajasthan.

We left Chitore at about two in the afternoon for Ajmere. On the way we passed the station of Hamir Gurh 21 miles from Chitore. At a distance we saw the fort which Hamir made the headquarters of the Mewar army while planning an attack on the puppet Maldev whom Allauddin placed on the fort of Chitore after his invasion in 1303. We reached Ajmere at about seven in the evening. The town is the headquarters of a C. Grade State. We found our lodging in the Edward Memorial Dharmshala, which is really a rest house where a first class suite of rooms is available on a charge of Rs. 2 for one person and annas twelve for every additional person.

Early in the next morning we left for Pushkar seven miles away. There are no common means of conveyance besides *ekka* or *tonga*. The bus takes six annas, while eight-seater 'Taxis' which are really pickups take only eight annas. The latter is much more comfortable. The route to Pushkar passes through a hill in which one has to climb up and then climb down. Some of the hair-pin bends are rather sharp and the speed with which the buses and taxis go, are indeed risky. Pushkar lake is surrounded on all sides by hills and measures only 2½ furlongs by 1½ furlong. It seems however to be a natural lake which has recently shrunk in size owing to insufficient rains in the region for five years. While bathing, it is dangerous to venture too far, for fear of crocodiles. Besides crocodiles inside the lake, the other dangers are beggars and *Pandas* who like their compatriots at Gaya and elsewhere carry registers from which they are able to trace every visitor's ancestry or at least names of his neighbours or relatives and claim a monopoly of performing for him *śradh* and other rites. The singular glory of Pushkar is for the fact that it is the only place in the whole of India which contains a temple of Brahma, the god of Creation. Besides this,

there are two Vishnu temples, Ranganatha and Vaikunthanatha, both in typical South Indian style of architecture with entrance gates or *Gopurams* claiming a place of greater prominence than the main temple. Ranganatha temple has bronze standard or *dhwaja*, but in Baikunthanatha the *dhwaja* is made of plated gold. The paintings on the walls of the latter were in the process of completion while we visited the temple.



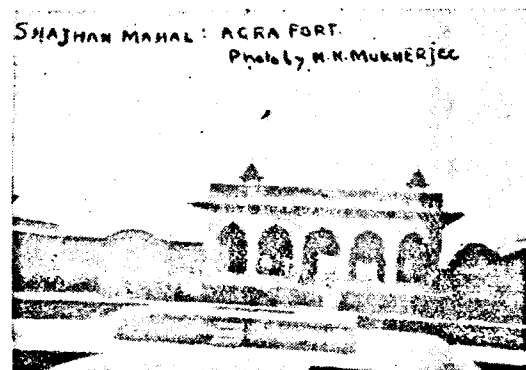
A view of Fatehpur Sikri

On the way back from Pushkar one may see high up on a hill the reservoir or catchment area which stores rain water for citizens of Ajmere. Ajmere has an artificial lake built in the 12th century known as Ana Sagar. Shajahan has built a pavilion on one of its sides, but the place seems to have been a favourite resort of his father Jahangir also. It was here in his camp that Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador, first met Jahangir in 1615 A.D. though later on he spent most of his time at Agra. An account of this meeting may be found in Roe's memoirs, *Travels in India in the 17th Century*. Ana Sagar too, it seems, has suffered from the drought conditions prevailing in Ajmere, for it did not have sufficient rains for twelve continuous years and is now much diminished in size. The *Darga* of Mainuddin Chishti built by Mohammad Chori is perhaps the most important thing to be seen in Ajmere. The Jhelra tank is situated at one of its ends. Imambara of this Darga was built by Shajahan while a mosque has been added by Aurangzeb later.

Near this Darga stands another mosque Dhair Din Ke Jhopra, said to be built under the orders of Muhammad Chori in two days and a half. As the stones were from Hindu temples, the work was merely an assemblage and it was not impossible to assemble all these from sacked Hindu temples within such a short time. The Arabic inscriptions must have taken more time, and they seem to have been added later and not within the stipulated period of sixty hours.

Having left Ajmere by the evening train we reached Agra at about nine in the next morning. On the way at about seven one may see the famous fort of Bharatpur which was invaded by Gen. Cumbermere in 1826 and

could be captured only after six years. This time we resided in Maharaja Hotel situated at a short distance from the Fort Station. Our objective in the return visit was to see Fatehpur Sikri situated at 23 miles from Agra, to where the bus takes passengers from the government roadways terminus near the fort. The journey costs Re. 1/2 per passenger each way if one likes to take a comfortable upper class and 13 annas if one prefers the 'Janata'.



Shajahan Mahal, Agra

The small fort of Fatehpur Sikri was built by Akbar in 1560 and abandoned in 1583 or 1584. Though it has all the essentials of the government including Dewani-Am and Dewani Khas, yet from the diminutive size, it appears that it was not meant to be a serious challenge to the claims of Agra. Failure of water supply is given to be the cause of its abandonment, but the size of the catchment lake which is now dried up shows that though not enough for a large city, there was enough water to supply the royal court and the garrison. Probably the site was chosen when Akbar was busy in his Rajputana campaign when Fatehpur Sikri being nearer Rajputana by 23 miles saved a day's march. It also provided a seclusion and secrecy to draw up plans, while the busy city of Agra provided opportunities of leakage. Perhaps later on it served more as a country residence while the Agra fort was in the process of construction. Certainly the rural atmosphere of Fatehpur Sikri could not supply the pomp and grandeur which a mediaeval capital needed, and certainly Agra on the bank of Jamuna will have more facilities and attractions which will prevent its citizens being drawn away to an out of the way place like Fatehpur Sikri. When these weaknesses of Fatehpur Sikri were clear to Akbar he started building Agra and after it was complete Fatehpur Sikri was retained as a country residence and then finally abandoned.

The famous Buland Darwaza of Fatehpur Sikri, the tallest gate in the world, guards the entrance of Salim Chisti, Akbar's preceptor. Akbar granted the revenue of 54 villages to maintain the family of this saint and the tomb of his family members can be seen in a

courtyard adjoining the marble mausoleum built for the saint himself.

From this, one passing through a stable reaches the red-stone palace of Jodha Bai through a gate known as the King's gate. The palace of Jodha Bai, from what is written on a plate at its gate, was meant not for Akbar's wife but for his daughter-in-law who did not, it seems, use it at all, for she was married after Fatehpur Sikri had been abandoned.

Near it is the palace called Birbal Mahal, which guides show as the palace of Birbal, though it is unlikely that a male member would be given his apartments so near the royal harem. Really, as the archaeological department tablet shows, it was the palace of one of Akbar's queens, daughter of Kalyanmal of Bikaner. Panchmahal is a five-storied structure, overlooking the courtyard of the palace, including the place where a girls' school was established to educate court ladies, Khwab Gha, where Akbar himself used to rest and the courtyard where he played chess with human pawns.

Dewani Khas or the hall of private audience is also built of red sand-stone unlike its marble prototype at Agra or Delhi. Its central tower inside was made for the seat of the emperor and it was from here that he discussed the possibilities of his new faith *Din-i-Ilahi* which did not catch the fancy of his Hindu or Moslem subjects. Hiran Minar, a spiked tower built in the memory of Akbar's favourite elephant, can be seen here. The panorama from the place is also grand. Dewani Am or hall of public audience stands on its other side beside the resam place or Akbar's Turkish Sultana, who, it seems, attended the Durbar through a lattice work apartment on a side of the throne room.

The palace for Hakim outside Dewani Am has a well in which bathing places have been made at different depths to suit the water level which sank to different depths in different seasons.

From Fatehpur Sikri one can come back to Agra by a bus at 4 P.M. or by train at 5-30. So much has been said of Agra in different books that this third city of U.P. with nearly three and a half lakh souls do not need any description. Sikandara situated at five miles from the city is the last resting place of Akbar. It is a five-storied building, one of its four gates was destroyed by thunder. The imitation tomb of the fifth-story is a monolith weighing five hundred maunds as the inscription says. How it was raised up in the days when cranes were unknown is a thing to be guessed. Probably it was rolled along an inclined plane through sweated labour of thousands of slaves. Dayal Bagh of Radhaswami Institute is well worth a visit and of course the red fort with its ruined Akbar Mahal, big Dewani Am, Jahangir Mahal with the library of this talented but drunkard King, Shajahan Mahal, a beautiful marble structure, Moti Masjid or beautiful Pearl Mosque built of white marble, and Dewani Khas with its courtyard where two stone slabs made of black and white marble are kept over which the throne of Jahangir was

kept as he watched the river bank. The Shishmahal was the bathing place. The brass gates from Chitore brought by Akbar are kept near. The three Places move a visitor to pity. One is the underground dungeon in which Nur Jahan managed to imprison her possible rivals and finally despatched them quietly into Jumna through baskets hanging down an underground tunnel and so ended the career of a number of ladies in the prime of their lives whose only fault had been that their beauty could possibly attract the middle-aged king. The place of imprisonment of Shajahan, the small enclosure and dungeon where this most lavish and luxurious emperor passed his last nine years, stands in bold contrast with all that he stood for in life. Perhaps the saddest of all is the tower Saman Burge, where Shajahan breathed his last. When the end was drawing near, the imprisoned emperor who had been denied access to light and liberty for eight years, and who was denied even the right to worship in

public mosque even on Fridays (to compensate which Nagina Mosque was built near his prison which though beautiful was small) wanted only one favour from his son Aurangzeb. This was that he should be allowed to see his Taj Mahal while he breathed his last. Perhaps as a concession, the son granted it and so ended the eight years' imprisonment while the aged prisoner saw the crown of his glory built after years of his labour, situated about a mile off where his last remains were to be brought soon, but which so long he was alive and imprisoned was not even allowed to see except for the last few minutes. Unfortunately, the photo plate of the Taj Mahal from Sajan Burge could not be taken, and of the many sights of Agra we present our readers only with the picture of Shajahan Mahal where the emperor lived while he was free.

We left Agra by ten o'clock passenger on the next day and changing at Kanpur reached Lucknow at midnight. So ended our journey to Rajasthan.

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INDIA AND CHINA

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister to China has proved to be of great historical and political significance. Replying to short-notice question in the Lok Sabha, Shri Nehru observed that "the mere fact of a closer understanding between India and China is a factor of vital importance not only to those countries but to others also." In the course of his talk to a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Prime Minister stated that his visit "had helped in bringing the two great nations of Asia nearer." In an interview with a British journalist who met him on behalf of the B.B.C., Shri Nehru laid great stress on the method of "friendly co-operation and understanding," as against "threats and an aggressive approach" to the solution of major problems confronting different nations of the world. The same note of a friendly approach was sounded by the Prime Minister in the course of his speech in Peking.

"The essential thing between two nations," said Shri Nehru, "is tolerance and friendly feeling." He continued: "If these are present, other things follow. I am convinced these are present in India and China."

Although Shri Nehru has welcomed this friendly co-operation between India and China for the establishment of peace in Asia and the world, he has made it quite clear that there are basic differences in the political and economic structures of the two countries.

"We found that such differences as existed in our political or economic structures need not come in the way of our co-operation in many fields and, more especially, in our working for peace in Asia and the world."

Shri Nehru, in the course of his interview to the B.B.C., described the enthusiasm of the people in both the countries and stated that, perhaps, in China, it is much more. But he made it quite clear that he did not like the methods of regimentation.

"It may be, we may not be able to do it to the same extent: but we prefer to do it in our own way."

Of course, Shri Nehru did not think it worth-while to discuss the ideological differences theoretically.

"We knew that we were functioning with different political and economic structures, and we left it at that."

The two Prime Ministers discussed, from a practical point of view, a number of problems like those of industrialisation, unemployment, flood control, population control and financial resources. The "Five Principles" or the "Panch Shila" provided the basis for all these friendly discussions on common problems from the standpoint of world peace and prosperity. The Chinese leaders assured Shri Nehru that they had no intention of interfering with Indian conditions "internally or externally."

"For my part," observed Shri Nehru, "I accept their word because that word fits in with objective conditions in Asia and their country and in the world."

Both India and China are today engaged in the "great adventure" of raising the material and cultural standards of their people as speedily as possible. Both can learn from each other in many ways, though our economic and political ideologies differ basically and fundamentally.

In his address to the Congress workers at Darjeeling, Shri Nehru pointed out in details how social and political conditions in India and China differed a great deal.

"In China" said Shri Nehru, "there is hardly any freedom of press or expression."

There is also no independence of the Judiciary as in India. Their political or constitutional structure is also quite different: they need not devote hours, days, and months on almost endless discussions in Parliament. In India, freedom of speech and expression was fully utilised and even misused. The Judiciary made the working of the legislation rather difficult and prolonged. And yet India had achieved considerable success in improving the social and economic conditions of her people during the last seven years of freedom. We can surely learn several things from China: China, in turn, can learn other things from India.

"But," remarked the Congress President, "We like to do things in our own way, and will not brook any interference from outside." "Nor will I like to interfere with the ways of others."

Speaking at a largely-attended public meeting in Darjeeling, Shri Nehru observed:

"It is no use imitating other countries and peoples. It never pays to imitate because imitation leads to weakness and dependence on others."

India is wedded to a democratic Constitution: she has chosen the Gandhian path of freedom, peace and democracy. China is following a different path. And yet the two great Asian countries can learn from each other to the definite advantage of both. The principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference can go a long way in bringing about better and happier relations between different nations and peoples for the ultimate aim of establishing a more prosperous, progressive and peaceful world to live in.

Some of us are under the wrong impression that the pace of progress under a democratic set-up is slower than that of a totalitarian regime. It is true that the democratic method appears to be slower to begin with; it entails long discussions and requires the willing co-operation of the people through a process of persuasion and popular education. The authoritarian way appears to be quicker in the beginning but shows signs of resistance and conflict as time passes on. The democratic procedure is, thus, slow but steady while the totalitarian method is seemingly fast but ultimately more jerky, risky and bloody. A small country like Ireland took about 800 years to achieve its political freedom, while India, under the glorious leadership of Gandhiji, succeeded in attaining Independence through peaceful and non-violent methods in about a quarter of a century. Even after Independence, India has been able to register remarkable progress in different sectors of national planning under a democratic set-up. It can be claimed without any hesitation that what India has

been able to achieve during the last seven years compares very favourably with the progress made by any other country in the world during the same period of time. We should never forget that U.S.S.R. took full 11 years to prepare the blue-print of her first Five-Year Plan after the Revolution of 1917. These eleven years in Russia were the years of bitter conflict, class war and severe famine. In China also the present edifice of unity, discipline and material progress is largely founded on fear, regimentation and authoritarian rule. Nothing has been achieved there as if by magic. Chairman Mao and the Chinese Prime Minister have openly admitted that their country would take about 15 to 20 years to be able to lay the foundations of a Socialist State. There is considerable unemployment in China and the population problem in relation to food and other material goods presents stupendous difficulties. There is still a tendency towards inflation; one Indian rupee is, at present equal to about 5,000 dollars. There is, even now, plenty of private property in land and industry. Attempts are being made to narrow down the gulf between small and big incomes. But even in Russia there is easily a difference of 1:80 between different income-groups. In both China and the U.S.S.R. although there has been substantial increase in production of different commodities, the quality of these goods is, in general, quite poor as compared with other countries of the world.

We in India, therefore, need not suffer from any kind of "complex" in gauging our economic advancement after the achievement of political freedom. During a comparatively brief span of seven years, we have considerably solved our problems of food, rehabilitation and inflation. We have succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Indian Union. We have established a number of basic industries with a chain of magnificent National Research Laboratories. Our targets for food and several industrial products have been more than achieved. We hope to cover the whole country with Community Projects by the end of the second Five-Year Plan. These are no mean achievements for a country which suffered from great handicaps during centuries of political serfdom. But we need not rest on our oars. There is still much to be achieved through long and arduous labour. We should always be willing to learn from other nations. Self-complacency is always unhealthy and harmful. But to try to imitate other countries without developing one's innate strength is always suicidal. We must, therefore, march ahead with full faith in our ideals and objectives. Destiny has endowed us with a heavy but sublime responsibility. India has to show to the world that the path of peace, non-violence and democracy is quicker and nobler than the path of conflict, violence and authoritarianism. Let us try our very best to discharge this great responsibility with faith and missionary zeal.

THE CRISIS OF PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES IN INDIA

By Dr. S. K. DAS

It is more or less a truism that philosophy is but life gathered up into the focus of self-consciousness; and one of the compensations of middle life, as Chesterton once put it, is to see the truisms coming true. All the same it is a matter of increasingly painful discovery that in life truths of vital significance are so often *assented* to but not *believed*, in the strictest sense of the term. Truly viewed, therefore, all philosophy is contemporary philosophy just as all history, in a sense, is contemporary history. Pleading for the re-instatement of reverence as the soul of all education, Whitehead, one of the greatest philosopher-scientists of our century, is known to have acclaimed the present moment alone as the holy ground upon which we are to take our stand, inasmuch as the present sums up within itself the whole of existence backwards and forwards. What is suggested herein is not an over-estimation of the present but an exhortation to cultivate that *sense of proportion*, that *sense* and *sensibility*, which is the *raison d'être* of all philosophic thinking.

One such historic occasion, for stock-taking of our achievements and aspirations, cropped up in connexion with the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian philosophical Congress, held in Calcutta, December, 1950. As a spectator sees more of the game than the participants, with vested interests of their own, reference may profitably be made here to the enlightened testimony of one prominent delegate from U. K., published in 1951, in a representative *Journal of Philosophy*.^{*} Reviewing the *Silver Jubilee Volume*, the delegate to the Silver Jubilee session of the Philosophical Congress who acknowledged *inter alia* the "great privilege to attend these meetings and also to engage in an extensive lecture tour of Indian Universities,"[†] presented the main issue with that remarkable brevity which is the 'soul of wit':

"The differences between it and the type of philosophy most prominent in Britain and U.S.A. at the present time may be summed up by saying that it (*viz.* Philosophy in India) is *more in contact with religion* and with practical aims (practical not in the sense of making money but in the sense in which the search for the highest good is practical) and *less in contact with science*.[‡] Partly because of this divergence of interest I found that the most common approach is still that of metaphysical idealism, which we have got into the habit of looking on as dead. No form of

modern positivism has made a wide impression, and the philosophical atmosphere is more like I imagine that of the nineties at Oxford to have been than what we enjoy in England to-day."

Leaving aside other points, no less instructive and important, in this aetiological analysis, it will be worth our while in this context to concentrate upon that canker which has been for some time past the prolific source of mischief and misdirection in matters of philosophical study and research in this country. In a wider context, Mr. Bertrand Russell in his *Herbert Spencer Lecture* (1912) on "Scientific Method in Philosophy", is known to have proved to the hilt that Philosophy, as conditioned by ethical and religious motives, has either defaulted or deteriorated to the extreme point of self-stultification. In a country where Religion, following the dynamics of its meaning-particle gravitates along the line of least resistance into a cult that is communal, denominational or sectarian the danger is far more serious. Ethical or religious motivation of philosophical activities, laudable as it is, proves in the end hostile to the cause of philosophical progress and leads ultimately to the sterilisation of the philosophical impulse. It is readily admissible that ethical and religious motives are largely the product of the group or gregarious instinct, and the philosophy which they inspire is always more or less parochial, more or less infected with the passions and prejudices of a time and a place and, therefore precludes the possibility of attaining unto that global outlook, that world-view (*Weltanschauung*) which is the infallible mark of the philosophic spirit. What could have removed this plague-spot, otherwise inevitable and incorrigible, is the scientific motive and method in philosophy, in other words, that submission to fact which is the essence of the scientific temper.

This is the reason, in part, why Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal of revered memory would often exclaim, from his class-room chair, while expounding with the characteristic luminosity of his insight, the hidden meaning of some intricate text of Indian Philosophy, without being hide-bound by any philosophical tradition, Eastern or Western, for the instruction and edification of his students. "It is one ruling ambition of my life," to quote his memorable words on the point, "to found a school of comparative research in philosophy which would prosecute the study of Indian Philosophy—not, however, on the traditional 'Tol' method of study and research but

^{*} *Mind*, January, 1952, pp. 132-133.

[†] Also in *Philosophy*, July, 1951, p. 263.

[‡] *Italics ours*; also in *Philosophy*, July, 1951, p. 263.

along the open road through which Universal Humanity has travelled for ages."

It is no wonder that a religiously motivated philosophy, finding a congenial soil in a region over-ridden with a "casteist," and clannish predisposition, should foster a solipsistic or subjectivist mentality in theory and anti-social or anti-democratic activities in the practical sphere leading ultimately to racial, communal and regional vanity or arrogance. Wakeful to the dangers of these fissiparous and disruptive forces, nurtured in their overt as well as covert forms, the philosophic Vice-President and the philosopher-scientist Prime Minister inveigh against them invariably in public in words that bear quotation here: "Casteism and Provincialism must go" in the interest of safety and well-being of the Secular State to which, be it remembered, we owe our allegiance.

There are two other danger-zones which have not been explicitly mentioned but are indirectly suggested by the reviewer's analysis referred to at the outset. One is the disproportionate emphasis upon logic and theory of knowledge (or epistemology) and the other is the inflated importance conferred upon Indian philosophy of the traditional type. The reviewer in question laments that "Studies of logic and linguistics of the more modern type find no place in the proceedings of the Congress and there is no talk about the analysis of common sense propositions." But if he had stayed on here for sometime more and cared to acquaint himself with the undergraduate and post-graduate curricula of studies in philosophy, he would have been staggered at the plethora of logic-chopping—not of the recent, rejuvenated type—but the old discredited backwash of metaphysical idealism, current about the nineties at Oxford. No one with the least pretension to sanity or seamliness would possibly deny the use and importance of a thorough grounding in method or the theory of knowledge, with a view to consolidating the matter of knowledge or the systematic structure to be raised thereon. The warning that was sounded by Lotze in the seventies of the last century has not outlived its use but, on the contrary, has a special application to the turn of events at the present

moment. "It is tedious," as he observed, "to be always sharpening one's knife when there is nothing to cut." One would like to go further and say that it is not only tedious but dangerous, for the knife may, for aught we know, may recoil upon one's own neck in the absence of anything to cut!

In the post-independence era it is but natural that we should go in for Indianization of our educational policies and curricula of studies. But this move, perfectly innocuous as it is, may, when coupled with, and re-inforced by, an uncritical spirit of revivalism, go to absurd lengths—to excesses and exaggerations—which cannot but spell mischief and self-alienation for Indian philosophical thought from world-thought. It is no use going into hysterics over the so-called status of world-philosophy claimed for Indian philosophy; for, it is safe and sane to remember that no respectable University or University College, barring certain Oriental Schools or Asiatic Institutes, in the whole of the United Kingdom or U.S.A. has, up till now, made provision for the study of Indian philosophy as a subject for study according to the University curriculum of studies. In the face of such problematical reception, the tendency in certain quarters to claim, for Indian philosophy in its traditional form, an immutable perfection which defies comparison with any other thought-type, ancient or modern, would serve to forge only the fetters of isolation or insularity in this growing "One World" of our thoughts and aspirations. It is a typical instance of what the psycho-analyst calls "repressed sympathies." That is the way of perverted pride, and that way lies madness. It is to our benefit therefore to resign ourselves to the timely discipline of philosophy herself that pleads for "Justice in the name of the Whole," and administers the homely and salutary lesson in humility. Let us close on the high-pitched key on which a celebrated philosopher of the last century gave his admonition to unwary pilgrims on the way to philosophic regeneration of their outlook on life: "There is no sin, however, prone to it a philosopher may be, which philosophy can justify so little as spiritual pride!"

T. S. ELIOT AND A MODERN LOVE SONG

By DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
University of Saugor

MUCH could be said both in favour of and against modern poetry. It has widened the horizon of poetic sensibility, discovered for its use the sub-conscious and very effectively utilized the possibilities of prose rhythm. Consequently quite a lot has been gained in technique as a result of new experiments, but the poetic attitude has been moulded too much and rather unhappily at times by the disintegrating surroundings. Disillusionment and despair, lack of faith and divided aims have drawn out of men, on the one hand, all their attachment to additional morality and on the other, their ability to easy and frank response to facts and events. To all this has been added the complexity of social life and instability of any moral code.

T. S. Eliot emerged on the literary scene of Europe with an extraordinary sensitiveness to modern conditions and equipped with a rare power of analysis and dissection learnt from the progress in the study of the psychological method. Under those circumstances his approach to poetry was new and revolutionary. In fact about the time when a political revolution of great import was taking place in Russia a poetic revolution was declared by Eliot with the publication of his *Prufrock and Other Observations*. Of all the poems that appeared in that thin collection, the first poem, "The Love Song of Alfred J. Prufrock," is the richest in texture and poetic insight and also it sets the dominant note of the entire volume. Eliot of course outgrew the Prufrock stage of his career and Eliot of *Four Quartets* is vastly different from the poet who concentrated for a time on the personality types either 'refined beyond the point of civilization'—inhibited and fastidious or dare-devilish and irresponsibly self-assertive.

But unfortunately this pre-occupation with extreme examples of abnormal types became gradually a habitual feature of modern poetry. The limitations that the genius of Eliot could so easily transcend narrowed down the scope of modern poetry to a great extent for it remained almost completely circumscribed by the discovered land and the old world sank into a mere historical fact. Eliot's emphasis on tradition was perhaps a warning but its significance does not seem to have been realised by many modern poets. An analysis of the Prufrock poem will show on the one hand a remarkable technical skill and advance achieved by Eliot and on the other the accentuation of an archetypal pattern that has often been carried to its extreme in modern poetry and painting.

T. S. Eliot has been described by one of his admirers as one first holding the key of modern poetry in his

open hand and then unlocking its door. As he flings open the door, we enter a strange world of people who have, as if, just escaped from the broader and vaster life outside and found a retreat into this new inferno. Life here is placid on the surface, but a helpless struggle—a new torment surrounds it with hell fires. Doors are still kept open for those who will inhabit this world at the poet's bidding and we can see many of them already on their way—all bearing quaint and unusual names, Prufrock, Gerontion, Appolinx, Limoges, Fragilion, Mrs. Phlaccus, Prof. Caanning Cheetah, Miss Nancy Ellicolt and the like. And they have all come with their obsessions and repressed desires, their quixotic scruples and unhealthy sensibilities and, one may presume, they have reached this last resort dejected from a psycho-analyst's clinic. Obviously enough, there is something very grimly mysterious and abnormal about them—their names, their thoughts and talks and also about the world they live in. Eliot's admirers maintain that his poetic world is an epitome of the world outside and that its denizens are the essential men and women of our disillusioned world. Mr. Prufrock with whom we are directly concerned is supposed to represent the essentials of modern man. As such Mr. Prufrock to Eliot is what perhaps Satan was to Milton or Faust was to Goethe.

The modern world, then according to the new poet, is an Inferno—dusky and sombre—the land of the living ghosts, because the modern man lives the life of the sub-conscious, that of the conscious being as good as dead to him. Realism, therefore, for such a poet is only psychological realism. The extraordinary interest in that kind of realism is the result of a typical modernist reaction to traditional art and life. These realists are sometimes hailed as revolutionary in outlook and amazingly original in technique. But in fact they are revolutionary only because they are extremely individualistic, because they pass rather with a strange callousness from the social world to the completely private world rejecting all the specifically social features of poetry as a revolt against convention and introduce purely personal associations. There is therefore an anarchist revolution in literature, which, they say, is waged against the destructive elements and for the negation of values in a decadent society while they themselves are unable to go beyond its limitations and are still caught in its coils. Hence, the craze for a blatant and intentional obscurity, for artistic freedom and sometimes for technical acrobatics.

Judged as such they may be original and revolutionary from yet another point of view because they look at



life through the small windows of their private world—from a hitherto unknown angle of vision. But this new window because of its newness does not necessarily disclose the whole or the essentials of life, on the contrary the possibilities are stronger for the inessentials to come to our view. We may take for an example the well-known painting of the American artist Georgia O' Keeffe called *The Sky seen through a Hip Bone*. One may legitimately ask the question: Why should the artist look at the sky through the cavity of the pelvis? Why this unusual love for distortion? And is not this eccentric individuality fatal to art?

So the basic feature of such realistic art is its glaring anti-realism—its hostility to objective knowledge of life, for the more maniacally individualistic he is the lesser he is as an artist. These realists therefore are separated on the one hand from the finest traditions of art of the preceding centuries and on the other from the hopes and aspirations of life that is striving to be born.

So the claims made in favour of this type of poetry rest mainly on the poet's efficiency in so-called realistic and faithful portrayal of life. But it should be carefully noted here that Eliot's poetry seldom degenerates into a loose sally of eccentric thoughts. He always relates his experience to a wider context and his poetic associations either through contrast or parallelism reveal a keen sense of social consciousness and concern that could be found among poets only in Milton. So the poet of the Love Song of Prufrock is admirably free from the vagaries of the school that he himself founded. Moreover, the most unsavoury examples of the new art will be found more in modern painting than poetry.

We may now take up the love song for interpretation, but before we actually do it, it should be profitable to know the motif and purpose behind the poem. Eliot's Prufrock—the modern man—will not lay bare his heart if he is not sure that the person addressed to belong to his world and that he cannot escape with his secrets elsewhere. The extract from Dante quoted as an epigraph to the poem makes this very evidently clear. That initially creates an atmosphere of twilight secrecy which is indeed the peculiar atmosphere of the whole poem. Secondly and perhaps more significantly, Prufrock is not a satiric portrait and the poem does not seem to have any didactic purpose. Towards Prufrock the poet is more sympathetic than contemptuous and the elements of contempt or even ridicule that are to be found here and there are directed against an artificial society which is considered to be responsible for Prufrock's mental make-up. It is therefore easy to perceive that Eliot's society is one of inhibitions and taboos and the causes of its disintegration are mainly pathological. It must also be noted that Prufrock's repression of and inability to speak out the elemental passion of love even to his beloved are the outcome of defeatist mentality and cowardly escape from society. The poem therefore is not a criticism

of life because it does not in any way suggest the ideal relations between poetry and the world or criticize the existing relations between them.

So Prufrock is obviously a neurotic—a man of abnormal sensibilities and his love song, which stands best a psycho-analytical interpretation, shows clearly the poet's attitude towards the subject of a work of art. The dramatic quality and intensity that were to be the characteristic features of his poetry have been considerably achieved in this poem. Its technique also is psycho-analytical in so far as it follows the law of free association and psychological sequence. The technique itself, of course, is older than Eliot but his originality is that his leaps from one idea to another are more violent and meaningful than those of his predecessors though to a great extent it also lies in the peculiar significance of the imagery of the poem.

Let us then consider the imagery and try to find out a meaning in reference to them. We therefore presume apropos of the poem that one dull dying evening 'like a patient etherised upon a table' Prufrock with his Beloved comes out of Eliot's Inferno—the world of the 'sub-conscious—to face the conscious world outside. A vague direction as to which streets they should traverse and which places to visit has been given by the poet who, one may visualize, is watching them from the little window of his twilight world. Then 'you have the scene arrange itself.' And Prufrock cannot, of course, help carrying the atmosphere of the world from which he has just stirred out to sing his love song, for he is one with it. This should not remind the reader of Milton's fallen Archangel, because Eliot has not to justify anybody's ways to man.

For Prufrock love is not divine or Platonic—it is grossly mundane and sexual, but he cannot or it may appear he does not wish to give a straight and direct expression to this earthly love. With full sophistication, therefore, he speaks through symbols. In the pale and sickly evening he wishes to walk through half-deserted streets where he would meet people—presumably couples—retreating with significant mutterings. This reminds him of nights—restless nights in cheap one-night hotels. But it is not for him a 'last ride together' for the streets follow 'like a tedious argument' and when he comes to an overwhelming question—the question of facing actuality—he was only to falter and speak again through symbols:

In the room the women come and go
Talking of Michelangelo.

Of all artists why of Michelangelo? Is it simply because it rhymes with 'go'? Or is it because there is a humorous intent and even motive of ridicule against society in this sudden and strong rhyme and refrain? Or does it signify a sham, artificial albeit fashionable appreciation of art? Why Michelangelo even then? And why only women? Are they not speaking of Michelangelo who escaped from Florence to avoid the possibility of conversion to Christianity? Or they might

be referring to the famous marble group of the Virgin and the Child. *Virgin Mary*—the suggestions are palpable enough and through repetition, Prufrock is drawing the attention of his ladylove to a particular aspect of the life of the Florentine artist. Yet the hint does not seem to be of much import, so now he speaks in clearer images of direct significance:

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the
window-panes,
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the
window-panes
Licked its tongue into the corners of the evening,
Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains,
Let fall upon its back the soot that falls from
chimneys,
Slipped by the terrace, made a sudden leap,
And seeing that it was a soft October night,
Curled once about the house, and fell asleep.

And these are the boldest hints that one who has 'measured out his life with coffee spoons' is capable of giving and yet after this somewhat direct utterance so far as he is concerned, once again he flags:

There will be time, there will be time
There will be time to murder and create—
Time yet for a hundred indecisions
And for a hundred visions and revisions.

The problem in his world is not one of fleeting, galloping time, it is the immovability and the timelessness of time that puzzles him the most. Time for him is really out of joint but he does not feel that he was born to set it right. These indecisions, visions and revisions will naturally remind him of Hamlet but—

No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant
to be;

Am an attendant lord, one that will do,
To swell a progress start a scene or two,
Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool,
Deferential, glad to be of use,
Politically cautious, and meticulous;
Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;
At times almost ridiculous—
Almost, at times, the fool.

So he wonders: Do I dare? and Do I dare? But why this inability of a natural instinct to assert itself? Is he growing old? Why does he not dare to disturb his world when 'in a minute there is time for decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse?' This does not console him much, so he grows rather philosophic for he has already known them all. But philosophizing is not always the way of the balanced and the normal and especially the illusionists among philosophers are generally out of their elements with life. Hence, with this helpless abandon born of aimless brooding, 'how should I presume?' But he will have to begin when 'eyes have fixed him in a formulated phrase, and when he is sprawling on a pin and is pinned and wriggling on the wall.' But even when 'he has known the white bare arms, the disturbing perfume of a dress'—how should he begin? So again he tries to be vocal and significant through glaring images—of dusk, narrow streets, smoke, lonely men in shirt-sleeve leaning

out of windows, seas and of afternoon and evening sleeping peacefully smoothed by long fingers tired or pretending to be asleep stretched on the floor. He now wishes to be a pair of ragged claws to scuttle across the difficulties of the silent seas—the agonies of the struggle in the sub-conscious. But if he lets time pass, after tea and cakes and ices, will he have the strength to force the moment to its crisis? Though he has suffered all the spiritual upheaval of a prophet, he has not found any direction even for himself. Time is dragging him away from his moment of temporary decision, yet in a minute there will be time for decisions and revisions. Not only will he not have the strength, it will not be worth his while after 'the cups, the marmalade, the tea' to come to some overwhelming question and to say: 'I am Lazarus come from a different world (the sub-conscious reign of my mind) to tell you all.' On the contrary, even if she is lying, settling a pillow by her head he should like to say:

That is not what I meant at all
That is not it at all.

But at the same time would it be worth his while to say: 'That is not it at all. That is not what I meant all'—after settling a pillow or throwing off a shawl and turning towards the window? Once again he is lost in the maze of contradictions, of attraction and repulsion. What is all this due to? He must have grown old and he will walk upon the beach in search of health. The beach reminds him of the sea and its dark depth and also his own mysterious recess of mind, where he has seen mermaids singing each to each. So long he lingered there with his love thoughts by the sea girls 'wreathed with seaweeds red and brown.' But as they come to the conscious world their sub-conscious selves drown:

Human voices wake us and we drown.

In spite of its pronounced modernness, it will be interesting to note, the emotional pattern of the poem bears some resemblance to a recognized pattern very frequently employed in English poetry. A typical example of such pattern is furnished by Keats's *Nightingale Ode*. The rhythmic rise and fall of the Ode correspond to the attraction and repulsion of this modern love song. Again Keats's nightingale showed him the vision of a happy world in his hour of spiritual crisis though that proved to him ultimately an insubstantial dream and he had to come back to the world of hard realities. Similarly to Prufrock paralysed by living death and shattered by the sad consciousness of the helplessness of struggle, the song of the mermaids

...riding seaward on the waves

Combing the white hair of the waves blown back
When the wind blows the water white and black—
brings the glimpse of a "life-rhythm where living creatures delight spontaneously in their natural environment mastering it and being carried along with its vital energies." And then again the last lines of both these

poems strike a note of disillusionment.

'Fled is the music, do I wake or sleep'—through the distance of about a century is echoed poignantly in the line:

Till human voices wake us and we drown.

Eliot's poetic mind has been very richly nourished

—O:—

MERUTUNGA ACHARYA

By N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Visva-Bharati University

PROF. BUHLER, writing to Noldke in 1877 on the contribution of the ancient Hindus in the field of historical literature, said:

"You are a little behind the age with your notion that Indians have no historical literature. In the last twenty years five fairly voluminous works have been discovered, emanating from authors contemporary with the events which they describe. Four of them I have discovered myself. I am on the track of more than a dozen more."

Among those in search of which Prof. Buhler was active, was the work *Prabandha Chintamani*, composed in V.S. 1362 (=1305-6 A.D.). Prof. C. H. Tawney, the translator of this work, was so warm in praise of it that it "blunted, in his words, the edge of the reproach . . . that with the exception of the *Rajatarangini*, there is to be found no work in Sanskrit literature meriting the title of history."

This treatise was the composition of our Merutunga Acharya, a Jain saint of Wadhwan (ancient Vardhamanpur) in Kathiawar on the highroad from Anhilwad to Junagarh. He is known to have written other works, such as the *Mahapurushacharita*, a chronicle of Jain saints, Theravali (Sthavirabali), a set of genealogical tables and *Vicharasrani*, which is taken by some scholars to be a part of the former. The Acharya's fame rests however on the *Prabandha Chintamani*. It is therefore necessary to critically examine the work in order to ascertain the Acharya's title to be called a historian. The book is divided into five cantos of which the first, opening with the mythical king Vikramaditya, deals mainly with Mulraja, the historical founder of the Chaulukya dynasty and the origin of the rivalry between one of his successors Durlabhraja and the Paramara King Munja of Malwa. The Second Canto treats of King Bhoja's liberality, his leanings towards Jainism and his overthrow at the hands of the Kalachuri King, Karna. The Third Canto opens with the story of a drought in Gujarat under King Bhoja, rival of King

by the great tradition of poetry in Europe and his poetry therefore is highly and in an original way allusive. But the greatest charm of his poetry is that it gives its readers a chance to recognize the old in the new and the continuity of a great tradition which he has carried to greater heights.

Bhoja and after relating the story of King Siddhraj's birth, devotes mainly to an exposition of the principles of Jainism and its attainment of status of complete equality with the Brahmanical faith. The fourth forms, as it were, the crown of the volume, setting forth an account of King Kumarapala, the great Jain teacher, Hemachandra, King Viradhbala and his two ministers, Vastupala and Tejahpala, under whom Jainism won complete ascendancy in Gujarat. The fifth contains a bunch of miscellaneous stories and is rightly designated *Prakirnak-prabandha*.

But each chapter of it is a curious jumble of stories and a strange amalgam of fact and fiction. Historical facts and chronological data jostle with accounts of uncanny figures flying through the air and of mysterious temples underneath the sea. Accounts of learned philosophical discussions and pious foundations are juxtaposed with the fable of a goddess, causing a man's death, out of her jealousy for his devotion to a Jain Tirthankar and of a king dying suddenly, as a consequence of his necklace being caught in a tree, while out on the march towards Gujarat. Dialectics of Jain saints are followed by a grotesque story to reinforce the moral of *sarbadharmamanyata* (veneration for all religions). A nice historical fact, such as the threat of an attack on Benares by the Turkish army, is woven into an account of the accomplishment of King Kumarapala.

This outline sketch of the contents of the *Prabandha Chintamani* and the method of their presentation would at once mark it out from the ancient Greek histories and the medieval Muslim chronicles. Their primary object was to depict the history of the age in which they were written; but such a notion was remote from the mind of our Acharya. The completion of the *Prabandha Chintamani* synchronised with the extinction of the Vaghela dynasty. Since 1296 Alauddin's army and gendarmerie were active in Gujarat. The city of Anhilpataka was sacked, its queen taken captive and the port of

Cambay pillaged. But our Acharya has not a word to say about it. The cloistered recluse was deaf to the thud and crash of the world falling around him.

What then was the main incentive to the composition of the *Chintamani* (Jewels of Thought)? It was to propagate the gentle teaching of the Jains and to show the greater glory of Gujarat, which was the primeval, sanctuary of Rishava against the background of the short-lived splendour of Malwa, consecrated to the Deity Mahakal.

I adduce a few illustrations in support of my point. King Bhoja goes out on chase and strikes a deer with an arrow when his attendant Dhanapal cries out saying:

"May your valour go to hell; It is a bad principle; He who takes refuge is held innocent.

That the weak is being slaughtered by the strong is a supreme tragedy.

Lawlessness seems to be the order of the day."

On the return journey, the plaintive bleating of a lamb drew the King's attention and on the King's query Dhanapal replied:

"Having made a sacrificial pillar, slain animal therewith and made glory mire, if one goes to heaven, who will proceed to hell?

Truth is my sacrificial pillar, penance fire, good deeds my fuel.

One should pour oblation of *ahimsa*: this is considered to be sacrificed by the pious men." Similarly he says elsewhere:

"*Ahimsa* is the essence of religion; due respect should be paid to the goddess Saraswati.

All philosophers are agreed that one achieves salvation by means of meditation."

The doctrine of *Karma* is a cardinal Jain teaching and Merutunga often alludes to it in course of his narrative and concludes a story with the lines:

१. रसातलं यातु तवात्र पौरुषं ।

कुनोतिरेषा शरणो ह्यदोषवान् ॥

निहन्यते यद्वलिनापि दुर्बलो ।

हा हा महाकष्टं अराजकं जगत् ॥

२. यूपं कृत्वा पशुदत्त्वा कृत्वा रुधिरकर्दमम् ।

यद्यैव गम्यते स्वर्गो नरके केन गम्यते ॥

सत्यं यूपं तपो ह्यग्नि कर्म्मोनि समिधोमस ।

अहिंसामाहुति दद्यादेवं यज्ञ सतां मतः ॥

३. अहिंसा लक्षणो धर्मो मान्या देवो च भारती ।

ध्यानेन मुक्तिमाप्नोति सर्वं दर्शनिना मतं ॥

"Neither personal appearance, nor pedigree nor conduct is of any avail Nor knowledge nor service rendered to humanity. Merits accumulated by penance in previous births would surely yield in course of time fruit for many a man, just as trees do."

Our Acharya exhorts even the application of the Jain principles to administration as testified to by such a verse:

"He is a real minister, and enlightened too, who fills the treasury without imposts and extends territory without recourse to war."

He, no doubt, rails at some Brahmanical rite but he shows true catholicity as a teacher by weaving a transcendent harmony out of the discordance of the various sects.

"The doctrines of the Buddhist you should read, but practise those of the Jainas.

The Vedic way should guide your social behaviour. But the Supreme Good should be the object of contemplation."

One of the criterions followed by the ancient Greek historians was to suspect superhuman and miraculous occurrences which contradict ordinary experience. Our Acharya was free from such scepticism. He makes plentiful use of those materials which the ancient Greek historians would doubt. His narrative is a bundle of detached stories centring round a few royal personages and thus lacks in sequence of narration. The contents are varied, ranging from history, religion, folk to alchemy and the science of medicine. *Prabandha Chintamani* could therefore hardly be called a history and its author designated a historian. With its edifying verse and simple prose, it would however rank as a useful work in the Sanskrit belles lettres.

४. नैवाकृतिः फलति, नैव कूलं न शीलं ।

विद्या नचापि मनुजेषु कृता न सेवा ॥

प्रायानि पूर्व तपसा किल संचितानि ।

काले फलन्ति पुरुषस्य यथैव वृक्षाः ॥

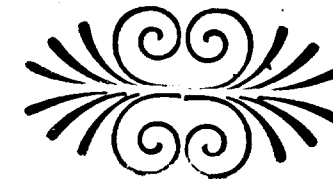
५. अकरात् कुस्ते कोपम् अवधाद् शरक्षणम् ।

देशवृद्धिमयुदायच स मन्त्रो बुद्धिमानंश्च सः ॥

६. श्रोतव्यः सौगत धर्मः कर्त्तव्यः पुनर्वाहृतः ।

वेदिको व्यवहर्त्तव्यो धातव्य परमः शिवः ॥

* By courtesy of All-India Radio, Calcutta.



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

VALMIKI RAMAYANA: By N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, with Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954. Pp. xxii + 234. Price Re. 1-12.

The immortal work of Valmiki, which with its sister Epic of the Mahabharata has come to be regarded as a part of the world-literature, has been translated into almost all European languages during the last century. Not to speak of the Italian translation of G. Gorresio (Parigi 1847-58) and the two French versions of H. Fauche (Paris 1854-58) and A. Roussel (Paris 1903-09), we have complete English versions of the work in verse by R. T. H. Griffith (1st ed., Benares 1872-74) and in prose by Manmathanath Dutt (Calcutta, 1892-94) as well as a condensed version in verse by Romesh Dutt (London, 1900). The present condensed translation in prose from the pen of a distinguished jurist of our times comes in the wake of these older versions. Without indulging in invidious comparisons we may state our opinion that the author's attempt to elucidate the substance of the original in the simplest possible language (Introd., p. xxi) has been successful. It is, however, difficult to understand why the author has confined his translation only to the first six Cantos omitting the last Canto (*Uttarakanda*) without any word of explanation. It is to be hoped that the author in a subsequent edition will correct the inclusion of Tara and Gandhamadana (p. 11) among the Vanara chiefs as also occasional slips in the transliteration of Sanskrit names (e.g., *Visishta* and *Vasishtha*, *Rajarishi* and *Thataka*).

U. N. GHOSHAL

RAJAGRIHA AND NALANDA: By Dr. Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Indian Publicity Society, 21, Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta-4. 1954. Two maps and plans plus sixteen illustrations. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2-4.

This small book by Dr. Amulyachandra Sen is one of the best guide-books published on any historical site in India. Dr. Sen has not only given the reader a comprehensive and up-to-date historical account of Rajagriha and Nalanda, but has also placed certain itineraries at the disposal of the traveller who wishes to visit the spots hallowed by the memory of Buddha and connected with the rise of the early monastic order. We are sure the booklet will prove of inestimable help to its readers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

TIME AND THE TIMELESS: By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian Philosophy, Madras University. Published by Upanishad Bihar, 70, Venkatesapuram Ayanvaram, Madras-23. Pp. 84. Price Rs. 2.

Dr. Mahadevan is a distinguished exponent and authority of Indian thought in general and Advaita Vedanta in particular. He is a dynamic thinker and an excellent interpreter. He has half a dozen thought-provoking treatises on Indian Thought, excluding the one under review. His work on Gaudapada is a masterly survey of early Advaita prior to Shankar. A few years ago, his lectures on Indian Philosophy in U.S.A. were highly appreciated and applauded by American audience.

The present volume, though small yet substantial, contains two lectures delivered by him in March, 1953, under the auspices of Principal Miller Lectureship of Madras University. This lectureship was endowed in 1926 by Sir R. Venkataratnam Nayudu, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University from 1925 to 1928 in loving memory of his devoted teacher, Dr. William Miller, sometime Principal of Madras Christian College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras in 1901. The theme set for the Miller Lectures is the Inner Meaning of Human History as disclosing the one increasing purpose that runs through the ages and was inspired by a line in a poem of Tennyson.

Accordingly, the learned author selected a very important subject for his lectures. Since the concept of time plays a very prominent part in modern philosophy, he did very well in selecting this subject for discussion. In the short space of only two lectures, he has shown in the light of Advaita Vedanta that time has no absolute reality but it is a channel through which timeless reality or Brahman is approached. He examines critically various current concepts of time, mathematico-physical, psychological and metaphysical and rightly concludes that time is *anirvachaniya* or indeterminate. He prefers the absolutistic view of timeless reality to the theistic one as he finds all notions of difference and duality upheld by the latter view are unsatisfactory in the last resort.

The book is profound and pellucid, readable and interesting throughout. It is replete with as many as 114 quotations from ancient and modern thinkers, not only philosophers but also dramatists and poets. Decently printed in pica type on white glazy paper and nicely got-up with thick cover, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BOOK REVIEWS

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA: By K. C. Vyas, M.A., Ph.D. Foreword by Dr. B. V. Keskar. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 8 + 140. Price Rs. 4.

The term "National" was added to "Education" so far back as in the thirties of the nineteenth century by W. W. Adam in his Education Report and C. E. Trevelyan in his book on education. In the present treatise the author Dr. Vyas has, it appears, used the term in the same sense as the former two. He has traced the history of Indian education in modern times, in a short compass in this book. He has, of course, given some account of the educational movements started by the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society of India and other bodies during the nineteenth century. With the quickening of the New Spirit early this century, our ideas on education were re-oriented, and our educational efforts ran into altogether a new channel. From the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal up to the all-India movement of the Non-co-operation, the Civil Disobedience Movement and the August Revolution (1942), our "national" education took root into the soil in newer aspects, the latest being the "Basic Education" propagated by Mahatma Gandhi. The book under review took note of these aspects, too. From this point of view the reader will find in it a running commentary on the national education movements of the different periods. But all the same the book cannot be considered a comprehensive history, and that is, perhaps due to the handicap of short space.

One, however, expects in a book like this some detailed account of the endeavours in the direction of national education during the Swadeshi days in Bengal. These have left a permanent stamp on our national life and culture. The book also suffers from some inaccuracies. The Charter Act of 1813 gave freedom to the Christian missionaries to move and work in India. Therefore to say that, "Immediately after the year 1813 no Christian missionary was allowed to set foot in British India" (p. 2) is not correct. Long before 1813, Carey, Marshman and Ward established the Serampore Baptist Mission, and they had never suffered from any disability due to the above Charter Act. William Carey landed in India in 1793. Marshman and Ward reached the country in 1799. These three founded the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1800. Then how was it possible for Raja Rammohun Roy to 'come in contact with Serampore Missionaries' 'at the age of 24 (1796)'? (p. 11). To say that Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar 'became the Honorary Secretary of the Bethune College as soon as it was established in 1849' is also not true (p. 25). On page 35, we find student Keshub Chunder Sen 'transferred to the Metropolitan Institute under Cant. Richardson.' Here the author has betrayed a mistaken notion. The actual name of the institution was the 'Hindu Metropolitan College' and not the 'Metropolitan Institute.' The school of Pandit Vidyasagar was the 'Metropolitan Institution' founded more than a decade later. These and other inaccuracies should be corrected.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

AMONG THE GONDS OF ADILBAD: By Setu-madhava Rao, M.A., Deputy Revenue Secretary, Hyderabad (Deccan). To be had of the author. Price Rs. 2-8.

Of all the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hilly tracts and plains of India, the Gonds numbering

about three millions are the most numerous. These aboriginal people who established independent kingdoms in different parts of Gondwana or the land of the Gonds had a glorious past. Ranees Durgavati, the Gond queen, who fought courageously in the battlefield with the Moghul soldiers and preferred death to dishonour is worthy to be remembered as one of the noblest daughters of India. A dependable account of various Gond kingdoms has been presented by Eyre Chatterton in *The Story of Gondwana*, a valuable work published in 1916. These primitive people who once ruled over the plateaux and plains of the Central Provinces (renamed as Madhya Pradesh after the attainment of independence) attracted the attention of Anthropologists and Administrators some decades ago. Captain Forsyth is supposed to be the pioneer amongst those who have made an acquaintance with the beauty and antiquities of the "Highlands of Central India" and Monographs written by Verrier Elwin and Grigson are considered to be authentic works on the manners, customs, traditions, etc., of the Gonds.

But the Gond population is not confined in the Central Provinces only. innumerable Gonds are spread over Hyderabad and Northern parts of Madras. In the District of Adilbad (Hyderabad State) alone the number of Gonds, according to the Census of 1941 is 71,874. Our knowledge about the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad was scanty, but Baron Haimendorf of Austria, due to whose untiring efforts the Department of Anthropology was constituted in the University of Hyderabad, has made us familiar with the Chenchus and other tribes dwelling in the State of Hyderabad. His volume on the *Raj Gonds of Adilbad* is really a monumental work.

The writer of the present work under review had the good luck of receiving the Baron's instructions in carrying out his Anthropological researches. He worked under Haimendorf's guidance as special officer for tribes in the District of Adilbad. During the tenure of service he came into contact with Gonds, Kollams, Pradhans, Thottis, Naik-Pods and other tribes: studied their life and customs and got opportunities of hearing myths and legends recited by the Pradhans. His varied experiences and materials collected from different sources have been gathered together in this small book which anyone interested in the aboriginal tribes will go through with great interest. The chapter on the myths and traditions will convince the reader that Gond stories have greatly been influenced by the Hindu mythology.

Mr. Rao's book though not a bulky one will be regarded as a valuable contribution because it is based on practical experience and laborious fieldwork among the aborigines.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

ECONOMIC ESSAYS: By Prof. P. B. Sanuol. Book Store, 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 2.

In this small book fifteen essays written by the author from time to time for newspapers have been printed on subjects, such as Indian Finance since Independence, National Income and Its Significance, Sterling Area, Nationalized Industries, Budget—Old and New, Lend and Lease, State Trading, etc. Some of the essays are no longer topical but are of interest to students of economics. Written in simple language for the lay man the book will be useful to beginners in their study of economic phenomena discussed in the press and platform. "The Problem of Student

Indiscipline." although a well-written essay, does not seem to fit in with the title of the book.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA: By Miss Helen Lamb of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cambridge. Friends' Book Depot, 12, University Road, Allahabad-2. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 4.

In a short compass of 68 pages Miss Helen has presented his views on the study of Indian economic problems as it faces India today after her attainment of Independence. More or less isolated from the outer world during the Mughal period, India entered a new stage after Plassey in 1757 and still a new stage after 1857 when the British Parliament took upon itself the administration of the country from the East India Company. Economic interest and development were always subordinated to the Imperial interest of Great Britain. Whatever economic development India attained was in minor and subsidiary industries and the country remained a field of British economic experiments and exploitation. British industries established in the country received undue favour from the rulers and Indian industries had to struggle hard. Even two World Wars did not basically improve matters. Miss Helen has pointed some of the weak points of the Indian economic system and lack of statistical information necessary for a sound study and proper assessment of problems. India cannot develop on the basis of Europe or America (USA) because of her past history, social structure and huge and growing population. As such India shall have to find her own method in tackling problems of the day and in this regard lessons and experiments of other countries will be helpful. We have no hesitation in recommending this book to our young students of Economics who will find it illuminating.

A. B. DUTTA

LOVE AGAINST HATE: By N. K. Pandey. Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta, 1954. Pp. 61. Price six annas

This modest little book sets for itself a most worthy objective: the exposure of the Indian Communist Party and some of their base and bloodthirsty methods in furthering their sinister interests. Juxtaposed against all this are the peaceable and loving mission of Vinoba Bhave and his magnificent Bhoodan work which is silently but irrevocably weaning away the essentially god-fearing and simple Indian peasant from the Communist blood-suckers. The little band of workers who have sponsored this publication deserve every encouragement and the monograph itself the widest circulation. The prayer of the sponsors will find a warm echo in the hearts of all true Indians: "Let free people know the truth about Soviet slave labour camps, purges, terror, speed-ups, staged trials, increasing industrialisation and decreasing standards of living, regimentation of the artists and the thinkers, and Communism will shrink within and die of its own lies." So all hail to this little book and to the men who produced it!

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

BENGALI

MANISHIDER DRISHTITE ACHARYA SWAMI PRANABANANDA: Edited by Swami Amananda. Bharat Sevasram Sangha, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4; Bound Re. 1-8.

Swami Pranabananda's life-long endeavour to instil into the Hindu society a spirit of activity and the consciousness of its own greatness has earned the respect of his countrymen. The volume under review

is a collection of twenty-two essays, by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, etc., on the mission and achievement of the late revered Swamiji.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

PRINTERS' GUIDE, Vol. II: By Narendra Nath De. The Eastern Type Foundry and Oriental Printing Works Ltd., 18 Brindaban Byasak Street, Calcutta-5. Pp. 396. Price Rs. 6-10.

As the name indicates, this Guide deals with some of the important matters relating to printing. Paper, ink, engraving on wood and metal, colour-blocks—these constitute some of the chapters of the book. Printing machinery is also discussed in some others. Printing is considered an important industry. Those engaged in this industry should have a clear idea of it, and this book will be a true guide to them. It will also be useful to authors. The book is illustrated. We commend it to those interested in printing.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

HINDI

BAPU KE PATRA MIRA KE NAM (1924-48): Translated from English by Ramanarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 399. Price Rs. 4.

This is a sheaf of 386 letters out of 650, which Gandhiji wrote to Miraben (formerly Miss Slade) in the course of their twenty-three years of sacred relationship as a father-in-spirit and a daughter-in-spirit or as a torch-bearer of light and a seeker of light. And they reveal both of them in colours and context, which few people could ever think of, knowing Gandhiji as they do as a man of strenuous public activities, who had little or no time for adequate attention to the needs of the individual, and Miraben as a member of his entourage. For, not only do we see here a clear case of mutual spiritual kinship at first sight, but also the preceptor's deeply personal and unendingly patient instruction of the disciple, fighting against the octopus-like claims of self and of soft and sparkling society, into the ways of self-transcendence of and Truth of the Self. On the surface, it might appear that the letters deal often with ordinary matters, such as health, food, etc., but it is the "holily human" touch of their great-souled writer, which gives them a worth and a value beyond compare and calculation.

MAHADEVABHAI KA PURVACHARIT: By Narahari Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramanarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 92. Price 14 annas.

After the late Mahadeva Desai joined Gandhiji in 1917, he had reduced himself to a hero, so that up till the time of his death in 1942, he was known only as Gandhiji's Secretary. His life prior to 1917 was a sealed book to a large majority of the people, particularly those who lived outside Gujarat. Therefore, his lifelong friend, Shri Narahari Parekh, has done well to lift the curtain over this period. This will enable the reader of his biographical sketch to love Mahadevabhai all the more. For, the seeds of the latter's noble and winsome personality, undaunted courage, sterling character, true passion for literature, spirit of public service and of self-sacrifice were sown during the first half of his life and we see them sprouting in these pages. Only the sunlight of Gandhiji's soul quickened this sprouting to their consummation.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **PRAKRITINAN LADAKVAYAN PAN-KHIS:** By Vijay Gupta Maurya. Pp. 224. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) **ZER UTARVANA TATKALIK UPAYO:** By Dr. Shankarlal Kavi. Pp. 96. Price 8 annas.

(3) **DESHA ANE KAL:** By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Pp. 410. Price Rs. 4.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board bound.

The second book deals with centipede, snake, cobra and other poisons and the remedies to instantaneously cure those bitten by these reptiles. Those suffering from partaking of substances like *bhang*, *dhatu*, nettles and like ones are also told how to cure themselves. The cure is rendered by means of Indian drugs and herbs. It is a good *vade mecum*. The first book is called Nature's Pets. Birds. If we except these endeavours being made by the Editor of the *Prakriti* magazine, Shrijit Hari Narayan Acharya, this is the first notable book on Birds and Bird Life in Gujarati, authoritative, readable and full of information as to what are their ways and habits. About 125 birds are dealt with here and illustrative blocks are also printed so that one can recognise them. *Desha and Kal* is a new departure in the line of the Society's publication. Serious subjects like Prof. Einstein's Doctrine of Theory of Relativity are being handled for the first time and therefore the enterprise requires to be noted. It says that till one knows all co-ordinates, he will not be able to verify time or place. Hindu philosophy talks of the three states of waking, dreaming, and soporificism and in that way showed that recently what Einstein seeks

to establish. Swamiji has tried here to co-ordinate the *Vivarta-vada* of Vedanta with Einstein's discovery.

PRACHIN SAHITYA: Translated by the late Mahadev H. Desai and Narhari D. Parekh. Published by the Gujarat Vidya Pittha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 98. Price Re. 1.

This is the third edition of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's book translated into Gujarati. Dr. Rabindranath's comments and observations on the *Ramayana*, *Meghaduta*, *Dhammapad*, *Sakuntala*, *Kumarsambhav*, and the Indian Stage, are valuable and original. The book has therefore become popular and gone into a third edition.

K. M. J.

NITYA MANAN: By Gandhiji. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March, 1952. Price Re. 1.

A young friend has lost his wife early in life. Gandhiji, in the midst of his pressing political work and his own bereavements, does not forget him but jots down for him one thought every day. This continues till Noakhali leaves him no time. The thoughts thus penned from day to day have now been published in their Gujarati version for the first time so as to reach out to a wider audience.

The thoughts are chronologically arranged; the Gujarati version follows the Hindi original. The text is enriched at the end by three Hindi *bhajans* referred to in the body of the book.

It would be puerile to extol these thoughts which come straight from Gandhiji; we feel his living breath upon them and realise that the title is eminently suitable, they deserve indeed to be subjects for daily meditation. The Gujarati version is lucid, and one feels sure that it will help to propagate the thoughts among a large section of Indians. The text should be published in the different languages of modern India.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Africa

In the course of his article in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, based on his lecture, "Peoples and Cultures of West Africa," given at the Institute on May, 1954, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes:

Africa has been called the 'Dark Continent.' Until recently, it was dark and unknown to the peoples of Europe and Asia; but now, thanks to European curiosity and Arab and European urge for expansion and exploitation, Africa, with all her hidden corners, finds herself in the full light of knowledge and familiarity. It was also called 'dark,' as its people (except among the later Arab invaders, and the Hamitic peoples in the North) are characterized by their colour—black, in various shades, from the rich deep to the brownish, each of which has its own beauty, not usually appreciated by others. And most Christian missionaries, who went to bring light to the 'Dark Continent,' thought that with his 'heathen' religions and his cruel practices the mind of the African was plunged in the darkness of ignorance and superstition that Christianity alone, as these missionaries conceived it to be, could dispel. The attitude of the propagators of Islam, whether Arabs or Berbers or converted Africans, was also similar.

THE MYSTERY OF AFRICA

A change in our attitude towards Africa is now demanded by the new age. Africa, in the first instance, with her special flora and fauna, has preserved some types in both the plant and animal worlds that are no longer found elsewhere and that originated on the soil of Africa; and this makes Africa, as a field where Nature has unveiled herself, a source of perennial interest and novelty. There are the strange African trees and plants—the baobab, the oil-palm, the cola nut, the gum plants, besides some geological survivals in her plant world. The African elephant and rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the giraffe, the zebra, the okapi, the quagga, thegnu and other animals are there, with the African lion, the great man-like apes, the gorilla, and the chimpanzee. Then there is the true African Man: his physical and mental character—black skin suffused with strength and vigour, simplicity and cheerfulness, and closeness to Nature—is something which makes him quite distinctive in the World of Man, and eminently likable, and even lovable, to those who come to know him from close quarters.

The Negro, or the Black Man of Africa, is one of the three main types of humanity—the other two being the White or Caucasoid (including also the Brown) and the Yellow or the Mongoloid (including the Red Man of America, who forms just a branching off of the Yellow Man). And a black strain is supposed to have formed a potent leaven in the evolution of the White Man, too, during the dawn of man's advent on earth.

In our country, as anthropologists have found, the African Negroid came in pre-historic times, and settled over a great part of the country. They were later either absorbed by other races who followed them, or were exterminated, or in some cases they were supposed to have survived to our day in small tribes—in South India, and in the Andaman Islands. Belonging as they did to the eolithic and food-gathering stage, they did not have any civilization which could survive. But it is believed that some of their religious notions and practices may be found as a substratum in the cults and religious ideas of the subsequent peoples who established themselves in India and had contacts with these Negroids from Africa who preceded them in the country.

AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Ex Africa semper aliquid novi, 'always something new from Africa'—as the Romans said in wonder 2,000 years ago, when, along with the other peoples of classical antiquity, they were attracted by the greatness and the vastness, the antiquity and the primitive quality and the strangeness of Africa. Egypt was a part of Africa, and to the south of Egypt lay Nubia and the Black Hinterland as yet unknown to the Europeans and to Asian peoples of antiquity, although the Carthaginian Hanno explored the West African coasts along the Atlantic down to Guinea about 600 B.C. and although it is said that Phoenician explorers sent by the Egyptian Pharaoh, Necho, circumnavigated the whole of the African continent from the Red Sea and the eastern coast, returning to Egypt by way of the Strait of Gibraltar and North Africa, in the 7th century B.C.

Africa and her Negro people have been more exploited by Europeans and some Asians than any other area and people in the world. Yet through this very exploitation (and it was generally a ruthless exploitation, which has shown the White Man both European and West Asian, to be far more of a savage than the Black Man himself), Africa has been enabled to serve humanity in some indirect ways: through her physical labour, as slaves taken over to the New World and elsewhere, in promoting the wealth of other lands; through her art, in bringing new elements to the music and dance in their international setting in the present day; and latterly, by direct contact to the arts of sculpture and painting, and even to literature, of the modern world; and through the innate simplicity and often a charming primitive quality of her life, not cut off from a contact with the hidden world which is behind life and from an abandon of faith in a Godhead that can be vaguely or intensely sensed.

SUBMERGED TALENTS

The black people of Africa have so far been denied the opportunity to discover themselves and to rise to their fullest height. Africa's influence, in spite of everything, has been so far mainly through her enslaved population in America. Yet in her art—

specially in the remarkable traditions of her sculpture associated with her primitive animistic faith—sculpture in wood, in ivory, in stone, and in bronze, and modelling in earth, which had such an astonishing development among the true African peoples in the heart of the continent, and in her pre-historic paintings in rocks and caves, both in the North and in the South; and also in her simple mud architecture that has evinced quite a noble style and a beauty of line presenting a new thing in the world even at the present day—an architecture that she has developed during recent centuries in the Niger Basin of the continent—she is beginning to appreciate her potentiality.

The African has been the neglected and ill-treated child of the human family. There are still some who want to keep him segregated in his slavery and his poverty and his ignorance, so that they might exploit him like a beast of burden and yet try to have an easy conscience. The harmony and mutual co-operation in African domestic and communal life (with the industry, loyalty, and simple old world grace of the African woman forming the basis of this domestic life) have also not been understood; and disagreement with other standards and *milieus* of life has been responsible for a wholesale condemnation of African life (and religion also) as being among the 'bestial devices of the heathen.'

In Africa, it is true that there used to be human sacrifice among certain tribes as part of their religious cult. But this was not peculiar to Africa alone—most civilized peoples of the world, some time or other, including the ancestors of the present-day Europeans, practised human sacrifice. But the human sacrifice demanded by a primitive cult among a backward people was far less heinous than the human sacrifice in the name of religion that civilized and Christian Europe used to indulge in, e.g., the Roman Catholic Inquisition with its *autos da fe*, or 'acts of faith,' and witch-burnings in most Christian lands of medieval and early modern Europe, by which thousands of people, whose only offence was that they did not subscribe to the dogmas of a particular church, or were superstitiously accused of a knowledge and practice of black magic and doing harm to people with that, were burnt alive in slow fires, throughout some of the most enlightened centuries in the history of mankind. Those who condemned Africa outright for her alleged barbarities and savageries, in religion and in life, were like the man of whom Christ spoke as being too conscious of the mote in his brother's eye while forgetting the beam in his own.

But the Time Spirit is at last working, and one of the most significant things in the history of man at the present age is that the African man is also rousing himself from the sleep and stupor of ages, and is realizing that he also must take his proper place in the comity of races and peoples. He has taken his lesson from his contact with the peoples of the West, among whom, it must be said for the sake of truth and with due gratefulness, the African man found some of his truest friends and well-wishers, although the rank and file went to rob and exploit him and vilify him. Freed from the restraints imposed upon him by centuries of oppression, exploitation, and misunderstanding the African man will finally be in a position to contribute to the enrichment of human achievement, and he will be able to do something for bringing, according to the gifts with which Nature has endowed him happiness and joy to mankind. No one knows what Nature, or Destiny, or God, has in store for us. Who in civilized Greece or Rome of 2,500 or 2,000 years ago would have

thought about or could have believed in the future possibilities of the skin-clad and woad-coated barbarians of Central and Northern Europe, who offered human sacrifices to their gods, as the enlightened Germanic, Celtic, and Slav peoples of today, who are giving the lead to present-day civilization?

RESTORATION OF SELF-RESPECT

The Symphony through a Harmony of Contrasts in human civilization will not be complete before the African man can come and join it. This Symphony has remained incomplete in many ways, through numerous peoples of promise and even of remarkable achievement not being able to give of their best to the variety and richness of human civilization. Thus, we have the various peoples of the two Americas, some of whom were almost at par with the civilized peoples of antiquity in the Old World,—for example, the various Nahua peoples of Mexico (Toltecs, Aztecs, and others), the Mixtecs and the Zapotecs, the Otomis and others of Mexico, and the Mayas of Mexico and Guatemala; the Chibchas of Colombia; and the Quechuas and Aymaras of the Andean regions in South America; besides the Polynesians—to mention two groups of peoples, in the New World and in Oceania, who were 'heirs of an unfulfilled renown'. Their mental qualities, if allowed to have full development, would have supplied some new facets to human civilization as a whole. Most of these peoples are now either extinct or have become effete, or have lost their characteristics through miscegenation. But the African still survives, and he is very much alive; and if he is to make his own special contribution to this Symphony of Cultures, he must have a restored sense of self-respect, of faith in himself, and in his past achievements; and his past achievements have not been of a mean order.



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Before our mind's eye passes the panorama of the empires that the African man had built, with civilization of a type that was quite in consonance with the economic and cultural surroundings: the empire of Ghana beside the Senegal and Niger rivers; the Mandingo or Mali empire which succeeded that of Ghana; the Songhai, Mossi, and other kingdoms in the Niger countries; the ancient pre-Christian and pre-Muslim culture of Western Africa that found expression in the astonishing art products of this area; the empire of the Mali in the 14th and 15th centuries—the high culture they built, and the literature in Arabic they produced in the Muslim States of the Niger valley; old African towns like Ghana, Jenne, Timbuctoo, Gao, Kano, and the various cities of West Coast, Benin, and the rest; the achievements of the early Bantu peoples of Eastern Africa, the empires (like the Monomotapa empire of the 17th century, and the earlier States) they built, and the wonderful old cities like Zimbabwe they constructed, the ruins of which still excite our wonder; and above all, the great art of the West African and of the Bantu peoples, an art in which bronze-casting in a realistic way rivals the best work produced by ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, apart from the symbolic art of African wood sculpture and masks that was connected with the native African religion.

There is also the African dance, and African music—the drums, the xylophone, and the harp, and the human voice. All these are true heritages for the

African, and there ought to be a revival of a proper sense of values about them; and then alone can the African strive to continue being himself and at the same time achieve greatness before his fellow human beings. The glory of a simple and happy existence with song and dance, which surrounds like a radiant halo the unbounded energy and industry of the African, should also be made to live and to suffuse with light African life as one of its priceless heritages. In this way only can Africa be of service not only to herself, but also to humanity at large.

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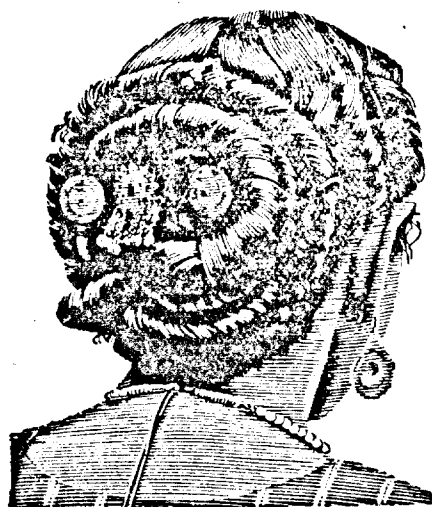
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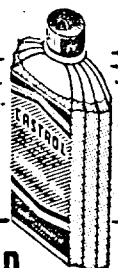
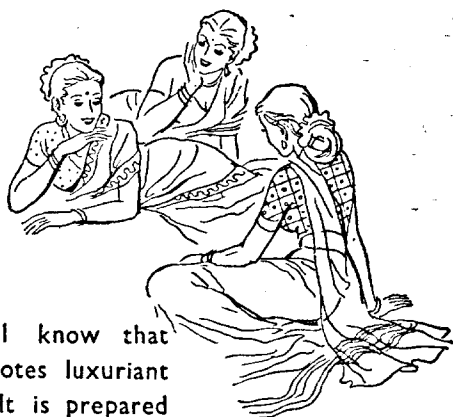
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Santa Fe, New Mexico

Dr. Alma S. Wittlin, a European museum worker and a writer on the educational possibilities of museums, was invited to the U.S.A. by the American Museum of Natural History, New York, to study the educational work of museums in the Eastern and Mid-Western States. She writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Travelling to Santa Fe from Los Angeles in the West, or from New York in the East, one has to remind oneself that one is not required to carry a passport or to think of the tedious business of visa and customs: the city of the Holy Faith is a part of the United States. Even people in Chicago or elsewhere in the American Midwest or East tend to forget this fact sometimes, a quaint fact indeed, for the State of New Mexico and its capital, Santa Fe, are a world in themselves.

A good way of getting acquainted with Santa Fe is to seat oneself on a bench in the main square, the Plaza, eyes shut and ears exposed to the local sounds. They come, English words in a variety of accents, Spanish words and syllables, alien in rhythm and meaning. Santa Fe to a considerable extent lives on the tourist trade but the multiplicity of languages is a characteristic trait; in it reverberates the adventurous past. It is considered the most ancient city in the U.S.A. save one. Founded about 1605, the city now boasts a population of about 30,000 but has no railway station. The grandiose mountains which frame the spot required that the railway line should run through Lamy, some 18 miles to the South of Santa Fe. The atmosphere of Santa Fe seems to be a maze of historical reminiscences, artistic whims and sound, up-to-date Americanism; and its citizens do not appear to have ever reached a final conclusion as to the merits or demerits of its geographical situation.

Many New Mexicans preserve in their language the memory of the *Conquistadores*, the soldiers and priests of Don Quixote's Spain who succeeded in pushing the northern frontier of their Mexican colony into the area known even then as New Mexico. The well-groomed, darkhaired office girls of Santa Fe, and the young mothers who bask their babies in the sun, use Spanish words and have a pitch of voice that has long been forgotten in Spain. They hold the legacy of the men who, three to four centuries ago had ventured out to conquer the legendary Seven Cities with their treasure of gold and silver, but who had to be content with the seeming conquest of the souls of the native Red Indians, a people who submitted to outward religious conversion without ever allowing their own spiritual convictions to be touched or altered by the white invaders.

Even now the Indian child of the American Southwest does not speak English until he reached school age. The settled Indian farmers in their villages, which are called *pueblo*, and the migrating shepherds have remained faithful to the languages of their ancestors, who are believed to have crossed over to America from Siberia some 30,000 years ago, via the ice or sand of the Bering Straits, a mere 36 miles. These American Indians speak so many different languages that sometimes they have to resort to English or Spanish to communicate among themselves with members of other tribes. All like to be recognized as

the "oldest Americans" and all take pride in a solemn deportment and great courtesy when dealing with "Europeans" as some call Americans with white-coloured skin.

The observer in Santa Fe, though he may register the world of sounds around him and notice the variety of spoken words, is bound as well to note the absence of much noise, the relative stillness that reigns in this American city. The rush, the haste, the tense anxieties of modern urban life, are unknown in the atmosphere of Southern relaxation of thin air, 7,000 feet above sea level. Opening the eyes will confirm what has been heard: there is a legacy of Seville and Granada in the narrow, winding streets, the walled gardens, the *patios*, the fountains, the window grilles, the heavy, carved doors. There are blanketed Indians, statuesque men with long, black, braided hair and women in *sari*-like draperies; there are the scions of the cowboys, those all-important characters of the Yankee conquest of the West.

The "Cowboys" of Santa Fe are not always genuine ones. In fact, many of the figures in tight, navyblue cotton trousers, the all-too-popular "jeans" and with large-brimmed hats, are young women! To be complete, the costume calls also for a pair of riding-boots of a special kind, with high, slanted heels and embroidered tops. The original cowboy, who watered his horse from his enormous hat, had his great time when the "Anglos" at last got access to New Mexico. In 1821 Mexico gained independence from Spain and the Mexican Governor who superseded the Spanish one in the Palace at Santa Fe relaxed the old rules which had tied New Mexico to Mexico and had shut it off from the United States. A trade trail was opened, the Santa Fe Trail, which soon became famous. With wagons piled high with modern industrial luxuries, cloth, furniture, rugs, etc., the efficient men of the Eastern States streamed west. Their guards on the long, perilous journey, amongst wild Indians and on uncharted trails, were the cowboys, an *elite* of *bravos*. At the end of the trail waited the buyers, aristocratic *Senoras* in black veils, Mexican civil servants and officers, and the timeless Indians. When the trading was over, drinking and dancing began, until the Easterners were ready to travel home again. On their trip east they drove before them huge herds of cattle and sheep. To this day, New Mexico's barren foothills are a homeland of sheep.

There is not a single skyscraper in Santa Fe, no subway and no speedway, but the city owns probably the oldest public building in the United States, the Governor's Palace. When the *adobe*, the local clay, was shaped into these stout, low walls, the city of Washington, D.C., was still undreamed of. From the early 17th century for about 200 years the Spanish, Mexican and American Governors of New Mexico occupied this building, except for an interregnum of about 14 years after the Pueblo Indian revolt in 1680. In 1821 came the Mexican governors of the republic; and in 1846, soon after the outbreak of the war between Mexico and the U.S.A., representatives of the United States occupied Santa Fe. At present the Governor exercises his office in a new Capitol building and the old Governor's Palace now houses the New Mexico Museum of Archaeology, a collection of archaeological and ethnological specimens of Indians and colonial Spanish origin, the Historical Society of New Mexico and the School of American Archaeology.

For several centuries, the colonnade in front of the Governor's Palace has been a landmark in Santa Fe. At present it is the charming background of a mart of American Indian arts and crafts, especially so during the annual *Fiesta* early in September when the native Americans from the neighbouring villages display under the arches their fine, artistic, handmade wares, their delightful slant-eyed babies and such household goods as families may need for camping out for three days and nights. In the past, this colonnade was the scene of many a remembered or forgotten tragedy and comedy. Spanish grandees and their ladies in 17th-century brocades have stepped from their coaches to this sidewalk; white and red-skinned rebels have been hanged under these arches; singing and shooting echoed from these walls whenever the government changed hands.

The past looms large in Santa Fe at all seasons, but especially when the three-day *Fiesta* is celebrated. Then a pageant which illustrates the last conquest of New Mexico by the Spanish, largely by moral suasion in the year 1692, is held. A member of one of the old Spanish families enacts the part of Captain Diego De Vargas and proclaims Spanish sovereignty over the city and the Palace. Clad in silk and velvet, with guns and lances, the captain and his men look picturesque on their horses and are loudly cheered by a motley crowd of enthusiastic subjects. Local citizens: Spanish-American, Anglo-American, and American Indians, and tourists from all parts of the United States, join in the spectacle. On the eve of the carnival a huge figure, "Mr. Gloom," is burnt and joy, in the form of dances and processions, is expressed. The Indians perform their ancient, symbolic paryer ritual; children in Spanish and Mexican garb revive memories of old rhythms and courtesies; ladies of Spanish descent don their grandmothers' gowns of brittle silk and drink thick chocolate. A solemn service in the Roman Catholic cathedral, in the presence of the Archbishop, marks the end of the festivities.

It is to the credit of the artists and archaeologists of Santa Fe that some 25 years ago they saved the *Fiesta* from the oblivion into which it had sunk. They are also the guardians of the good quality of the local Indian arts and crafts which are exhibited and sold on the occasion: the pottery, textiles, silverwork and beading. The American Indians are born artists, and here they badly need an additional source of income. The drought of the region is a constant peril to the farmer, especially as the birth rate is increasing among the Indians.

"Land of Enchantment" is a name of New Mexico, and it is not undeserved. The longer one stays there the more strongly one feels gripped by the virginal beauty of the snow-covered peaks under the deep blue sky, the rocky hills flecked with small pine trees, the weird forms of stone and soil carved out by erosion, the desert in all hues of red and yellow, and the appreciable harmony in which three different cultural groups, the Indian, the Spanish and the Anglo-American, have gradually learned to live together.

What matters it whether Los Alamos, with all its miracles of modern science, is far or near? Santa Feans refer to it casually as "on the hill."

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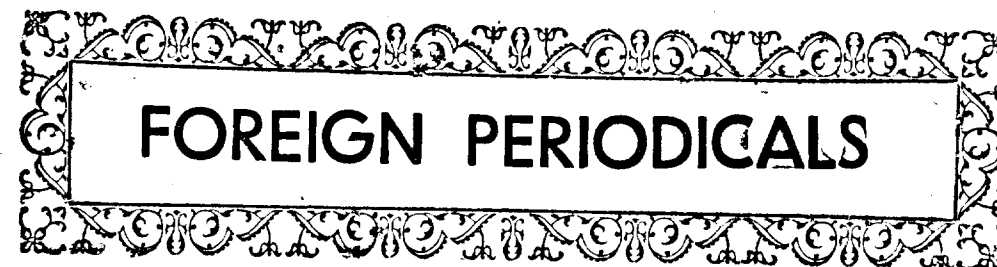
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International Understanding and Tensions

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Since 1947 Unesco has dealt from various points of view with the problem of tensions which affect understanding between groups, both at the international and national levels. The first stage was to obtain a body of knowledge on the genesis of tensions and on the factors which influence their development. Researches were undertaken at the request of some States—India, Israel, Japan—into certain internal tensions. There is at present in course a general review and evaluation of the work carried out since 1946.

While intending to continue enquiries on internal tensions in the States which request them, Unesco is now placing the emphasis much more directly on positive aspects of international understanding. In 1954 an enquiry was launched to determine to what extent different cultures possess built-in devices (legal, religious, economic and social) which place a premium on and encourage solutions of conflicts by resort to mediation and other techniques for settling or avoiding conflicts. Based on the results of this enquiry, Unesco in 1955-56 will carry on its investigations in the areas of mediation one stage further through a series of case studies of successful and unsuccessful instances of mediation and conciliation, and representing a variety of suggested pro-

cedures, including those Gandhi. In each situation the reasons for success or failure will be sought. Examples will come from several countries representing different economic, legal, religious and social systems. In addition to purely internal conflicts, an analysis will be made of mediation in the development of international law since the end of the 19th Century, as well as of international mediation conducted by the League of Nations.

The substantial research work carried out in 1953-54 on the international comparability of investigations of public opinion will be followed by ascertaining through sample polls in a number of countries the public's attitudes towards major international issues, and particularly of the changes such attitudes are undergoing, under the influence of mass media and other sociological factors. In that context, the attitude towards Unesco and various problems on Unesco's and the United Nations agenda will also be studied. In order to help to explain the trends of opinion, certain intensive studies will be made of the role of mass media.

In 1955 Unesco will arrange to promote further and to co-ordinate internationally the work carried out by social scientists on the more objective identification of national characteristics and ways of life, aiming to reduce the considerable misinformation which exists about other nations. Based on this work, in 1956 Unesco will proceed to offer to supplement existing practical guides for experts on missions, organizers of seminars, courses for prospective immigrants, etc., giving an objective and comprehensive picture of the life of the countries concerned.—Unesco.



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The Importance of Feeling Important

Edward Podolsky writes in *Unity*, September, 1954 :

One of our most significant personality attributes is the will. By exercising the will, the individual rises above his animal status into the realm of freedom, independence, and dignity. All sentient beings are always striving for some goal. The striving for importance is a normal and wholly natural process.

All of us at one time or another undergo a process of self-idealization: self-idealization, of necessity, entails self-glorification, and by means of self-glorification some of us achieve a sense of importance. This is the least socially acceptable means of attaining importance. Importance is far more than self-glorification or self-idealization. It is not a selfish process. It calls for a wholesome and outgoing relatedness to others.

For most of us, striving for importance also means striving for happiness. For many, feeling important is identical with happiness. Importance has many meanings for many people. For some the striving for importance means the attaining of physical perfection; for others it means the achievement of intellectual maturity. For still others, being important signifies abundant economic security which in their case implies abundant possessions, a great deal of money, and all the prestige that money can buy.

For too many, being important means power. Power is the ruling passion in the lives of quite a few people. Power also has many meanings for many people. Some gain spiritual power in religious activity. Others acquire a strong faith in something which make them relatively invulnerable (a political, economic, or literary movement). Still others gain power by acquiring great wealth or by rising to positions of great influence. The exercise of power for purposes of ego inflation does not result in a feeling of importance that brings true inner satisfaction.

A child feels important even without help from the outside. His real might is deplorably small but he overcomes his limitations with his strong imagination. Some people attain a feeling of importance only in their dreams and daydreams. They are emotionally rather stunted and seldom become active in the pursuit of real power. The man of benevolent action takes his dreams of power and makes them into useful realities. Others merely dream of power and can never do anything to make them a living and purposeful reality. Dreams of power and importance are not always identical.

It is quite natural that being important is interpreted differently by different people. For some, being important means belonging to a certain group, class, creed, or country. For many women it means being

a married woman, a wife, a mother, which is the attaining of a definite social status. For young girls it means having many friends, particularly boy friends, which is indicative of popularity. For a small storekeeper it may mean possessing the largest store in town with all the prestige that goes with it. For a rabid golfer it means a consistently good score: for a baseball player, getting the most home runs.

The nature of our striving for importance that is socially useful depends upon the intensity of our co-feeling with others. Co-feeling is a term invented by Dr. Alfred Adler, the founder of individual psychology. By co-feeling he meant a feeling of community or co-operation. Co-feeling and the striving for importance are not necessarily equal in drive. In many people the striving for importance is weaker than their co-feeling. In others, both factors are strong. These are the people who most earnestly try to be socially useful. In still others, both factors are weak. At any rate, our true importance depends just as much on the intensity of our co-feeling as on the intensity of our striving.

The greater the individual's co-feeling, the greater is the sociality of his striving and the greater is the satisfaction he will derive from it. Altruism is a potent factor in striving for importance. Importance must be attained in the eyes of others and not merely in ourselves for any real meaning of the term. Co-feeling automatically makes the striving for importance a positive factor, bringing satisfaction to oneself as well as to others.

Norman individuals, when they are discouraged, will stop striving for themselves alone, and will strive only with others. Striving for importance for oneself does not mean belittling others. We do not attain importance by debasing others. All human beings are important; all human lives are significant.

The striving for importance calls for reaching out for greater knowledge, profounder wisdom, real values. By means of these, the individual makes the fullest use of his powers, enlarges upon them, and increases his usefulness in society.

By striving for importance one naturally is called upon to develop his given potentialities. This gives rise to the inherent urge to grow, to increase in usefulness and dignity as an individual. All normal people have the capacity as well as the will to develop their potentialities and thus attain real importance.

In most cases attaining a sense of importance means also the attaining of security. Security means the fulfillment of a person's wishes for prestige, that is, the acceptance by and the respect of society as well as the achievement of self-respect. Security also means a person's being able successfully to use his powers, skills, and abilities for interpersonal goals within the range of his interests.

Attaining a sense of importance also means self-realization. By self-realization is meant a person's use

of his talents, skills, and powers to his own satisfaction within the realm of his own freely established realistic sense of values. It also means the ability to reach out for and to find fulfillment of his needs for satisfaction and security as they can be attained without interfering with the law or needs of his fellow men.

When a person has attained a sense of importance he has also gained a reinforced sense of reality, a development of a feeling of responsibility, and a substitution for a latent hatred of a feeling of mutual good will. All of this can be gained by the conscious evolution of a feeling for the commonwealth and the conscious destruction of the will to dominate others.

In closing, we may state the importance of feeling important as follows: (1) Our satisfaction and happi-

ness depend to a great extent upon our importance. We attain importance not in ourselves, but only in the eyes of others. Essentially, this implies co-operative living with others. (2) Our importance depends upon what we mean or signify to others. They will admit, approve, or admire only such importance as is beneficial to them. They will not admit or will disapprove and despise any importance which is indifferent or harmful to them (3) Being important also implies logical living. Logical living means living in accordance with the requirements of our own human nature and those of others. If we need importance and if attaining importance means getting it through attitudes and actions beneficial to others, then it is the only way we must live.

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The Shackles of Family Affection

Ethel S. Beer writes in the same issue of *Unity*:

When silver-haired Mrs. Foster married somewhat late in life, everybody said she deserved it. Apparently they considered it her reward for being a devoted daughter.

"Of course, I couldn't marry while mother was alive," Mrs. Foster explained. "She opposed every man I went with. Not that she would admit it. On the contrary she bemoaned the fact that her only daughter was single."

Mrs. Foster was just one of those individual, young and old, serving their family year after year, often to the point of sacrifice or of limiting their development. Usually such behaviour is accepted as a matter of course by society. Yet family attachment does not always deserve the aura that surrounds it today.

To be sure, family life is important in our civilization. Children expand and thrive best in the family. Old people gain protection from want and loneliness because of the family. The tenacity of the family merits praise. Even though disintegration occurs again and again, the family rightly remains the ideal. In spite of legal splits and a lack of understanding family feeling often lasts. And this force does a great deal to shape human beings. Relatives wield influence, both good and bad, over one another. Valuable as family affection is, it creates shackles. By no means does the family always provide fertile ground for independent thought and action, so essential to bring out each person's potentiality. The difficulty is that today's habits demand a less restrictive attitude in regard to the family. Frustration never stimulates the best in mankind. In keeping with the times, flexibility must replace the present family yoke. For only when the members of the family are unhampered themselves can they contribute to the larger struggle for freedom in this world.

The emotional tie between individuals in the same family is stronger than is generally realized. Even ill treatment does not always kill the bond between parents and children. Pretty and sensitive, Betty always claimed

that her father was dead. Actually he had deserted, leaving her mother to support herself and three children, one of whom subsequently died. Yet years later when he returned—a broken old man—Betty gave him the finest care, including private treatment in a hospital, where he died.

"I felt I owed it to him," Betty stated warmly. "After all he was my father. It was worth it, too, to watch him," she added, "I don't believe he'd ever enjoyed anything as much as that clean room and bed. And he fairly lapped up the attention of the doctors and nurses."

Far from harboring a grudge against this father, who had caused her so much suffering in childhood, Betty felt a definite responsibility for him.

Both young and old spare a keen sense of duty for relatives, even those outside the immediate family circle. Rosy-cheeked Mrs. Jensen, a widow in her sixties has nobody close needing her attention. Her only child, a daughter, is far away. She has no grand-children. Probably this is why she feels such a definite obligation for her grandnephew, a lively boy of two, whom she has cared for since infancy.

"I'm not going to let just anybody look after my nephew," she insists firmly. "And my niece won't stop working although her husband earns plenty. I know her."

So Mrs. Jensen wears herself out attending to this small boy in order to protect him from strangers. But she forget that she is also helping to deprive him of the due of every child—the intimate sharing of day-by-day doings with the mother—by making it easy for her niece to shirk this responsibility.

Of course, too much mothering—"smothering" as it is aptly called—can make children overly dependent. "Mama's boys" were real menaces in the army because they could not adjust. The same holds true in civilian life. Before the death of Mrs. Benton's mother, with whom she made her home after her parents' divorce, she had a certain amount of emotional security.

"Afterwards I was all broken up," she relates, which is understandable in view of the close relationship between the two.

Now Mrs. Benton, still pretty in her thirties, clings

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

to her father, for whom she always had a certain fondness in spite of their separation since her early years. And she cannot extricate herself from this connection, although he does not give her the satisfaction her mother did. Nor does he help her regularly financially, which as a divorcee with a little daughter to support almost entirely, she needs badly. Certainly Mrs. Benton adores her child. Only this protective role is not enough. She seeks somebody to rely on. The solution may be a second marriage, which Mrs. Benton is contemplating at present. However, she may be too involved emotionally with her parents, as some children are, for such a step to work.

Generally speaking, every child wants the approval of their parents as long as they live. But this attitude can go too far. Tommy, a husky young man in his thirties, dares not tell his mother about his intended marriage because he fears she will disapprove. Yet his solicitude for her has no foundation in intimacy during childhood. Tommy was brought up by nurses and governesses. Maybe this is the root of the difficulty. Tommy submits to his mother out of sentimentality and therefore cannot treat her honestly. Probably this reaction has delayed marriage for him so far. Tommy is dominated by the wish to please his mother much more than he should be at his age. Such adults do not always make successful partners in marriage, or they may never marry at all.

Some children are so wrapped up in their parents that they do not crave a life of their own. Cynthia—a tall blond with a large mouth—considered her mother, whom she had nick-named "Jeanie," her best friend. And the two usually had their social dates together. In her last years "Jeanie" was an invalid, demanding a great deal of attention from Cynthia, which she gave willingly.

"Isn't her devotion beautiful?" a mutual friend asked me one day. I smiled, thinking what it had done to Cynthia. From a promising young girl she had become a painfully self-conscious, middle-aged woman, trying to be coy with men. What initiative had she left to rebuild her existence along more wholesome lines after the death of her "Jeanie"?

The power that parents have over their children is astounding. Bright-eyed Magda had ambition for practically everything but marriage. Yet her mother, whom she worshipped, could see nothing else.

"She's not strong I worry about what will happen to her after I'm gone," the mother told everybody.

In reality Magda was absolutely capable of earning her living and constitutionally unfit for marriage. But she finally succumbed, believing that her mother knew best. Then followed several years of wedded

misery from which Magda finally escaped by leaving her husband. Afterwards she had a hard pull resisting her mother, who wanted her to return to him. This time Magda won out. Years have passed since then. However, mother and daughter still are very close in spite of this bad experience.

Naturally the older generation sometimes are the victims of the family, too. Mrs. Brodsky, with her tired brown eyes, worked like a slave to support herself and her two sons.

"I'd rather wear my knees to the bone than accept charity," she announced after her husband's death. And that was more or less what she did, scrubbing for a livelihood. As the years progressed the struggle became increasingly hard. Mrs. Brodsky developed high blood pressure. One son had a mental upset in adolescence. The other had high ambitions and continued to study, while his mother toiled on. He was her pride and joy.

"You'll see, my Maxie, he'll be a swell doctor," she boasted. Ironically enough Max entered the medical profession at the expense of his mother's health. Yet she was content because he had accomplished his desire and raised the prestige of the family.

Often relatives make it hard to break the family pattern. Parents can mar their children's future not encouraging them to live within their means. Fair-haired Hilda was married in high hopes in her early twenties. Sam, a stocky youth not much older, was a salesman in a shoe store. In due time he joined the army and Hilda returned to her parents, who took her back all too willingly.

"They're lonesome since all their children left. Besides it saves money," Hilda explained.

So Hilda and her baby occupied the room that she had had before marriage in her parents' luxurious apartment. All was very easy for Hilda. The tragedy was that when Sam was discharged from the army, she refused to go back to the simple household that he could afford. So the two were divorced. Today Hilda is a disillusioned bitter woman, making her home with her widowed mother and grabbing a date with any man. On the contrary, Sam has remarried: a sensible willing to live on a plane he can support.

The interference of parents may discourage young couples from following their own ideas about their children, especially if these are different from the way they were brought up. Nancy, with the flower-like face, had always meant to take care of her own children although she and Bill, her husband, had had nurses and governesses. But when the first baby came, she had a hard time and arrived home in a frail condition.

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Immediately her mother stepped in and installed a nurse, saying it was a temporary measure, although she meant it to be permanent.

"Nancy's always been delicate," she told Bill, and when he remonstrated about the expense offered to pay for the nurse.

Since neither Bill nor Nancy wanted to hurt her feelings, the arrangement materialized. And as the family grew, Nurse became more and more a fixture. Thus both children and parents missed the close companionship that would have meant so much to all of them. Were these parents weak? Yes, to some extent. However, had there not been family pressure they might have worked things out better.

Even older people find it difficult to go against realities dear to them. Mrs. Green, a widow no longer young, prefers living in another district, where she has more congenial friends. But her brother insists that she remain in her present neighborhood, because it is acceptable to his social set, although his sister mingles little with them. So, stupid as it may seem, Mrs. Green acquiesces.

Standards acquired in childhood are not shed easily. Somehow to do this seems like disloyalty to the family. Privilege in education is taken for granted in certain groups. Therefore, the children go to private school, if it can be afforded. Tom and Lisa had other ideas. Hence they moved to a community, where the public schools were notably good. Unfortunately they did not stay there long enough. By the time the children reached school age, the family had settled in a large city. Then and there the plans for a public school education for the youngsters vanished.

"How could they learn in such crowded classrooms?" rationalized Lisa. Yet her children had much more opportunity to supplement their knowledge at home in their excellent environment than many public school pupils. Democratic as Tom and Lisa were in other ways, they could not break the family pattern in education. Therefore, their children went to private school, just as the parents had.

Because solidarity exists in some families, any member can hurt another. Bertha's sister-in-law wanted her niece to have advantages according to her lights, which the parents could not afford. Her harping on these and her generous offer to pay for them, made Bertha distrust her own sense of values. Was she depriving her child, whom she adored? Perhaps her sister-in-law was right since she was the elder. To resolve such dilemmas when emotion is involved is never easy.

Quite evidently the shackles of family affection penetrate our lives deeply. To be fond of relatives is natural. The danger lies in abnormally close attachment and feelings which blur our judgments. As is well-known, the traditional family is changing rapidly. In some cases deterioration exists, but by no means in all. Even the increase of divorce, so publicized today, may be a better solution than unhappily couples sticking together. Taking it from the woman's angle, her self-reliance now makes her less likely to endure the misery she did in the past. As for single young men and women founding their own homes, this practice should prepare them better for marriage. In the last analysis, dwelling under the same roof does not always mean intimacy.

More and more the democratic family, in which all receive due consideration, is spoken about at present.

Perhaps the shackles of family affection are an overlapping of the past, which will vanish if we honestly face the problem. Family devotion should benefit individuals, not force them into ways uncongenial to them. Give and take is essential in family relations. Even children are not always wrong, although many parents think they are. True affection in a family allows each member independence. Nevertheless they find joy in sharing experiences. The family can and should enrich our lives. The world will be a better place when families are joined together by bonds of real love.

Two Personalities of France

Jacques Grellet, Consul General for France in India, has informed us of the death of these two famous persons of France:

EDOUARD LE ROY

The great French philosopher, Edouard Le Roy died recently in Paris.

Born in 1870, he belonged to the same generation of French philosophers as Bergson, Henri Poincaré, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, whose friend he was. Like Bergson, he had a solid scientific formation and had even been, at first, professor of mathematics. But he did not content himself with teaching science; attracted to metaphysics, he, like Henri Poincaré, turned his attention to the problem of Science and his scientific formation enable him to consider with full knowledge the problem of the relation between Science and Religion. A fervent Catholic, he adopted in his work "Dogma and Criticism" a position very near that of the "modernists." Striving to conciliate religion and the discoveries of modern biology, position which was adopted 30 years later by such biologist-philosophers as Alexis Carrel, (author of *Man the Unknown*) and Le Comte Uu Nouy (author of *Human Destiny*), he became such an authority on philosophy in the Collège de France, the highest University institution of France and perhaps of the world.

JACQUES FATH

Jacques Fath, well-known dress-maker, creator of some of the finest clothes worn by the most elegant women of Europe and America, recently died in Paris at the age of 42.

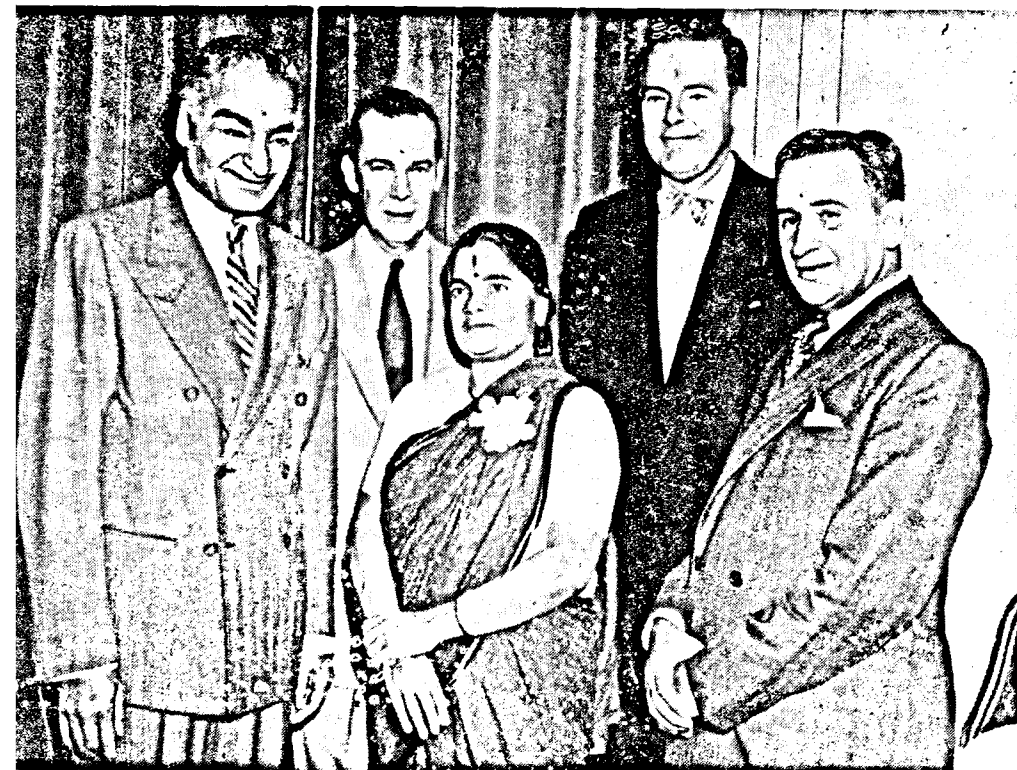
Since the Middle Ages, arts and crafts have given to France its reputation for taste and elegance. The "Parisienne" is noted all over the world for her style and "chic." This is the result of basic qualities in the French people, of very ancient traditions of careful workmanship and perhaps even more of close co-operation between the designers and workers (the famous "midinettes").

The great Paris dressmakers are famous not only for the richness of the material they use, but even more for the art of their designers. Each of the collections, which are presented to the world at each season, represents the result of long work in creating and executing dresses which are famous for their finish.

Jacques Fath, with his friend and competitor, Christian Dior, is one of those who succeeded in putting within the means of every woman models of the "Haute Couture" by creating alongside the sumptuous dresses which only the richest women can wear, less expensive models which, nevertheless, bear the mark of Parisian good taste and elegance.



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Penang Airport, is welcomed by the members of the Reception Committee



D. Deshmukh (right), Union Finance Minister, and Mrs. Deshmukh were entertained in the United States by the India League of America at a luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

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NOTES

New Year Honours

The New Year has begun running on its course, and with it came a shower of decorations, reminiscent of the days of the beknighted plutocrats and *jo hukum* "Bahadurs." We hope both the donors and the recipients are well-contented. We have no remarks to make beyond relating two stories, one from the inimitable pen of "Saki" and other from an episode that became a legend about the beginning of this century.

The caption of the story by "Saki" is "Cousin Teresa." It relates the tale of two half-brothers, both sons of an aristocrat, Colonel Harrowcluff.

The elder is shown as a typical specimen of the "gilded popinjay" of the idle-rich, that used to infest the lounges and green-rooms of the theatres and music-halls of London at the turn of the century. He was always busy doing nothing and was subject to sudden enthusiasms about epoch-making vaudeville hits. In one of those impulses he composed a ditty about an imaginary fair cousin and her four favourite hounds. It ran, as far as we remember, thus:

"Cousin Teresa, takes out Caesar

Fido, Jock and the big borzoi."

Having composed it, he conceived the idea of developing it into a music-hall turn with the aid of a vaudeville star by the name of Hermanova. And with his usual enthusiasm for such noble causes, he went into action.

About the same time, that is towards the end of the year, the younger half-brother returned after four years of Empire-building—that fruity legend of British fiction. He had achieved a lot and had reported on it to the colonial office. The reactions there were supposed to be favourable and the father, Colonel Harrowcluff, was hopeful about seeing his worthy son's name in the New Year's honours list.

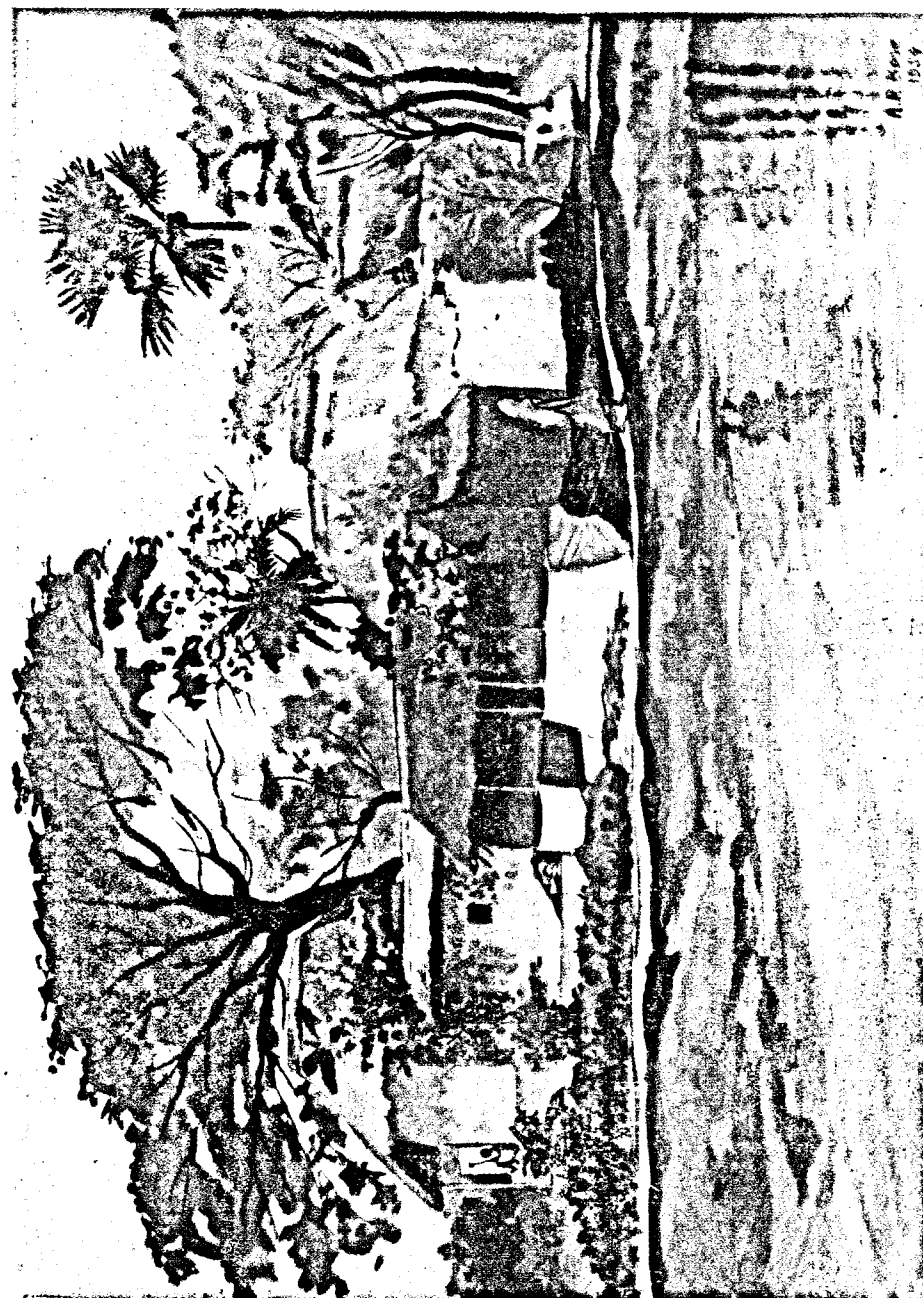
But the unexpected happened. "Cousin Teresa" became a success and was the rage. Nights were made horrible, and days little less so, by all and sundry, ranging from the butcher's boy to the children of belted earls, howling out the refrain of "Cousin Teresa."

Naturally when the honour's list was being drawn up the Prime Minister ordered his private secretary to put down the name of Harrowcluff for a Knighthood. When the secretary enquired as to which of the two brothers was meant, the puzzled Prime Minister asked if there was another brother. On the Empire-builder's name and labours being enumerated the Prime Minister dismissed all that in short order and reiterated that he meant the composer of "Cousin Teresa." He further directed that the letter L within a bracket be appended after the name. The much bemused secretary discovered later on that (L) meant "awarded for literary prowess"

The second story, which is reputedly true, is about a famous pundit of Benares, whose profound erudition and austere devotion to learning became far-famed towards the end of the last century. He was likewise the brightest luminary in a famous Benares college of those days.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, visited the college sometime in the first few years of this century. The usual formal reception was given to that pomp-loving Viceroy. All the staff and many notabilities were present, but the pundit was busy with his manuscripts and refused to stand in line even after repeated and frantic requests of the Principal and staff of the college.

When the reception was over Lord Curzon asked whether the famous *Shastri*, about whom he had heard so much, was amongst those who were presented. On being told that the pundit was not present he ex-



A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Ashit Ranjan Bose

Publishers, Calcutta

pressed a desire to see him. The Principal rushed to Shastriji's room and told him the Viceroy's desire, which amounted to a command.

"I grant him permission to come and see me," was all that the pundit said, without lifting his head from his manuscripts. On this remark being communicated to the Viceroy, he went in person to see the pundit, who in due course blessed him.

In the New Year's honours list, the only name from Benares was that of Gangadhar Shastri, who had been awarded the C.I.E.

The day the list appeared, a learned disciple of the pundit, who was a Judge in the Benares district courts, went to salute and congratulate his preceptor.

On the pundit asking for the reasons for his disciple's elation, the Judge told him about the honour conferred on him.

The Shastri laughed loudly and remarked: "*Arre Srish, hum par shiahi dal thiaa, aur tum ho gaye khush.*" (O Srish, they have poured ink (*shiahi*) on me and you are delighted).

We conclude by congratulating the recipients of the honours, particularly those of the armed forces who most certainly deserve all the honour that the State can give. We repeat our felicitations to Shrimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam for the reception she gave to the award made to her on a previous occasion.

The 60th Congress Session

This year the annual political bean-feast took place near Madras. A small township was built and named Satyamurthinagar after the redoubtable leader who has departed, and arrangements were made to house and feed a multitude of delegates and to accommodate the vast concourse that came to see, hear, and depart, no wiser and—we hope—no sadder after the audience. The cost was a few million rupees.

We could gather nothing that was of the essence out of the reports that filled the newspapers from the 20th to the 24th of January. But let us hasten to correct ourselves. There was at last a truly selfless Congressman in the presidential seat again. This in itself is an event worthy of record, after the Indian National Congress became a symbol of political power, and ceased to be a force that inspired millions to dedicate themselves for its cause.

We have neither the patience nor the space to discuss in detail the utterances or the resolutions. We have put on record elsewhere such of them as we deem worthy of record with comments where called for.

We would ask those who led the conferences and spoke at the plenary session, all except the president that is, as to whether they themselves believed in all that was uttered. If so then we have no quarrel. For in a free country each man is at liberty to hold to

his own opinions, however misguided or mistaken they might be.

There is a great deal of talk about "classless society," "Welfare State" and so on and so forth. If by classless society is meant a general lowering of standards, mental, moral, and physical, in efficiency, public behaviour and living, then we are well on the way. If by Welfare State is meant a State where the rich would grow richer and the poor poorer, while the educated middle class, which is the salt of the earth, anywhere and everywhere, is being wiped out, then verily ours is a Welfare State!

As for corruption in administration and public life and political oppression in some States, *mun's the word*.

We pride ourselves on being an world-influence for Peace. Yet not a word about Central America nor anything about the solution of the Chinese impasse. For the information of our readers we give the following extracts from the international edition of the *New York Times* for January 16 and January 23:

The two countries principally involved in the Costa Rican fighting are:

Costa Rica (population 800,000; area 19,650 square miles) has been regarded as a liberal democracy. Its president, elected in 1953, is Jose Figueres, an American-educated (M. I. T.) engineer and devout apostle of social reform (his plantation is called *La Lucha San Fin*—"The Unending Struggle"). He has put through programs for free education, minimum wages and trade union organization. He has vigorously denounced dictatorial regimes. The army at his command is a 1,500-man civil guard. It has no military planes.

Nicaragua (population 1,000,000; area 148,000 square miles) has been a one-man dictatorship for twenty years. The dictator is President Anastasio Somoza, the richest man in Nicaragua ("I take care of the business of Government and I take care of my own business"). President Somoza has provided an efficient regime with considerable social services, but he has been slow to grant personal liberties. The Nicaraguan army numbers 7,500 well-trained troops. It was strengthened tremendously last month by the purchase of twenty-five P-51 fighters from Sweden.

The new tensions over the Far East last week raised sharply the fundamental question: Is major war in the Orient nearer?

In the immediate view the answer hinges largely on Peiping's intentions toward Formosa itself, where the U.S. already is deeply committed. Although the defense pact with Formosa is not yet ratified, there seems little doubt that if the Communists were to attack the big island, the Seventh Fleet would come out shooting. Peiping's naval strength is sparse, and the Formosa Strait is an enormous obstacle. Western observers doubt strongly that the Communists are prepared to make the attempt in view of the disaster and defeat it would bring.

The Presidential Address

We add our voice to those welcoming Shri Dhebar to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress. A good man, whose life is dedicated to the cause of uplift and regeneration and whose record is unsullied either by official careerism or by the undignified and totally degraded scramble for political power, we wish him godspeed in his mission. May his eyes remain undimmed by the dust which most of his working committee are adepts in throwing.

With regard to his address, we only find the extracts given below as being worthy of record. The rest is in the usual vein. We do not wish to criticise either the portions we reproduce or the rest of the speech. He has as yet to obtain a clear perspective of the situation in which the nation is placed. Further, a guileless man himself, he has yet to learn a lot about the activities of wily experts in political legerdemain who throng the Congress rank and file.

On the subject of unemployment and the role of the cottage industries in solving it, he said:

Capital-intensive schemes, for absorbing millions of unemployed and under-employed, cannot by themselves produce the desired results because of many other factors, including that of our capital resources.

Because of all these and other reasons, it is now accepted on all hands, the Planning Commission not excluded, that what India needs directly is large-scale expansion of cottage and small-scale industries involving comparatively small investment capital per unit. This universal realisation should fortify our original faith in the role of cottage and small-scale industries as a means of solving our economic distress. This must also set at rest, at least for the time being, the difference on the fundamental question of centralisation or decentralization of industries. When I say at least for the time being, I mean, for a space of time, long enough to give this process a full trial.

We should now go ahead and mobilize our strength and our resources to the fullest extent in the channel of development of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Planning Commission is also clear on the need for the following measures in relation to the development of cottage and small-scale industries:

- (1) determination of overall condition of supply and demand;
- (2) reservation of spheres of production;
- (3) non-expansion of the capacity of large-scale industries, related to small-scale industries;
- (4) imposition of cess on large-scale industries;
- (5) arrangement for the supply of raw materials;
- (6) co-ordination for research, training, etc.

This also must set at rest any doubt in the minds of any group of people about the role of cottage and small-scale industries in relation to large-scale ones. The employment aspect demands highest priority and, while adjustment can be made in the direction of developing

common production programmes for the small-scale and cottage industries, in relation to the large-scale industries, reservation of spheres can only mean absolute priority to the small-scale and cottage industries in these fields. This unambiguous stand on the part of the organisation, I have no doubt in my mind, will clear all misapprehensions in the minds of our colleagues working under the guidance of Shri Vinobaji and other constructive workers. It cannot be anybody's desire to avoid improvement in the techniques of production, including use and application of motive power in the field of small-scale and cottage industries.

On the matter of social democracy, he expounded his own views as follows:

It is generally accepted that political democracy is unthinkable without social democracy, and it is also generally realised that any momentum in our progress is unthinkable, unless an atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice is created. What do we actually mean by social democracy? How do we propose to create that atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice? For the last 40 years since the entry of Gandhiji in the field of politics in India, the Indian National Congress has been trying to manifest that democracy in practice. Circumstances, then existing, prevented it from carrying it out to its logical conclusion, *viz.*, economic equality and social justice. After independence, not only has the country re-emphasised the need for it in the Constitution but the Central and State Governments have, through legislation and policies of taxation, tried to go further in that direction. Integration of States, abolition of Zamindari, introduction of Estate Duty, adjustments in taxes on income, Federal Financial Integration Agreement with Part B States, amendment of Article 31 (A) of the Constitution—all these have been aimed at securing economic equality. We, in the Congress, must however be clear in our minds that genuine equality is unthinkable unless equal opportunities are made available to every citizen of India. We do not wish to take away the status of those, who are in affluent circumstances or of those who are gifted with intelligence and knowledge. But we want an active acceptance of the same status for the workers in the field, factory or workshop. And so long as equal opportunities are not made available, their status will not change. Can we in the present economic framework really assure equal opportunity to everybody? This aspect has a great bearing on the national progress. Our chief source of development is our man-power. If he is to put in his best, the worker must be assured an equal status and equal opportunity in life. A conviction should grow upon everyone of us that while there will survive for some time some inequality, ultimately in the new social order that we envisage, the difference in advantages between citizen and citizen will have to be kept within bounds and so far as status is concerned, there will be no distinction on

the ground of one's avocation. If anything, we should accord the highest recognition to the dignity of labour.

He gave his clear-cut opinion on the form and scheme of education he considers best suited to the needs of the country as a whole:

I now come to the question of education. We are all agreed that we must have a system of education that is in keeping with the new society we conceive of, education that eliminates all class distinctions, education that realises dignity of labour, education that helps the process of co-operation, sacrifice and service. We are all agreed that it is now the basic education system which can take the place of the present one. We are also agreed on the urgent need of introducing basic education. I think there is no room now for any discussion on the subject. It is inconceivable that a nation can afford to waste even a small part of her national energy on a system of education, fit only for the social order that she is determined to change. The new social order of our conception must be supplied its base and we must do it forthwith.

The following are his ideas regarding party organisation. It is at least clear that he is aware of opportunism in the Congress ranks. We hope experience will show him how all-pervading that evil has become:

I shall now come to the organisational aspect. India has reached her first milestone in her journey towards her final goal. It is a big distance covered. A new vista has opened out before us. It was bound to produce its reactions on the organisation, as it has on everything vital and of value. With the change in the status of the country, has grown its responsibility and as a pivotal organisation, we can neither ignore the changes nor the new responsibilities.

Following freedom, our first responsibility was to give a stable Government to the people. The Congress could not have but participated in the administration.

This was a colossal task and was bound to react on the organisation. Some reactions have been healthy and have increased our status. Others were of questionable value and, in some cases, deleterious too. While this was but a part of a natural process and therefore inevitable, nevertheless it demands of us that we face it squarely.

The Congress membership in the pre-independence period was open to everyone. But in the circumstances then prevailing a large majority could not take advantage of it. Congress, however, used to draw liberally upon the sympathy and goodwill of these vast masses of people outside its actual fold. It could not very well close its doors to these persons. The Congress ranks naturally began to swell. Most of the newcomers were promoted by enthusiasm; some by considerations of duty, but not a few were prompted by considerations of sheer opportunism.

In the old context, legislative and parliamentary

career conferred a special status upon the candidate. Participation in parliamentary activities on the part of the Congress was bound to rear up complexes and generate a spirit of competition, even rivalry.

The Congress was required to form Governments. In a democratic State, there were all kinds of duties to be discharged, which meant all kinds of offices. This was also bound to produce some reactions.

In the context of a Welfare State, most of the social and constructive activities, in which the Congressmen were engaged, have been taken over by the State and others by various bodies, Boards, Congresses and Associations. It appears to some that in course of time the Congress will be reduced to a mere parliamentary party, its chief function being to lay down policies, run elections and lead the Government or the Opposition. It has, therefore, become necessary for me to emphasise some aspects of our organisation rather forcefully.

Lastly, we append his ideals, in consonance with those of the Father of the Nation, regarding the means to the ends desired. He says, quoting Gandhiji:

Eager as he was to serve the humanity as a whole, he was clear about his means: "Only that which was spiritually perfect was practically wise: Pure ends could be secured only by pure means." He would not touch 'Swaraj' if it was gained at the cost of his beloved principles of truth and non-violence. With a clear conception of his role, he guided the organisation from success to success. Sacrifice, austerity, service of the masses—those were the implements by which he forged unity of outlook and established communion between the different tiers of the society. It was the regeneration of the nation that was at work, the Indian National Congress being his willing instrument.

Political power was bound to follow. But our minds were and are clear. Power may come to us as it has come to us now. We shall, therefore, put it to the only use for which it is intended with humility and in a spirit of service. But power or no power, the organisation must continue to play its role outside the frame work of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of sacrifice and service.

Elections have to be fought, for they are the outcome of a moral responsibility. But elections are means to an end. Their real purpose is to educate the masses about the functions of democracy, the role they are expected to play in it, and how they can strengthen the fabric of democracy. That healthy atmosphere is possible if we ourselves realise that elections are not the Congress's only concern not even the first. Elections are a part of its bigger responsibility, even though it is a substantial part. In the final analysis, the work of social education and social service must continue unabated so that when elections come, they would also get their proper place in the Congress programme and not assume an exclusive place of honour and prestige.

Social and Moral Standards

On the 20th of January, the Subjects Committee of the 60th Session of the Congress unanimously passed the Steering Committee's resolution on "purity and the strengthening of the organisation." This resolution, of which the text and, Sri Morarji Desai's remarks in moving it are appended below, has caused much ribald laughter all over the country.

It is said that the legendary Robin Hood was most ruthless and dangerous immediately after his routine confessional of sins to a priest. Perhaps, the mirth that has convulsed millions of our nationals at the above routine utterance of *peccavi* originated from some similar thought.

The resolution as drafted by the Steering Committee, among other things, says, "The Congress views with serious concern some of the trends noticeable in the working of the organisation. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp the strength of the organisation, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency.

"It, therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked."

Sri Morarji Desai moving the resolution stressed the need for cultivating personal purity and honesty among Congressmen which, he said, was essential for strengthening organisation.

Congressmen, he said, had exposed themselves to "temptations" of wielding political power after the attainment of independence. "I have no quarrel with people seeking elections to Legislatures, but we must keep ourselves above personal gains and whatever work is entrusted to us should be accomplished sincerely. We must utilise the political power not for personal gains, but for the good of the masses and the country as a whole," he added.

INTERNAL FACTION

Referring to internal factions within the Congress, Sri Desai said, that Congressmen had even "aligned themselves with their rivals outside the organisation's folds" to seek personal gains.

"We quarrel among ourselves, malign each other and even go to the extent of forging alliances with people who have not the ideals of the Congress at their heart. How can the party under such circumstances work for the betterment of the people and usher in a people's democracy?" he asked.

The Congress, he said, had been built on the ideals of service to the people. Its methods had always been peaceful and honest. "Unless we create personal integrity we cannot preach those ideals to the people."

"If we want to build a prosperous India, we will have to be clean, honest and sincere to ourselves. I will not mind if people who go against these ideals are not allowed to grow in the organisation," he said.

Sri Desai said that Congressmen had even forgotten the party's great achievement of unifying India and winning the country's political independence.

"With disregard to forging the unity of the country further, feuds not only among States but even on district and village levels are perpetrated. We forget then the basic unity of the country, the ideal of the Congress."

Sri Desai said that it was true that compared to other parties, the Congress was far better organised and disciplined. But, he added, Congressmen should not compare themselves with others, but seek to achieve their own ideals as laid down by Gandhiji.

Resolution on International Affairs

The following resolution on international affairs was moved in the 60th plenary session on January 22 by Shri Morarji Desai:

"The Congress welcomes recent development in world affairs, which have contributed to some lessening of international tensions, and trusts that this process will continue and lead to a further improvement of international relations. The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China not only brought an end to 7-year war but, for the first time in a generation, put an end to fighting in the world as a whole. The Congress earnestly hopes that this will lead to a peaceful settlement in this important area of South-East Asia.

"India, in association with Canada and Poland, had undertaken heavy responsibilities in Indo-China. The Congress is glad to learn of the satisfactory work of the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China and hopes that there will be no outside interference or pressure and that the future of these countries will be decided by the peoples themselves as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

"In Korea, while war is ended, peace is not in sight. The establishment of peace in Korea is vital to Asian and world stability, removing from the international context a source of grave danger which may lead to large-scale conflict. The Congress hopes that further steps will be taken to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

"The establishment of a South-East Asian Defence Organisation by some great Powers of the West and some States in South-East Asia, is regrettable and has added to the insecurity of that region and extended the area of cold war.

"The Congress believes that real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly co-operation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world. The principles which should govern international relations have been set out in the joint statements issued by India, China and Burma and

more recently by India and Yugoslavia. The Congress warmly welcomes these five principles or Panch Shila. They represent the approach and policy of India in international affairs, and put forward the alternative of collective peace to the preparation for collective war. The Congress is of opinion that these principles must basically govern international relations and establish peaceful co-existence which is imperative in the circumstances of to-day for the survival of civilization.

"The continued exclusion of China from the United Nations is very regrettable and retards the progress of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. This Congress expresses the fervent hope that during the present year, China will take her place in the United Nations.

"The Congress welcomes the proposal, originally initiated by Indonesia at the Colombo Conference last year, to convene a conference of the independent States of Asia and Africa and wishes this conference all success.

"The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Even the experiments of the hydrogen bombs, if continued, threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effect, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional atomic weapons, such as atomic artillery, is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction.

"This Congress earnestly requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The Congress further suggests that the United Nations should take steps to give a scientific appraisal of the consequences of the use of and experiment with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons so that the public of all nations might become fully aware of the grave menace of war to-day.

"This Congress records its appreciation of the policy of the Government of India in the realm of international affairs. It realises that the success of any foreign policy and its capacity to make itself felt, depend, in a large measure, on the strength and internal solidarity of the country as well as true understanding and appreciation of the basic aim and approach towards world peace."

In the discussion that followed, nothing new was said. The fact of the exclusion of Israel from the Afro-Asian Conference, and the non-inclusion of Australia and New Zealand was not even referred to, even in an explanatory fashion. This indicates the extent to which the Congress has been officialised.

Resolution on Economic Policy

Pandit Govind Ballav Pant moved the resolution on economic policy in the January 22nd session.

The following is the text of the resolution:

"The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five-Year Plan which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but also of great achievement.

The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the community projects and the national extension service which already cover over 80,000 villages and 50 million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and co-operation which these schemes have evoked. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for all-round advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five-Year Plan.

The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living, and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

The Second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry including machine-making industry as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions being given, but also on the full co-operation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

In view of the declared objective being a socialistic pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will:

- (1) Initiate and operate large-scale schemes providing services such as power, transport, etc.
- (2) Have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy.
- (3) Check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production.

- (4) Plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

The First Five-Year Plan was based on a public

sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part more particularly in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include co-operatives and small-scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the national plan. The private sector has thus a definite plan in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic controls of the plan.

India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitates rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic progresses. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them."

WELFARE STATE

Moving the resolution Pandit Pant expressed the hope that the Second Five-Year Plan would be able to solve the unemployment problem, banish poverty and wipe out superstition.

Pandit Pant said that the Congress had accepted the objective of a socialistic pattern of the country and "we want to base the future of our country on that fabric." In adopting that pattern of society, people would have to remember and bear in mind the ideals of "Sarvodaya" which was first brought by Gandhiji. The resolution, he added, also fulfilled the other objective—the Welfare State. The Welfare State could be of various patterns, but India's pattern was based on socialism.

The "Socialistic Pattern" ✕

Prime Minister Nehru said, in the afternoon session on January 22, if the "economic policy" resolution was implemented "it means bringing of a revolution in this country—an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type."

This resolution, said he, was of the highest importance "because ultimately it is this policy which is going to shape the economic and social picture of India." This resolution pointed to a "certain turn in our thinking and action."

Intervening in the debate on the resolution in the plenary session of Congress Sri Nehru said, "yesterday the Congress adopted the Objective resolution." "In that resolution we elucidate further what we mean by our objective which is laid down in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution. We stated that we wanted this to be clearly understood that we aim at socialistic pattern of society. The present resolution before you deals with

the economic policy. We have to give effect, if we may say so, to that resolution because ultimately it is the economic policy that is going to shape the economic and social picture of India, which you may call socialistic pattern or whatever you may like to call it. Therefore, this resolution is of the highest importance."

"Naturally," he continued, "in a resolution of this kind, however long-drawn out it may be, one cannot enter into detailed policy. There is one danger in the resolution and it is that you may use striking phrases and broad words and phrases and imagine that you have given a great lead to the country."

"It is possible but it does not help because we have come up against scientific problems, we have to deal with problems of India, the problem of unemployment, raising that level of the country, problem of industrialisation and so many problems. These problems are not solved by broad generalisation and slogans and I say this without any hesitation. I myself have been a victim of slogans. But time has come when you have to forget phrases and deal with hard realities of the situation. This is necessary for us, more especially for Congress men, because Congress men are more responsible for running the Government and Governmental policies than others. Therefore, for us merely to adopt big resolutions with striking phrases is not good enough. In fact it tends to delude one.

ROLE OF CONGRESS

"In reality the only way that is to be done is to sit down and draw up a plan. That is the function of the Planning Commission and those who are concerned. Obviously the Congress session cannot sit down and draw a Five-Year Plan but in a resolution of this kind you have to indicate the type of things you should have to in drawing up that plan. This resolution which is before you gives reference to the approach. You will see, the resolution says that 'time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialistic economy'."

This resolution, said Sri Nehru, was not merely a repetition of what they had said before.

"It is pointing to a certain turn in our thinking and action. Time has now come to do this. In a sense we have been doing this but evidently we have not been doing this adequately or, at any rate, we should do this much better now. Therefore, the resolution says time has come to do this with the specific object of raising production and removing unemployment."

Sri Nehru said, in this resolution they had avoided any "bombastic" words. "We are old and mature organisation with a great deal of experience of all kinds and it is not desirable, therefore, that we should use

words vaguely and bombastically. Therefore, on the whole we under-estimate what we propose to do. This resolution is a proposal of under-estimation because if you give effect to the resolution it means bringing of an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type. But we don't talk of revolution in this resolution. We talk in a relatively pedestrian manner."

Sri Nehru said mention had been made of measures to putting an end to unemployment. In this country of growing population, it was a terrific problem. In other countries like Yugoslavia and Russia and in America and Western Europe, circumstances were different. India also had a different background. In thinking of solutions to problems, the country's peculiarities had to be borne in mind, but one had also to learn from the experience of others.

Sri Nehru said, mention had been made of measures planning. "Planning is quite essential. Otherwise, it is just anarchy. Three or five years ago, when we talked of planning, some others objected and asked: 'What do you mean by planning?' Planning was not acceptable to many people in high places. Today planning is being understood by the average man apart from those in high places. Now we have got a Five-Year Plan of which three years are more or less over and we are thinking of the Second Five-Year Plan."

OBJECTIVES IN VIEW

"There is much talk," Sri Nehru added, "of this plan being built from below. This is right. Village panchayats, etc., should be consulted. Every specialised group of persons should be consulted, doctors, engineers, merchants, industrialists and other organisations at Governmental level. Nevertheless, what do you mean by planning? Have you paid much attention to the following paragraph in the resolution? It says: 'The national aim is a Welfare State and socialist economy.' This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy, must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution. The second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people, which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. Mark the words 'physical needs of the people.' They are important words. They are the governing needs, they ought to be the controlling factor in the drawing up of the Second Five-Year Plan."

BASIS OF PLANNING

What was the first Five-Year Plan based on?—Sri Nehru asked. It was based on data, and information then available. Certain projects were already there and work was to start on new schemes and priorities had to be given. The plan was based on "the finance available and on priorities being given to the various schemes that were useful and good and we have had good results but really this is not planning in the real planning. The concept of planning is not to think of money we have got and divide it into schemes and give priorities. But it

is based on physical needs. This is to say: What do the people of India need, how many schools, how much cloth, how much housing, how much education, health services, etc.? To begin with we are not thinking of finance but the needs of people to-day."

"We organise how to fulfil those needs. This is not a simple matter because in calculating the needs of the people we have to calculate not only on the basis of the increasing population but on the increasing needs. Finance is important but not so much as people think. What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the amount of money thrown in. Sometimes there is a gap. This is so in the case of large river valley projects. But in the case of cottage industries there is not this gap. Money is not locked up."

A COMPLICATED BUSINESS

Sri Nehru said that this resolution talked of endeavours to put an end to unemployment in ten years. But with the old methods of planning, this would not be possible. Planning had to be done in a big way. Side by side consumption had to be provided for because mass production inevitably involved mass consumption. It again entailed the question of increasing the purchasing power of the people. Therefore, purchasing power had to be dealt with in planning. Another question to be considered was the rate of investment, and the surplus available every year for investment. All this was a complicated business.

What he had said, he concluded, would help people to understand some issues. "The purely financial way" was certainly not good. It was important. But the approach should be non-financial and finances should be considered at a later stage.

Why Call it Socialism?

The Avadi session of the Indian National Congress has adopted a resolution that the economic goal of India is Socialism. There is nothing surprising in it, particularly as it followed the resolution taken by the House of the People during its last winter session laying down that a socialistic society is the object of India's economic goal. Obviously the resolution was sponsored and carried on with the initiative of the party in power. The definition of socialism naturally involves the question of Marxian Socialism which is a widely accepted concept of the subject. Marxian Socialism means: that there shall be a classless society; that the entire means of production of the country must be owned and controlled by the State; that there shall be a dictatorship of the proletariat; and that a socialistic society shall have to be reached not by peaceful means but by revolution by the proletariat.

In modern times, of course, the concept of socialism has undergone a radical change in its application to practice, particularly in Soviet Russia. The shift

towards national socialism in Russia during the Stalin regime is a marked deviation from the Marxian concept of world socialism wherein the proletariats have no country. Still, however, socialism means, and this is generally recognised, that it is a state of society wherein the entire means of production is controlled and owned by the State and that it is a classless society. The distinction between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the exploiter and exploited must needs be annihilated. It is still an ideal, as yet achieved nowhere. In Russia, the party consists of mighty "haves" and the rest different categories of "have-nots." In China, as yet there are "National Capitalists."

Now, what type of socialism is envisaged in the Congress resolution? Is it the Marxian type? Obviously not. In moving the resolution on socialism at Avadi, Pandit Nehru is reported to have stated: "This freedom struggle all the time gained in its social content and now the time has come when we should march further in this direction, and declare openly what we have often said that the type of society we are aiming at is a socialist society. What exactly socialist society is in detail, I do not promise to go into and many may argue about it. Many of our academic people and pundits may argue about it. Let us argue if you like. But I want to tell you that whatever it is going to be, it has to be in keeping with India's genius. If it is something superimposed, then it will not go far. I don't mean to say that we cannot learn from others, we must and we will learn. But whatever we learn must also be grafted on to the soil of India and not be something apart from it." Pandit Nehru said that the word socialism had come from the West. In Europe, the word was connected with class war, and many other events, "but it is not necessary we should go through the troubles of Europe to achieve our brand of socialist pattern. Indeed, it would be foolish for us to go through those troubles and copy the methods of others."

Nobody would certainly ask Pandit Nehru to go through a process of class struggle to establish a socialistic pattern of society. Socialism can now be established without the class struggle, that is, by peaceful and democratic means. But socialism must mean one thing fundamentally and it is that the means of production must be owned and controlled by the State. If in socialistic State the means of production is owned partially by the private sector, however limited the sector may be, then it is not pure socialism as defined in the West.

According to Sri Nehru's concept, socialism means two things: it is a casteless and classless society, and that private enterprise must exist in socialism. While speaking on the economic policy in the House of the People on December 21, 1954, Pandit Nehru referred to the suggestion made by some people that the

private sector must be prevented from functioning. He replied by saying that such idea came from confused thinking. He said: "Our policy must be inevitably of raising production, of increasing employment as rapidly as possible. In doing that, it is essential that the public sector should grow as rapidly as possible. I think in the circumstances in India today, it is quite necessary that the private sector should function under certain broad strategic controls. We have to have the public sector and the private sector as a co-ordinating part of the plan. We have to think of the whole business of building India as one large co-operative enterprise in which every group and every part of India shares. I do not wish to limit the public sector at all in any way but our resources are limited. It is no good merely preventing somebody when I cannot do it myself. That is folly." He further contended that it would be absurd to ask the private sector to function, denying them freedom to function, denying them initiative.

Mixed economy is a compromise between socialism and capitalism and it is a type by itself. To identify mixed economy with socialism is to liquidate the latter. Pandit Nehru has suggested that the Indian genius will be able to evolve a type of socialism suited to Indian conditions. When the scope of socialistic structure is circumscribed by the existence of private enterprise, there is little left for further enunciation. It means, plainly speaking, that the seal of socialism has been set on mixed economy and further evolution on the purely Western socialistic basis is prohibited by the nature of the definition. There is no reason, however, for being hidebound by Western concepts.

The champions of socialism in this country need not therefore be much elated, nor the private sector be disappointed at the threat of socialism. Everyone will stand where he is now. It is just a dynamic concept in a static structure, pouring old wine in a new bottle. The hastiness of the Congress Party in branding the mixed economy as socialism is understandable. It will keep the mouth of the agitators shut for some time. Pandit Nehru's visit to China and his entente with Mr. Chou En-lai has taken the wind out of the Communist Party's sails which is now just groping in the darkness. The Praja Socialist is in a process of disintegration and to prevent extinction it has now switched on Bhoodan. By declaring that the goal of Indian economy is socialism, the Congress Party has automatically registered a claim to be acknowledged as the champion of socialistic economy.

It is for the leaders of the opposition parties to dissect and analyse Pandit Nehru's speech. We neither desire nor consider it due to us to do so. But it is about time some light was thrown on this confusion between Western socialism and the Gandhian prin-

ciple of Ram Rajya. We would like to see a clear-cut exposition.

Pandit Nehru abhors doctrinaire economics, but unfortunately he himself indulges in doctrinairism without being earnest. The "demos" in India are still ignorant and ill-cared for, and no talk of socialism or Welfare State can bring about any hope for them unless and until their conditions are materially uplifted. It is yet to be seen how in this country there can be a classless society in the midst of private enterprise. A classless society envisages not only economic equality, but also the liquidation of economic exploitation, and in a system of economy where there is private enterprise, it is difficult to bring in economic equality or the complete liquidation of exploitation if the private sector does not adopt a totally new outlook.

We have made the above remarks because we believe that enunciation of nation-building principles should be kept free of electioneering motives.

"Rastrabhasa"

What is 'nationalisation' in Hindi—the national language?

Prime Minister Nehru put this question at the Subjects Committee meeting and left the problem unsolved.

Mr. Nehru, who was moving the economic resolution in Hindi paused to find a suitable expression for 'nationalisation' and asked the delegates nearby what it was.

Several of them shouted "rashtriyakaran."

Mr. Nehru said this word did not express clearly the connotation of the term "nationalisation."

He continued his speech using the English term.

Pandit Nehru was quite right. There are quite a few persons who are following the principle "where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise," in their enthusiastic clamour for the immediate replacement of English by Hindi. Crude and incomplete—not to say incomprehensible—translations of English terms and phrases are making confusion worse confounded as a result.

Avadi Congress Expenses

A reader writes in the *Hindu* with reference to the estimated cost of ten lakhs of rupees for the provision of food for 2½ million audience in connection with the session of the Avadi Congress: "Such a colossal expenditure must make one pause and seriously think. Is all this necessary, and justifiable? For after all, you are having only the Annual Political Party Picnic at Avadi—nothing else absolutely."

He asks if such an expenditure of ten lakhs of rupees could be justified on Gandhian principles when nothing would come of it to ameliorate the people's distress.

We say "no" with all the emphasis at our command.

The Industrial Credit Corporation

The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, registered in Bombay on January 6, 1955, under the Indian Companies Act, will aid financially and with technical and other assistance, industrial enterprises in the country. Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar has been selected as the first Chairman of the Board of Directors and Mr. Percival Beale, Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, has been appointed as the General Manager of the Corporation.

The authorised capital of the Corporation will be Rs. 25 crores, divided into 500,000 ordinary shares and 2,000,000 unclassified shares of Rs. 100 each. Initially the Corporation will issue the 500,000 ordinary shares. Investors in the United Kingdom will subscribe for 100,000 shares and those in the USA 50,000 shares. The balance of 350,000 shares will be offered for subscription in this country. Of these, 150,000 shares will be offered privately and 200,000 shares will be open for public subscription.

The British investors have taken shares worth Rs. one crore and American investors Rs. fifty lakhs of the initial share capital of the Corporation which is Rs. 5 crores. This amount of Rs. 1.5 crores has been subscribed by institutional investors in the UK and the USA. The British investors consist of eight Eastern Exchange banks, 30 insurance companies, four industrial concerns and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, Ltd. The American investors comprise the Bank of America, the Rockefeller Brothers, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation and the Westinghouse Electric International Corporation. Shares worth Rs. 3.5 crores are being sold in India partly through private placement and partly through public offering.

The Government of India is crediting the Corporation with Rs. 7½ crores free of interest for a period of fifteen years and the Corporation will have to return this amount in equal annual instalments over a period of fifteen years commencing from the end of the first 15-year period. In addition, the International Bank has given a loan of about Rs. 5 crores (\$10 million). The loan is for a term of fifteen years and bears interest at 4-5/8 per cent per annum, including the statutory commission of 1 per cent. Amortisation will begin on January 1, 1960. The loan is guaranteed by the Government of India. This is the seventh loan made by the Bank to this country for development projects and the total amount lent to India stands at \$ 126.7 million. The proceeds of the \$10 million loan will be used for the purchase of imported material, equipment and services required to carry out private industrial projects to be financed by the Corporation.

The primary object of the Corporation will be to assist industrial entrepreneurs within the private sector of industry in India. The purpose generally is to assist the creation, expansion and modernisation of such industrial enterprises, to encourage and promote the

participation of private capital both internal and external in these enterprises and to encourage and promote private ownership of industrial investments. The Corporation will make long and medium-term loans to industrial enterprises, purchase shares of industrial concerns, underwrite new issues of securities, guarantee loans from other investment sources, and help industry to obtain managerial, technical and administrative advice and assistance.

The Corporation will be able, by nature of its organisation, to tap funds in India not at present being available to industry, and in due course to increase the inflow of foreign investment in this country. The Corporation will benefit Indian economy not only by direct financing of industry but also in other ways of equal importance. Through its connexions abroad, it will be in a position to meet its needs for technical knowledge and managerial experience. Furthermore, its power to underwrite new issues will fill the gap in the Indian capital market. The nature of the Corporation and its sponsorship by leading financial institutions in India and abroad should enable it to raise funds in this country hitherto lying untapped.

The Corporation will participate in the equity capital of industry and may make funds available for re-investment by revolving investment as rapidly as possible. The funds at the disposal of the Corporation will be Rs. 17½ crores. The Corporation can borrow up to three times the amount of the capital, plus the amount of the interest-free deposit outstanding and any reserves which the Corporation might have built up.

The British and American investment has been invited because the Steering Committee feel that through association with the Corporation, foreign investors will obtain a clear insight into the conditions in which private industry is functioning in India. It would also show that the fears and sometimes alarmist views spread about the future of private industry in India and more so in foreign countries, is unjustified. Another advantage would be the greater participation of foreign capital, not merely through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation but outside of it, in assisting, under proper conditions laid down by the Government of India, the development of Indian industries. Finally, through such contacts, technical assistance and "know-how" in many new industries will be made easier, and co-operation will be established on a firm basis between those in foreign countries who wish to associate themselves in the development of Indian industries by the private sector and those in India who desire to invest in the private sector.

Persian Oil Agreement

At last, Iranian oil has begun to flow back into the world oil markets. Persia and the Consortium of eight oil companies negotiating in Teheran have finally reached a settlement of the long standing oil dispute. Both the Majlis and the Senate have ratified the

international oil agreement and it has received the assent of the Shah. The agreement is between the Iranian Government, the National Iranian Oil Company (N.I.O.C.) on the one side and the Consortium of eight oil companies on the other. The eight companies are: (1) the Standard Oil Company of California, (2) the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., (3) the Texas Company, (4) the Gulf Oil Company, (5) the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, (6) the Anglo-Iranian, (7) the Royal Dutch Shell and (8) the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

The Iranian oil industry was nationalised in March 1951 during Dr. Mossadeq's regime. The nationalisation stopped oil exports from Iran and crude oil production came to a standstill. In 1950, Iran exported 30 million tons of petroleum and the crude oil production stood at 32.3 million tons. Petroleum refining amounted to 24.7 million tons in 1950. The activities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company ceased from 1950 and they contributed nearly 10 per cent of Iran's national income. Since nationalisation, the revenues of the Iranian Government suffered seriously and the Seven-Year Plan projects became impossible of implementation.

General Zahedi came to power in August 1953 after a successful coup against Dr. Mossadeq and he inherited almost an empty treasury. All attempts to bring about a settlement in oil dispute proved a failure. Finally, Mr. Herbert Hoover, President Eisenhower's special adviser on oil, succeeded in reaching an agreement over oil impasse. Of course, the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's regime facilitated in concluding the agreement. The agreement makes a compromise between the Iranian national sentiment and the demand of the Anglo-Iranian Company for economic justice. Under the terms of the agreement, although the effective control of both the Abadan refinery and the main oilfields in Iran passes to the international Consortium, the legal title to ownership is retained by the Persian Government.

As part of the Persian oil agreement, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the former concessionary, will receive net compensation of £25 million (free of interest), and this is payable over 10 years starting from January 1957. Besides, it will receive £32.4 million from other members of the Consortium for the sale of 60 per cent of its interest in the Persian oil industry; it will have only 40 per cent interest in the Consortium. In addition, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will be paid by the seven other members of the Consortium, 10 cents per US barrel on crude oil and products they export from Iran. This payment will cease when it reaches a total of \$510 million. The basis of the agreement is the 50:50 division of the profits of the oil industry between Iran and the Consortium.

Re-development of the Iranian oil enterprise is

to be undertaken by two companies formed by the Oil Consortium and the National Iranian Oil Company. One will be responsible for exploration and production, and the other for refining. Each company will have seven directors, two nominated by Persia and five by the Oil Consortium. Oil revenue for Persia during the first three full years of operation, after an initial starting period of three months, will amount to £150 million at present prices and costs. Of this amount, Iran will be paid £31 in the first full operating year, increasing to £67 million in the third year. Production of crude oil will rise progressively to a total of 80 million cubic metres (68 million tons or 500 million barrels) for the three-year period. After the first three years, the Consortium will take from Iran quantities of crude oil which will reasonably reflect the supply and demand trend for Middle-East crude oil, assuming favourable operating and economic conditions in Iran.

The rate of production that will be reached at the end of the three-year period will once again establish Abadan refineries output as being the largest in the eastern hemisphere. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries on the Persian Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and Bahrein Petroleum Company's plant at Bahrein—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle-East are small tapping plants only.

Private Demand for Gold, 1931-53

During the years 1914-53 approximately 4.5 billion dollars of gold flowed into private channels throughout the world. Of this net flow, about one-third was accounted for by uses in industry and the arts in the United States, and the balance represented largely additions to private gold holdings in all forms in a few countries of Western Europe. The total amount of gold absorbed by private demand throughout the world (excluding the USSR) in the years 1931-53 represents about one-seventh of gold production which aggregated to nearly 600 million ounces (21 billion dollars, at \$35 per ounce). It is estimated that gold production during the past four-and-a-half centuries totalled about 1.6 billion ounces (56 billion dollars), of which more than 1 billion ounces (37 billion dollars) are presently held as official reserves by central banks and governments. Since the discovery of America, the total absorption of gold into private holdings, industrial or artistic uses, and waste and losses is being estimated at about a half billion ounces (19 billion dollars).

The large private demand for gold during the last decade are related to monetary disorders, political fears, and dangers of war. Monetary disorders appear to have been the most pervasive, as countries

where there was a high preference for gold were generally among those which suffered from monetary inflation and loss of public confidence in their currencies. On the other hand, traditional, psychological, and institutional factors seemed to have conditioned nations differently; in many cases the reaction to monetary disorders was flight of capital into foreign assets, speculative investments, and consumer goods, rather than into gold.

Growth of private demand for gold during the post-war period, under conditions of restrictions on trade and exchanges, led to the formation in many countries of so-called "free" gold markets, whose operations were circumscribed by Government controls. As gold movements and exchange settlements between such markets in different countries were generally restricted, their activities involved varying degrees of evasion of governmental regulations, particularly with respect to import and export of gold and related foreign exchange operations.

The prevalence until recently of premium prices—that is, prices higher than the official dollar value of gold—was a phenomenon that arose from attempts of governments to insulate their respective gold markets through the imposition of direct controls. Premium prices have resulted mainly from effective depreciation of the various currencies involved, but such prices also reflected, in varying degrees, both the risks involved in the illegal nature of many transactions and a speculative preference for gold.

Abatement of private demand and decline in prices for gold in most markets to official valuations during the past year have accompanied achievement of financial stability and relaxation of exchange and trade restrictions in Western Europe and the Sterling Area.

Mineral Production in India in 1953

According to a recent report of the Geological Survey of India, the aggregate pits' mouth value of minerals produced in this country in 1953 was Rs. 112 crores as compared with Rs. 108 crores in 1952 and Rs. 105 crores in 1951. In 1947, the total value of all minerals produced in India was only Rs. 64 crores. The total value of coal produced in 1953 was Rs. 52.7 crores, of manganese ore Rs. 29.4 crores, of gypsum Rs. 28 lakhs, of chromite Rs. 25 lakhs and of bauxite Rs. 7.88 lakhs. With the exception of coal, all these are record figures.

The Railways consumed in 1953, 10.4 million tons of coal representing 29 per cent of the total output. The consumption of coal by other industries was as follows: iron and steel and brass foundries (12.6 per cent); steam electric utilities including gas companies (7.8 per cent); textiles (5.0 per cent); bricks, tiles and ceramics (4.6 per cent). Nearly 2 million tons of coal and coke were exported by India in 1953.

Importers of Indian coal are Pakistan, Japan, Aden, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Singapore, Tanganyika and the UK.

The USA was the largest importer of Indian manganese in 1953. The value of manganese exported to that country was Rs. 17.3 crores. Other leading importers were: UK (Rs. 2.7 crores); West Germany (Rs. 1.3 crores); and Japan (Rs. 1.3 crores).

The total value of metals produced in India in 1953 was estimated at Rs. 55.2 crores. Steel led with a total of Rs. 41.6 crores. Silver registered the lowest value at Rs. 64,418. The number of persons employed in the production of minerals in 1953 was 592,197. The corresponding figure in 1952 was 583,395.

According to a resurvey of the geological resources of the Jharia coalfields by the Geological Survey of India, the available reserves of all types of coal in the Barakar measures, Jharia, are estimated at 11,679 million tons. According to the estimate made by Sir C. S. Fox in 1926-28, the reserves were placed at 4,537 million tons.

Taccavi Enquiry Committee

The *Hitavada* reports that the Government of Madhya Pradesh announced on January 15 their decision on the Report of Enquiry on Taccavi policy, submitted to them in March, 1954, by the Committee the State Government had appointed. The Enquiry Committee, consisting of 16 members, was headed by the State Minister for Revenue, Sri B. A. Mandloi.

The Taccavi policy so long followed by the State Government was embodied in the executive directions issued under the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884, and the Land Improvement Act, 1883; and was formulated largely against the background of famine. Consequently the policy did not envisage any regulation of private money-lending in rural areas with its attending evils. Faced with the need for reduction of agricultural indebtedness during the economic crisis of the 'thirties the Government had to modify the policy of *laissez faire* in the field of rural moneylending by usurers; and the Central Provinces and Berar Debt Reconciliation Act (1933) and the Relief of Indebtedness Act (1939) were passed. The shifts since independence, from "protective" to "productive" aspect of taccavi led to a widening of the scope of taccavi and a careful and thorough examination of the existing policy becoming necessary, the above Committee was appointed to review the working of the whole system of taccavi and to make recommendations to the Government as to the policy to be followed in future.

The State Government accepted the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee that, except for taccavi required as a measure of relief from distress, the responsibility for which must rest on Government, the co-operative agency should ultimately take over

the bulk of agricultural financing for productive purposes. Government also agreed that it was desirable to distinguish between "taccavi advanced for relief from distress and agricultural financing for productive or protective purposes." In view of the weakness of the co-operative movement in the State, Government would, however, as suggested by the Committee, continue to grant both types of taccavi while efforts would be made for strengthening the co-operative movement so that ultimately the whole of the work of agricultural financing might be entrusted to the co-operative societies.

The Government also agreed that creditor-debtor relationship between the State and borrowers were theoretically undesirable but, as the Committee also had said, it was not possible on practical considerations to abolish that relation at once.

The Committee had estimated the total credit requirements for short-term seasonal loans at twenty crores of rupees and for medium-term loans at six crores of rupees. With due regard to the financial position of the State, the Committee had, however, suggested that as an immediate step the total volume of agricultural financing by the State Government be increased progressively by about two crores of rupees every year. The Government agreed to the suggestion with the qualification that subject to their financial ability, Government would try to provide the suggested amount of credit every year provided the borrowers repaid regularly the loans advanced to them.

The State Government also accepted the recommendation that a single agency for advancing loans to agriculturists in one and the same area was preferable to more than one agency; and would henceforth distribute loans through co-operative agencies in areas where such agencies were engaged in financing agriculturists with loans. The suggestion for the grant of temporary accommodation to the State Co-operative Bank against the risk in short recoveries in a year of indifferent harvest was also accepted.

The Committee had suggested the establishment of a fund to be known as the Co-operative Credit Stabilisation Fund by contributing one per cent of the total outstandings of co-operative societies towards this fund out of the Consolidated Fund of the State for the purposes of stabilising the movement in times of unforeseen calamities like general collapse of agricultural prices and enabling Government to draw on that fund for fulfilment of their guarantee in respect of the loans obtained by the State Co-operative Bank. That was also agreed to by the Government.

The Committee had made various recommendations on the procedure of distribution and accounting of taccavi. The more important of them were accepted by the Government. The recommendations dealing with repaying capacity, joint responsibility and grant of

taccavi to persons having no transferable interest in land also were generally accepted.

The Committee had pointed to the importance of prompt repayment of loans by the borrowers in any scheme of rural credit. The figures quoted by the Committee showed that during the period from 1947-48 to 1951-52 collections of arrear loans had generally been unsatisfactory. Except in a few matters of detail, Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee in the matter of recovery of loans.

Dealing with misapplication of taccavi loans, the Committee had observed that the misapplication of taccavi was not as large as was commonly believed. According to the finding of the Committee, "the tendency to misapply a loan obtained from Government is a social evil" and "in some cases, it may have its roots in the economic condition of the borrowers." Government intended to take steps to check the tendency to misapply taccavi loans.

Kashmir's Economic Condition

The *Kashmir Post*, a weekly new magazine published from Jammu, devotes its editorial columns on January 14 to an examination of the present economic situation in Kashmir.

The newspaper notes with approval the remarks of the Chief Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad that more had been done during the past twelve months to ameliorate the lot of the people than during the preceding one thousand years. Recounting the achievements made in different fields the newspaper writes: "If today a new kind of life pulsates among the people of the State, if today the masses are permeated with a sense of endeavour and achievement, the reason is that the new leadership which was voted to power after August 1953 (replacing Sheikh Abdullah) made a serious effort at basing its policies entirely in conformity with the people."

Nevertheless, the editorial goes on to point out in a friendly way, the economy of the State could not be regarded in any way as satisfactory from whatever point one might look at it. The purchasing power of the people was shockingly low and unemployment rampant. Agriculture was under heavy pressure and industry undeveloped. The cottage industries also were in an equally sorry state. As a result almost "the entire population of Kashmir is forced into idleness during winter months which by itself provides proof of the fact that little has been done to provide work to the people in their homes."

Advertising to the question of the utilisation of the State's natural resources for increasing its wealth, it is pointed out with reference to the State Plan that except in so far as the plan provided for the setting-up of three power projects there seemed to be little indication that a serious effort was intended to raise

the per capita income of the people or to increase the economic potential of the State. While the opening of new roads and building of bridges were in the long run likely to result in improving the economy of the backward areas of the State, the unfortunate fact was that at the moment "the entire State must be regarded to be a backward area on the basis of the overall economic position of the State."

The State Government, which the newspaper is confident was keen on building up the economic prosperity of Kashmir, is asked to reassess the need for developing the economic potential of the State. "Absence of taxation is in no way a happy position for a State desirous of making progress in the modern age. The more willingly people pay taxes, the more easily they can contribute towards the cost of development schemes, and the more there is cause for satisfaction. Looked at from this angle, we do not seem to be doing so well at present," concludes the *Kashmir Post*.

The question of a comprehensive plan for the raising of the economic level of the Kashmir people depends a great deal on the Settlement of the Indo-Pak dispute regarding the future of Kashmir. If it were decided either way then that question could be tackled.

All-India Educational Conference

The All-India Educational Conference met in its twenty-ninth session in Patha during the last week of December and was presided over by Dr. P. R. Paranjpye. The Conference discussed almost every aspect of the country's education and in turn adopted as many as forty-three resolutions. *PTI* reports:

"The Conference viewed with concern the 'crisis' that had confronted education and educators in West Bengal in particular and the whole of the Indian Union in general and was of the opinion that it had arisen owing to the fact that both the Central and State Governments had not given the priority that education deserved in a predominantly undeveloped area of the world, just out of colonial rule.

"It suggested:

"(a) Instead of merely co-ordinating and guiding the work of the State Governments, local bodies and private agencies, in the carrying out of educational programmes, the Central Government should assume the overall responsibility for the implementation of national policies in education and help the other three agencies as far as possible.

"(b) At least 25 per cent of the total budgeted expenditure of the States and at least 15 per cent of the total expenditure of the Centre should be earmarked for education. Of this at least 50 per cent of the sum allocated in the States and at least 40 per cent of the sum allocated in the Centre should be kept reserved for primary education.

"(c) Teachers in their particular field of education should have the predominating voice in the shaping of the national educational policies through their representative organisations.

"(d) Adequate arrangements must be made for ensuring a decent standard of living for teachers and social security comparable to others of the same qualification in the services.

"(e) Education cess should be levied on annual incomes of over Rs. 1,500. It should also be levied on foreign industrial firms, Indian monopolies, jute and jute goods, tea, cloth and other items which are for export as well as on racing, intoxicating liquors and luxury articles, cinema, etc.

"(f) There should be a thorough reform of the primary educational system. The aim of primary education should be to provide eight years of integrated education. A system of free and compulsory primary education must be provided within the next five years everywhere. Adult education should be democratically organised with the help of primary teachers.

"(g) New legislation should be enacted in the light of these basic principles and the existing legislation be modified accordingly.

"The conference urged the Government of India to establish a Central National Research Institute for Education on the lines of the National Laboratories.

"For the security of service of teachers and arbitration of disputes, the Conference recommended the immediate setting-up of an arbitration board in every State, consisting of a judicial officer or a retired officer not below the rank of a district and sessions judge and three assessors representing the directors of education, the management and the teachers' organisation in the State. The Board should be granted the authority by legislation to act as a tribunal on the lines of industrial tribunals having legal competence to summon and examine all witnesses, have access to all relevant materials for disputes and to adjudicate all disputes."

The Conference urged for the extension to primary teachers of certain benefits recommended by the Secondary Education Commission for teachers in Secondary schools. Further, in the best interest of education adequate representation of primary teachers on school managing committees was also urged. The Conference also suggested the institution of a system of gratuities to be paid to the primary school teachers on retirement. The working hours of primary teachers were recommended to be restricted to 30 hours in a week and working days in a year were suggested not to exceed 210. The demand of Bombay primary teachers for full pay while under training was also supported by the Conference.

PTI adds that in regard to primary education "the Conference requested the Government of India

immediately to appoint a representative commission (1) to make a comprehensive survey of elementary education in all the States; (2) to enquire into the condition of primary teachers and to prepare uniform scales of pay on a country-wide basis for them; (3) to report on the facts in basic education; (4) to prepare a master plan for primary education for administration, syllabus, teachers' training, etc.; and (5) to suggest ways and means to implement it."

We think most of the suggestions made at the Conference are worthy of consideration. But (c) and (e) do not seem to be practical at the present juncture. The detachment and the objective capacity of assessment of the essentials in educational procedure can hardly be found in teachers in the everyday sense of the term. As for financial arrangements, they had best be left to specialists.

Lessons of Kumbh Mela Tragedy

The Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Kamala Kant Varma listed nine 'predisposing causes' for the tragedy which had occurred at the Kumbh Mela on February 3, 1954, killing between 450 and 500 people.

According to the summary of the report published in the *Statesman* on January 11, those causes were:

"1. Cancellation only a few days prior to February 3, 1954, of compulsory inoculation against cholera was presumably the main cause of the sudden influx into the Kumbh Mela of an unprecedentedly large crowd on the main bathing day. According to the report, Mela officials did not appear to have been prepared for the sudden arrival of such a large crowd.

"2. Only one route for ingress was prescribed for the major portion of the crowd. The result was that the people moving along this route were subjected to irresistible pressure from the rear and were forced to go forward.

"3. The Sangam railway station which the Northern Railway established in the parade area in front of the ill-fated bund occupied a great deal of the available open space. Besides, passengers de-training in close proximity to the bund rushed into the Sangam area immediately with their luggage. When abandoned, this luggage proved a stumbling block to the crowd.

"4. All open spaces outside the compound of the Sangam station, the military depot and the Agriculture Department Farm were occupied by a variety of camps and shops.

"5. All open spaces in the Sangam area, particularly between the Ganga and the bund, were also occupied by numerous camps.

"6. There was rain on February 2 and although clinkers were spread, the surface of Ramp No. 1

down which the tragedy occurred and of the immediate neighbourhood was still slippery.

"7. There were a number of ditches between Ramps No. 1 and 2. The majority were filled in, but a large ditch, filled with water was overlooked. The surrounding area was full of slush and mud. This ditch played a prominent part in the tragedy.

"8. The routes prescribed for the Akhara processions of the various religious orders and for pedestrians intersected in the Sangam area below Ramp No. 1, creating a dangerous situation.

"9. Policemen posted on this route and other crucial points to control the crowd belonged to the Provincial Armed Constabulary which does not wear turbans. They could not be identified among the crowd and were unable to be of assistance."

The immediate cause of the disaster had been a clash between the Naga processionists and the pilgrims.

The authorities were blamed in the report for their policy of undue appeasement of some "holy men" bent on going in a procession unclad. The committee found that a number of men who did not normally go about unclad had been made to join the procession on payment.

Among the notable suggestions of the committee were the recommendations that the planning of a Mela should be started two years ahead of the event and that there should be no railway station in the Mela area.

Pointing to the lessons to be learnt from the Kumbh Mela disaster, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on January 15 that the findings and recommendations of the Inquiry Committee were relevant not only to future Kumbh Melas at Allahabad but also to similar gatherings everywhere.

The newspaper touches on a broader aspect of the matter and raises the question about the exact function and duties of a Secular State in relation to religious events—a question that was agitating many minds. While, according to the newspaper, the State should not discourage any type of religious observance and rather "should go further and afford for any religious group, or community which organises any ceremony or gathering, all the facilities possible and necessary"; and even the revival and encouragement of traditional festivals and observances with artistic, cultural or religious significance also might be in order. "the line should be drawn somewhere. Can the State go so far as directly to organise purely religious events?" as it had done in the case of the last Kumbh Mela?

The *Bombay Chronicle* thinks that the exact role of the Government in such matters should be clarified by public discussion. In its view it was desirable that the Central and State Governments and even quasi-governmental agencies should restrict themselves to

civil duties and leave religious functions to private organisations.

We agree with this view. Further we think that the well-being of the general public and their safety should be prime considerations. Any quasi-religious practice that threatens public safety or peace should be vetoed.

Removal of Untouchability

Sri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai replies to some of the more plausible objections to the removal of untouchability in India. In an article on the matter in the *Harijan* on January 8, he quotes certain reactions to the Government of India's intention to undertake a comprehensive legislation for the abolition of untouchability, to show how conservative certain people were.

Expressing some surprise that efforts should be made in some quarters to bring up the idea of co-existence as a justification for the continuation of the caste system and untouchability, Sri Desai points out that co-existence presupposed equal regard for one another and it was incompatible with any idea that some were higher and others were lower by birth.

It was also surprising that objections should be raised against interdining, Sri Desai continues. One was free to eat whatever or however he liked but "the belief that the presence on one's side of someone belonging to some other particular caste at the time when one is eating constitutes for the latter—although the former should be eating from his own plate—a breach in his practice of religion cannot be accepted."

Sri Desai dismisses as baseless the fear that expressed by some that because of some special facilities they were receiving, the Harijans might like to keep up their separate identity forever. It could not mean "even if there were some truth in it that they should not be given the facilities which they deserve." Moreover, it was "not reasonable to suppose that lured by those facilities they (the Harijans) would like to keep their social status as it has been." It was the normal constitutional responsibility of the State to help the more backward classes educationally and economically.

The more important question, Sri Desai emphasises, was not whether the Harijans were likely to give up their existing social status which they certainly would do, but "whether the non-Harijans will wipe out the sin of untouchability. . . That is what we should be concerned about and attend to with all our energy. If that is done all other things that we want will follow automatically."

Recalling Legislators

Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, said in a recent speech at the

Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad that people should have the right to recall their representatives in the different legislatures in India if those representatives failed to give a good account of themselves. He would like the right of recall of legislators to be first applied in the State Legislatures and then to the Parliament. Sri Ayyangar also referred to the tendency among Parliamentarians to absent themselves from the House for hours together and said, "We have to ring the bell very often to get the quorum. The tendency to remain absent from the House has developed since the salaries of the members have been fixed."

The *Hitavada* in an editorial article on the 14th January wholeheartedly supports the idea of incorporating a provision in the Indian Constitution for recalling absentee and indifferent legislators. Referring to Sri Ayyangar's speech the newspaper writes that there was no reason why the Lok Sabha should be excluded from the proposed rule regarding recall of legislators, especially as the evil of absenteeism was largely prevalent in that House too.

The Constitutions of a number of countries also provided for the recall of legislators who did not take their duties seriously or who ceased to represent the people who had elected them, the newspaper notes. In our Constitution too, it is suggested, there should be a clear legal provision to prevent political apostasy as the "practice is becoming somewhat common for legislators crossing the floor of the House for personal reasons and paying little or no attention to the views of their electorate."

"A sound party system cannot be developed unless the legislators who change their party loyalty are deprived of their seats in the legislatures," the newspaper writes. Mere expulsion from the party was not enough in those cases for curing political opportunism.

Reference is made to the fact that the fixing of monthly salaries for our legislators had been done according to the practice obtaining in the British House of Commons. But there was a lot of difference between the British Parliamentarians and their Indian counterparts. A Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom spent almost the whole of his salary on the duties pertaining to his office. He regularly maintained an office in his constituency and was in constant touch with his electorate.

"But what is the position in our country?" asks the newspaper. "How many legislators can say that they are in constant touch with their masters, the voters?" In fact, after election very few legislators remembered the electorate until the exigencies of a further election reminded them of that. As a result many of them ceased to represent the views of their electors on many public issues.

"This indifference to his masters are bad enough.

But if he adds to that the evil of absenteeism in the Legislature, he must be recalled by the people," the *Hitavada* writes.

The arguments supporting a provision for the recalling of laggards and useless legislators is cogent enough. But what should be the procedure for determining the will of the electors? Unless a rigid procedure is laid down, it would mean that the elections would never be conclusive.

Education of Legislators

The All-India Conference of Government Whips of Legislatures which met for two days in Mysore on January 15 and 16, is reported to have recommended the establishment of a Reorientation Institute for Legislators of all parties in the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures, to enable them to understand to a greater degree the problems of the public. The Government of India was urged to provide requisite assistance for the purpose, if necessary, with external aid.

Chou-Hammerskjöld Talks

The United Nations General Assembly in a resolution adopted on December 10 last condemned the Government of the People's Republic of China for what was stated to be the unjust detention and punishment by China of eleven American airmen. The resolution sponsored by the sixteen Korean War Allies and approved by the General Assembly by 47 votes to 5 with 7 absentions including India, asked the U.N. Secretary-General to negotiate with the Chinese Government for the release of the airmen and to report back on the results by December 31, 1954.

Accordingly, Mr. Dag Hammerskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General, offered to go to Peking to hold talks with the Chinese Government on the release of the imprisoned American airmen. The Chinese Government was apparently not very keen to receive the U.N. envoy but eventually agreed to the proposal at the special request of the Government of India.

Mr. Hammerskjöld arrived in Peking on January 5 via New Delhi, where he had talks with Premier Nehru. The U.N. Secretary-General was accompanied by Professor A. S. Bokhari of Pakistan who was an Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N.O.

In a joint communique issued on January 10, after the conclusion of the talks, Dr. Hammerskjöld and Mr. Chou En-lai said that in their meetings they discussed "questions pertinent to the relaxation of world tension" and felt that "these talks have been useful and we hope to be able to continue the contact established in these meetings."

There was no mention in the communique of anything about the imprisoned U.S. airmen.

Mr. Hammerskjöld said in a Press Conference in New York that his discussions with the Chinese Government "were very thorough and that the visit of Peking has achieved what I was aiming at in this first step;" and that "no deals of any kind" had been suggested by either side. He added that there was no possibility of his going back to Peking.

In his talks later on with the U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Hammerskjöld is reported to have said that he was hopeful of the release of the airmen imprisoned in China "given restraint on all sides."

It is generally believed that Dr. Hammerskjöld's discussion with Mr. Chou En-lai covered a wide field including China's membership of the U.N. The Chinese Government stated to have sent a detailed report on the Peking talks to the Government of India. Though the contents of the report have not been made public, it is believed to indicate China's great reluctance to treat the case of the imprisoned airmen as a major issue of her dispute with Washington, in spite of her knowledge of America's strong feelings in the matter. China, however, reportedly indicated her great willingness to co-operate in measures to remove the tension which gave importance to such incidents.

Commenting on Dr. Hammerskjöld's report on his talks in Peking, President Eisenhower said on January 14 that Americans were disappointed by it. He said that it would not be easy for Americans "to refrain from giving expression to thoughts of reprisal or retaliation"; but he urged everyone to refrain from such thoughts.

It has since been known that during Mr. Hammerskjöld's visit to Peking, the Chinese Government had offered to allow the relatives of the imprisoned airmen to go to China to visit them. But the U.S. Government is reported to have decided "not to encourage" families of the airmen to accept the Chinese offer. According to UPI, Mr. Hammerskjöld said that he would hold himself responsible for the security of the American relatives who wanted to go to Peking.

On the occasion of Mr. Hammerskjöld's China visit certain interested parties found it opportune to indulge in anti-Indian propaganda. It was wildly and widely rumoured that Mr. Hammerskjöld had been given a cold reception in New Delhi. However, Mr. Hammerskjöld himself contradicted the story and thus laid bare its hollowness.

Bogor Talks

The Prime Ministers of five Asian countries—India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan—had their first meeting in Colombo when they held discussions from April 28 to May, 1954, covering matters of common interest including the ending of war in Indo-China, China's admission in the UN, stopping

Hydrogen bomb tests and problems relating to Communism, Colonialism and the Middle East. In that meeting they had also discussed the desirability of holding a conference of African-Asian nations and the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, had been entrusted to explore the possibilities of such a conference.

Accordingly, the Premiers of the above nations met for two days on December 28 and 29 at Bogor, the Indonesian hill resort, 40 miles south of Djakarta, to discuss the agenda and list of invitees for the proposed Afro-Asian Conference which had originally been scheduled to be held in Indonesia in February or March this year, but would now be held in the last week of April (one tentative date was April 18).

The Bogor Conference unanimously approved of the list of nations to be invited. The proposed invitees, which included People's Republic of China, Japan and Turkey but excluded Israel and U.S.S.R., numbered twenty-five. Others were Afghanistan, Viet Nam, Viet Minh, Laos, Cambodia, Egypt, Sudan, Gold Coast, Liberia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Libya, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Central African Federation, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Nepal. Thailand and the Philippines which had already indicated their unwillingness to attend such a conference were also invited. Israel was not invited. Thus if all the invitations were accepted altogether thirty countries would participate in the proposed African-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia.

The purpose of the proposed African-Asian Conference was described by the Prime Ministers to be:

"(a) To promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;

"(b) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;

"(c) To consider problems of special interest to the Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism; and

"(d) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

The twenty-five countries had been invited to the proposed conference on a broad geographical basis and on the agreement of the five Premiers that "all countries in Asia which have independent governments will be invited."

The conference would be on a ministerial level; it was hoped that either the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister of the respective countries would attend the conference, together with other representatives.

The Prime Ministers pointed out "that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve, or even imply, any other change in view of the status of any other country. It would imply only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the conference." No discussion of the proposed conference would be regarded as binding on any country unless it so desired. The basic purpose of the conference was that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view and "the Prime Ministers hope that this clarification will enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation," says the communique issued at the conclusion of the Bogor talks.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the outcome of the Geneva Conference which contributed to the cease-fire in Indo-China and hoped that the Agreement would be fully implemented. They expressed their continued support to the demands of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination. The four other Premiers supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and expressed the hope that the Netherlands Government would not fail to honour their obligations under their agreement with Indonesia.

The Prime Ministers also reiterated their great concern at the destructive potentialities of the nuclear weapons.

Eighteen countries are reported to have already given their consent to participate in the forthcoming Bandung Conference.

The Bogor Conference of the five Asian Powers found a sympathetic response in the Soviet press though the Soviet Union, which had vast territory in Asia, was excluded from the list of invitees.

In an article in the *Pravda*, official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Pastukhov writes that the importance of the Bogor Conference "lies in the fact that it expresses the desire of the Asian peoples to rule their own destiny. Its decisions also show that the Asian problems cannot be settled without the participation of the great Chinese people. At the same time the Conference has evidenced the constantly growing struggle of the Asian peoples for full national independence, against colonialism, racial discrimination and economic enslavement."

Western Reaction to Bogor Conference

Though London official circles wished "a fair wind" to the Afro-Asian Conference, Whitehall was not altogether enthusiastic about the prospect of a conference of Asian and African countries, such as was envisaged by the Djakarta Powers. "There is, indeed, reason to believe that the resentful comments of the *Daily Telegraph* yesterday (Dec. 30) on the 'Coloured

Man's Burden' are not far removed from official reaction here," writes Dr. K. S. Shelvankav in a despatch to the *Hindu* from London.

Britain was resentful at her exclusion from the Bandung invitees as she still regarded herself as an Asian and African Powers. The decision taken at Bogor to invite, among others, Gold Coast, Sudan and the Central African Federation—which had so long been treated as a close British reserve—presented Britain with a problem. It was pointed out in certain quarters that the three African States under reference could not accept the invitation to attend the Bandung Conference without British consent as Whitehall was still responsible for them. Consequently, there appeared some doubts as to the eventful British attitude on the issue of these States' joining the conference. Britain had, however, constantly emphasised the *de facto* independence of some of these countries which had not yet attained full Commonwealth status, and had also been seeking to get them admitted to specialised international bodies like the World Health Organisation, Dr. Shelvankar points out.

PTI sums up the Western reaction in the following words: "Behind the facade of diplomatic phrases, what the Western Powers are really concerned with, according to informed sources here (London), is not so much the forging of a political bloc—which they know to be difficult in view of the ideological conglomeration of the States—but the emergence of a vast economic co-operation agency for Asia and Africa controlling the bulk of the raw materials on which the Western industrial nations now depend."

American coolness to the proposed conference was also not much concealed. Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, said that the purposes of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference were not clear to him and he described the communique issued after the Bogor Conference "an ambiguous document."

There was much resentment in the Australian press at her exclusion from the Bandung Conference.

Comment was also made in the Western press at the exclusion of New Zealand and the Soviet Union.

Atomic Energy Institute for Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan recently decided on the establishment of an Institute of Atomic Energy in Pakistan. A committee was accordingly appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, who was at present also chairman of the Pakistan Tariff Commission. The committee would devise a programme for atomic energy and prepare a detailed plan for the Institute of Atomic Energy with special reference to location, accommodation, staffing and organization; procurement of machinery and equipment and radioactive and fissionable materials indicating sources of their supply.

Soviet Offer of Atomic Co-operation

The Soviet Government in an announcement on January 14, signified its willingness to pass on to the U.N. Atomic Energy Committee the scientific and technical experience gained from the operation of the first industrial atomic power plant in the U.S.S.R. which had been in commission since July, 1954. The offer was being made, according to the *Tass* statement, as a recognition by the Soviet Government of the great importance of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and a contribution in its efforts to promote international co-operation in that field.

Describing the Soviet offer as "of extraordinary interest," the *Hindu* editorially writes on January 16 that though in the Western countries there might be a tendency to search for 'catches' in the Soviet offer, "there is nothing in the Moscow report to indicate that the Soviet Union is making the offer on a conditional basis." While the precise value of the Soviet declaration would doubtless be examined in detail by the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission the anxiety evinced by the Soviet Union—as one of the two Great Powers possessing developed atomic weapons, the other being the U.S.A.—to explore the possibilities of utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes, what was more, to share the results of their research with other countries must be regarded as very hopeful.

The newspaper refers to the fact that the Soviet offer came more than a year after President Eisenhower had made a proposal in a speech before the U.N. General Assembly in which he had stated that with a view to removing the popular fear of atom, the "governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence," should "begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency," which would "devise methods whereby the fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind."

The *Hindu* writes: "While Gen. Eisenhower's proposal seemed to limit the functions of the proposed atomic energy agency to sponsoring investigations into the effective peace-time uses of fissionable material, the Soviet Union seems to go one step further and to offer its knowledge and technical 'know-how' for setting up atomic power stations in other countries."

Provided the Soviet offer had been genuinely made the newspaper even envisages a healthy rivalry in the export of atomic power plants between the Soviet Union and United Kingdom, who was also

reportedly making good progress in development of atomic energy.

The reason why Gen. Eisenhower's proposal for an international pool of fissionable material had not yet materialized, according to the *Hindu*, "may be that the countries which have fissionable material—among them are Australia, Japan, China, India, South Africa, the Congo, France, Portugal, Brazil and Canada—are not willing to disclose their resources to an international agency of whose immediate serviceability to them they have doubts.

"But their reaction might be very different if a U.N. agency, supported by the U.S., U.K. and the U.S.S.R., comes forward to harness atomic materials for peaceful purposes in the countries possessing them.

"It is to be hoped that the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission will seriously go into the Soviet offer and explore the possibilities of East-West co-operation in harnessing the atom for peace," the newspaper concludes.

American People and Russia

Sixty-five per cent of the American people were against any diplomatic break with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a Gallup poll showed recently.

A cross section of the American people had been asked: "Do you think it would be a good idea, or a poor idea for the United States to break off diplomatic relations with Russia at this time?"

Sixty-five per cent thought it a poor idea, 21 per cent a good idea and 14 per cent were undecided or had no opinion.

According to the survey, there was no basic difference of opinion on the question between Democrats and Republicans.

250-Million-Year-Old Reptile Found

News from Israel reports that recently the petrified skull of a 250-million-year-old reptile had been found, almost completely intact, in the Wadi Ramon in Central Negev, by Dr. F. Brotzen, a Swedish palaeontologist. The skull, together with another find last year of the anterior part of the body armour of such a reptile probably belonging to the same species, represented an extremely rare and valuable find. An international team of palaeontologists was expected to go there to explore the Wadi Ramon area which was generally believed to conserve valuable fossils, provided that it was possible to solve the problem of financing such a costly undertaking.

INDIA'S CREATIVE RECREATION

By
RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph. D.
and
SONYA RUTH DAS, D. Litt. (Paris)

CREATIVE recreation is a most important factor in social regeneration. Recreation implies "creation," but the term, as it is often used today, has lost its original meaning and includes any kind of pastime or relaxation without any idea of renovation or revival of physical strength, mental alertness and moral fervour. Recreation has thus a much larger connotation and includes activities for rebuilding the body, mind and spirit, and generating a healthy and optimistic outlook on life. Recreation has an important part in the life processes of the individual, the group and society, and all human communities, whether savage or civilized, have made ample provisions for all kinds of recreation.

Indo-Aryans began life by worshipping nature and they made provision for all kinds of festivities and rituals for each season of the year, and also for important occasions. The same provisions were also made by the Dravidians. The Buddhist and Jain teachings brought in, however, many austere aspects of life, some of which were modified by Hinduism. Hinduism, under the guidance of the priesthood, brought back some of the rituals and ceremonies to satisfy the desires of the people for recreational purposes. Since the beginning of the present century, there has been a revival of them all over the country.

The number of recreative measures is legion. But for practical purposes they may be divided into four groups, such as physical culture, sports and games, revival of folklore and broadcast and cinema. This classification overlaps and is arbitrary, but it is nevertheless useful for all practical purposes.

PHYSICAL CULTURE

Physical culture forms a most important class of recreation. Its main objective is twofold, (1) to strengthen the muscles, and (2) to fortify the lungs, the importance of both has been realized and provision has been made for them by the individual, the group and the government in most of the countries, advanced or backward. In India "gymkhanas," or club houses for physical culture had been in existence from time immemorial and they are now being supplemented by the Government both in urban areas and the country-side.

Creative recreation should begin at the nursery school in which the play impulses of children may be given a creative bias. Such work must be extended to include the children in the junior basic school covering the first five years of compulsory primary education, and also the children in the senior basic school covering the second three years of compulsory primary education. All the children, both boys and girls, should be made to undertake physical exercises as a part of the school curriculum. Moreover, the students in the senior basic

school, that is, those between the ages of twelve and fourteen, should be drafted into either the boy scout or the girl guide movements.

Schools, colleges and universities should provide physical exercises for their students, both men and women. Moreover, the Indian educational scheme, or the Sargent Plan, has proposed a National Youth Movement to provide recreative and social activities, especially for those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The objective of this movement would be to supplement similar work started by the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Ramakrishna Mission. The Government of India appointed a committee to prepare a plan for a central training college of physical education. This proposed college should train physical training teachers, coaches, recreation leaders, and publish literature on physical culture.

Another important problem is the provision for recreational facilities, including physical exercises, in the rural areas, where by far the largest number of the Indian population still live. The establishment of a school in every village or group of villages would naturally provide physical exercises and recreation for the children and they may be supplemented by the establishment of gymkhanas (places of physical exercise) where wrestling, weight lifting, and dumb-bell practices and other exercises might be provided for the adults.

Physical exercise may be organised into a veritable show or exposition by the amateurs, for clubs, schools, colleges, universities and other organizations or by professional enterprises, as in the circus, for public entertainment. When put to rhythm with music, these physical exercises become great sources of inspiration to the young men and women and of pleasure to the public in general. The greatest attempt at nationalizing physical exercises were made by the Czechoslovakians before World War II when thousands of young men and women joined the open-air physical exercises in rhythm with music. They not only presented a magnificent sight but also created a great admiration for youthful participants, bringing into mind the Greek conception of the 'beauty of the human body.' The very attire of the young men and women reminded one of another Greek philosophical truth that "the object of dress is not to cover the body but to beautify it."

SPORTS AND GAMES

Sports and games are instinctive in origin, but take definite shapes from group habits. Unlike rituals and ceremonies they are more easily influenced by those of other countries. India has contributed to the world two very important sports, such as hockey and polo. On the other hand, India has also adopted cricket, football,

tennis and other games from the West. As far as indoor games are concerned, India has also contributed to the world the very aristocratic game of chess. Dice is also an old game in India and Indian princes have even been known to stake even their kingdoms on this game. In recent years, sports and games, both indigenous and foreign, have become closely integrated into national recreation. They bring enjoyment not only to schools, colleges, universities and other institutions and organizations which actually participate in them, but also to the public in general.

What is more important still is the fact that sports and games have great influence upon building the individual, the group, and society as well as upon national and international relationships. In the first place, constant successes and defeats on the playgrounds create among men and women a spirit of sportsmanship and prepare them to meet the conditions of actual life. It has often been said that Wellington won the battle of Waterloo at Eton, implying his activities on the playing field rather than in the class room. In the second place, success on the playing field often opens the way to permanent relationships in other aspects of life. The defeat of the British Army football team by the Bengali Mohun Bagan team in Calcutta a few years ago raised the morale of the Bengali youth, and the outstanding achievement by Prince Ranajit Singh as cricketer won high appreciation for India all over the world. Finally, sports and games help in building up national and international relationships. Cricket and football matches between schools, colleges, universities and other institutions and organizations all over the world, bring young men and women together. Recently India has also taken an active part in the Olympic Games and established contact with many foreign countries and won laurels on several playing fields.

Both the Government of India and the Indian public have realized the importance of sports and games in national and international relationships and have adopted definite measures :

(1) On November 14, 1948 India started the construction of Nehru Stadium at New Delhi at a cost of Rs. 2.5 million. It consists of an athletic section with cycle and running tracks and a swimming pool, with stands for 20,000 people, a tennis court on the Wimbledon model, grounds for cricket, football, hockey, badminton and an open-air theatre, also a club-house for residential accommodation.

(2) A Patel Stadium has also been built at Bombay at a cost of Rs. 2 million which consists of similar facilities. There is no doubt that these stadiums will be followed by the construction of similar ones in other parts of the country.

(3) What is more significant is the inauguration by the Government of India of the Rational Sports Club of India in New Delhi on March 7, 1953. It is the first of the national chain of clubs to be built gradually in most of the cities of India.

India received Olympic recognition in 1920, when a team of six participated in the Olympiad and since 1928 India has retained the World Hockey Championship. In 1949, eight countries signed the constitution of the Asian Games Federation at a formal meeting in New Delhi under the presidency of the Maharaja of Patiala, the President of the Indian Olympic Association and the doyen of princely sports. The first Asian Games were assigned to India and it took place in New Delhi in 1951.

Of the foreign games, cricket occupies a very honorable place. It was introduced by the British a long time ago, but Bengal took it seriously in 1877 and in 1885, the game of a Bengali team against an Australian team visiting the Calcutta International Exposition was drawn, thus showing the power of the Indian team to stand a professional international team. Early in this century, Prince Ranjit Singh proved to be the world's greatest cricketer, and the title "Ranji" became associated with the cricket game. India honours "Ranji" in the form of the "Ranji Trophy." The recent match between the Prime Minister's XI and the Vice-President's XI has probably become a permanent national feature.

While cricket is largely a game of the middle and educated classes and polo has remained an aristocratic and princely game, the House of Jaipur becoming its well-known champion, football is often called the game of the people or the masses and draws the largest number of spectators. As noted above, it was a football game in Calcutta early in the century where the famous Mohan Bagan team defeated the British and the British, both civilians and army, showed the highest spirit of chivalry when they left the field with hats in their hands instead of on their heads. Football has raised the national stature of India and Mohan Bagan, Mohammedan Sporting and East Bengal Clubs have become famous in the annals of national sports. Games' appeal is both varied and wide in the present-day India, especially since here the achievement of her independence. Both lawn tennis and table tennis are very popular; boxing is gradually gaining ground; like jujitsu in Japan, wrestling is also a popular sport in India. Among other sports, mention must be made of swimming and aquatics, Kabaddi or Hu-tu-tu, Gilli-danda, golf and badminton, volley-ball, netball and many others in different parts of the country. (Source: *India 1953, Annual Review*, The High Commission of India, London, 157-62).

REVIVAL OF FOLKLORE

The revival of folklore, such as folk dance, folk song, folk music (instrumental) is still another method of regenerating social life, especially among the rural population. While sports and games have a better chance of development in urban areas with their comparatively denser population, folk dances, folk songs and folk music can thrive better in rural areas which are the home of their origins and development. Just as in the case of her natural resources and cultural traditions, India is also

enormously rich in her folklore for several reasons : First, the variety of her ethnic groups, such as Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Aborigines, who have brought with them their own folklore and also developed new ones in their new abode. Second, extreme variations both in physiography and climatology in India which have developed folklore, especially among the aborigines, some of whom, e.g., proto-Australasians, arrived in India even before they developed their final racial characteristics. Third, magic and mysticism together with mythology have also played their part in the development of folklore. The Bhils, the aborigines of Rajasthan, for instance, even to-day resort to dancing, whenever there is a drought, in order to appease the powers for rainfall. Finally, some professional dancers, e.g., Bhawai of Rajasthan, have been created as such by the upper classes for their amusements.

There is thus in India a regular cycle of festivals and fairs almost all the year round. There are special days for celebrating autumn or harvesting, spring, and rainy seasons, new year's day, National Independence Day, the Gandhi day; principal holidays, whether of Hindu, Moslem, Christian or Sikh origins, are observed as national holidays. The sacred places of India are many, such as Mount Abu for the Jains, Amritsar for the Sikhs; Gaya and Saranath for the Buddhists; Nawadwip, Puri, Brindaban, Mathura, Banaras and Rameswar and other places for the Hindus. Recently Qadian, the birth-place of Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect, has also become a place of pilgrimage to his followers. For the orthodox Moslem the holy places are Mecca and Medina, which are outside India. But some of the mosques and tombs, such as Jumma Masjid of Delhi, the Tomb of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri and the grand and noble edifice of the Taj Mahal at Agra always inspire admiration and reverence from millions of visitors from all over the country.

Sacred places are permanent and some rituals and ceremonies are performed throughout the year, but on certain occasions they become animated and lively, and congested and overcrowded with devotees and visitors from all parts of the country, and assume the characteristics of veritable fairs, with markets loaded with rare and curious merchandise, and streets filled with amusements including sports and games, folk dances and folk songs and folk music. Like festivals, fairs are commonplace in India, but India's outstanding fair is the Kumbha Mela, which has come down from time immemorial and is held once in every three years in four different places and the final and fullest meeting taking place every twelfth year at Allahabad, where two sacred rivers, Ganga and Jamuna meet, and which draws millions of Hindu brothers from all over the country.

Group dancing is a common thing in India. Both men and women take part in their folklore festivals, but they dance separately. Some time dancing and singing are combined. Among the aborigines men and women often take equal part in most of their festivals. While

dancing is rhythmic and is easily understood, singing requires some knowledge of language which differs from State to State. But the soul of music lies in its tune which is more easily understood, without language. Most of the folk songs have come down from olden times. Among the best folk songs must be included the Boul songs of Bengal. But there are also several modern composers of folk songs in different parts of the country. The greatest contributor to modern folk song is, however, Rabindranath Tagore, and a large number of his 3000 songs belong to this category. What is more important is the fact that the All-India Radio spends more than half of its broadcast on popular music for the Indian people. Nor has India made mean contribution to instrumental music. The universal drum appeared in the very early communal life as in many other countries. The Bina or one-string instrument gradually developed into the guitar and the universal flute also developed into a higher class instrument. What is more significant is the fact that, unlike dance and song, various musical instruments made their way into neighbouring countries, especially in South-East Asia.

An important problem before India today is the utilization of her immense folklore resources for social solidarity and cultural enrichment. After centuries of suppression and indifference under foreign domination, the people of India have achieved national independence and established a democratic Republic and they are bound to revive their old cultural life, of which folklore forms an integral part. It is an opportune moment for the Government of India to utilize the folklore to the best advantage of India by the following methods :

(1) *Allocation and adjustment* of the folklore is the first step in this direction. All the folklore activities should be assigned to particular time and season in each locality, State and the Union. A uniform calendar for the whole country, instead of over a dozen as it is today, will go a long way to the simultaneous demonstration of the folklores all over the country so that they may have a spontaneous feeling of solidarity among all classes of people.

(2) *Co-ordination and Nationalization* is still another process of utilizing the folklore for social progress. All the folklores, whether dances, songs or music should be co-ordinated, rather than integrated, into well-defined groups, so that each unit or group of units may preserve its specific quality and add to cultural richness. Moreover, all the units of the folklore should have national recognition, either directly by the Union Government or indirectly through State or District Government. Nothing could make a group of people, whether backward classes, scheduled castes, or scheduled tribes, feel as a part of the national whole as the acceptance by the national government of their cultural traits as best indicated by their folklore. The first step in the nationalization of the folklore was taken by the Government of India when the Festival of Folk Dances was held in New Delhi during the Republic Week

festivities in January 1954, and troupes of dancers were invited from all parts of India and all the States sent their representatives. Among the dancing parties mention may be made of Hoer Dance of Bihar, Fadhaba Nritya of Saurashtra, Ras Dance of Gujarat, Suya Dance of Assam, and Sema (war) Dance of the Nagas in Assam.

BROADCAST AND CINEMA

Both broadcast and cinema are the most important methods of communication in modern times, especially in a vast country like India, where by far the majority of the people are illiterate and backward. Broadcasting began in India in the twenties. It was started by a private company in 1927 which, however, went into voluntary liquidation soon after. The Government of India soon realized the possibility of a new medium of communication and took over the company and made it a monopoly of the Government, establishing it as the All-India Radio. By 1939, India developed nine operating stations and full-fledged broadcasting services. The first programme for an audience outside of India was a broadcast in Persian in 1939 and, by 1945, the All-India Radio was broadcasting in ten foreign languages and five Indian languages, in addition to an elaborate service in English for audience outside the country. During the war, it was found advantageous to have a single source of news and so a Central News Organization was set up at Delhi. This organization is responsible for all internal and external news even today. After World War II, some reduction was made in the external services and an attempt has been made to improve home services. In six years since 1947, the number of All-India Radio stations has risen to twenty-two.

The role of India's radio is to inform, educate and entertain as well as to develop the intellectual and cultural life of the people and to interpret it at home and abroad. The external service has a twofold objective: (1) to reach the people of Indian origin overseas, and (2) to interest the outside world in general in various aspects of Indian life. The All-India Radio believes that there is a large and interested audience for its external service. As far as home service is concerned, in addition to the supply of general and special information to the Indian public the All-India Radio has a two-fold mission: First, to raise the general standard of musical appreciation throughout the country. It takes pride in being responsible for the recent revival of interest in serious and classical music and also the attempts to create a new tradition of light music and has made the finest collection of the folk music of the country. In fact, music forms roughly half of the total broadcasting times of the All-India Radio. Secondly, perhaps the most important of All-India Radio's home broadcasts are those addressed to the rural population. They are planned and presented with the greatest possible care by the staff who are fully acquainted with rural condi-

tions. The main objective of such broadcasts is to create some idea of the great cultural and historical heritage which is theirs and to give them a feeling of pride in themselves.

Like the radio, the film has been taking its part in the regeneration of the Indian people. "Two million people visit the cinema every day in India and ninety per cent of the films they see are made in their own country."

(1) In the short span of 40 years India has become the second largest film-producing country, employing 90,000 people. (*India 1953—Annual Review*, The High Commission of India, London, p. 139).

The founder of the film industry in India was Dhondiraj Phalke, who, inspired by a film on the life of Christ, produced the first Indian film on "Raja Harishchandra" and exhibited it in Bombay in 1913. Before retiring, Phalke produced 125 films. With the advent of the talking films in 1931, India's film industry received a new impetus to revival, and sound films attracted a large section of the community and cinemas were built in towns and cities and more than 2,500 cinemas were in operation.

In 1949, the Government recognized the importance of the film industry, appointed a Film Enquiry Committee to investigate the conditions of the industry and to make a report on the findings. The report was published in 1951 and was very well received by the public as a first comprehensive document on the industry, with valuable suggestions for reorganization. The Committee urged the Government to take active interest in the development of the industry, but without any interference with its independent existence.

An important event in the film industry was the organization of the International Film Festival of India in 1952, sponsored by the Government of India and organized by the Film Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. India acted as host to 23 countries and many international film personalities. Over a million people saw 54 feature films in 13 languages and 104 documentaries, which were selected for exhibition. So India's film festival became the first mobile festival of its kind in the world. Another unusual feature was the establishment of vast open-air theatres at Delhi and Madras capable of seating 7,000 people. These open-air theatres proved so popular that they have now become a permanent feature.

Some of the Indian films have established world-wide reputation. The film *Neecha Nagar* won the Cannes Film Festival's Grand Prize and amongst many other awards *Babla* won the Struggle for Social Progress Prizes at the Czech International Film Festival. The Government's Film Division's documentaries have also received recognition at European, Canadian and British Film Festivals. The Film Division has received a total of 18 certificates between 1946-53 from the Edinburgh Film Festival. To-day the Film Division leads the way in India in the production of documentary films,

with an average production of 36 films a year and one newsreel a week. To-day documentary films have become an integral part of the Government's information service overseas. Working along with feature films, the Government's documentaries play an important part in the messages of India abroad. (Source: *India 1953—Annual Review*. The High Commission of India, London, pp. 139 and 163. *India—A Reference Manual, 1953*, Government of India).

In summing up, it might be observed that creative recreation, which is being rapidly integrated into Indian

national life, will undoubtedly renovate the physical strength, mental alertness, and moral fervour of the people. Physical culture as an integral part of the compulsory education as well as sports and games will help the future generations to begin their life processes with greater vigour and the revival of folklore will add to their cultural enrichment. Above all, broadcasts and cinemas as part programme of social education will prove extremely useful to the enlightenment, information, and entertainment of the people and will also keep them abreast with other nations.

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SOCIALISM AND SARVODAYA

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

It was, perhaps, for the first time that the economic policy of India was discussed at length in the Parliament. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who initiated the debate, made it quite clear that "the central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions, within a reasonable period, say, ten years from now." This is by no means an over-ambitious goal. "In achieving this," said the Finance Minister, "there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and private sector." According to the calculations of Shri Deshmukh, some 24 million jobs would have to be created if our objective were full employment, and the total investment would have to be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores a year. Considering the numbers involved, while the development of major industries must continue in national interest, the Finance Minister thought that it was necessary "to foster the development of small-scale and village industries with greater opportunities for employment and more and more chances of improving the resources of the population." Intervening in the debate, the Prime Minister reaffirmed his policy of bringing about a "casteless and classless society" through the "peaceful and co-operative method." It was also made clear that India's approach to Socialism was not a doctrinaire approach but a practical way of achieving the basic objectives of full employment, more production and economic justice. Shri Nehru pointed out that it was, more or less, meaningless to talk about conflict between the public and private sectors. In a socialistic pattern of society, the public sector was bound to be increasingly important. But there would be ample scope for the private sector as well with public control at "strategic points." After all, the biggest private sector in the country was "the private sector of the peasant with his small landholdings."

Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister declared that the Industrial Policy of India still conti-

nued to be, more or less, on the lines of the announcement of 1948, although there might be "shifts of emphasis from time to time." It should be clearly understood that though there was still enough scope for private enterprise, "the days of *laissez faire* are past."

"In modern conditions, particularly in a State which, like ours, has set before itself the ideal of a Welfare State, there can be no complete anti-thesis between public and private enterprise, nor any difference of opinion about the needs for the regulatory functions of the State."

What is most important, however, is the problem of increasing the rate of savings and investment. In order to ensure full employment to the people of India, it is estimated that the rate of investment should be 10 per cent of the annual national income. It should be understood, however, that economic planning in under-developed countries cannot depend on monetary resources only. The main problem is to organise and utilise the idle man-power of the nation. It is from this point of view that increasing attention will have to be paid to the development of small-scale and village industries.

The Finance Minister was on uncertain ground when he stated in the Parliament that additional jobs for providing fuller employment "must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." If 12 million new jobs are to be found in the country by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, it would be impossible to do so in the urban areas alone. We have no doubt in our minds that additional employment on a large scale will have to be found in the direction of agro-industries like hand-pounding of rice, oil-pressing through village ghanis, hand-spinning and weaving of cotton, silk and wool, leather-making, animal husbandry, manufacture of *gur*, *khandsari*, etc. There is already enough congestion in our cities and the process of depopulation of our villages is almost continuous. If we attempt to

provide work to idle people in the urban areas through small-scale industries, there is bound to be greater congestion in the cities and a number of additional problems, social, economic and moral, will crop up. The best solution of the basic problem of fuller employment is, therefore, to provide work to the peasant or the artisan at his very door in the form of village and cottage industries. This plan could be achieved only if the State decides to avoid unhealthy competition between the large-scale and small-scale industries by reserving the fields of production for the small industries. For example, we see no reason why all edible oils should not be reserved for the village *ghani*. Hand-pounding of rice which has been providing gainful employment to several lakhs of our workers could be encouraged by banning the use of rice-hullers more specially in the countryside. In regard to leather manufacture, factories should not be permitted to prepare certain varieties of *deshi footwear* like chappals and sandals. It is only through such reservation or demarcation of spheres that the State could hope to afford greater employment facilities to millions of our people who are either totally unemployed or are partially employed for only a few months in the year. There is no other way out.

In trying to establish a socialistic pattern of economy in India it would be futile to regard Nationalisation of industries as the panacea for all evils. It is, of course, essential that basic or mother industries like iron and steel, coal, power, and heavy machinery ought to be State-owned and State-managed. But no attempt need be made to nationalise other existing industries which manufacture consumer goods like cloth, sugar, oil etc. Instead, all these large-scale consumption goods industries should be progressively decentralised in the form of Co-operatives. In short, the kind of Socialism that we desire to establish in this country would be very different from the Socialism of those countries where population is sparse and capital is plenty. In a country like ours, where population is dense and capital is scarce, a socialist economy must be in the nature of a decentralised economy. In India Socialism can only mean *Sarvodaya*.

There is one more point which Mahatma Gandhi used to emphasise repeatedly. *Sarvodaya* economy should not be based merely on the production and accumulation of more wealth and material articles. We must always bear in mind that man does not live by bread

alone. Along with the fulfilment of our material needs, we must try to raise our cultural and moral standards as well. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on the concept of "standard of *Life*" rather than on the "standard of living."

"I whole-heartedly detest," said Gandhiji, "this mad desire to destroy distance and time to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction."

"By going on increasing the volume or pitch of sound," wrote Gurudev Tagore, "we can get nothing but a shriek."

Kautilya, the distinguished Indian economist and thinker of the fourth century B.C., observed in his *Arthashastra*:

"Whoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters."

That is why our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has described the Indian way of life as "Ethical Socialism."

Such a pure type of Socialism can be established in India only through the Gandhian technique of decentralised economy and "composite" democracy in the form of self-dependent and self-governing village communities or Panchayats. A bold decentralisation of political and economic power would go a long way in enabling us to establish a kind of social and economic order which could serve as a model to other countries of the world. A highly centralised State with a centralised economic system tends to become authoritarian or totalitarian with all the resultant evils. India must avoid such a regimented and over-centralised type of economy. Moreover, true Socialism could be established only if there is a visible and real change in the attitude of the individuals who compose the society.

"Socialism begins," said Gandhiji, "with the first convert." "If there is one such, you can add zeroes to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, multiplicity of zeroes will also produce zero value."

When individuals change, the society also changes. In order to bring about a *Sarvodaya* Society, therefore, all of us must "turn the searchlight inwards" and begin by reforming ourselves. There can be no short-cuts to true Socialism. It is not merely an economic doctrine but also a way of life.



AGRARIAN REFORMS IN PAKISTAN

By BANDHUDAS SEN, M.A.,
Research Scholar, Gandhi Vihar Parishad

INTRODUCTION

With a total area of 361,000 sq. miles, Pakistan has got an estimated population of 74.437 millions.¹ The Western Pakistan, which comprises the Western Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the tribal areas and some small States, has an area of 303,548 sq. miles and a population of about 32 millions. The Eastern Pakistan, comprising East Bengal and Sylhet, has an area of 54,100 sq. miles and an approximate population of 42 millions. Between these two regions, there is a wide divergence of topographical and climatic conditions. Eastern Pakistan abounds in perennial rivers and innumerable streams, large and small; there is an abundance of rainfall brought in by the monsoons and the soil is rich and fertile. In Western Pakistan, however, rainfall is inadequate and the soil is less fertile in comparison with Eastern Pakistan. As a result, agriculture is dependent on irrigation canals, and the region includes a fine net-work of irrigation canals. Not a little of the agricultural prosperity of West Pakistan is due to the good canal irrigation system. The density of population per sq. mile too varies greatly from 772 in East Pakistan (the highest density being 789 in East Bengal) to 133 in West Pakistan (the lowest being 9 in Baluchistan).

LAND UTILIZATION

Out of an area of 115 million acres in Pakistan, only 54 million acres are cultivated. The following table will show how land is utilized²:

Classification of area	Area in million acres
Net sown	43
Current fallow	11
Total cultivated	54
Forests	5
Not available for cultivation	30
Other uncultivated land	26
Total uncultivated	61
Total land	115
Per capita sown area	0.60

LAND TENURE SYSTEM

The present land tenure systems in Pakistan are the legacy of the British rule. When on August 14, 1947, the State of Pakistan was carved out from India, among other things, Pakistan inherited the land tenure systems then existing in the regions which were included in Pakistan.

Among the systems of land tenure in existence in various regions of Pakistan, the *zamindari* system

with permanent and temporary settlement is the most important and the most widely prevalent system. Permanently settled *zamindari* system is found in Sylhet and East Bengal over an area of 28.7 million acres; while temporarily settled *zamindari* and *mahawari* systems are found in Sylhet, East Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab and Baluchistan, extending over an area of 54.3 million acres. Together, these two systems account for nearly 73 per cent of the total land. *Ryotwari* system is found in Sylhet and in Sind, covering an area of 30.9 million acres and accounting for 27 per cent of the total land. In addition, the State owns a substantial amount of land. In the North-West Frontier Province, a system called *bhaichara*, which resembles a kind of communal land tenure system, is still in existence.³ Under this system, all the owners of the whole village brotherhood undertake a measure of responsibility for land revenue due from individual holders to the Government. In practice, however, the responsibility for payment of defaulters' revenue is not enforced.

In East Bengal, 76 per cent of the total area are under *zamindari* permanent settlement, 22 per cent under *zamindari* temporary settlement and 2 per cent under *ryotwari* tenure. The following table will show the acreage under different systems of land tenure in Pakistan:⁴

Province	Ryotwari (acres)	Zamindari permanently settled	Zamindari temporarily settled & mahawari	Total area
Sylhet	755352	2099797	230251	3085400
E. Bengal	....	26683350	8307531	34991081
Sind	30180024	....	....	30180024
N.-W. F. P.	....	....	8577000	8577000
W. Punjab	....	....	37204621	37204621
Baluchistan	....	....	....	336000
Total	30935376	28783347	54319403	114011126
Percentage	27	25	48	100

The evils of the *zamindari* system of land tenure are many and the Government of Pakistan is aware of them. The Government recognizes that

"The permanent settlement (of Bengal) brought in its wake several ills. The Government lost all contact not only with the zamindars but also with the lot of the primary producer. The landlord and his underlings could do as they liked so long as the landlord paid revenue—which was grossly inadequate—to the Government on the date due. Sub-infeudation increased, and the tillers of the

1. According to the official figures in 1949.

2. *Economic Consequences of Divided India*: By C. N. Vakil.

3. *Economy of Pakistan*—Office of the Economic Adviser, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 1950.

4. Dr. S. M. Akhtar: *Economics of Pakistan*.

soil became subject to many ill-defined liabilities. Absentee landlordism in West Pakistan similarly gave rise to several anti-social practices, such as *begar* (forced labour) and an unduly high share of the landlord in the produce of the land.⁵

CONCENTRATION OF LAND

The inevitable results of this kind of land tenure system are the concentration of land in the hands of absentee landlords, the increase of the number of tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers, and the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings. Although up-to-date consolidated statistics are not available regarding the distribution of land holdings in several provinces, it is safe to presume that in the absence of radical land reform measures, the concentration of land in the hands of a few absentee landlords has considerably increased as a whole, since the State of Pakistan came into being. In West Punjab, the number of part-tenant farmers with uneconomic holdings increased from 58.7 to 63.7 per cent between 1924 and 1939, while the number of peasant proprietors with economic holdings registered a decline from 32.1 to 29.5 per cent during the same period. In Sind, about 80 per cent of the area is cultivated by tenants called *Haris* who have no rights in land. The land-owners are all absentee landlords. The following table shows the distribution of holdings in Sind.⁶

Acres	Per cent of zamindars owning	Per cent of total land
3	30.2	1.62
10	30.2	5.42
20	14.29	5.18
50	17.96	16.19
300	4.49	23.33
1000 and more	2.86	48.26
	100.00=2,44,891	100.00=52,94,000 acres

Thus about half of the cultivated area is owned by only 3 per cent of the owners who own 1000 acres and more, each. About 72 per cent of the area is owned by 7 per cent of the owners who own 300 acres or more each. At the other end, 60 per cent of owners own only 7 per cent of the total land. The same situation is prevailing in other provinces of the State. In the landlord-ridden North-West Frontier Province, out of the total cultivated area of 25,25,713 acres, about 47 per cent (11,88,560 acres) is cultivated by tenants-at-will, i.e., held by large owners, and about 11 per cent (2,78,650 acres) is held by occupancy tenants. The following table will show the distribution of land holdings in West Punjab:⁷

Distribution of land holdings in West Punjab

	No. of owners (in lakhs)	Acreage (in lakhs)
Up to 5 acres	9.06	18.0
5-10 "	2.27	16.0
10-15 "	0.52	8.0
15-25 "	0.64	13.5
Over 25 "	1.01	90.5
	13.50	146.0

From the above figures, the conclusion becomes inescapable that

"Considerably more than half of the cultivated area is owned by landlords who do not directly till the soil, who live on rent and who cannot, therefore, be called the producers of national wealth."⁸

CONDITIONS OF TENANCY

One of the predominant features of Pakistan agriculture is the tenant cultivation. There are two major types of tenants, viz., the occupancy tenant and the tenants-at-will. Occupancy tenants, however, are few and in all hold only 7 per cent of the total cultivated area. The bulk of the tenants are tenants-at-will who cultivate 80 per cent of the total area in Sind, about 50 per cent in West Punjab, 45 per cent in the North-West Frontier Province and about 50 per cent in Bahawalpur State. Besides, in East Bengal, land is frequently sublet to crop-sharers called *bargadars*. *Bargadars* are mostly landless labourers or occupancy tenants with very small holdings. The entire cost of production and risk are borne by the *bargadars* and yet they have to hand over 50 per cent of the gross produce to the ryot. *Bargadars* are mere tenants-at-will and enjoy absolutely no fixity of tenure. Among these tenants, the occupancy tenants enjoy the right of occupancy. They have got security of tenure. But the tenants-at-will, as the name implies, have absolutely no security. They can be ejected from the land at any moment without any reason whatsoever. They cultivate land only at the will of the landlord. Rents are usually very high—as high as 60 to 70 per cent of the gross produce. But in addition to the legal rents, which are usually very high, landlords exact illegal and unjustified payments from the tenants.

"Apart from the legal dues of the landlord, there are in most cases, particularly in Sind and the landlord dominated districts of Punjab (Pakistan) and Bahawalpur, a variety of legally unjustified dues and services which are sanctioned by custom and enforced by the superior bargaining power of the landlord. These dues and services, are extremely oppressive and include *begar*, *kurcha*, *munshianc*, *kamiana*, and *karaya*. In certain parts there are other taxes, which the landlords exact from the tenants; for instance, *faslana*, *khunga* and a tax per hearth, window or even for

8. Ibid.

every domestic animal or chicken. Landlords in backward areas are even known to charge a homage on the marriage of their children and even a tax on the marriage of the tenant or his children."⁹

MUSLIM LEAGUE AGRARIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE REPORT

There has been a persistent demand in Pakistan for mitigating the evils of the existing land tenure systems. In East Bengal, the zamindari system had been under fire for a long time, till the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 authorized the compulsory acquisition of big estates by the Government on payment of compensation. Similarly, in West Pakistan, the demand for land reform came from an intelligent section of the public and also from the oppressed peasantry. Ultimately, the need for introducing immediate land reform measures was recognized by the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee which submitted its report in 1949. The report indeed is an important document, inasmuch as it contained several recommendations which were revolutionary in their significance and consequence. The chief recommendations of the Committee may be summarized below. In the first place, the Committee laid down the future principle of landownership in West Pakistan. It rejected landlordism and observed:

"In our considered opinion a just and balanced agrarian economy can only be based on the unreserved acceptance of the principle that any interest in land can derive its justification solely from the direct contribution it makes to the cultivation of the soil and the production of national wealth. We, therefore, believe that an equitable and prosperous land system for Western Pakistan must be founded on a State-regulated ownership of holdings by self-cultivating peasant farmers, coupled with the economic enlargement of the size of holdings, promotion of scientific methods in intensive farming and co-operation in various aspects of agriculture through the intervention of village communities. This must involve the gradual elimination from our economy of landlordism and all superior but idle interests in land above the actual cultivator."¹⁰

On the question of the abolition of *jagirs* and *inams*, the Committee observed:

"We recommend the immediate abolition and cessation of *jagirs* and *inams* without compensation. *Jagirs* were rewards given by British Imperialism for services rendered to it. Services rendered to Imperialism were almost invariably services rendered against the nation. The birth of freedom must abolish this stigma of the past. Moreover, the *jagirdars* and *inamdars* contribute in no wise to the agrarian economy of the country

and are a parasitical burden on it. In extension of the above principles, we recommend that after due and detailed investigation the State should resume all grants of land made by the British Government in lieu of services which the present national government regards as anti-national and unpatriotic, irrespective of the distance in time at which such grants were made."

The Committee further recommended that the anomaly of a functionless landlordism in the case of occupancy tenants should be abolished forthwith and legislation should be brought forth to give 'full proprietary rights to occupancy tenants.' Compensation should be paid at the valuation of four times the annual rent. The occupancy tenants might acquire the proprietary right either by lumpsum payment to the landlords directly or by payments to the State in instalments spread over a period of four years.

The Committee was of the opinion that

"The most urgent social and economic need of the moment is to afford substantial and effective security of tenure to the tenants-at-will who form an overwhelming majority of the tillers of the soil and the producers of agricultural wealth in West Pakistan and whose present status, social position and economic condition is the gravest besetting evil of the existing system of tenure."

Among the measures which the Committee recommended to secure relative security of tenure for the tenants-at-will were Statutory measures to reduce all tenancy contracts in writing and to make it the responsibility of the landlord to draw up the tenancy contracts in writing; in the absence of such written deeds the minimum period of contract would be deemed to be 15 years. All contracts between a landlord and a tenant would be deemed to be for a minimum period of 15 years. The landlord's power to eject a tenant was to be curbed and specific grounds on which the latter could be ejected were laid down. The law was to provide for limited heritability of land and even if a tenant died during the period of the contract, his heirs would have the right to enjoy the benefit of the contract till the date of its expiration. Just as the landlord's right to eject his tenants was curbed, so was the tenant's right to transfer or sublet his tenancy without the permission of the landlord rejected, except under certain circumstances.

The Committee further recommended that the landlord may be permitted to reserve only 25 acres of land for self-cultivation either directly or by agricultural labour. The Committee was emphatic in its opinion that

"The present share in produce obtained by the tenant in most parts of West Pakistan, even if inequitable and illegal dues and services are totally and effectively abolished, is grossly inadequate and is an insufferable injustice to the labour and industry of the actual toiler."

9. Ibid, op. cit.

10. Reported in Dawn, July 20, 1949.

5. United Nations: *Progress in Land Reform*.

6. Nali Bux Uqaili, "Agricultural Finance in Sind," *Pakistan Economic Journal*, October, 1949.

7. Report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee.

It, therefore, recommended the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind or *batai* which would make the tenant more independent of the landlord and would benefit him economically. Since the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind might take time, the Committee recommended immediate *batai* reforms, fixing the maximum share of the landlord at two-fifth of the gross produce. The Committee suggested that

"The sliding scale assessment of land revenue should be perfected so as to become closely reflective of the periodic fluctuations in price."

The Committee proposed that a ceiling on land-holdings should be fixed at 150 acres of average irrigated land. All lands in the possession of landlords above this ceiling should be compulsorily acquired by the State. So far as the question of compensation is concerned, the Committee recognized the moral basis of paying compensation to the landlords. It observed:

"Landlordism in Pakistan is a historical accident which has already conferred vast advantages and profits on generations of its beneficiaries and it would be illogical to make that a justification for the conferment of further advantages. But we are inclined to the view that to dispossess and turn out of employment a whole class of people suddenly and without preparations, is to create an avoidable friction and maladjustment in our economic life."

The highest rate of compensation should not be more than six times the annual yield, and the final maximum limit of compensation should be fixed at 15 lakh rupees. A part of the compensation (not more than 20 per cent) might be paid in cash, while the rest might be paid in Government 4 per cent interest-bearing bonds.

TENANCY LEGISLATIONS

The League Agrarian Reforms Committee submitted its report in 1949. It was followed by a series of tenancy legislation in the various provinces in Pakistan. The Punjab (Pakistan) Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950, the N.-W. F. P. Tenancy Act of 1950, and the Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 were passed in quick succession with a view to ameliorating the conditions of tenancy. It will be interesting to compare these Acts with the recommendations of the League Committee later, and see how far these Acts incorporate the recommendations of the League Committee.

The recent tenancy legislation in Pakistan aims at giving some amount of security of tenure to tenants. In West Punjab, tenants-at-will have been given permanent hereditary rights in land. The Punjab Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950, lays down the conditions under which a tenant can be ejected.

"A tenant may be ejected only when he fails

to pay rent to the landlord or when he cultivates (his land) in a manner which renders the land unfit for cultivation. Moreover, his ejection is justified only in execution of a decree of such ejection passed by a competent revenue authority."

So far as the occupancy tenants in West Punjab are concerned, the Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1952 confers on the occupancy tenant the ownership of the land worked by him provided he pays no rent except government dues. No compensation is to be paid to the landlord by such a tenant. Those who pay cash rent may become owners by paying compensation to the landlord. For this purpose they can borrow money from the government. Those who pay rent in kind will become owners without paying compensation "of that portion of the land which corresponds to their share of produce." But this legislation is expected to affect only 5.5 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Pakistan Punjab. The same Act fixes the tenants' share of the total produce at 60 per cent, but makes it compulsory for the tenant to bear a proportionate share of the tax burden.

The N.-W. F. P. Tenancy Act of 1950 confers full proprietary rights on those occupancy tenants who at the commencement of the Act paid no rent, except government dues, without payment of any compensation to the landlords. Tenants paying rents to the landlord may become owners after paying compensation to the landlords, as fixed by the government (ten times the annual rent) within a specified period. To the tenants-at-will, the Act guarantees three years of security of tenure under certain conditions. The Act also lays down the conditions under which a tenant may be ejected and prevents the landlords from increasing the rent except under certain conditions.

The Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 guarantees security of tenure to the *Haris* or the tenants-at-will only for one year. It lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected before the expiry of the cropping season. But the Haris Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government in 1947-48, suggested much more radical measures for the improvement of economic conditions of the *haris* by means of regulation of tenancy agreements, *batai* systems, improved methods of land utilization and the principle of collective farming. The Act, however, seeks to grant permanent tenancy rights under certain conditions, abolishes *abwabs*, provides for the regulation of *batai* system and for the settlement of disputes between *haris* and landlords though not to the extent recommended by the Committee.

But the conditions which must be satisfied before permanent tenancy rights can be granted according to the terms of the Act, are so difficult to be satisfied that the tenants are unlikely to derive any benefit

at all. Chief among these conditions are the following:

i. A tenant should have cultivated at least four acres of land for the same landlord for a continuous period of not less than four years;

ii. He should have cultivated the land personally;

iii. Such a piece or parcel of land should not exceed the area that can be efficiently cultivated with the help of one pair of bullocks;

iv. In case of shifting cultivation tenancy rights should not exist in respect of any particular piece of land defined by *metes* and bounds.

The Act not only makes the permanent tenancy rights difficult for a tenant to obtain, but also makes it rather easy for the landlord to deprive the tenant of his rights. A tenant can be deprived of his tenancy rights if (i) he does not work on the land himself for one year; (ii) makes a different use of land without the permission of the landlords; (iii) fails to cultivate the land personally; (iv) fails to pay the landlord his due share of the produce or (v) is convicted by a Court of Law of any offence, such as cattle theft, receiving stolen cattle, theft of crops and even abduction, etc. Moreover, the landlord has the power to terminate the tenancy of a permanent tenant by giving him one year's notice in writing, on the ground that he requires the land for 'bonafide' cultivation or for any non-agricultural purpose.

Similarly, the provisions concerning the sharing of produce with the tenant-at-will, are highly unsatisfactory. The tenant-at-will has to share half the burden of payment made to harvesters, winnowers, etc., and also has to bear the cost of implements, animals, labour, irrigation, etc. Moreover, a tenant is deprived of a substantial part of his share in straw, and some other varieties of grass. Finally, the Act empowers the landlord to deprive the tenant of his share in produce in realization of old debts.

THE EAST BENGAL STATE ACQUISITION AND TENANCY ACT, 1950

The East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 seeks to replace the zamindari system of land tenure by the ryotwari system. In fact, one of the professed planks of the agrarian policy of the Pakistan Government has been to "perpetuate and to introduce in other parts of the country" the system of peasant landowners, or the ryotwari system, since "it formed a self-reliant and self-respecting peasant population which was, moreover, highly amenable to the introduction of improvements in agricultural techniques."¹¹ The above Act may be said to have been enacted in pursuance of this policy. The Act authorizes the State to acquire all rent-receiving

interests in land after payment of adequate compensation. All tenants previously under the zamindari tenure, therefore, will become the tenants of the State. For all practical purposes, they would acquire the rights of ownership with certain limitations. For example, they will have "permanent, heritable and transferable rights in their land and will be in a position to use it like an owner," but they will not have the right to sublet the land.

The Act places a ceiling on land that can be retained by a zamindar for personal cultivation at 100 bighas (or 30 acres) or "20 bighas per head in the family whichever is greater." The land in excess of this limit will be acquired and distributed among the cultivators with uneconomic holdings and landless agricultural labourers. In addition, "each family will be allowed to retain an additional area of land equal to the area covered by the homestead of the family subject to the maximum limit of 10 bighas." A sum of Rs. 620 millions will be required for the acquisition of the estates.

The Act also lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected from his holdings except in execution of a decree of a civil court passed on the ground that he has done any act in contravention of the provisions of the Act. The Act fixes the maximum rent for different types of land. Rent enhanced once cannot be enhanced again within a period of thirty years.

CONSOLIDATION OF LAND

Much importance is given to the problem of consolidation of fragmented holdings in Pakistan. Because of the operation of the Muslim Law of inheritance, which makes it possible for a large number of heirs to share the property, the size of the individual land holdings gradually tends to decrease, and ultimately they become uneconomic. This is one of the main reasons for the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings in Pakistan. The government attaches much importance to the consolidation of holdings; but because of the religious sanction behind the law of inheritance, it is difficult to prevent the fragmentation of land. Long before the partition of India, consolidation work had been started in Punjab; and it had achieved some success. After the partition the work had been taken over by the West Punjab Government and till 1949, an area of 480,765 acres in 466 villages was covered by the consolidation programme. In the North-West Frontier Province, the programme of the consolidation of holdings covers an area of 89,810 acres in 670 villages. Provisions for consolidation of holdings have also been included in the East Bengal State Acquisition Act.

CONCLUSION

It is an historical fact that much of the present ills of the agrarian economy of Pakistan owe their origin to the peculiar land tenure systems evolved and imposed by the Britishers with a view to perpe-

11. Quoted from the speech of Mr. Hadi Hussain, the Pak representative in the Unesco, delivered in the 535th meeting, 13th session of the Unesco and published in the Unesco official proceedings.

tuating their rule. But from this brief review of the recent agrarian legislations in Pakistan, it becomes evident that very little has been done so far to change the situation. If at all, over the last seven years since Pakistan came into being, the conditions of the cultivators and tenants have steadily deteriorated. It is true that the obstacles to land reform are many and the vested interests in land are offering great resistance to any reform measure. The Government of Pakistan has itself acknowledged these obstacles. In its reply to the land reform questionnaire of the U.N.O., the Government stated:

"One of the many obstacles to the adoption of land reform measures in Pakistan is the lack of sufficient funds. Vested interests are, of course, opposed to any attempt for adjusting the maldistribution of land. Most of the farms (holdings) are too small to pave their way. Credit facilities are inadequate, cultivators are generally speaking, illiterate and their number runs into millions. No satisfactory organization exists to carry technical information to the bulk of our rural population."

These obstacles, are, indeed by themselves, formidable. But the chief reason for the failure of carrying through land reform programme is to be found in the resistance of the vested interests both inside and outside the government, who want to maintain the *status quo* and do not want any radical land reform measures which may injure their interests. Because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the vast masses of the rural population (and illiteracy and ignorance are common enough among peasants all over the world and these have not come in the way of introducing agrarian reforms in other countries) it is all the more necessary to abolish the large estates of jagirs owned by a few people. But these jagirdars and zamindars wield an enormous influence over the political, economic and social structure of the country. The government is unwilling to initiate any reform which may set these influential, though economically parasitical, persons who are the pillars

of the Muslim League Party as well as the government, against itself.

The report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee contains many proposals which are radical as well as practical. Had they been accepted by the Government, conditions of the peasantry would have considerably improved. For example, the League Committee recommend the immediate abolition of jagirdari tenure without compensation. But only two provinces, *viz.*, the West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, have so far abolished the jagirdari tenure. A promise to do likewise was given by the Sind Government; but no action has so far been taken to fulfil that promise. There are about 103 jagirdars in Sind, whose total area amounts to 1,014,000 acres, the largest of them being 216,156 acres.¹² The League Committee recommended the immediate abolition of landlordism in West Pakistan; but no action has been taken in West Pakistan to abolish landlordism. What more, the tenancy legislation in certain provinces, notably in Sind, is likely to perpetuate and strengthen landlordism in Pakistan.

So far as the question of providing security of tenure to the tenants-at-will is concerned, the recent legislation falls far short of the recommendations of the Muslim League Committee. The only piece of radical land reform legislation worth the name is the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act. But here too, the Act has not been implemented fully. What with the deteriorating political situation and the cost involved in the process of land acquisition, the Act has not yet been given full effect to and only six estates out of hundreds, have so far been acquired by the Government. Due to the inaction of the Government, the Acts remain on paper as mere platitudes and Pakistan as a whole, remains a landlord's paradise.

12. *Problems of Economic Reform and Development in Pakistan*—by A. F. A. Hussain, Munzur Ahmed and others—Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AREAS

By K. B. DANGAYACH, M.A., B.Com., LL.B.

INTRODUCTION

THE problem of unemployment, *i.e.*, the condition of involuntary idleness in which persons have to remain without jobs, has been quite serious and has attracted the attention of the public as well as of the Government. It was discussed at two All-India Conferences last year and much is said and written about it almost every day. In the words of Shri Nanda, our Minister of Planning,

"It is our foremost problem. The biggest task before us in this country is to find gainful, useful, productive work, opportunities for employment for our large and increasing force."

Important business bodies like the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry also passed unanimously resolutions stating:

"The Federation, therefore, urges upon Government to adopt a suitable economic policy that will enable expansion of fruitful activity both in the public and private sectors, and to that end modify both their plans of development and system of education to the extent that may be necessary."

This is not a new problem, this problem of unemployment is not a problem of today in this country. This is a symptom of the arrested economic growth of this country over a very long period, a long stagnation and neglect. It was, of course, not known to the world till the beginning of the present century. In India, official notice of this was taken in 1935-36 when the U.P. Government set up a committee with the late Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman to enquire into the causes of growing unemployment among educated youths. Two other State Governments, Bengal and Bombay, drew up some schemes for the relief of unemployed youngmen who wanted "white-collar" jobs. The problem went on for sometime but after the outbreak of World War II, it almost vanished as the war threw open many opportunities for employment in specially created War Departments and newly cropped-up Departments created for the administration of various Control orders and also for rationing. With the abolition of these temporary Departments, again the problem is coming into limelight. It has been further aggravated by falling prices and slackness in business up to a certain extent.

PRESENT POSITION

Our subject here is restricted to the problem of urban unemployment. Millions of our countrymen in rural areas are unemployed or underemployed. Not

much reliable data about the greater part of our country are available so far as rural side is concerned. Surveys are now being conducted by some of the States.

Unemployment in urban areas can be classified under three categories:

- (1) Educated unemployed;
- (2) Workers—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled;
- (3) A third category is of those engaged in business and trade but affected by general fall in prices, free trade and abolition of Controls, etc., etc.

Unfortunately complete data regarding unemployed persons in urban areas also, as found in many other countries are not available. The only data available are from the registrations and placings by the Employment Exchanges. Obviously these figures cannot and do not complete the picture, as registration is voluntary and even those employed register their names to seek better posts. All unemployed persons do not get themselves registered as possibly they think it would not help them much in getting jobs. However, the number on the live registers on 31st August, 1954, is about six lakhs registered with 127 Employment Exchanges. As mentioned before, this number is only a fraction of the total. Out of six lakhs of people on the live register of Employment Exchanges all over India seeking employment as many as 5.4 lakhs are suitable only for unskilled jobs in any industry or service. Next to unskilled workers the applicants' number was the highest in the clerical category. The clerical occupations are the most overcrowded ones. The supply has far outstripped the demand. The worst sufferers due to unemployment are the middle-class people who form one of the most vital elements and the backbone of our country as it is this class which has produced the intelligentsia of the country who have supplied political leadership and the bulk of the capital to public limited companies.

Only a few sample surveys were conducted in the past. In 1938-39, some enquiries were made in West Bengal by Shri Nabagopal Das.³

The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics had conducted Urban Socio-Economic Surveys in Poona, Sholapur and Kolhapur. These surveys made it clear that unemployment is a menace to the society.

The Research Programmes Committee appointed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Planning Commission has now sanctioned a few schemes for certain Universities for studies of unemployment in certain important cities. It is hoped that the results may be out say in about a year's time from now.

1. Shri G. L. Nanda replying in the debate on Unemployment in Lok Sabha on 4th December, 1953.

2. *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 1952*, pp. 149-163.

3. Nabagopal Das : *Unemployment, Full Employment and India, 1951*, p. 51.



The Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment also conducted an *ad hoc* survey in 1952. The survey showed that the number of technical persons available for the jobs was three times the number of jobs available and for clerical jobs thirty times more persons were there as compared to vacancies. Everyday we read in papers about the number of applicants applying for the scanty jobs, proportion in some cases being as high as 150:1. This shows a very lamentable state of affairs and should be avoided by the "degree-manufacturing factories" (Universities) in the interest of the individuals as well as the nation.

The National Sample Survey Organisation conducted a sample survey based on the 'Live Register' of the Employment Exchange at Delhi to bring out the significance of the Employment Exchange data. They selected 800 registrants out of the total of 20,911 persons. The results are very instructive. Some of them are summarised below:

(i) *Group Categories*: Clerical 44 per cent, unskilled 30 per cent, technical 14 per cent, rest 12 per cent.

(ii) *Educational Qualifications*: 44 per cent were Matriculates, 6 per cent Intermediates and 10 per cent Graduates and Post-Graduates. Among the unemployed, 30 per cent had education up to the Middle Standard or below, 53 per cent were Matriculates and 17 per cent Under-graduates and Graduates.

(iii) *Duration of Unemployment*: 34 per cent of the unemployed were without employment over a year.

(iv) *Employment Sought*: 53 per cent men and 26 per cent women were seeking administrative or clerical jobs.

(v) *Technical Qualification*: 54 per cent of the unemployed had no technical or professional qualification.

(vi) *Income Expected*: 49 per cent of the unemployed were prepared to work on Rs. 100 per month or less.

REASONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

More emphasis is always laid on the question of the educated unemployed. This is because of the vocal character and political possibilities of this class. As we have already seen, there was unemployment in the thirties also but then the number affected was much less. Previously it mostly affected agriculturists, beggars and unskilled workers. These persons being mostly illiterate had no 'voice' to shout their miseries. They did not know about platform speeches, demonstrations before Assemblies, Secretariates, hunger-strikes before Raj-Bhawans and the like.

The problem of educated unemployment which confronts us today is, in a way, a legacy of the system of education which has come down from the past so many decades; it is a "gift" of the British Government, a result of the system of education they introduced.

Our Universities are 'manufacturing' thousands of graduates every year. The number of these persons is increasing every year. There has been an increase in the number of Matriculates by 25 per cent and the number of Graduates by about 75 per cent compared to 47-48. And our economy had during this period not developed on that scale. These graduates cannot, for various reasons, too well-known to be explained, start their own industry or business and thus naturally become "job-hunters." So every year a major portion of the graduates, the "output" of our Universities, come out and glut the market already having more supplies than the demand. That is why more than 18 per cent of the total registrations at Employment Exchanges are for clerical jobs and this percentage is still increasing. Added to this is the abolition of several departments meant for administering Control and Rationing schemes, etc.

The general economic condition and lack of purchasing power in the hands of masses has also affected the petty shop-keepers and also the cottage workers and artisans to a certain extent. There has been a change from a seller's market to a buyer's market and also a downward trend in prices.

Then, our population is increasing every year at a very rapid speed—1½ per cent every year.⁵ The area of land per capita is steadily dropping. It was 111 cents in 1921 and has now come to 84 cents. Means of absorption are not increasing in the same proportions. There has been a wide gap between the industrial development of the country and the rate in the increase of persons seeking for "white collar" jobs. In certain cases, e.g., the textile industry, although the production has increased still the number of persons employed has not only not increased but has decreased.

STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

The comprehensive Five-Year Plans aiming all-round development of the country and the most useful work relating to Community Projects and National Extension Services Blocs in the rural areas have thrown open several vistas of employment directly as well as indirectly. Then there are different special schemes for helping the various cottage industries being operated by the All-India Handloom Board, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Boards, etc., throughout the country. A sum of Rs. 15 crores was provided for a programme of cottage and small-scale industries. These would also solve the problem of disguised unemployment commonly known as underemployment to a great extent and would also offer jobs to hundreds. Very roughly about 75 lakhs of people would be employed during the period of completion of the first Five-Year Plan.

5. For detailed information see the writer's paper submitted to the Indian Economic Association for 1954 Session on "Growth of Population in India: A Warning for the Future."

4. The National Sample Survey Report, Number 4.

The Planning Commission sanctioned an amount of several crores of rupees for opening one-teacher schools for giving relief to the unemployed. The Government wants to absorb 80,000 additional teachers in the way.

The Government of India is also taking the following steps for removing unemployment:

1. Development of refugee townships with a view to give some relief for displaced persons who have settled there.

2. Other schemes, e.g., office and residential accommodation; some schemes for Health, Ports, Survey of India, National Research, Development Corporation have been taken up in hand.

3. Repair and construction of tanks, roads, etc., in the States particularly in scarcity areas.

4. Additional schemes for small-scale and cottage industries, vocational and technical training, etc., of additional thermal capacity, road development and development of road transport service, etc.

SOLUTION

(i) *Collection of Data*: The first and foremost thing the Government should do is to collect definite and complete data regarding the unemployed. Complete and detailed statistics of unemployment should be collected. There should be more and more studies and sample surveys. These should be repeated from time to time so that data may always remain complete and up-to-date. Without this we may not be able to know the full details and magnitude of the disease we want to cure.

(ii) *Overhauling the System of Education*:

Much requires to be done for changing the method of education. The present bookish-knowledge education leaves no alternative for our youngmen and women except to try for jobs the moment they are out from colleges and Universities. Our present-day education is full of several defects and it is isolated from life. When the students come out of schools they feel ill-adjusted and cannot take their place confidently and competently in the community. It is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student. Only subjects of academic interests are taught ignoring all other considerations. It caters only for a segment of the student's whole personality. The medium of instruction, till very recently, was English on the teaching of which naturally more emphasis was always laid. Other subjects which were psychologically and socially more important were almost ignored. The method of teaching fails to develop independence of thought or initiative in action. Lessons are imparted in a mechanical manner and students memorise the necessary portion of the course useful for their examination. Then there is no personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Above all, the examination system has curbed the teacher's initiative, stereotyped the curriculum and placed stress on wrong facts in education.⁶

Due to all the abovementioned reasons students cannot and do not undertake any independent work of their own. Our emphasis should be, of course, not towards providing college and such higher general education to all and sundry but to increase literacy amongst the masses. University education should be restricted to only very intelligent persons out of the lot.

(iii) *Opening of Technical Institutions*: There should be more technical institutions than ordinary colleges. Due emphasis should be laid on providing technical education even in higher school classes. The recommendations of the Higher Secondary Education Commission should be implemented. Several "multi-purpose" schools should be opened. Vocational subjects should be as important, if not more, as subjects of academic interest. On the one hand there is a growing unemployment and on the other hand there is a great dearth of people for technical jobs. Diversification of education and correlating it with our needs is essential with a view to check mal-adjustments. These revolutionary changes in the system of education are long over-due and the sooner these are implemented the better.

There is a shortage of technical personnel like skilled mechanics and operators, civil engineers, overseas, surveyors, and draftsmen, etc. Adequate facilities should be provided for the technical training of the personnel. This would result in not only solving the unemployment problem to a great extent but also in facilitating the implementation of Development Plans. More and more technical institutes should be opened by the Government and the private philanthropic organisations. The University Education Commission also recommended that occupational institutes should be set up in each district.

These Government-sponsored institutes should provide training and demonstrate the working of the most efficient and the most up-to-date tools and implements of the trade concerned. Small-scale power-driven Japanese machines should also be utilised for the purpose. We should have scores of institutes like Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, Bangalore, which imparts training in various modern scientific industries. The Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Technological Institute, Bangalore, gives training leading to Diplomas and Degrees in the main branches of textile industry. The number of such technical and technological institutes should be increased considerably. Each major State should have at least one each of these types. A number of smaller industrial schools like Sri Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore, should be opened in each district for imparting training to students in various crafts peculiar to each State. Production-cum-training centres should be

6. Report of the Higher Secondary Education Commission, G.O.I., 1953.

started by the Government for specialised crafts in different parts of the country.

(iv) *Establishment of Large-scale Industries:* More large-scale industries should be established wherever scope exists and wherever the installed production capacity is less than the country's increasing demands, e.g., sugar factories, etc. There is no reason why we should not export certain commodities which we can spare to foreign countries as we have been exporting cotton textile goods, etc. But one important fact that rationalisation may again throw out certain workers out of job should not be ignored. Any way, without going into *pros* and *cons* of rationalisation we may suggest that the new large-scale industries can also be one of the direct sources of employment; the degree and extent is not, of course, as much as the small-scale and cottage industries.

(v) *Development and Encouragement of Small-Scale and Cottage Industries:* The small-scale and cottage industries deserve utmost patronage and help including financial assistance. Help should also be given in their marketing. New entrants in these industries should be welcomed by giving every sort of aid including technical advice and some finance to start with. This will mean not only more employment but also more productivity and thus greater national wealth for our country.

There should be an export drive for cottage industries products outside India. Our trade representatives abroad should find out local tastes of the people concerned and cottage workers should be induced to produce things with adjustments to tastes of foreigners. State Governments should give encouragement to Indian industries in their purchases. Preferences, including certain amount of price preference, should be given to cottage industry products in Store Purchase work by the Central as well as State Governments for meeting their civil and military requirements.

(vi) *Development of Road Transport:* Development of road transport constitutes another important and growing source of employment. Road transportation of goods by private enterprises should be encouraged.

(vii) *One-Teacher Schools:* One-teacher schools should be started for primary as well as adult education. This would, besides giving jobs to the unemployed, also increase literacy which is so very essential for our rural masses.

(viii) *Building Programmes:* Slum clearance schemes and construction of houses for low income groups is another useful avenue which Government should take up.

(ix) *Work and Training Camp:* Work and training camps should be opened at several places. Both

the Government and private enterprises should pay attention to this and offer apprenticeship or other training courses to educated youths and pay them something so that they may earn while they learn. This should be done on a sufficiently vast scale to combat the problem in full.

(x) *Family Planning:* Then there should be a "scarcity value" for men. Steps however comprehensive regarding the solution of the unemployment problem may be taken, an incessant increase in our numbers would always make the supply of human beings greater as compared to the demand with the result that men would be "cheap" and sometimes not in demand. To avoid this we should have recourse to family planning. We should have children of choice and not of accident and unwanted.

(xi) *Foreign Training:* Only experienced and settled persons in Government service should be sent for training overseas or for refresher courses in the line in which they are working. On return they should be absorbed in their own line in which they have specialised. Unfortunately, this was not done in the past, some of them are either not employed or many are square pegs in round holes. They are not usefully employed in the lines in which they got training from public funds. This money has not brought, in such cases, to say the least, useful returns to the nation. This should guide us for future.

CONCLUSION

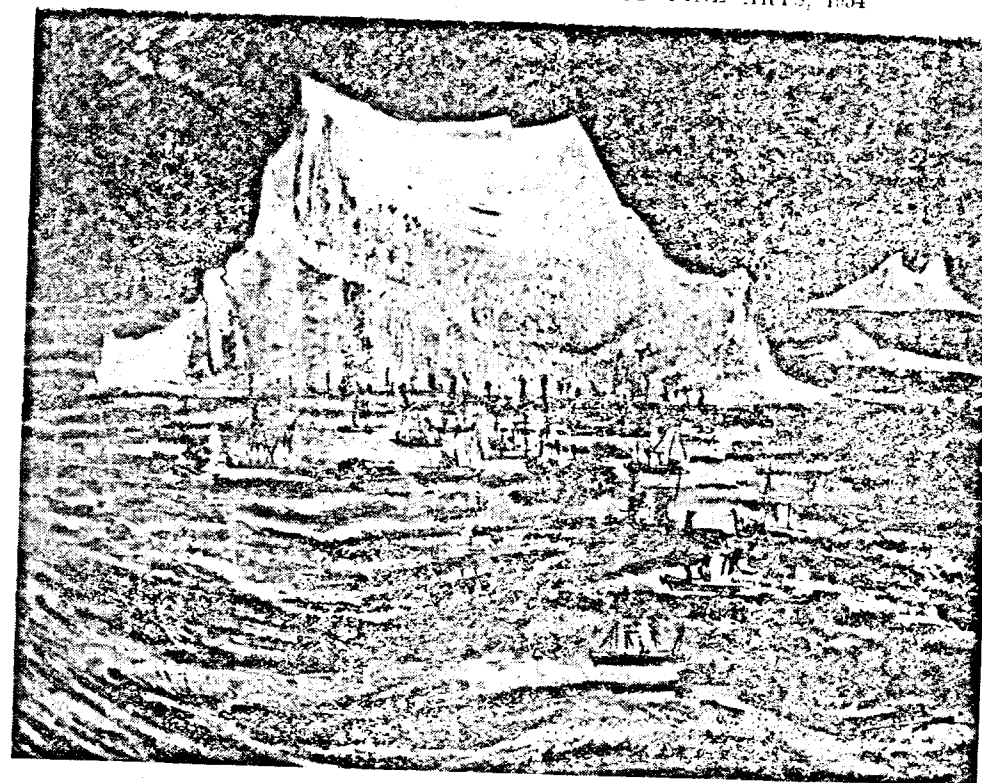
With these steps it is hoped the problem of at least white-collar unemployment may vanish; the nation may gain by an increase in national wealth and our aggregate income may increase. Some practical steps should at once be taken to remove this curse of modern society. The country has a very high responsibility of providing work to those who can work and who want work. These solutions may cost a lot to the nation, "but no amount of sacrifice will be too much for securing progressive diminution in unemployment and for creating more employment facilities and opportunities." The Government as well as the people have a very important role to play and it is hoped that the best possible thing would be done at the earliest possible moment.

REFERENCE CONSULTED

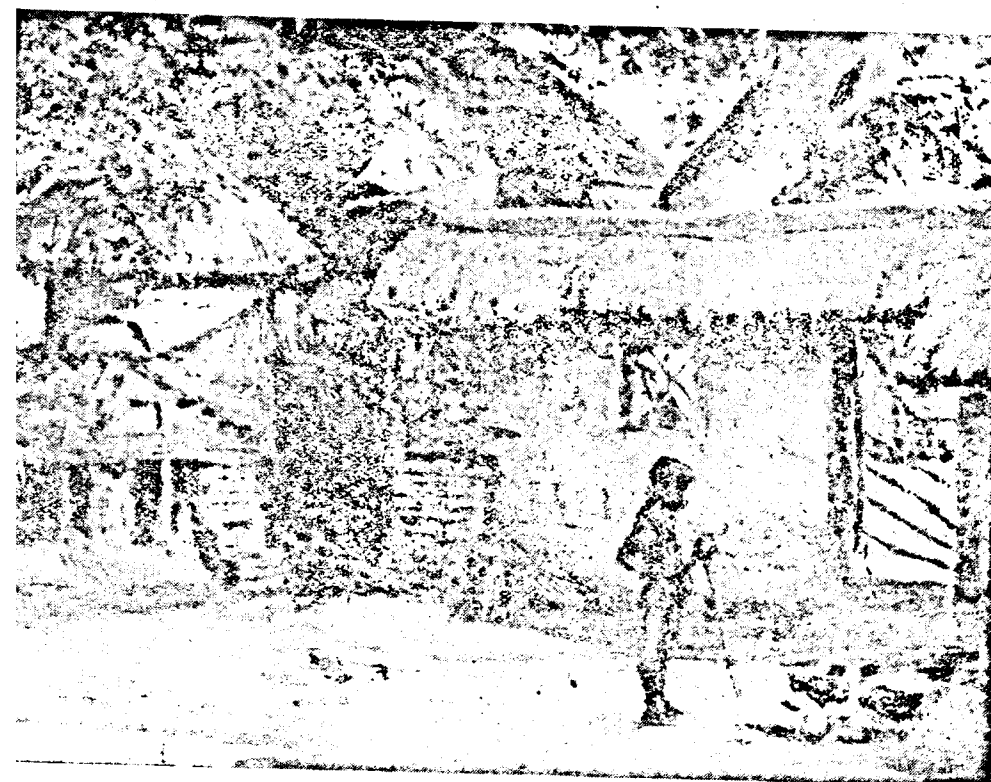
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EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, 1954



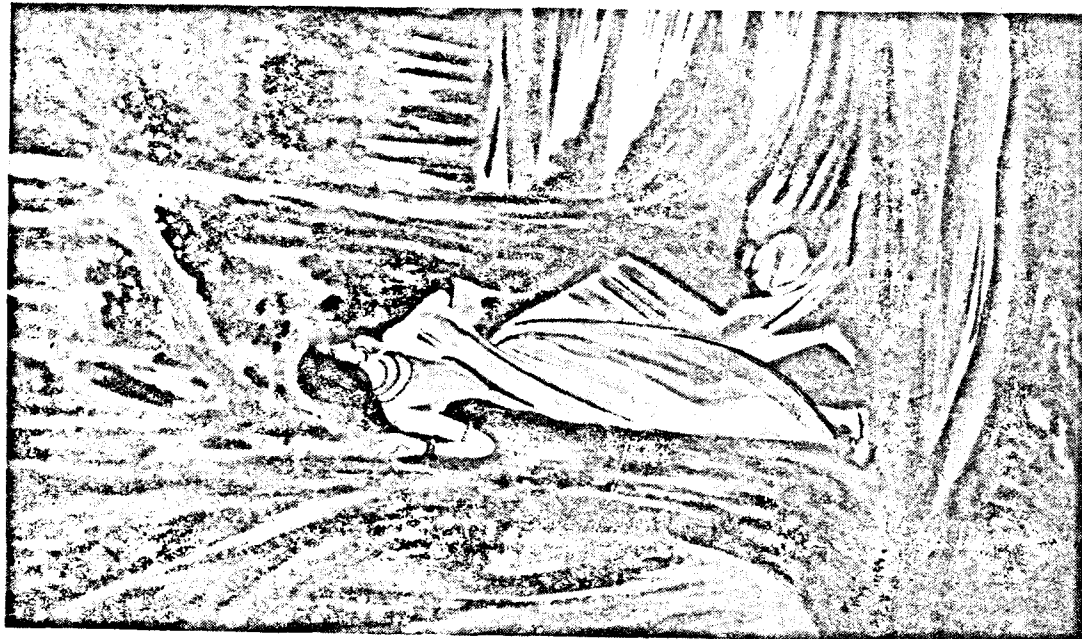
Fishing in the Arctic Ocean
By Kanwal Krishna



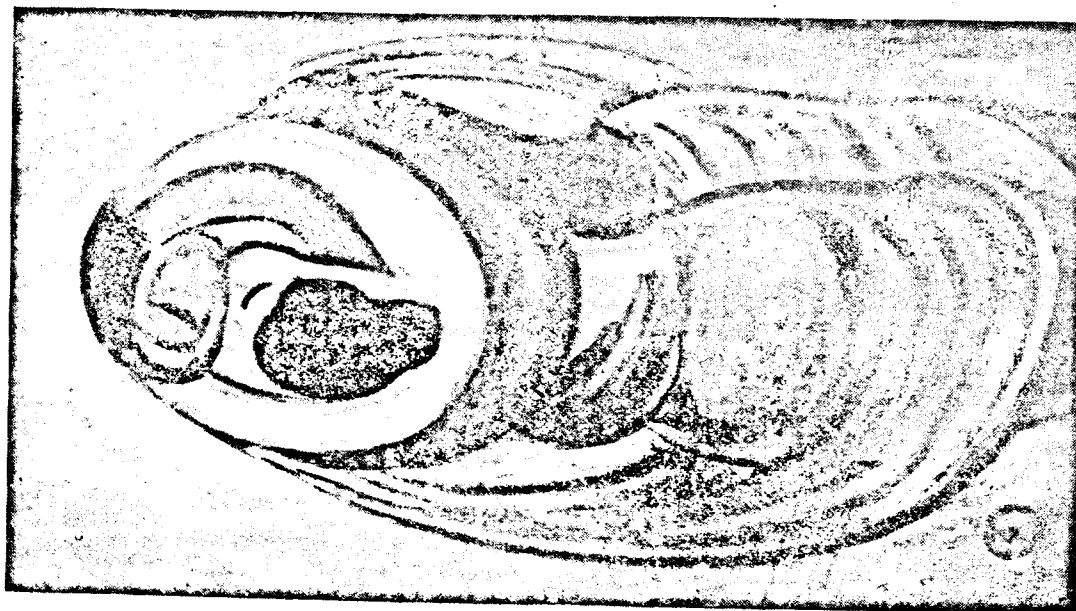
Evening Light
By Chandra Nath Dey

THE NEED FOR A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA,
Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center of New York, U.S.A.



Radha
By Dr. Nandalal Bose



Union
By Rathin Moitra

HUMANITY is suffering today from a spiritual malady. Political friction, economic unrest, and moral confusion are but its outer symptoms. Man is not at peace with himself, with nature, with his fellow-beings, or with his Creator. Agnosticism or atheism is not the real enemy of religion. Their challenge can be met by reason. But the foundation of religion is being undermined by the serene indifference shown towards spiritual values by the sophisticated leaders of society, who deem it unnecessary to believe in God, soul, and the hereafter in order to lead a happy and useful life. When asked by Napoleon about the function of God in His celestial mechanics, La Place is reported to have answered that such a hypothesis was unnecessary. Likewise, many educated people of today naively accept the mechanistic interpretation of life and the universe, emphasised by science and technology.

The universe conceived in terms of matter implies diversity or multiplicity, which, without an underlying oneness, begets friction, hatred, secretiveness, and fear. This is why the world today is in the firm grasp of an aggressive evil, whose challenge can only be met by the power of aggressive good. The physical sciences cannot control greed, lust for power, or sensuality, which are the offspring of aggressive evil. The transformation of man's lower nature is possible only through the knowledge of God, the non-duality of the soul, and the oneness of existence, all of which belong to the realm of religion. Political, economic, or social organization, when inspired by the spirit, can be conducive to our highest good. The transcendental experience of religion alone can breathe new life in the thought and action of a weary and distracted humanity. Therefore, the human situation today calls for an intense spiritual revival, on a broad, humanistic, ethical, and rational basis.

Religion has played a vital part in the life of the individual and of society from the very beginning of creation. Man has been able to transcend the limitations of the body and senses, and attain freedom and bliss through the knowledge of the eternal relationship between his eternal soul and eternal Creator. Through the practice of spiritual disciplines, he has succeeded in suppressing his lower nature and in realizing his heritage of divinity.

In the evolution of both Indian and Western culture the contribution of religion has been invaluable. The great cathedrals of Europe, the painting of Raphael, the sculpture of Michelangelo, the music of Bach and Palestrina, and the writings of Milton, Wordsworth, Browning, Dante, and Goethe have been inspired by religious concepts. Equality and justice,

which form the keynote of the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, have received their impetus from the teachings of Christ. The ethics of the Bible, to a large extent, regulate the human relationships of Christians and Jews. The Holy Koran, more than anything else, has moulded the history of the Islamic people.

The part played by religion and philosophy in the creation and preservation of the Hindu race has been recorded in history. The vast bulk of Indian literature, the delicate chiselling in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples, the breath-taking beauty of Ellora and Ajanta, the unsurpassed grandeur of the Elephanta caves—all bear the impress of religion. India's national heroes are mystics and saints. The national ideals of India have always been renunciation and service. The picturesque tapestry of Indian culture had been created out of the warp and woof of religion and philosophy.

Religion has given India national unity, which has remained unshaken through many a millennium, in spite of powerful foreign aggression. Many of the foreigners who entered India have been absorbed in the melting pot of Hindu society. Those who have kept their individual characteristics have been influenced by the general flavour of India's spiritual culture, like the fruits and vegetables in a salad bowl. The life and activities of three hundred millions of Hindus from the cradle to the grave, are moulded today by certain eternal principles of the Vedas. The Ganga, on whose banks the Vedic culture developed; the Gita, which contains the essence of Vedic philosophy; and the *gayatri*, which opens the door to the realization of the Vedic wisdom, are held in high respect by the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India. In ritualistic worship, the recital of the names of certain holy men, women, and rivers, bring before the worshippers' minds the spiritual unity of India. To a Hindu, the mother and mother country are superior to heaven itself. The Virgin Goddess at Kanyakumari, absorbed in meditation on Siva, holding the bridal wreath in her hand, and Siva, in the Himalayas, absorbed in meditation on the Supreme Spirit, conjure before the minds of the Hindus a fundamental unity, undisturbed by any political or economic turmoil.

It is true that political unity was not achieved in India as in the Western countries. In a sense, this has been a Godsend. It has saved India from national disintegration. The one great defect of political unity is that when a blow is struck at the centre of the political power, the whole nation perishes. Thus the unity of many European nations could not bear the

heavy strain created by the disruption of the central political authority. They went to pieces right away. The history of central Europe and the Empire of the Caesars bears testimony to this fact. But the people of India still hold together because of a common spiritual bond, which, though intangible, is much stronger than allegiance to a common political or economic system. India, however, must today evolve a political unity, without which she may not survive in the struggle for existence in a competitive and aggressive world. Our political leaders are conscious of it. The Constitution of Free India is dedicated to this purpose, but our leaders must not ignore the existing spiritual unity of the country. They should use this unity as the foundation on which the superstructure of political and economic unity is to be built. If the spiritual unity of India is rejected or ignored, nothing will be able to hold the Indian people together. The presence of various religious denominations should not be a deterrent to the achievement of India's national unity. Hinduism, which is the major religion of India, is not a communal religion. Based upon universal truths, it has shown tolerance and respect for other faiths. Sri Ramakrishna, by his direct experience, has reestablished the old Vedic truth that all religions are but pathways to the realization of the same Godhead. In order to strengthen the national unity of India, the negative method of non-identification of the Government with any particular faith is not adequate. On the other hand, religion should receive the support of the Government. Religion must be studied in schools and colleges, with respect and warmth of feeling. The Bhagavad Gita says in its last verse that the welfare, success, and good fortune of India depends entirely upon the co-operation of Sri Krishna and Arjuna, who are the symbols of the spiritual and the military power. May our leaders, political, civic, and educational, never forget this point.

Why is religion losing its power over the minds of modern people? The development of physical science is a secondary cause. The contributions of science are twofold: namely, the scientific method of thinking and the growth of technology. The former has created a revolution in the thought world of today by substituting reason and experimentation for blind faith in the ascertaining of truth. Technology, besides adding to the many physical amenities of life, has broken down the barriers between countries and peoples by means of such devices as radio, wireless, steamship and airplane. It has further helped in the spread of education, the increase of human longevity, and the elimination of avoidable diseases. The results of technology are vivid and effective.

But when properly understood, science and religion do not show any clash. Science deals with the outer world of matter, and religion with the inner

world of man. Both matter and soul are the manifestations of the same reality. The laws of science and religion are the different aspects of the same eternal law. The laws of science are discovered through reason and the laws of religion, through introspection. There need not be any conflict between reason and introspection. Both are tools for the apprehension of reality. The Upanishads repeatedly ask us to cultivate the knowledge of both the world of matter and the world of spirit, without which our doubts cannot be resolved. Religion enables us to discover the jewels of truth, and through science we create the jewel box to preserve them. The Upanishads never repudiated the physical world. The material degradation of India started when the Hindus began to explain it away as *maya*. The universe is certainly real for those who still dwell on the relative plane and regard the individual body and the universe as real. Sri Ramakrishna, through the worship of *Sakti* or the creative energy, gave a spiritual status to creation. Swami Vivekananda went to America to bring to India the knowledge of science and technology in order to improve the material condition of the masses. Through the co-operation of science and religion the world will witness the birth of its unborn soul.

But the primary cause for the decline of religion in modern times is to be sought elsewhere, within religion itself. Every great religion contains two elements: a body of eternal truths and also certain rituals and dogmas. The former is the kernel of religion, and the latter is the protecting husk. Rituals and dogmas are non-essential but necessary parts of religion and they should change with the changing conditions of time; otherwise they act as a dead weight and stifle the inner spirit. Further, dogmas and rituals are means to an end, and not an end in themselves. A religion which clings to the rituals of the past cannot appeal to modern minds. Further, when rituals are emphasized at the cost of truth, religion loses its vitality. We often quarrel over the empty basket while its contents have slipped into the ditch. This is mainly responsible for the decline of spiritual values. For the vindication of the eternal truths of religion, we have a new incarnation in the person of Sri Ramakrishna. While acting as priest in the Kali Temple, he was not satisfied by the mere formalities of worship. The stone image as such, did not appeal to his mind. He wanted to commune directly with the spirit which animated the image. Not satisfied by mere belief in religion, he became eager to realize the spirit of religion and succeeded in seeing God face to face. Through his experience, God has become a living reality to us, and religion vivid. He has demonstrated that in this very life a man can be perfect, that is to say, he can completely control his lower nature and manifest his inner divinity. This is, perhaps, the most important contri-

bution of the new *avatar* for the future revival of religion.

The need of a spiritual revival is imperative today to give back to humanity its lost bearings. The rehabilitation of man after the devastation of two great wars will not be possible by merely giving food to his empty stomach or by filling his mind with wild ideas. Science and technology may endow him with great power, which, if not illumined by deep spiritual truths, will destroy society. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul? Power without compassion becomes Moloch which takes delight in human blood. How to utilise the power released by science and technology for the total welfare of man is the problem of today.

The sign of a healthy religion is its flexibility in adapting itself to changing conditions. In this connexion, the following points may be considered:

(1) The revival of religion must be based on the four cardinal Vedantic truths: namely, the divinity of the soul, the oneness of existence, the non-duality of the Godhead, and the harmony of religions. Man is not born in sin and shapen in iniquity. He is created after the image of God. Every soul is potentially divine. Man should not be judged by the colour of his skin or his economic status or his intellectual power. In our human relationships the divinity of the soul should be constantly remembered. This should be the spiritual basis of democracy and freedom. The solidarity and oneness of mankind is the spiritual basis of ethics. The impetus for self-sacrifice and compassion should be derived from the fact that in helping others we only help ourselves. Hatred shown to any human being, however far away he may live, ultimately injures the hater. The religious conflict which has befouled the fair name of religion can be resolved only by accepting the non-duality of the Godhead and the harmony of religions.

(2) Religion is a transcendental experience, revealing the eternal relationship between the eternal soul and its eternal creator. Its ultimate utility cannot be measured by its effect on the five minutes of human life. One should remember in regard to every material achievement the wise saying of Abraham Lincoln: "Even this shall pass away." The instantaneous destruction in modern warfare of a city or a monumental building which required the labour and skill of centuries to construct, proves how right Christ was when he warned his followers against laying up treasure on earth.

(3) Though the final religious experience transcends time and space, yet its application lies in the realm of the temporal: "The earth is His footstool." Even the mystic, coming down from his exalted experience, does not explain away the universe. All that exists is pervaded by the spirit of God. The embodied soul is a mixture of dust and deity. His baser nature cannot be ignored,

but is to be transformed into the divine. Man's craving for moral perfection, economic security, and sensual enjoyment are legitimate. Through them he ultimately learns to commune with the infinite. Both meditation and work are effective spiritual disciplines. Through meditation one subdues the restlessness of the mind and gains inner serenity. Without work, contemplation may degenerate into laziness and self-deception. The essence of God is pure spirit, but He unfolds Himself in the world process. One and many are the two manifestations of the Supreme Reality. God can be seen both with closed and open eyes. Intellect, emotion, and meditation, when harmonized, create a balanced life.

(4) Twenty-five hundred years ago Buddha said: "Do not believe in what you have heard; do not believe in traditions because they have been handed down for many generations; do not believe anything because it is rumoured and spoken of by many; do not believe in that as truth to which you have become attached by habit; do not believe in anything on the authority of your teachers and elders. After observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of all, then accept it and live up to it."

The above is a neat statement revealing the very soul of the scientific method; but it adds something more to the aim of science in that it brings in the factor of human welfare, which some of the scientists, in their zeal for the impersonality of science, are apt to forget. The Yoga system of Hinduism also insists on arriving at truth through experimentation, observation, and verification. A spiritual truth is valid only when it does not contradict universal reason, one's inner experience, and the experience of other seers of truth.

The divorce of science from religion has been the major tragedy of our times. A statement of the Vedas says that he who worships science alone enters into a blind darkness; but into a greater darkness enters he who worships superscience only. The knowledge of science must be combined with the knowledge of superscience. Through the former one overcomes the physical handicaps of disease and suffering, and through the latter one attains to immortality.

God reveals Himself in nature as well as through the inner spirit. Both natural theology and mystical theology bring us the knowledge of God. In future, science will be religious and religion scientific. Which means, religion will not proclaim any truth that will be opposed to reason, and the power released by science will not be exploited for unethical and unspiritual purposes.

Spiritual life must be built on the solid foundation of moral laws. Ethics is not a mere device to remove friction from the apparently incompatible human natures. Its validity does not rest on the

words of a prophet or a scripture. It must derive its mandate from the universal experience of humanity, irrespective of creed or race or caste. The double standard of ethics often practised in society has been a potent cause of war. The ultimate sanction of ethics lies in such spiritual perceptions as the divinity of the soul and the unity of existence. We must love our neighbour because he is non-different from ourselves. The Bhagavad Gita says that he who sees himself in all and all in himself does not injure others, because by injuring them he only injures himself. The concept of the oneness of existence must be the basis of all human relationships.

A religion is kept alive not by the learned theologians but by the genuine mystics. Religion has never come into existence by the power of intellect but has been founded on the bed-rock of the experience of prophets. A tall edifice, a big congregation, delectable social activities, and material grandeur are but the trimmings of religion and not its soul. Too much emphasis on organization often kills the spirit. In order to corrupt truth, Satan tempts man to organize it. Every man must be born in a church, but no one should die in it.

In the healthy religion of the future there will be no room for bigotry, intolerance, and exclusiveness. There is no such thing as a single scheme of salvation. Salvation is not the monopoly of any church. All paths lead to the hill-top of one and the same God-consciousness. Different religions are suited to different aspirants in their various stages of progress. All religions are but the manifestations in time and space of the Eternal Religion which is a transcendental experience. A man should cherish single-minded devotion to his own faith, and respect for the faith of others. One religion is not the enemy of another. The real enemy of all religions is the rising tide of atheism and cynicism. If religions do not hang together they will hang separately.

Man longs for a Universal Religion which all can subscribe to. Where will one find it? Certainly it cannot be an eclectic faith created by gathering the beautiful features of different faiths. That method has been tried, but has failed. An eclectic faith, created by man's intellect, may look beautiful like a bouquet of flowers, but it soon withers away for want of roots. Religion is based upon the experiences of saints and seers. They preach religious truths by the command of God. Furthermore, a Universal Religion is not created by the sword or money, or political power. The major religions of the world—Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism—by the test of the survival of the fittest, have

demonstrated their usefulness for mankind. They have come to stay; one cannot thrive at the expense of the others.

Where is then the Universal Religion? It is not to be created. It exists and needs to be discovered. It forms the core of all religions. One does not find it in religious myths and rituals which can never be universal. It lies in the essence which alone is universal. Rituals and mythologies, which are the concretisation of the transcendental truth, are necessary for the beginners. They cannot be dispensed with. Through these man prepares the mood for the realization of the ultimate truth.

Variety in unity is the pattern of the universe. John is different from James. But from the standpoint of humanity, they are one. A man is different from an animal. But as living beings, animals, birds, and plants are all non-different. As Existence Absolute, all things are one. God is the Absolute Existence. In Him the whole universe discovers its unity. This unity exists; it is only to be found out. Let a Christian follow the precepts of his own faith, let a Hindu and a Jew follow theirs. If they strive long enough, they will all ultimately discover God, who runs like the thread in a necklace. Or to change the illustration: God is the centre and different faiths are the radii which converge in Him. As one moves away from the centre, the distance between one radius and another becomes greater. As one comes closer to the centre, the distance between the radii is gradually reduced. When one reaches the centre, one finds unity with all in God.

Let not a man speak malicious words against another's faith. Let us not destroy or pull down. Iconoclasts never do any good to anybody. Take a man where he stands and from there give him a lift. Deepen by all means his aspiration, but leave him free to follow his path. Ultimately everyone will reach God and attain to perfection.

A healthy religious revival will reinvigorate man's weary body and cheer up his distracted spirit. The immensity of the present difficulties need not frighten us. They are a challenge to bring forth the best in man. Great things have been accomplished at times of stress and strife. Hamlet was not written at a time of peace nor the Cathedral of Chartres built when society was normal. As the towers of the Chartres Cathedral stood above the confusion of the eleventh century, so also may the spirit of man stand triumphant over the turmoil of the present time.*

* Read at the Holy Mother Birth Centenary Women's Cultural Conference.

HAND-POUNDING OF RICE

By MANKUMAR SEN

THE Rice Milling Committee appointed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sri C. P. Karunakar Menon recently visited West Bengal to collect information and listen to representations by experts in the field of paddy-processing or village industries in general. Selection of West Bengal as the first State on the tour programme of the Committee attaches more than ordinary significance in view of the fact that West Bengal consumes per capita the highest quantity of rice and is also 'believed' to be one of the areas most troubled by Rice Mills. We deliberately use the term 'believed', because our State Government does not possess, even in their vast statistical puzzle, dependable data regarding the rapid elimination of *Dhenkis* (country-made wooden process for dehulking), loss of employment and the emergence of the huller type of Rice Mills. According to Sri Menon, "the West Bengal Government had been collecting all relevant figures." Let alone the loud protests from responsible quarters against this pernicious milling of paddy which ought to have induced any responsible authority to probe deep into the problem, the recommendations of the Planning Commission too are now more than two-and-a-half years old. Hence our resentment at the utter unpreparedness of our Government: A large section of the people, however, goes a step further and accuses the government of shielding the Mills to the wanton waste of food and employment opportunities, assured by the weaker wing, viz. the 'Dhenkis' or 'Chakkis'.

Reportedly, the Committee is out to enquire, among other things, how best hand-pounding could be encouraged, the effects of husking machines on village economy, the scope and capacity of hand-pounding in meeting the demands of the country, and a general evaluation of the milling industry. So far so good. But one thing passes our ordinary comprehension and logic: After what the Planning Commission emphatically stated in black and white in the First Five-Year Plan why the Government still lacks in a clear-cut policy regarding this industry? Two-and-a-half years are by no means an insufficient time within the planned period of five years? It still remains to be seen whether the Government has accepted or rejected the recommendations so categorically put forward: has not the milling industry in most of the States, continued to expand despite the contrary remarks of the Commission? That a thorough purge of the 'hullers', even if intended, and the resuscitation of *Dhenkis* cannot be brought about overnight is understandable: but that should be no plea for sitting tight

over the *status quo* and thus allow the status of the Planning Commission go down in the estimation of the public. Well, what the Commission says? We reproduce the following remarkable paragraph from their report under the head, 'Village Industries':

"In the sphere of food-processing industries the stage appears to have been reached when further expansion of large-scale industry should not be permitted, except under certain conditions, such as, for instance, establishment of a Unit by the Government or by a co-operative organization. Rural employment has been affected directly by the growth of privately owned units in this field. For example, in the paddy-growing areas rice-pounding was always a substantial source of employment, both whole-time and part-time, especially for women. The recovery of rice from paddy by hand-processes was also satisfactory. The introduction of rice mills of the huller type greatly diminished this employment and was also wasteful in various ways. It appears to us that in the interest of rural employment and to ensure better nutrition, the Government should now formulate a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mills by organized hand-pounding of rice." (p. 318, First Five-Year Plan).

It is not at all clear from the Rice Mill Committees' terms of reference if the Government has in view, the formulation of 'a programme for replacing' the huller type of rice mill. Then, has this Committee been appointed to re-examine the position? Will it be within the jurisdiction of the Committee if the worst comes out, we mean—the Committee sets at naught the ideas of the Commission, say, by a majority of votes? Is there any guarantee that the Menon Committee shall not fall in line with the inglorious and injudicious way of the Kanungo Textile Enquiry Committee that recommended virtual elimination of the handloom weaving? Would it not be more in accord with the Commission's wishes if the Menon Committee were simply asked, but in unambiguous terms, to devise ways and means,—a programme—for replacing the rice mills' by hand-processes of husking all over the field?

It goes to the credit and wisdom of the Planning Commission that it made no secret of the baneful effect of the rice mills on the employment, outturn and nutrition. We may briefly substantiate the Commission's observations:

The decentralized hand-pounding industry is by nature employment-intensive, while being laid extensively in Rural India, and offers employment to women, often of the downtrodden sections of the society, and even to little girls and crippled children sometimes. We need only remember on what a terri-

WHITHER NEPALI RUPEE?

By PROF. Y. P. PANT, M.A., Ph.D.,

Trichandra College, Kathmandu

fic scale unemployment and under-employment have been rising in the rural areas. Artisans' profession has, in the face of gagging competition from the machine-made standardized goods and scarcity or non-regularised supply of raw materials, been fetching hardly one meal a day. Hand-pounding with similar other occupations offers scope for spare-time or part-time earning to the artisans or their family-members. Commercialised method of production through the 'hullers' pitted dead machines against the 'living ones' and the coffers of a few have been filling up at the cost of lakhs in the trade. Some four years back we came across a report which was as revealing as it was shocking: In a rural area of the district of Bhagalpur comprising of nine villages some 4200 'Dhenkis' were working giving employment to 64,000 men and 23,000 women, the daily outturn being 21,000 maunds of rice. The industry plied throughout the year barring the three raining months. The avaricious eyes of the millers soon fell on this fertile area, and hullers, big and small, raised their heads, began to swallow the paddy, and drive the dhenki-working villagers out of employment almost totally. The mills were apparently sermonising on 'refined taste' which polished rice alone could guarantee, though, however, villagers rudely shaken from the source of employment and with empty stomachs, had not much to worry about 'taste'! We would probably risk no contradiction if we state that Bhagalpur is no exception. —this woeful process of unemploying the employed, even on a modest level, has gone on as a general rule in many States of India. Sri N. R. Malkani makes a fair and impressive calculation on the employment aspect of this industry in the *Harijan Weekly*. He says, "At present 60 per cent of the total paddy of India is hand-pounded. On the basis of 20 million tons of paddy being dehusked (production was little less than 24 mil. tons in 1952-53—but we have to make allowances for sowings, wastes, etc.) the hand-pounding industry would account for nearly 12 mil. tons, at the rate of 2 tons of paddy processed per person working for six months in a year, this would provide partial employment to nearly 60 lakhs of persons. If the entire quantity of paddy were hand-pounded, there would be work for another 40 lakhs. So also the wage-bill paid to hand-pounders would rise from, say, Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 80 crores." We need not elaborate this point. Coming to the point of outturn of rice from paddy: According to Sri S. Varma, an adviser in the Ministry of Food, Government of India, the huller type of rice mills gives an outturn of 63 to 66 per cent on raw paddy, whereas average paddy grain consists of 23 per cent to 25 per cent husk, 1 or 2 per cent cuticle and germ and 74 to 76 per cent kernel, thus the wastage calculating at near about 7 per cent of

the paddy processed. Besides, transportation of paddy from the peasant's home to the mill-gate also involves waste, that is to a great extent avoided when the dehusking is done near at hand by Dhenkis.

About the disastrous effects of polishing on rice the less said the better. Expert study reveals that while in the unpolished rice there is no loss of the nutritive element, rice once-polished loses 55.0 per cent of its nutritive value, twice-polished 75 per cent and thrice-polished 82.5 per cent! Then what do we eat, and what we eat for? No fewer than 20,000 mills all over India and nearly 4000 in West Bengal alone have been doing this noble job—before our very eyes and with our patronage! If one shudders to look at the skeleton-like body of his own self, his relations, his sons and daughters, specially in course of the last ten years or so, one has only to thank these 'defooding' machines to a great degree! Gandhiji once painfully observed, "For the villagers to pound their own rice and eat it unpolished whole, means saving at least 30 crores of rupees per year and promoting health." Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, the eminent thinker and economist quotes, in his famous work *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, a Census Report of Bihar and Orissa to show that 'beri-beri' (a fell disease) broke out in those sections of the people that were accustomed to polished rice. So, be it from the standpoint of employment, or production or nutrition. Rice Mills have no grounds to stand upon—actually they stand self-condemned. Why, then, the Central Government falters to enforce with courage and determination through the agency of the States Government a uniform law prohibiting their expansion forthwith and replacing them ultimately with hand-processes within a stipulated period? This prohibitive action ought to have been taken long before in view of the clear recommendations of the Planning Commission, and should not be delayed now on the plea that the Rice Milling Committee is engaged in studying the actual state of affairs for an ultimate step on the part of the Government.

In this otherwise disappointing picture we note with much gratification the example that the Bihar Assembly set up in this regard. On July 29, 1953, the Assembly passed a comprehensive resolution banning new mills, limiting the output of existing Rice Mills, levying a cess on them and purchasing all Government supplies from the hand-pounders only. Let the other States emulate it—here and now. With the abolition of control and rationing the system of centralized production and distribution of rice has outlived its utility and with it the milling of rice too. Over and above the restoration of the normal pre-control working, the Government can also profitably organize hand-pounding co-operatives and instil a new sense of optimism and awakening of freedom in the hearts of the millions now sunk in a sub-human level.

DURING the last few years the Nepali currency has been passing through certain critical period, since it has been experienced that the deteriorating value of the Nepali rupee in relation to the Indian rupee has come to be a serious blow to the entire economic life of the Nepalese people. So far, the remedial measures implemented by the Government from time to time have not met with success. Recently, till Oct. 15 there was a rate fixed by the Government for transactions as 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 149½ Nepali rupees and the rate was in force only for about a month. However it has been the experience of the public that the Government rate was only nominal and that for transaction purposes the people had to take resort to unofficial rate, which was never lower than 165 during the last two months. In spite of this, people had hopes that the Government would do something and even the Prime Minister had blamed the dealers for manipulating the rate and had also promised to the public to take stern action. But with the withdrawal of even that nominal restriction on 15th October last all the aspirations and confidence of the public in general that the Government would do something seem to have been melted into thin air. It is surprising that on the contrary, a communique issued by the Finance Ministry on October 19 reads at one place that the deterioration of the value of the Nepali rupee in terms of the Indian rupee is altogether due to *imaginary* fear. No doubt, this is one of the many factors; but the entire problem cannot be attributed to this. It may be recalled that by the end of 1946 at one time the exchange rate varied between 65 and 70 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, while to-day the rate has shot up to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 170 Nepali rupees. Is this merely psychological or even speculative? In the present article an endeavour has been made toward the solution of the adverse exchange rate of the Nepali Rupee and thereby the entire currency situation (both on the long-term and short-term basis) against the background of the country's backward currency management and circulation.

THE BACKGROUND

Nepal has come to the international picture only some four years ago and to the outside world the basic problems of her economy are not properly known even to-day. So far as the currency situation is concerned, very many pitfalls and limitations still exist. First, the circulation of the Nepali currency, still governed by custom, is confined to the Kathmandu valley and its neighbouring hilly regions while in *tarain* and other parts of the country covering more than half of the total area, only Indian rupees circulate as currency, and it is wonderful that the Government also collects its revenue in these parts only in Indian rupees. This dual system of currency has come to be the real crux of

the problem in any attempt to regulate the rate of exchange, which fluctuates so widely in these days.

Second, Nepal does not have so far any system of currency management worth the name in the modern sense. True there is the Finance Ministry with a financial code, and that there is a substantial difference between the state funds and the privy purse of the ruling prime minister (this was not so during the Rana Rule), but the system of note issue is neither subject to any limits or reserves nor does the Government possess any authority so far either for controlling and regulating currency or for keeping the exchange rate within limits in even any elastic basis. Therefore a study of the composition of monetary circulation is difficult, if not totally impossible, because there are no reliable statistics of the important items of circulation. Reliance has to be placed on such information as is at hand and on the estimates that have been made by knowledgeable people. It has been estimated that the total of Nepali currency notes in circulation till recently was about four crores while the circulation of Nepali coins is placed around rupees five crores.

A brief reference to the trends of fluctuations of exchange rate is relevant in the proper understanding of the present currency chaos of Nepal to-day. It is said that prior to the 'thirties, the exchange rate used to be fairly stable around 100 Indian rupees for 125 Nepali rupees, as in those days Nepali currency consisted entirely of silver coins of various denominations, and the demand for Indian currency was small, as imports from India were extremely limited and confined to certain essential commodities. Later toward the onset of the Second World War with the increase of imports from India, by 1939 the rate of exchange was 145 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. During the war by 1943-44 with the drop in imports, the value of the Nepali rupee tended to rise, 80 Nepali rupees being exchanged for 100 Indian rupees. Till the culmination of the war, the exchange rate fluctuated between 80 and 85 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, and the tendency toward the appreciation of the Nepali rupee continued all through. The appreciation continued so much that with a view to arrest further appreciation of the Nepali currency, paper notes were issued for the first time. Later on with the increase of imports and the result of all these measures, however scanty, by the end of 1950 the rate of exchange reached 100 to 112 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. After the interim set-up (Feb. 1951) the exchange rate began to suffer from violent fluctuations. In September 1952, when the rate reached 145, the Government fixed 128 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees as the official rate, which became simply official in declaration, as the recent official

restriction of some three weeks proved to be. Thus the fluctuations in the value of the Nepali rupee not only affect foreign transactions, but they also directly affect internal transactions.

BASIC CAUSES OF FLUCTUATIONS IN EXCHANGE RATES

What are the basic factors working for the fluctuations and more particularly against the value of the Nepali rupee? Firstly, the general trends expressed above, make it abundantly clear that from early times the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports into the Kathmandu Valley and other adjoining regions using Nepali currency. The Tarai region is said to be exporting substantial quantities of foodgrains (chiefly paddy) to India and the impact of this trade is not directly felt on the rate of exchange of the Nepali rupee. In recent times other factors also have begun to operate more violently, though in many cases they are the legacies of the one century rule of the family autocracy. The system of note issue and currency regulation also has its indirect bearing on the situation. Thirdly, speculative dealings and manipulation by private dealers, which had begun a few years earlier, now have become rampant because of the slackening of various restrictions and the growing volume of imports, specially of luxury articles. Another factor is more important. The flight of certain big Ranas along with their movable properties and other landlords (who had large incomes in Indian currencies) to India to settle down permanently has meant not only a fall in foreign receipts but also substantial flight of capital from the country. A fourth factor has been the process of creation of currency for meeting budgetary deficits. This last factor, however, had a markedly adverse effect on the confidence of the people in the Nepali currency. The depreciation of the exchange, therefore, has continued steadily, the exchange dealings being marked by almost daily fluctuations.

LONG-TERM REMEDIAL MEASURES

Then what are the remedies? Such solutions can be considered from two different standpoints—those measures which mature after some years or so and cannot give necessary relief to the present debacle though they can cure the disease permanently and such measures which mature as soon as they are implemented and thus are helpful in bringing to a halt any further depreciation. To consider the long-term measures first: (1) Overall Reform in the present financial position:—It is obvious that in certain respects the existing financial situation is also responsible for the adverse exchange rate. Therefore, what I would suggest is a co-ordinated management of the currency system of the country. Minting arrangements should be modernised and paper currency should be regulated in conformity with such functions of more advanced democratic governments.

(2) Establishment of a Central Bank:—A State Bank with all the central banking functions for regulating exchange rate, issuing notes, and administering all the controls relating to dealings in coin, bul-

lion, securities, etc., should be instituted without any further delay. Such a bank is indispensable for adopting a co-ordinated policy. At one time on the Governmental level the decision of the establishment of such a bank was continuously reiterated, but on the basis of the available information the very idea seems to have been dropped.

(3) Balancing the Budget:—The budgets presented so far show an overall deficit to the tune of more than one crore of rupees annually. How to adjust the exchange rate favourably to the country without balancing the budget? Deficit financing is desirable in a backward country only for financing developmental programmes. But in Nepal there is deficit even for meeting the current expenditure. Therefore, there is an immediate need for stabilising the country's economy on a distinctly lower level of prices than that obtaining to-day by adjusting expenditure to income.

(4) Monetary Regulation:—The dual system of currency is also detrimental to the rate of exchange to the country's balance of payment. In spite of the fact that Nepal's annual exports are estimated at Rs. 27 crores and imports at only Rs. 11 crores, the Nepali rupee is going down and down. This can be explained because the Valley and certain *tarain* regions depend on imports from India which have to be paid for in Indian rupees. Therefore the monetary regulation should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency with the fundamental ends of the economic policy. For the success of this policy, however, the transport system will also have to be properly integrated to connect all the parts of the country.

SEVEN-POINT MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION

However, for immediate control of the downfall of the exchange rate, short-term measures are more important, since they are instrumental in stabilising the rate and thus appreciating the value of the Nepali currency, as soon as the measures are put into practice on a co-ordinated basis. On the basis of the available fact and information, I consider that a 7-point Programme, if followed by the Government would be really helpful in saving the country from the impending financial crisis.

(1) A Practicable Official Rate:—Mere communications or even sporadic interferences are impracticable about the fixation of the exchange rate, unless preceded by some fundamental policies. So many times the Government has fixed its official rate. But to what effect they have led? Simply the rates without practical value. The recent restriction on the exchange rate by the Government, as experience has shown, simply became a rate without its bearing on transaction purposes. About a month ago, the Prime Minister had promised a deputation of Janadhikari Suraksha Samiti that the rate would be brought down to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 128 Nepali rupees. But the recent withdrawal of the restriction by the Government has totally been against that decision. Therefore, the Government should take active steps to control and

fix the rate by offering to exchange Nepali rupees for Indian rupees for approved purposes. Be it noted, that this policy is altogether dependent on the establishment of a government authority for the purpose, though in the initial stages the Government may have to encounter some losses.

(2) Clarification of the basic facts of note issue and circulation of coins in the country:—This is important not because it will in itself solve the problem, but because it will revive the confidence of the public, which in ignorance of such information are losing the confidence in the Nepali currency. Definitely, this declining nature of confidence in the national currency has had its repercussion on the exchange rate to a sufficient degree.

(3) Temporary curtailment of Imports:—It is evident that the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports. Therefore, another immediate solution toward the problem should be altogether a stoppage of imports of certain commodities (like cigarettes, alcohol, and other extra luxurious articles) and restrictions, for certain essential purposes, of imports of certain commodities like clothes, petrol, etc., for some months to come, with a view to curtailing the demand for Indian rupees. Such a policy would have a double-edged effect, since it will not only appreciate the exchange rate but would also encourage the development of indigenous industries connected with them.

(4) Prevention of Speculative Dealings:—It is generally believed that near about 20 per cent of the fluctuation is due to such anti-national practices. Therefore, such practices should be made an offence and drastic steps should be taken to punish persons found guilty along with a country-wide drive to detect hoarders of Indian currency.

(5) Curtailment of the State Expenditure:—Though it is not feasible to take to retrenchment measures all at once, still a concrete announcement by the Government toward that purpose on a planned basis will definitely result in the revival of public confidence in the beginning and later on in bridging the budgetary deficits as and when the policy is implemented.

(6) Setting up of an Exchange Control Board: This board representing the views of various sections of the public and the Government about the market condition will be very useful so long as the Central Bank is not established. The main task of the board should be to keep the Government informed of the factors influencing the exchange rate, and gain a proper perspective of the existing rate in the money market and follow a level-headed policy.

(7) Establishment of an Exchange Equalisation Fund: At the outset such a fund can be established with a reserve of the Indian rupee under the supervision of the Reserve Bank of India with the object of ironing out short period exchange fluctuations, restricting short-term movements of funds and undesirable forward exchange transactions, so that only 'real' causes are left

to influence the long-term trend of foreign exchanges. Later on, it is also feasible for Nepal to have trade relations connected with either sterling or dollar areas, so that she may be able to get commodities reasonably at the international prices. It should be borne in mind that this is a thing which can be possibly introduced after a sufficiently long time.

GENERAL OUTLOOK

However, it is not certain that the above measures will be quite sufficient to improve the exchange rate in the country, since our knowledge about the basic facts and materials is few and far between. The exchange rate and its fluctuation in Nepal in these days being complicated affairs, it is quite necessary that every step that the Government may consider desirable should be taken after considering it twice or even thrice, and that the method that can be pursued should be of trial and error; the measures put forth above may have to be tried and changed, if necessary, according to results obtained.

There is one section of opinion both inside and outside Nepal that a policy of making Nepali coins circulate throughout the country (my measures also cling toward that objective) is based on mere sentimental nationalism and that such a policy of undue interference of the natural process of gradually expanding the rupee area would mean hardship for the people and heavy burden on the administration. Why not allow the present process to reach its logical consummation? Thus, in other words, they suggest that the Indian rupee should be circulated in the various parts of the country. But while putting forth this solution, they altogether forget that at present the country's economy (its budgetary provisions) is altogether based on the Nepali currency. Again, how to ascertain the national income of a particular country, if its currency is not its own? The very study of the import and export trades will be absolutely difficult. Therefore, I would suggest that the dual currency system being the real crux of the problem in any attempt for regulating the rate of exchange, all possible measures, of course, from a long-period standpoint, should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency.

Is it not time for taking up a serious and well-founded step to regulate and stabilise the exchange rate of the Nepali currency in terms of the Indian currency? The withdrawal of the restrictions on the exchange rate imposed by the government a short time ago has been really a shock to the country's future economy, and it appears to be a pointer that the Government is thinking of doing nothing for improving the situation. If no interference is made with the natural process, Nepal's finance in due course may lapse into that kind of paralysis from which no recovery is possible.

THE ART OF GANDHARA

A General Review

By S. C. CHANDRA

THE province of Gandhara situated on the north-western fringes of India naturally became the meeting-ground of at least three civilizations—Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian. The result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found its expression in an eclectic school of art more or less contemporary with the flourishing period of the indigenous school at Mathura. In centuries preceding the Christian era, the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings of Gandhara and the Punjab had



An Atlante from Gandhara

already come under the influence of Indian religions. The art that was brought forth to serve the Indian religions however employed a technique unquestionably borrowed from the Hellenistic standards as modified by the different trends (Iranian, Hellenistic, etc.) with which they came into contact in their eastward expansion. "It may be considered from one point of view as representing an eastward expansion of the Hellenistic civilization mixed with Iranian elements; from another as a westward extension of the Indian culture in a Western garb." As Dr. Kramrisch rightly observes:

"If it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India."

The Iranian elements noticed in the sculptures of the Gandhara school have been assumed by some scholars to have found their way into Indian art at the time when the Achaemenian Empire extended over the north-west, the Hellenic elements following later. Marshall however is of the opinion that the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great and that the hybrid art that was evolved was introduced into India either as a result of peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia or as the result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans who must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with the Graeco-Persian culture. Latest discoveries from Begram in Afghanistan however go to show that that Iranian influence also found its way into Indian art on the frontiers of Central Asia between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D. when the Sassanians were ruling over Bactria.

The classical or the Hellenistic elements so characteristic of this art are manifest in a variety of motifs and technical details. The earliest evidences of this influence may be noticed on coins as early as the 2nd or 1st Century B.C. both in weight and fabric and as well as in the treatment of the figures of kings and deities. Neither does this numismatic evidence stand alone. It is corroborated by other antiquities of this region, though such antiquities are not as early as the coins themselves. No evidence of plastic art or arts of architectural forms of this early period showing Hellenistic influence has come to light. The earliest such discovery is perhaps not earlier than the 1st century B.C. when the Scytho-Parthian dynasties had established themselves in Gandhara. A temple with Ionic columns having a front porch, a sanctuary and a back porch and a shrine, with the facade decorated with Corinthian pilasters and pedimental forms had been discovered at Taxila. In later period, especially during the regime of the Kushans, the Corinthian capital becomes a regular feature throughout Gandhara. Another classical motif in architecture may be noticed in the acanthus foliage. It should be remembered with reference to the Gandhara school that though the form is strongly Hellenistic, the subject-matter and content are Indian and consequently we find that many older motifs of the early indigenous school remained practically unchanged. Some are however modified and a few entirely transformed. To the already numerous Indian and Indianised motifs—Atlantes, fantastic creatures, griffins, etc.—the new schools brought also the vine, the acanthus, the frieze of garland bearers, fabulous creatures, viz., the Triton, the marine horse, etc., all common to different western Asiatic countries. The ceramic wares from the neighbourhood of Peshawar

THE ART OF GANDHARA

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exhibit designs singularly Hellenic in sentiment, e.g., the Little Amorini at Play, a child reaching for a bunch of grapes, Haemon supplicating his father for the life of his affianced bride, an ivory pendant adorned with Dionysus in silver repousse from Taxila are not only Hellenistic in design but also in execution. Hellenistic execution is also apparent in the engraved gems that have been found throughout the region. But after a lapse of time Indian forms generally begin to appear and in course of time they predominate to the corresponding elimination of Hellenistic forms and workmanship. Not only in the domain of minor arts but also in that of the plastic, this tendency offers a somewhat approximate basis for chronological sequence of the different specimens of this school.

DATING OF THE GANDHARA SCULPTURES

The dating of the Gandhara sculptures however is a matter of great uncertainty and still remains a vexing problem owing largely to the absence of any definitely datable monuments.

"Not one of the thousands of known images bears a date in any known era, nor do considerations of style permit to determine their chronological sequence with any sure approach to accuracy."

It is definite that it was under the Kushana kings that the majority of the works were produced and the most prolific period of activity of this school must be assigned to them. It is also permissible to assume that the school had begun to take shape long before the Kushans came upon the scene. The evolution of the types that we find already standardised with the Kushans presupposes a fairly long period of earlier achievement. Hence all that can be definitely said is that the Gandhara school may date from the 1st century B.C., probably antedates Kanishka and definitely attains its greatest expansion in his reign. It may be taken as a general maxim that the more nearly they approach in style to the Hellenistic standards the earlier they are in date.

It should also be observed that the Gandharan art though Hellenistic in form and execution is certainly Indian in content and subject-matter and hence it follows the Indian tradition both verbal and plastic in every essential of its iconography. The whole conception of the seated yogi and teacher is Indian. The *usnisa*, the *mudras*, the *asana*, etc., cannot be anything but Indian. All that is really Hellenistic is the plasticity, so also the treatment of the drapery. In Gandhara, the translation of the Buddhist iconography into foreign patterns is essentially the same process that took place in the formation of the Early Christian Art and as such it is not surprising to find amongst the earliest Gandhara Buddhas, Sakyamuni with the head of a Greek Apollo suggesting the Roman statues of the Augustan period. In exactly the same fashion the earliest representation of Christ shows him with the head of the Greek Sun-God. The foreign craftsmen



Gandharan Bodhisattva

The Buddha type of Gandhara and that of Mathura are equally based on a common literary and oral tradition. Again, on account of a long practice of this extraneous style to serve the purpose of an Indian religion, the Indian standard of modelling, proportion and poise gradually began to be accepted inconsistently and therefore lifelessly. A certain amplitude of facial features (play of curves), curving eyebrows, soft modelling of the eyes, drooping eyelids, fuller cheeks, smoother transition from physiognomy to physiognomy, thinning down of the volume of the drapery and demeanour of

subsequent Gandhara figures are the local symptoms of Indian heritage.

ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

In the early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhi Gaya and Amaravati, Buddha is not represented in anthropomorphic form but wherever his presence was needed it was indicated by symbols. This was due to the peculiar bent of the Aryan mind which did not as yet favour the anthropomorphic shape of their gods.



A typical Gandharan Buddha

But there was a strong element of anthropomorphism in the religious beliefs of the non-Aryan and Pre-Aryan population of the country and as a result of the contact with these people, the tendency to image worship was gradually gaining ground. With the emergence of the doctrine of *bhakti* or the devotional cult of a personal God, images began to appear more and more in worship and came to be established in the religious beliefs of the Indian people as a whole. The fusion of the non-Aryan, pre-Aryan and Aryan tendencies brought about a change in the psychology of the Indian mind

and the image occupied its place in the art of the country. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Buddha images appear simultaneously in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara on the one hand and the indigenous schools of Mathura and Amaravati on the other. The Gandharan Buddha image has been taken to be the first in point of date so far as extant remains are concerned and on this account some scholars have sought to deduce a theory of Hellenic origin for the Buddha image. But, as already



Harite and Panchika from Gandhara

observed, the tendency towards image worship was already gaining ground in India even without the Hellenic inspiration and as Dr. Kramrisch says, "Under no circumstances can priority lay a claim for the Gandharan Buddha as the originator of the Buddha image, it may have been due to an accident of preservation. Racially and psychologically the two types of Buddha image one from Mathura and the other from Gandhara have different origins." The Gandharan Buddha may be said to be stylistically Hellenistic and iconographically Indian. "The Gandharan sculptor did not make an Apollo into a Buddha but a Buddha into an Apollo." The Mathura Buddha on the other hand is a direct evolution of the early primitive trend of India, essentially a product of the Indian school; it follows up the ancient tradition of pre-Kushana Yakshas and Yakshis and as such set the standard for all future Buddha images. The Gandharan Buddha, which was an exotic adaptation of Indian notions by the syncretistic craftsmen of Gandhara could not long survive but died a natural death.

THE ROLE OF THE HELLENISTIC SCHOOL IN INDIAN ART

The question of the role played by the Hellenistic school in India has been a much disputed one. Some

authorities maintain that it was almost a negligible factor, others that it underlay the whole fabric of Indian art. "The Hellenistic art could not and never got a real and lasting hold upon India for the reason that the temperament and mental equipment of the two people are fundamentally dissimilar." Though Hellenistic in form and style, the Gandhara school served an Indian religion and was based on Indian tradition. The Indian and local elements in Gandhara are thus many and varied. "Indian in theme, based on Indian tradition, it may even be said to be Indian to all intents and purposes, practically an offshoot of Early Indian school transformed by powerful extraneous influence." In the history of Indian art taken as a whole, the Gandhara school represents nothing more than a mere passing phase. We are hardly justified in placing its products side by side with those of the indigenous schools of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, etc., which we know supplied the basic foundations on which the future artistic activities of India rested; nor can they be compared with the products of the Classical period of Indian art as culmi-

nating in the Gupta school. It did not leave any permanent result; what it did contribute to the field of Indian art amounts to only a very few motifs which again were speedily transformed. Although the period of efflorescence of the Gandhara school follows after the Early Indian schools of Maurya, Sunga and Andhra dynasties, the artistic activity is in no way a continuation of the indigenous tradition. There was no true fusion of the Indian and Western ideals in Gandhara. The arts of India and Gandhara advanced along separate paths in different directions and the imported style disappears with the development of the true Early Indian ideals of the Gupta period. As Rene Grousset observes, "It is obvious that the Gandhara school with its faces which are often weak and lacking in character, its conventional motifs adopted to order, we may add its commonplaces cannot possibly be compared to the school of Sanchi in sincerity of faith and emotion or spontaneity of inspiration, still less with the later schools of the Gupta and Pallava periods."

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REVIEW OF EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, 1954

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

AMIDST the series of Music Conferences of this city (Calcutta), the champions of visual arts bravely throw out the challenge that painting and sculpture are no less powerful instruments of human culture than music and deserve the equal attention of the dwellers of this great city.

Of these champions of the visual arts the most important is the Academy of Fine Arts which opened its 19th Exhibition a few days ago maintaining very creditably its claim of presenting the most representative pieces of painting and sculpture produced during the current year. This claim has been steadily maintained with commendable consistency through its career of nineteen years of brilliant and well-planned activity.

A collection of about 650 pieces and 35 well-chosen pieces of sculpture is too formidable an assembly to be fairly reviewed in the course of ten minutes and one can only indicate the highlights and the outstanding pieces, which stick out their heads over the assembled crowds. It can be said without contradiction that the exhibits in their variety of subjects, tempers and temperaments will appeal to all kinds of tastes and all manners of demands from those of the man in the street, the ignorant amateurs of pictures, "who know that they like," to the learned and sophisticated critics and connoisseurs. The

Academy divides, as usual, its brave array of exhibits into different sections, of oils, water-colours, the black and whites and the graphic arts, but it happily allocates two separate sections to the National Indian schools and to the Modern and modernistic painters. It is a happy policy to afford a special opportunity to study the progress and the change in the outlook of artists, devoted to the traditional National Art of India which Abanindranath Tagore placed on a sound foundation, a few years ago. The banner he held aloft has not been honourably upheld by his recent followers, who have devoted themselves to the interpretation of the ideals and principles of the national language of pictorial art, having five thousand years of history behind it. In order to provide convenient standards at hand, the Academy has exhibited a few specimens for comparison from the brush of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, the latter by three pieces of which the *Dolan-Champa* is the best. The other highlights of the section are represented by three excellent flower-pieces and a superb forest scene by Rathindra Tagore and by two pictures by Dharendra Varman and several by Indra Dugar. The former's *Village Maid*, and the latter's *On the Watch* very well maintain the claims of "Indian" painting. Bireswar Sen's study of a nude in his *Who Comes There* is a carefully executed land-

escape, not very well maintaining the best traditions of the school. Other outstanding pieces are Azmales' *Sorrow of Radha*, emphasized by a dancing peacock, and Samar Ghose's *Chaitra Samkranti*, which does not justify the title. Other talented interpretations of

develop later, into trained observers and lovers of pictures, the much-hoped-for potential patrons. For, with the tragic liquidation of the rich aristocracy of the Maharajas and the Princely orders, the duty of patronizing and keeping alive the artists and interpreters of beauty have devolved on the average individual citizens of our "Social democracy" and on the collective patronage of the State.

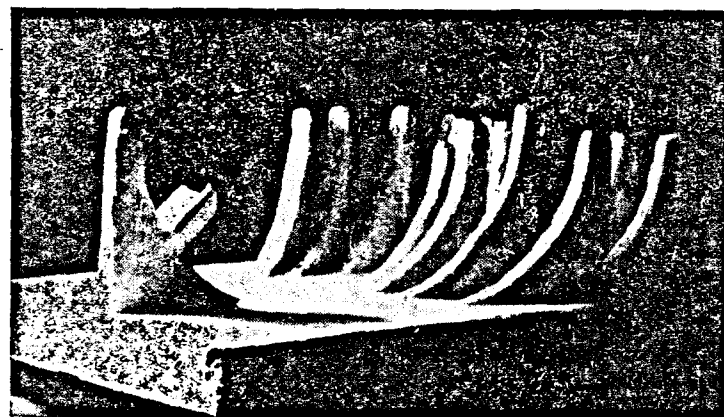
The oil section is distinctly poor in portraiture, though with some rare exceptions here and there, as in the two pieces contributed by Kisory Roy and Arun Maitra. Of light-effects and sentimental studies the *Window* by Dutta-Gupta, a tiny little piece, easily beats other ambitious pieces, such as the same artist's study of *A Woman Examining Her Face in a Mirror*. The traditions of portrait-painting are well maintained by several painters, notably by Atul Bose whose specimens in the show, however, do not maintain his high reputation. A large number of our leaders, patriots, and famous men of letters are



The Window
By Makham Dutta Gupta

Indian painting are represented by Tribhanga Roy's *Tara*, Satya-vrata Bhowmik's *Swayam-duta Nayaka*, a successful modern interpretation of a very ancient topic, frequently treated in Rajasthani paintings, and, a tiny little masterpiece, *Silpi* by Gouri Dutt Roy. Gopal Ghose's *Bird-World*, though an excellent piece of superb technique and penetrating vision, is out of place in the section as it cannot claim any feature of the traditions of Indian painting.

The section of oil paintings, rich in subject-matters and in a large variety of techniques, interpreting an extensive range of realistic vision, from the photographic, prosaic, romantic, descriptive, and narrative, to the hazy heights of Impressionism, is the most useful section to teach the novice and the man in the street the A. B. C. of pictorial art, and indeed the large group of visiting novices, assimilating and discussing their first lessons and experiences of pictorial art, demonstrated that the average citizens, with no pretensions for Art, are being slowly initiated into the mystery of picture-making, who are sure to



Prayer Meeting
By Robin Roy

crying for worthy memorial portraits, but our memorial committees seldom select talented painters to build up our National portrait-gallery.

There are numerous presentations of natural scenes, topographical landscapes and characteristic village scenes and glimpses of rural beauties, but none of them attain a very high level. Special prizes should be awarded to encourage our landscape painters to present the beauty of Bengal villages, now fading out

of existence, due to many tragic causes, which are ruining our village life. Chintamani Kar's *Peasant Women*, in its rhythmic beauty and superb breadth of vision and impressionistic treatment, has well deserved the Governor's gold medal awarded by the judges.

If the oil section is weak in many outstanding highlights, this is more than compensated for by the brilliance and variety of the section devoted to the Moderns and the bold experiments in all varieties of "Isms." Indeed, the Academy's presentation of the Moderns is a very creditable attempt to strengthen a phase of pictorial art, which is gaining in importance, year after year, the lead to the movement, in India, being given by the Modernists of Bombay. But in this show the credit is well shared by two local artists, Rathin Moitra and Desmond Doig. It is said that it is the unsuccessful artist, who invariably develops into a critic. But this adage has been falsified in the case of one of our most brilliant art-critics who has achieved a signal success with brush and colour, which threaten to obscure his adventures with his pen. We have to welcome his *Night Beach* as one of the finest oils in the show, but it is also one of the outstanding and daring pieces in the modernistic manner, deserving the highest praise. His larger canvas, a problem picture, *Then Nothing*, though less successful, contributes to the strength of the section, supported by a few other larger pieces, illustrating Cubist principles. The maxim that "Post-Impressionists do not seek to imitate Form, but to create Form" is illustrated in several specimens. And the rival claims of imitation and creation are brilliantly interpreted by Rathin Moitra, whose three remarkable pieces constitute the backbone of the section. His blue and reddish grey *Pair of Cats* do not violate the claims of representation, but is a superb example of emphatic and highly original presentation of Form. His *Leader*, representing a horse and its groom, a surprising essay in red and blue, is also an original essay in balance

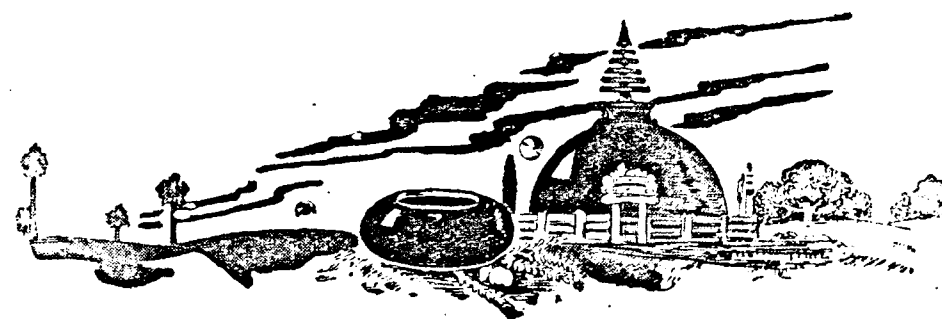
and proportions, inherent in its purposeful deviation from the normal standards of proportion. But his symbolic study of *Union*, a modern interpretation of the traditional *Mithuna*, is an original and daring study of the union of the blue and the yellow. Pannikar's *Green Bull* and *Malayalee Mother* are important supports to the section, which easily hits the eyes of even the colour-blind visitors. Hazarin's *Fishes* have justly won a gold medal, though there are many claimants to this honour in the same section. Sushil Mukherjee's *Christ bearing the Cross*, well deserves honourable mention and appropriately honours the current Christmas celebration as a valuable Hindu tribute to the Message of Christ. Pratap Sen's *Mural Design for a Maternity Home* deserves high praise for its twin quality of symbolism and pattern-making.

Gopal Ghose's *Sonthal Land* not only sustains his own reputation, but also lends substantial support and strength to the section. Blackburn's *Jamai Sasihi* is not only a vigorous piece of brush-work, but a symbolic presentation of a well-known Bengali social ritual, treated with great sympathy and penetrating vision.

The water-colour section does not present many notables, though there are several picturesque and a few profound presentations. Sankar Nandy's *Jagdish Temple* has more than topographical values. But Ranen Ayen Dutt's *Load and Labour* is a really thoughtful piece with high technical quality. The black and white section is illuminated by Mukul Dey's familiar etchings and Haren Das's coloured woodcuts.

In the sculpture section, there are many distinguished pieces, such as Ajit Chakravarty's *Composition A*, Pansare's *Obstinate Bay* and Robin Roy's excellent abstraction, a *Prayer Meeting*.*

* By the courtesy of All-India Radio, Calcutta.



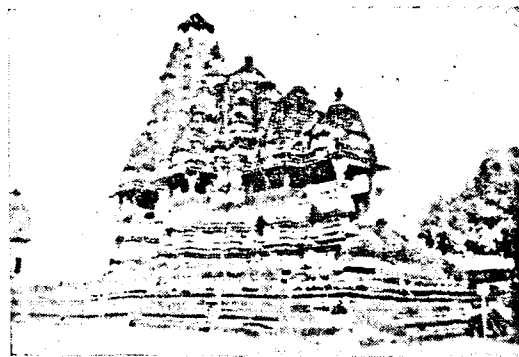
WHERE STONES SPEAK

Khajuraho

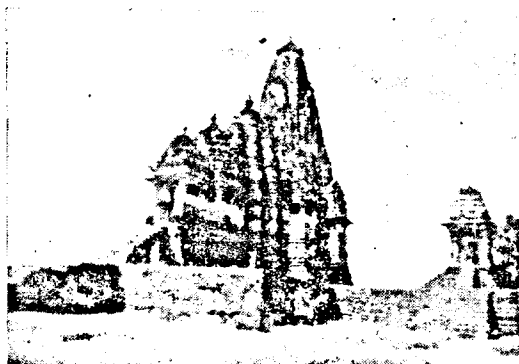
By JYOTI P. SAXENA, M.A.

If Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Nalanda depict India at her best, Kutub Minar, Fatehpur Sikri, etc., stand as living monuments to the Muhammedan monarchs, Ajanta and Ellora glorify Indian art, culture and civilization,

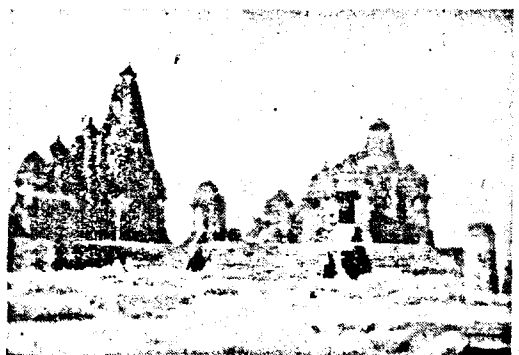
Vindhya Pradesh, it is about 28 miles from Chhatarpur which itself is 32 miles each from Harpalpur and Mahoba, both Central Railway Stations on the Jhansi-Manikpur route. Presenting a galaxy of Hindu and



Vishwanath Temple



Kandhariya Mahadev Temple



Kandhariya Mahadev and Devi Jagadambi Temples

Khajuraho, too, in its right perspective, can be dubbed as 'Pride of India' where the soul of the Vindhyas does rest. A place of pilgrimage situated in the heart of



Colossal image of Nandi in front of Vishwanath Temple

Jain temples, it is a place worth a visit a thousand times and is replete with things which please the eye as well as elevate the soul.



Kandhariya Temple. Details depicting sex carvings

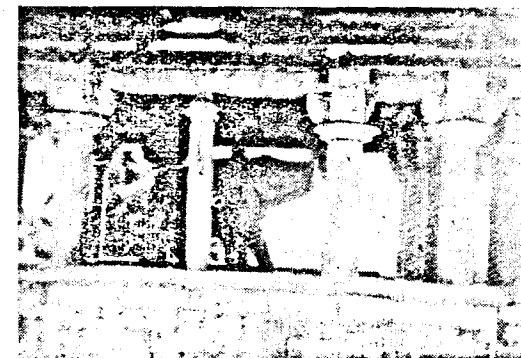
Now reduced to a small hamlet accommodating some five hundred souls, it was in its hey-day a large city

THINGS OF BEAUTY FROM TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

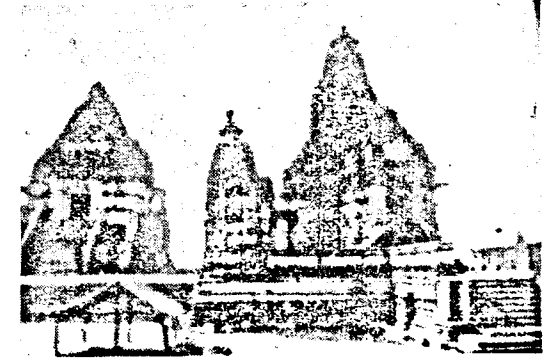
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with about one hundred temples built by the Chandel Kings between A.D. 950 to 1050. But with the passing of time, most of the temples have crumbled and only about twenty-five are intact now which provide us with a

huge images of gods and goddesses—all bring forth the splendour of Indian architecture of the perfect Indo-Aryan type. In short, in beauty and grandeur they reign supreme.



Colossal image of Varaha in front of Lakshmanji Temple



Matangeshwar and Lakshmanji Temples

Khajuraho gives immense pleasure to the lover of art and architecture. It infuses the seeker of religious truths with a spirit of serenity and sacredness. It instils poetry in the heart of the poet. For the historian, it is a treasure-house of material to research upon the glories of India's past. Even to the lay man it has got a message of its own.

The temples are fine specimens of engineering and artistic skill. Their architectural beauty is superb. The gigantic 'Shikharas' which appear to kiss the blue, the fine sculptures, the intricate geometrical designs, the

THINGS OF BEAUTY FROM TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

THE beautiful pieces of ivory work that adorn your drawing room have come from Travancore-Cochin. So has the coloured door mat that welcomes your visitors every day.

For centuries Travancore-Cochin has been famous for its exquisite artistic handicrafts, such as ivory, horn and wood carving, brass and metal ware, handloom goods, lace work and embroidery and screwpine mats and bags. Equally important are the products of its Cottage Industries—articles of great utility and value. Coir industry, lemon grass oil industry, marine oil industry and ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries are some of the more important ones. These articles have earned for Travancore-Cochin a reputation in the world market.

The State's Cottage and rural industries provide opportunities to the largest number of persons to earn their livelihood amid natural surroundings. The Central and State Governments have, therefore, given special attention to the development of cottage industries so that they can benefit from modern technological advancement on a planned basis.



The door mats in various colours are products of the coir industry. A worker is clipping off fibre tips to give the mat a uniform shape.

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN GOVERNMENT PLAN

The Travancore-Cochin Government proposes to spend Rs. 64 lakhs during the five years ending 1955-56 for increasing the number of industrial co-operatives to manage the industries.



Apparently blind, the worker's trained hands cannot make a single slip in manufacturing a beautiful basket

The State has already made some progress in regard to a few cottage industries, such as handloom textiles, coir and coir mattings, grass and screwpine

mats, ivory, horn and wood products. There are over 80,000 handlooms and 10 powerlooms in the State which has a network of 117 industrial co-operatives to cover all the cottage industries.

The Central Government have launched a sum of Rs. 33.25 lakhs sanctioned during the year 1953-54 for various schemes of State Governments relating to small scale industries, including the Coir industry.

COIR INDUSTRY

Coir is used chiefly in the manufacture of mattings. Coir and coir goods are exported in appreciable quantities.

In 1953-54 India exported coir yarn, coir mattings and coir in other forms to the value of over Rs. 8 crores.

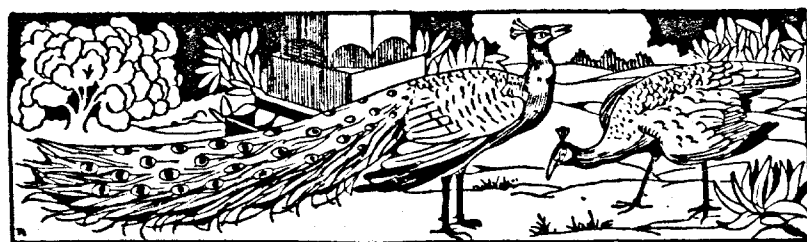
THE ART OF CARVING

Ivory carving is an important handicraft in many States of India, chiefly Travancore-Cochin. Employing only a set of simple tools—a knife, a chisel and a few files—the worker produces exquisite figures of gods and goddesses, statues, animals and birds. Apart from the ornamental value of ivory work, articles of utility, such as necklaces, ear tops, cigar cases, photo frames, pen-holders, combs and buttons are also produced.

The horn industry is largely found in Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, Bombay, Hyderabad and West Bengal. The raw material used is the horn of the buffalo, the deer and the bison. The horn workers mostly produce articles similar to those prepared by ivory workers. The centre of horn industry in Travancore-Cochin is Trivandrum and the surrounding area.

Wood carving is practised in several parts of the country, chiefly Travancore-Cochin, Mysore and Kashmir. The raw materials used are teak wood, rose wood, sandal wood and walnut.

As a decorative art, carving work has existed in this country from time immemorial. Exquisite pieces of carving have adorned the person as well as the surroundings of the people everywhere through the ages. And in producing things of beauty Travancore-Cochin is among the foremost States in our country.—PIB.



THE ALKALI INDUSTRY OF INDIA

By J. K. NAG

INDIA is not yet self-sufficient in her production of the two important alkalies, Caustic Soda and Soda Ash. Even now more than fifty per cent of the demand of these two basic chemical alkalies is met by imports. No doubt, the manufacture of alkalies is now-a-days a basic operation of the chemical industry and the civilisation of today owes much to its development and expansion. In the inorganic group of heavy

only two Soda Ash plants of India are working in Western India, in Kathiawad and Dharangadra. The output of the Caustic Soda factories is far from meeting the requirement of the country.

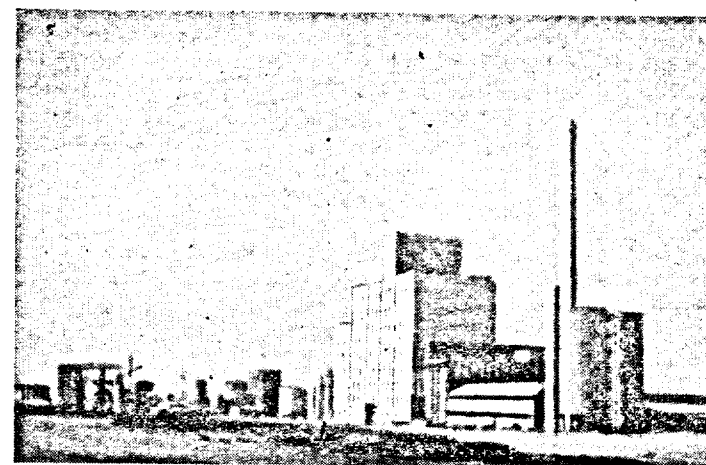
Caustic Soda and Soda Ash are used in the manufacture of soap, cellulose film, paper, glass, lye, rayon, dyes, textiles and nitrate fertilisers, etc. The electrolytic Caustic Soda plants producing Chlorine and

Hydrogen as co-products have become essential for sanitation purposes and hydrogenation of vegetable oils. A major percentage of Caustic Soda produced now-a-days is manufactured by the electrolytic process, as a co-product of chlorine.

The consumption of Chlorine in this country is however still very low and as the Planning Commission has suggested, the proper utilisation of Chlorine should be effected by installing D.D.T. and bleaching powder plants.

CAUSTIC SODA

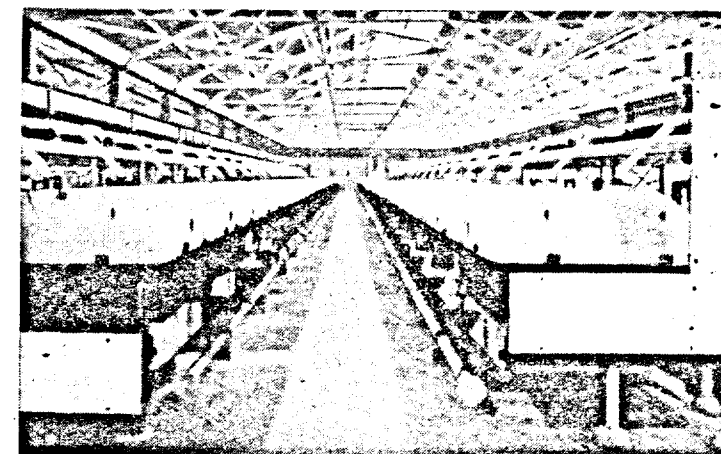
I remember when about 9 years ago I first visited the Caustic Soda factory of the Alkali Chemical Corporation (I. C. I.) at Rishra (District Hooghly), I wondered



Tata Chemicals, Mithapur

chemicals, the stronger alkali, caustic soda, stands almost equal to sulphuric acid. Its consumption may be regarded as an index of the industrial progress of a country.

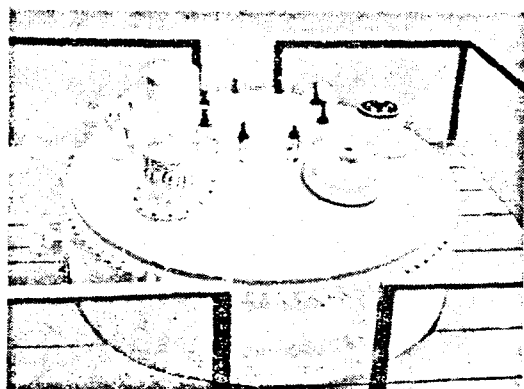
The alkali generally refers to the carbonates and hydroxides of sodium, potassium, lithium, etc. The hydroxides are called basic alkalies and they are stronger than the carbonate alkalies. The principal raw material for both Caustic Soda and Soda Ash is the common salt, sodium chloride, and as now India is more than self-supporting in the output of salt, she should promote her alkali industry, along with establishing an export trade, with the salt left as surplus. Steps should be taken very early to start Caustic Soda and Soda Ash factories in different parts of the country where they are not manufactured and where there are advantages in producing them. Though the Caustic Soda is now being manufactured in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Mysore, Ahmedabad, Mettur (South India) and Travancore, the



Batteries of cells for electrolyzing salt solution

why so little interest was being taken by our industrialists to take up alkali manufacture on a big scale. The said plant though, a small one, was installed in 1940 by the Imperial Chemical Industries, only to make up the gap of the import from their parent factory in England. Now, of course, they have taken

steps to enlarge this factory, so as to meet the demand of the country by local manufacture as far as possible. This I. C. I. plant is the second one in Bengal, the first plant, also a small one, is the one that was set up by Titaghur Paper Mills long before. The third plant is that lately installed by the Hindusthan Development Corporation at Barrackpore. The rated capacity of the Hindusthan Development Corporation is now only 2,000 tons per year. So even after I.C.I. (India) has expanded their plant at Rishra, there will be ample scope for setting up more Caustic Soda factories to meet the local demand.



Caustic pots for transport

The Caustic Soda* industry of India is on the whole towards expansion with the installation of two twenty ton/day plants at Delhi by the Delhi Cloth Mill, Chemical Division and at Alwaye, Travancore-Cochin by Shehshayee Bros., for pure grade Caustic Soda to be used in rayon mills. The writer had also the opportunity of seeing the caustic soda factories in Mithapur (of Tata Chemicals) and at Dehri-on-Sone in Bihar of the Rohas Industries. The Tatas have both electrolytic and causticizing plants for manufacture of caustic soda in Mithapur (Saurashtra), where they have also a big salt factory and a big Soda Ash plant. The following are the present producers of Caustic Soda in India:

	<i>Rated capacity in tons per year.</i>
Alkali Chemical Corporation	2,000 (now expanded)
Hindusthan Heavy Chemicals	2,000
Rohas Industries	2,450
Calico Mills, Ahmedabad	2,275
Delhi Cloth Mills	6,600
Mettur Chemical Corporation (Madras)	3,700
Tata Chemicals Ltd.	8,400 (6,000 by chemical process)
Travancore-Cochin Chemicals	6,600
	34,025

* NaOH, Caustic Soda, one of the strongest alkalies, stands second only in tonnage rank to Soda Ash as an industrial alkali.

The following paper mills have also Caustic Soda plants for their own use:

Titaghur Paper Mills (West Bengal)	2,422 tons per year
Sri Gopal Paper Mills (Ambala, Punjab)	475 " " "
Deccan Paper Mills (Poona)	300 " " "
Sirpur Paper Mills (Hyderabad)	292 " " "
Star Paper Mills (Shaharanpore)	

The paper mills altogether produce about 4,000 tons which they require for their own use besides purchase from the market. The produce of the Rohas Industries is mostly consumed in their paper-board mills.

The annual requirement of India exclusive of the use of the paper mills, ranges from 60,000 to 70,000 tons and this is sure to increase with the expansion of the industries in soap, textiles and rayon, etc. The Planning Commission estimated the country's demand of caustic soda at 87,000 tons in 1955/56 and said that even after the expansion of the existing plants there would be a gap of 30,000 tons. But looking at the import figures below, this estimate should be considered as very moderate:

Sea-borne Trade Account of India—Import of Caustic Soda

<i>Year</i>	<i>In tons</i>	<i>In value thousand Rs.</i>
1947-48	21,231	11,184
1948-49	90,616	76,172
1949-50	12,989	5,944
1950-51	22,000	
1951-52	61,894	

Average—41,737 (Say, 42,000 tons)

So, as I have said before, there will be much scope of installing more electrolytic caustic soda plants in different parts of India where power will be obtainable at economic prices. During 1945, the Panel for the Heavy Chemicals, Government of India, thought it essential that caustic soda production should be stepped up early. On the question of competition with the imported caustic soda, it may be known that the import is restricted being subject to duty as well as the issue of licenses. Adequate tariff protection was and is being still rendered to the country's growing industry in caustic soda.

Till 1947, the bulk of import was from U.K. but later on, large proportions came from U.S.A., Germany and other foreign countries. In that year Bengal's share was about 70 per cent. During the year the import became subject to monetary ceiling. In 1948 the import was allowed from all sources but subsequently it came to be restricted subject to essentiality. The soft currency areas were given preference and the concessional rate of import duty was given only to U.K.

As given in the Tariff Board's reports the shares of the industries for caustic soda were as follows:

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Soap	40
Textiles and rayon	25
Paper	15
Hydrogenated oil	4
Miscellaneous	16

The item 'Miscellaneous' includes boiler compounds, cellulose film, ceramics, detergents, dyes, electroplating, explosives, lyes, water softening, cleansing and chemicals, etc.

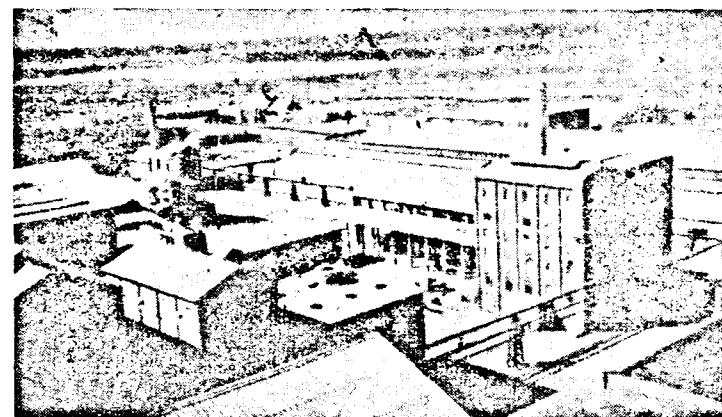
The main problem of the caustic soda industry is the high cost of domestic production due to two main factors: (a) Smallness in size of plants, and (b) High cost of electricity.

simple, about 2 tons of common salt is used per ton of caustic soda produced, much of the salt is wasted in purification of the brine made out of it. The Tata Chemicals have their salt factory in the very premises but the Mettur Chemical Corporation has their salt factory at Adirampatnam, 270 miles from the Mettur Dam, where their Chemical Works is located. So the Corporation has to bear the cost of transport of salt from their factory by railway for such a distance.

In most of the plants now working in India, diaphragm cells of various types, such as, Gibbs, Allen Moore, Vorce, Nelson or Belliter Siemens, etc., are used. The Diaphragm Cells produce a dilute of caustic soda containing 8 to 12 per cent of caustic soda and 14 to 15 per cent of salt. The salt is separated on inspissation. By the use of mercury cells caustic soda of purer grade is obtained. This grade is used in rayon industry.

Commercially caustic soda is marketed in the following grades:

- (a) 50 per cent caustic liquor
- (b) 73 per cent caustic liquor



A view of the Heavy Chemical Section, Mithapur

Most of the plants in India are even less than 10 ton/day, so the margin of profit is very low on the cost of production. As regards power, all of them, except two or three having advantage of hydro-electricity, have either to secure or generate power at cost not so economical. It is estimated that about 3280 K.W.H. power is necessary to produce one ton of caustic soda.

The chemical process of causticising soda ash to obtain caustic soda is also not less costly in the present state of circumstances as it would be depending upon soda ash which is not manufactured in any part of Eastern India or Southern India. If it be produced there at a low cost, this process might prove economical.

The Tariff Board of 1946 recommending protection to the indigenous caustic soda rightly pointed out that an electrolytic plant of less than 20 tons per day would not be economic. In U.S.A. there are more than 20 plants with rated capacities ranging from 20 to 350 tons per day. The Travancore-Cochin Chemical Corporation have set up a plant at Alwaye to produce 20 tons per day. A similar plant is also worked by the Delhi Cloth Mills Limited.

In the electrolytic process which is much more



Soda Ash Brine Refinery, Dharangadra

(c) Caustic Soda, solid, and (d) Caustic soda flakes.

Caustic Soda of 50 to 73 per cent solution is preferable to most users as it eliminates the cost of solidification, packaging and re-dissolving. For solid caustic soda, 73 per cent liquor is boiled in large cast iron fusion pots, the melted caustic is poured in steel drums and allowed to harden. Flakes are produced in freezing the melted caustic on a water-cooled rotary drum called 'Flaker.'

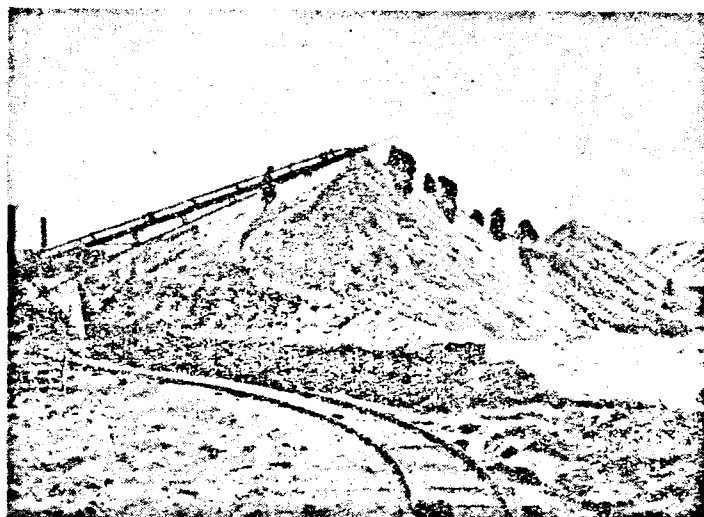
One of the gaseous co-products of the electrolytic caustic soda, Hydrogen, which forms 1/40th part by weight of caustic soda output, being 8,750 cu.ft. per ton

of the caustic, is used in hydrogenation of vegetable oils like that of ground nut, cotton seed, etc. About a thousand cubic ft. of Hydrogen is required to produce one ton of hydrogenated groundnut oil into Vanaspati. The other important use of this Hydrogen gas is the synthesis of hydrochloric acid and welding of metals.†

SODA ASH

The principal consumer of soda ash is the glass industry but in the manufacture of glass, the heavy variety of soda ash is preferred. The bulk of the country's produce being light ash is used as washing soda; the glass industry is somewhat dependent on its import. India's annual requirement of soda ash is about 115,000 tons on the following estimate under different classes of consumption:

Industries		
Glass	.. ..	40,000 tons
Silicate	.. ..	12,000 "
Textile	.. ..	7,000 "
Paper	.. ..	5,000 "
Bichromate & others	.. ..	6,000 "
For laundry and miscellaneous	.. ..	45,000 "
		1,15,000



Salt stacks, Saurashtra

The Planning Commission said that this would amount to 1,55,000 tons by 1955-56. The two soda ash works in India, the Tata Chemical Limited at Mithapur and the Dharangadra Chemical Works at Dharangadra, both in Saurashtra, have a combined capacity of about 60,000 tons. Their annual output for the last 5 years were as follows:

† Lately an announcement of the newly floated company, Heavy Chemicals Ltd., of South India has indicated that the country is going to have another caustic soda plant probably of 20 ton-day capacity near Tuticorin at the southern extreme where a fairly good quality of salt is manufactured.

Year	Tata Chemicals (in tons)	Dharangadra Chemicals (in tons)	Total
1948	17,913	12,360	30,273
1949	10,480	7,510	17,990
1950	26,267	17,223	43,490
1951	28,000	16,000	44,000
1952	37,200	16,000	53,200
1953	44,000	20,600	64,600

It has been admitted that the light soda ash produced by the above two concerns is as good as the imported varieties of light ash. The Magadi (Kenya, British Guiana) natural ash and the heavy ash from the United Kingdom are the principal imports, but lately soda ash of all varieties have come from Italy, U.S.A., Germany, France, Yugoslavia and other countries.

The following is a picture of the foreign imports:

IMPORT OF SODA ASH

1944-45	.. ..	78,000 tons.
1945-46	.. ..	78,000 "
1946-47	.. ..	57,600 "
1947-48	.. ..	68,500 "
1948-49	.. ..	1,63,560 "
1949-50	.. ..	12,300 "
1950-51	.. ..	29,800 "
1951-52	.. ..	83,300 "
Average annual	.. ..	71,474 tons

The soda ash is manufactured in India by the Solvay process widely known as Ammonia Soda process and this system is now-a-days generally followed in all advanced countries. The common salt, sodium chloride, reacts with limestone to yield Soda Ash (Sodium Carbonate) and calcium chloride. Chemically the reactions look very simple but the control of the process is very difficult. It requires highly scientific training.

Saturated brine is first purified by treatment with lime and pumped to overhead tanks from where it flows to absorption towers. Ammonia gas is then infused into the saturated brine in those towers. After the brine has taken up the necessary amount of ammonia, it is settled and then pumped with compressed carbon dioxide gas from rotary calciners. The ammonia gas combines with the carbon dioxide to form ammonium bicarbonate that again reacting with the brine produces ammonium chloride and sodium bicarbonate. The crude sodium bicarbonate (draw liquor) is tapped from the bottom and is filtered up through rotary drum-filters. From the filters it is calcined to soda ash. The recovery of ammonia from the liquor as residue, is done in stills.

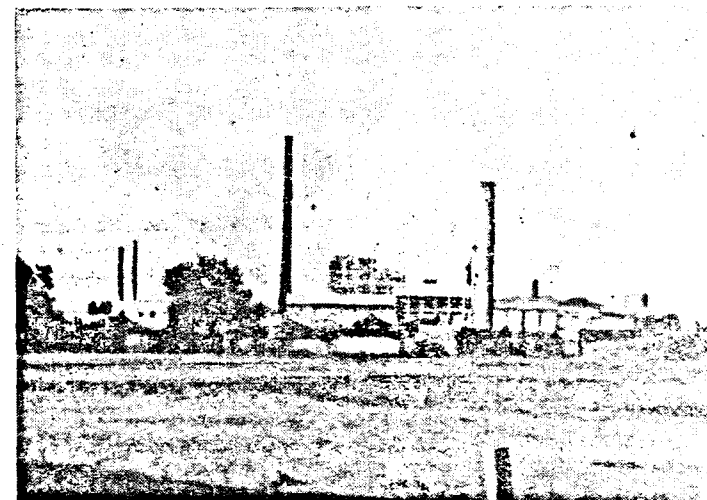
The country's soda ash industry is practically a war-time development when the scarcity of this chemical was acutely felt. Extensive deposits of the natural

formation of soda (*sajimati*) were exploited during the war in Uttar Pradesh, Rajputana, Berar and Mysore. Chemically it was first manufactured by the Sakti Alkali Works in Dharangadra (Saurashtra) in 1923. The factory worked only for eight years but resumed operation from 1940 under the name of Dharangadra Chemical Works Limited after a large-scale improvement was made on the existing Solvay plant. The potential output of the modified plant* is now 18,000 tons. (The first ammonia soda plant in the world was erected in Belgium by Solvay Brothers in 1861 that eventually displaced the Leblanc process).

The Solvay plant of the Tata Chemicals†, Mithapur, was set up in 1944 with a capacity of 50 tons per day, but it could not then operate regularly for 3 years due

able. In Eastern India both coal and salt will be available from comparatively nearer sources whereas in Southern India salt and limestone may be available locally. The following are the materials necessary for the manufacture of soda ash:

Material	Unit	Quantity of material per ton of Ash
Salt	ton	1.50 to 2.03
Limestone	"	1.20 to 2.00
Coke	"	.10 to .18
Ammonium Sulphate	lb.	16 to 60
Sodium Sulphide	"	10 to 12



Rhotas Industries, Dehri-on-Sone

to difficulties of getting sweet water and necessary equipment. The regular working commenced from 1947 with a recess in 1949 on account of the accumulation of stock due to heavy imports. The Government of India since rendered protection to the indigenous soda ash and both the works got impetus to increase their output.

Soda ash was on open general license from 15th November 1948 to 22nd March 1949 when the system was cancelled. The heavy imports from 1948 to 1949 reflect the liberal import policy followed during 1948 and 1949 up to 22nd March. This resulted in a sharp fall in prices and accumulation of stocks that compelled the two works close for a while.

Considering the present production in the country which hardly meet our entire requirements, attempts should be made in starting soda works in Eastern and Southern India where salt, limestone and coal are avail-

from all aspects.

According to the Government of West Bengal, Durgapur will have advantages for transport facilities and scope for integration with the proposed coke oven plant and a thermal power plant. As for the transport facility it may be mentioned that the Durgapur canal of D.V.C. on the Calcutta side will be at a considerable distance from the coalfields. I had been to the barrage site and this was pointed out by the local engineers. As regards power, a thermal station will be necessary, as the power of D.V.C. projects is already allotted to Chittaranjan, Calcutta, etc., etc. The opinion of the Government of India expert, deputed for the purpose, who has visited the site, is awaited.

In Eastern India, however, the third Soda Ash plant of the country will soon be set up at Dehri by the Rhotas Industries. It is understood that unlike in their Dharangadra Works they will follow the Zahn process of Germany, not requiring limestone but producing Ammonium Chloride which can be used as fertiliser.

* Since taken over by Saha and Jains.

† Since increased to 125 tons.

BRAHMANANDA Keshub Chandra Sen is a symbol of many things to us. A man of such infinite diversity as Keshub Chandra Sen, appeals to a hundred people in a hundred different ways.

I do not know enough of philosophy or of high religious thought to speak on these matters. But what has struck me about Keshub Chandra Sen is that he was an artist. He had the eyes of an artist, he had the soul of an artist, he had the breadth and depth and passion of an artist. And the artist in him is constantly seeking to express itself in every form in his life, in his work, in his religion. Today, therefore, I will talk of his artist that existed in him and I will try to show that even his religion and his philosophy of life were shaped by the artist within him.

We have got too much into the habit of compartmentalizing and segregating the various expressions of a man's mind but perhaps we approach the whole thing from the wrong angle. Man expresses himself in many ways, but the motive power, that is the mind, is always the same, and the ultimate goal that man sets before him is always the same. As Clive Bell has said in his book on Art:

"Art and Religion are two roads by which men escape from circumstances to ecstasy. Between aesthetic and religious rapture there is always a family alliance. Art and Religion are means to similar states of mind."

Let us see now how the artist and the man of religion unite in Keshub Chandra Sen. We usually speak of the great religious revolution that he accomplished, but seldom pause to think of how he accomplished it. What was this tremendous power within him that urged him along in his career and found such fiery expression in his life and religion? It was not knowledge alone that led him on to his voyage of discovery. There have been learned men enough who have read more and learnt more than Keshub Chandra ever did. But mere knowledge is not enough. For these men failed and gave up their quest after fruitless searchings where Keshub Chandra in a single moment reached the divine truth. True, he came from no ordinary family. But it was an age when great ideas were in a ferment, and if Keshub Chandra lived then, so also did many others. No, the answer lies not in his family heritage nor in his age, but in the man himself.

When we read his lectures and sermons, one thing becomes very apparent to us. He did not think and analyse, and then create his God. As soon as he assumed his attitude of worship he felt (to use his own words), "I felt God breathe into me His Holy Spirit." The two things happened co-instantaneously and could not be divided into different acts. To quote from him again, "Directly the soul assumes this position of prayer towards heaven, the rays of the Eternal Sun of

Righteousness fall upon it and enlighten it." To this single flash by which his whole soul became illumined, he gave the name *Inspiration*. "Prayer and inspiration," he says, "are the two ends of the axis round which the sphere of man's spiritual life revolves. They are only two sides of the same fact."

Having made this inspiration the basis of his attitude to God, he proceeded to build up his religious faith. But before we follow him further, I think we should pause and study this inspiration and perhaps like him, through inspiration, we shall be able to approach and understand his religion better. And moreover, by studying his belief in inspiration we may come to see how the artist and man of religion have united in him. Inspiration, as he speaks of it, brought something new into the religious life of India. But if we go far enough back in the history of the world, we see that Plato also speaks of inspiration, though with reference to art. He says, what the poet creates is an act of inspiration. The moment of conceiving and the moment of creating are the same.

In the modern age Keshub Chandra is perhaps the first to speak of inspiration and to realise its tremendous significance in religion. After him came an Italian philosopher, Croce. Croce may have heard of him; whether he was influenced by him we do not know, but Croce's theory is a direct transposition of Keshub's inspiration from religion to art. He says:

"Art is expression. The mind of the artist has intuitions and expresses these in the form of images. But the intuition comes and the image is formed in the same instant of time. There is no such thing as an unexpressed intuition for the intuition is its expression."

Croce's intuition, in other words, is the same thing as Keshub Chandra's inspiration. For here is his definition of inspiration:

"Inspiration is the thrilling and electrifying response that God gives to our prayers. The cause and the effect seem hardly distinguishable, and in the reciprocal action of the human and the Divine spirits there is a mysterious unity. The effect is immediate, necessary and inevitable."

If therefore, we take Croce's theory to be the basis of all art, we realise something about Keshub Chandra that perhaps we had not realised before—Keshub Chandra was an artist, and as an artist he approached religion. And if we look back on the history of humanity we see that all great men of religion have been artists. Christ was an artist, Buddha was an artist, Mohammed was an artist. In the Vedic age we see the astonishing spectacle of a whole race of artists. From this, then, working backwards, we can even say that a man *must* be an artist, in this deepest sense of the word, before he can apprehend the infinite God, and that when he ceases to be an artist he ceases to apprehend God in his infinity.

This, then, is the secret of Keshub Chandra's religion. As an artist, he based all on inspiration. Through it he felt the presence of an unseen spirit towards which he approached with love and worship. And, despite opposing theories that Divinity, to be realized at all, must be clothed in flesh, his faith in the truth of his own inspiration remained unshaken. So he built up his religion.

"We believe in the one Spirit, God, in life eternal, and in duty—three doctrines which are summed up in one fundamental doctrine—life in God. Such is our faith."

This sentence is taken from his lecture on "Our Faith and Experiences," delivered in 1876 and the lecture on Inspiration from which the earlier passages have been taken was delivered in 1873. This period of three years is referred to as the *Brahmagiropanishad* period when he began to work out his inspiration in group-life. And we can see also how, in the three years, his mind has developed, how it has passed from the first stage of inspiration to that of faith. We see a further development of his mental process in two other passages. In one of his sermons, dated 1876, he asks himself—what is the value of *bhakti* (devotion)—the instinct of prayerfulness which is the attitude of mind that inspiration brings. And he says man can be good in two ways. He can be good in a stern austere way, and he can be so in a gentle, sweet way. This sweetness is brought into life and religion by devotion. The picture exists from before, but it is lifeless, it is colourless, it lacks beauty. Devotion comes and gives it life and colour, and makes it beautiful. But he gives an even higher value to devotion, for he says that devotion cannot enter the soul until the soul is purged of sins and has reached a stage beyond sin. Thus he defines the stages by which the mind attains to devotion: reverence makes us say, Thou existeth*; love makes us say, Thou art good†; and finally, devotion makes us say, Thou art beautiful‡.

This was written in 1876. In 1880 comes *Jivan-veda*. In the previous sermon he had shown us how inspiration led him to the realisation that God is beautiful. The next stage now comes when he sees God's beauty imaged everywhere on earth, and realises that He is to be found, not in the books of the Veda or the Vedanta, but in the book of life and nature. And he says:

"This book teaches by illustrations not by words, and so touches the soul sooner. And it is in the image of a sky, the figure of a housewife, the picture of a group of men praying, that we can



Keshub Chandra Sen

apprehend the true beauty and the true majesty of God."

Thus we see, how in Keshub Chandra, art and religion become one, for inspiration which is the source of all art is the source of his religion. But the

* श्रद्धा द्वारा सत्यम् † जाति द्वारा शिवम्
‡ त्वं भक्त्या शिवम्

artist in him finds expression not only in his religion, but in every aspect of life. We see it in the very form of the Divine Service that he has left us. For where before it had been a dry matter for the intellect or mechanical chanting of *mantras*, he now brought into it a sweetness of a tender charm through which his instinct for beauty continually expressed itself. The *aradhana* and sermon with his inspiration as their basis, became charged with a new sweetness which had been absent in the more learned discussions of other speakers. Above all, through the *kirtan* he brought back into the service the old devotional intensity of our past—for he realised that music often takes the soul in a swifter flight to God than words ever can. But the eye, no less than the ear, must be attuned to the harmony of the soul and so, though he opposed idolatry, he wished to retain many of the ceremonies of old and invest them with a new significance. He was always moved by the beautiful *arati* ceremony and introduced it into his own religion giving to its lights the new name of the five ethical lamps of life. And his instinct for beauty and purity overflowed itself in his love of flowers. At the least excuse he would use flowers for decoration. They seemed to him to bring an air of freshness and purity into the room and he has handed the tradition down to us as well.

Simplicity was the essence of his house and home but with him it was the beauty of simplicity and he realised in it the highest expression of the Oriental spirit of renunciation which he has so perfectly described as *svarthanash*. He gracefully combined plain living with austerity. What was the secret of this grace? He writes in a letter to an English lady:

"This, however, I will not conceal from you—I love and wish to encourage asceticism. But my asceticism is not what is ordinarily accepted as such. . . . Energy, philanthropy, meditation, work, self-sacrifice, intellectual culture, domestic and social love—all these are united in my asceticism."

As a teacher he always used his artistic sense to impart his ideas. His consciousness of beauty was ever present in his use of language and it made him one of the greatest orators and writers of the age. He was also aware of the deep influence that environment has on the mind of man and so established the *Yoga-kutir*, *Sadhan-kanan*, *Tapoban* and so on. The very wedding ceremony and the various vows in his *Nava-Samhita* reveal the artist eternally striving to express himself. He conceived of the idea of a flag for his new religion and in the flag he symbolised the great ideals that he set before him and before those who believed with him.

In his own character we find a noble harmony of those qualities that make man great. And with an unerring instinct he could always draw out the nobler qualities of those who came in contact with him.

Beauty in its every form appealed to him, but above all as she revealed herself in the manifestations of Nature. This is how he expresses his love of Nature as he stands high on the Himalayas one day and looks around him:

"The scenery on all sides is sublime. Hills upon hills, mountains upon mountains, above the highest, a higher still, all aspiring to kiss the heavens above. What can be grander? Trees tall and majestic, and various species, cover the heights and depths, and here and there flowers of rare beauty peep out to enhance the beauty of the wildly romantic scene. All is still as death, except where the jocund birds chirp and sing or the solemn rush of a distant waterfall is heard. Such a place is indeed heaven upon earth."

But Nature was more to him than mere environment. She not only created for him the atmosphere in which to pray but also made him feel in her the very spirit of God. Here is another passage:

"To be with Thee is to be with Nature. When Thou, O dear God, speakest to the inmost heart in the tender language of infinite mercy, hills and mountains, rivers and oceans, sun, moon and stars, plants and flowers, all discourse sweetly of thy majesty and beauty."

Keshub Chandra himself was deeply conscious of the huge family to which he belonged, and we constantly get glimpses of his feeling of kinship with the painter, the poet and the musician. Knowing that on the ultimate level religion and poetry and painting and music unite, he is constantly drawing allusions from one or another of these spiritual cousins of his.

He is talking of sectarianism. He says, "Let there be no more sectarianism," and then goes on to argue that the great need of the time is unity in all religions. By unity he does mean uniformity. All religions are to retain their own distinctive character but there must be harmony between them. What he asks for, is not annihilation but unification. Then he wishes to clarify the idea—to himself and to others and instinctively he falls back upon the conception of harmony in music to illustrate his point. It is a magnificent passage:

"Let all sects retain their distinctive peculiarities and yet let them unite in fraternal alliance. The unity I contend for is the unity of music. For, in music though there are hundreds of diverse shapes producing various sounds, yet there is sweet harmony among them. There are many voices, yet there is unity in their swelling chorus. There is concordance in the midst of apparent discordance. Each instrument has its own individuality, its own specific character; each voice retains its peculiar tone and is determined not to yield, yet out of the union of many voices and diverse instruments comes forth sweet and delicious music."

In another passage he shows us his profound

insight into the soul of a painter. He is speaking of God and calls him the master painter who has painted all Creation. But he knows that before a painter can put anything on the canvas, his mind must be elevated by great and noble thoughts. The painting only gives form and colour to the conception. Then he looks at nature all around him and says:

"If such be the form and colour of God's paintings how great must His mind be. When man wishes to paint he strives hard, and after much straining reaches a state of mind in which thought finds expression in form. But God has only to lift up the brush and wave upon wave of thought flows into his mind so that all that he paints becomes the perfection of art. What beauty there is in every little flower, what splendour in the moon, how exquisite the ray of sun that falls on the ocean-waves. And if this Beauty be the ex-

pression of His mind, then how infinitely beautiful He Himself must be."

And so, Keshub Chandra reaches once again the conclusion that his intuitive experience of God had already led him to. For inspiration had brought devotion—devotion that makes us say, God, Thou art beautiful.

We just cannot get away from the artist in Keshub Chandra—he keeps coming back, no matter from what aspect we look at his religion. And indeed, why should we seek to get away from him. Rather, if Keshub Chandra approached religion as an artist—let us do so also. This was the New Dispensation he brought to his fellow-countrymen and if we have not sometimes been able to live up to his ideals, it is because perhaps we have not always remembered to look on life and on God as he did—with the eyes, with the mind, and with the soul of an artist.

—:O:—

IN THE DEPTHS OF THE HEART OF BIHAR

By SURESH RAMABHAI

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE entered Bihar on his Bhoodan Yagna mission on 14th September, 1952. During these two years and three months he has been ceaselessly on his feet except when he was ill for some time at Chandil, observing his routine with almost a sun-like regularity. He has thus directly contacted about 3,000 villages of Bihar and more than half a crore of Bihar peasantry have listened to his message from his own lips. Perhaps no other Indian in this millennium has served Bihar in this fashion and conveyed the call of the age to the people with so much steadfast devotion and self-sought penance. Vinoba has called this tour of his a *Bhog-Yatra* (luxury journey). But only the future will reveal what a tremendous sacrifice it was. The coming generations may wonder how in this age of science and speed Vinoba kept company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowest among the lowest. Through his *yatra*, Vinoba has touched the very depths of the heart of Bihar. No statistics can illustrate the measure of the same. In fact, its full significance will be realised several years, rather decades after. But an idea of it can be had from the many eventful happenings that came to pass in this tour specially during the last six months. They will show, as nothing else can, in how subtle and silent a manner has Vinoba's melodious symphony moved the chords of the heart of Bihar's loving and intelligent populace. For want of space, I would have to confine myself to about half a dozen cases to which I myself was a witness.

... ..

August last. Vinoba was touring the flood-ravaged parts of the Samastipur subdivision of Darbhanga district. We waded through water mostly on foot, taking a boat only when it was more than chest-deep. The floods this year surpassed all those in living memory. Yet the people faced them with courage and fortitude. One morning we were going by boat to a village called Hathauri. On our way lay a small village. A rich zamindar of that place expressed his desire to offer some land in Bhoodan. We learnt that he was known to be very tyrannical and had recently evicted out several poor families. He wanted to present his *dan patra* (gift deed) in Vinoba's own hands. But as we had no programme to halt on our way, the landlord took his own boat, rushed up successfully to catch us. Leaping from his boat into ours, he submitted his *dan patra* to Vinoba who told him: "I gather that the local people have some grievances against you. In that case how can I accept your *dan-patra*?" Denying the same the zamindar replied, "No, huzoor! This is all wrong. You can very well enquire."

"Now I am going to my camp. It is impossible to make any enquiry here en route. You please come to the camp. Your *dan-patra* can be accepted only after due investigations."

We reached Hathauri at about ten. No sooner did Vinoba come out of the boat than the said zamindar insisted on the acceptance of his *dan-patra*. Placing his hand on his shoulder, Vinoba observed, "I have already told you that certain enquiries have

to be made in your case. Without that I am not in a position to take in your *dan-patra*."

"I am willing to put up the whole case before you."

"I would like to hear the other side too. So both the parties may come to me at half past six in the evening."

The other party was also informed to the same effect. Throughout the day I frequently found the zamindar friend going up and down with a heavy heart and anxious face. I requested him to have patience and that he need not get so excited in the matter. At long last the sun set and clock struck 6-30 P.M. Both the parties came to Vinoba. At the very outset he declared, "This is no court of law in which one side complains against the other or falls foul of it. This is a meeting of love in which both sides must confess their ill doings or faults."

"The objection against me," said the zamindar, "is entirely baseless."

"What is this?" interrupted Vinoba. "There is no use talking like that. I have just told you that you have come here not to blame but to confess."

But both the sides persisted in mutual mud-slinging. Vinoba expressed his helplessness to do anything. At last the tone of the meeting changed and both sides related what they had done. Vinoba gave them a patient hearing. As something could be said for both the sides, he asked them to appoint one man as *Pancha* who would make on-the-spot inquiries at the actual site to carry out investigations in full and whose judgment should be binding on both.

The zamindar suggested a name and the other party agreed to it. The gentleman concerned was also present there. Vinoba turned to him and said, "Now when both the parties are willing to have you as their *Pancha*, I have no objection. You have to go into this case thoroughly. Your decision would be acceptable to both. In case you come to the conclusion that this landlord friend has done no injustice, his *dan-patra* would be accepted. Meanwhile you have to keep it safely with you."

Our friend handed over his *dan-patra* to the new *Pancha*. And heaved a sigh of relief. It appeared as if tons of load had been lifted off his head.

... ..
Second week of September. A village in the Sitamarhi subdivision of Muzaffarpur district. With some hesitation a worker placed before Vinoba a *dan-patra* of 5 acres. The donor owned some 100 acres. He asked Vinoba his opinion on that *dan-patra*. Vinoba scanned it. He then paused for a while. Next he asked for a pen. And on the back of the *dan-patra*, he wrote:

"This *dan* falls far short of the land in possession of the owner. It is, therefore, refused."
—VINOBA."

Vinoba handed over the *dan-patra* to the worker. Quietly, he took it away and sent it back to the donor. A new sensation was caused in our camp: Baba (that is what we call Vinoba: 'Baba' in Marathi means father) has begun returning *dan-patras* today.

Next day, two cultivators, owning 15 acres each, donated one and a quarter acres. They personally came to our camp with their *dan-patras*. In keeping with Vinoba's instructions, both the *dan-patras* were regretfully refused. The worker told them, "You have a flourishing business. God's blessings are with you. From you we expect something substantial. So we cannot accept anything short of one-sixth." And he returned them their *dan-patras*. They took it to heart and expressed a desire to see Vinoba personally. The appointment was fixed for 2 P.M.

Just at 2 P.M., both the brothers came to Vinoba. "Baba, we had," began the younger, "offered some humble gift. But we very much regret that it was not accepted. It has deeply pained us."

"It has pained me no less. But I tell you that if I accept your offer of love, people will call you a cheat or thief. They will say that you cheated Baba by offering one and a quarter acres out of your 15. I don't want you to be ill-talked about. I am very particular about upholding everybody's dignity. It is better that they should not talk of you rather than that they should talk ill of you. I would ask you to ponder over the implications carefully and then come with an offer befitting your position."

Silence reigned in the noon. Both the brothers and the worker sat motionless. Breaking the silence, Vinoba remarked, "First let me know why did you brothers separate?"

They blushed. One of them murmured, "Differences cropped up in the household."

"I know this is frequently happening these days. But if you were one at heart, you could persuade your wives too. What is the use of breaking families like this?"

Their faces turned pale in anguish. They were on the point of shedding tears. There was a sadness in the air of the room.

Piercing it, Vinoba said to the elder brother, "How many are there in your family?"

"Three—my wife, my son aged 16 and myself."

"Then I become the fourth. Accordingly I must get the fourth share. Would you be willing to have me as your brother in your home?"

One friend bowed low, "Who can dare refuse you? But *moh* holds us fast. So please accept now what we have offered. More shall follow later."

"I am only demanding my right. If you do not grant me admission in your home how can I write it?"

So saying, Vinoba turned to the other brother, "And how are you?"

"Alone."

"Then you and I become two brothers. I must, therefore, get half of your share."

Pointing towards the elder brother, the younger murmured, "I would only follow my brother."

"Very well. I do want both of you to become one. Then you give me one-sixth of the thirty acres with you."

Both of them were dumb-struck. Not one spoke. "I have," said Vinoba, "only made a just demand. Now you may do what you like."

"I have," said the elder, "offered one and a quarter acres. Have a quarter more."

Vinoba smiled, "It seems it is a vegetable market." All had a hearty laugh.

"What is this *sava* (1½) and *derh* (1¼)? Complete the one-sixth and obtain the blessings of *Janata-Janardan*." So spoke the worker.

"Alright, take two acres," replied the elder. He put the *dan-patra* before Vinoba and seemed to get up.

Returned it back to him, Vinoba remarked, "You appeal to be a successful businessman. But I regard it as a *Satsang* (truthful company) and I don't want to do anything below your dignity."

Silence in the room. The worker appealed to them, "It is now a question of only half an acre more. Have courage and come forward." But they refused to budge. Their places, however, were overtaken by deep melancholy. They were plunged in profound sadness. Vinoba too sat straight with his eyes closed. Minutes passed like hours. Some time after the old one ejaculated, "Baba! you are not accepting our gift. With what a face can we go back to our home?" And with tearful eyes, he implored, "I beg of you to accept these two acres and save my prestige."

Vinoba sat motionless in his *samadhi*. "When you are so miserable," said the worker, "imagine the fate of those whom Misery has perpetually marked for her own."

Again, a calmness in the room. Then we heard the elder brother shriek. Pearls were trickling down his eyes. Wiping them with a corner of his napkin, he faltered, "Bhagwan! Pray accept my one-sixth share."

Vinoba opened his eyes and said, "May God give you strength and inspire you to work for the poor."

Thus both of them filled in the *dan-patra* of two and a half acres each and took Vinoba's leave.

... ..
A month later, Vinoba was touring the flood-affected part of the Madhubani sub-division of Darbhanga district. A friend with 40 acres of land offered six acres. Half an hour before the prayer time, he saw Vinoba and bowed low, "I have gone through your *Gita Pravachan*. That has moved me very much. Today I have donated about one-sixth of my share."

Vinoba, in acknowledgement, said, Jai, Jai, (May you live long!)

The prayer was held at 3-30 P.M. Then followed Vinoba's discourse. In the course of his remarks, he observed that *Dharma* stood on four pillars. One of them, faith, was quite strong in our country. Other three were *prem* (love), *tyag* (sacrifice) and *shram* (physical work). But they were very weak. Whence we regarded irreligion as religion and misery stalked the country, despite the fact that both the Creator and His creation are very beautiful. He advised them to recognise true religion and live it.

After Vinoba reached his room, the same friend (who saw him in the afternoon) followed. With folded hands, he submitted "I want some time if you could spare it."

"Come on, please," replied Vinoba. "You saw me in the noon."

"Yes, Baba, I did. Your prayer address has inspired me to offer more land. We are four in my family. You become the fifth. And I accept your right. Here are two acres more to complete eight."

With all reverence he presented the *dan-patra* to Vinoba. Accepting it with a smile, Vinoba remarked, "I am sure you now become a worker of mine. The faith which has moved you to offer this gift would enable you to obtain gifts from others indeed." The new convert bent low with humility, touched Vinoba's feet and took leave.

... ..
Second week of October last. Saharsa district. We were at a small village in the Kosi area. Of about 2,000 acres of land in that village, about three-fourths belonged to two families, the rest with others. Donations amounting to 60 acres were offered on behalf of the two rich houses. In keeping with Vinoba's behest, that was returned. In the evening after the prayer, four young men from these two families approached Vinoba. While one of them was a graduate, another was a Vakil, the third was a leading Congress worker and the fourth had Praja-Socialist leanings. They gave a written memorandum (?) to Vinoba regretting the insult (?) shown to their village by returning their gifts. Some Bhoo-dan workers were also present.

Vinoba began, "At the outset I must tell you that my work is not to discredit any one but to raise everybody's prestige. I do not want to run down anybody's honour or reputation. I am interested only in revoking love and cementing hearts."

"We too want the same," the Vakil put in. "But I am constrained to add that our *dan-patra* was refused. I know cases where offers short of one-sixth have been accepted."

"Vakil Sahab, it is no court of law where you must argue against the adversary. This is a company of the faithful who give vent to their true feelings,

who are anxious to wash off all stains on their heart. I can quote numberless instances when people have offered far more than one-sixth as also of those who have forsaken all. Why should you initiate only low-pulling cases?"

"My only submission is that our offer may please be accepted. More shall follow later."

"I would urge upon you to grasp my point. I want you to take me in your house as a member on behalf of the *Dandara Narayan*. If you are five brothers, I should be considered as the sixth and given the share, if three then the fourth, if seven then the eighth, and if you are alone then I must get the half. I do not count children for they grace every house. Mine is a religious demand."

The Vakil grew silent and seemed to be thinking something. But the graduate ejaculated, "Baba! We can't meet our own needs. Besides, there is the ever sharp sword of the Government hanging overhead."

Supporting him, the Vakil added, "They are going to fix ceilings. Who would then offer land in gift?"

"I know it very well," answered Vinoba, "And I also know that all your talents are employed in the task of sabotaging the proposed legislation. When I was in Telangana, the Government there was thinking of land enactments. It went on thinking. Meanwhile the landlords transferred their lands in the names of their various relatives. At long last the Act has now come allowing some 100 or 125 acres. Now this is as good as not done. In your Bihar too, joint families are being disintegrated. Within two years, or by the time they pass any Act, all lands would go to the family-members. And that Act would be rendered futile."

"Do you mean to say that this legislation is in vain?"

"You know it far more than myself," said Vinoba with a laugh. He continued, "I am afraid you did not appreciate the secret of my demand. I want to abolish the very ownership of land. To claim land ownership is heresy. It is against the will of God. I go from village to village to spread this message. As air, water, sky and light cannot be owned by anybody, so also land. Land would go only to the tiller, even as a book goes only to the reader. True that some of you will not be able to work on the field yourself. But, I give you time. Not much but four or five years. During this period, you must prepare your children so that they may labour in the company of the children of the landless. But would you please tell the reason of keeping any land when you can support yourself by legal practice?"

The Vakil tried to evade the issue, "People have not yet quite understood."

And the Congressman joined him, "Even if we agree to part with land, the elders of the house do

not. They have earned it by the sweat of their brow. How can they give it up now?"

"I would not go into the question how land has been acquired by you people. I need not rake up into the past. It would neither help you nor me. But I would like to know your duty as a Congressman. Your State Congress passed a resolution for 32 lakhs of acres and also repeated it in a subsequent meeting. Do you feel that you must fulfill that resolution?"

"There are ever so many resolutions," interrupted the Socialist young man.

"I see!" spoke Vinoba in astonishment. "But it were you of the Praja-Socialist Party who told me that I had taken up your work. Does it mean that you have abandoned it after my taking it up? You are a very strange lot. Your leader, Jayaprakash Narayan appealed for it. But you are such queer followers as forsake their own leader after giving him a push!" The whole assembly convulsed with laughter.

"Baba, this is not surprising at all," confessed the graduate, the youngest. "For your demand strikes first at one's own self."

"You are right," exclaimed Vinoba. "Had it not been required to offer one's own share, both the Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists would have accepted the resolutions of their parties. This is the difference between my work and that of others."

The Vakil seemed to be in a hurry to wind up the case. "Alright! You agree to our present offer. We shall complete one-sixth quota shortly."

"When you are willing to offer one-sixth, the earlier the better. Who knows when I would be able to come to your village again or see you?"

"For that matter, there is so much land lying idle. And we do not even know how much it is."

"Why don't you give me all that? It is waste for you but I can make use of it. My demand is: give me all the uncultivable land with you and out of the cultivable land I want my rightful share as a brother."

"Baba, what can you do with that uncultivable land?" asked the Congressman. "It is of no use—it is either river or sand or barren."

"Please give me first. All is grist that comes to my mill. I will show you what I can do with it."

"We won't be able to keep it with us under the proposed enactment."

"And yet you do not part with it!"

In a slow voice, the Vakil murmured, "Its compensation . . ."

Vinoba heard it and uttered loudly, "Here you are! It is now that you have opened your heart. Your eye is on the compensation-money. This is what makes you stick on to that. I would rather ask you to donate me all compensation that you may get. Many have done like that."

"They must have been rich men," put in the

Congressman. "We are not so well off. Nor the elders will permit us."

"Well, I won't say that. But I am sure that offering your uncultivable land you lose little."

Silence followed. The four talked for a while in whispers. Then one of them in a feeble voice said, "Baba, we four are willing to offer one-sixth of our share."

Vinoba laughed and inquired, "What is your *ganit* or measure? Is it that of the Patna University or that of Bihar?" This amazed everybody: What does it mean? One of them said, "May we know the two measures?"

"Sometime ago I met a pleader with a diploma with the Patna University," said Vinoba. He offered me one acre of land with the remarks: 'It is more than one-sixth.' I asked him to clarify. He explained. 'We have one hundred acres in our family. We are four brothers and our father is alive. So we get twenty acres out of this 100. Now I have three sons. They three and myself make four. Consequently my own share is divided into four. And only five acres fall to my lot. Obviously, one acre is more than one-sixth of the same!' This is the Patna *ganit*."

All burst into peals of laughter. Vinoba continued, "So one-sixth of 100 acres is one acre. So kindly let me know which *ganit* you follow."

The young graduate was very inquisitive, "Baba, tell us also the *ganit* of the Bihar University."

The Congressman silenced him, "What more do you want to hear from Baba? Give him what you want to give."

"We four offer," said the Vakil, "one-sixth of the land due to us and our children. All of us will donate separately."

Humorously, Vinoba stated, "I wanted at least one-sixth of the whole family. But you have followed the Bihar University *ganit*. Now, what about my share of the land with other members of the two families?"

"For that our fathers and uncles would meet," replied the Congressman. "All members of the families would sit and then decide what to do. Presently we have dispensed with one-sixth of our individual shares."

"As you please," remarked Vinoba, "I hope that you will prevail upon your elders and successfully persuade them to part with at least one-sixth of the family holdings. But what you give me now is, I am sure, all cultivable land."

This stirred the Socialist: "Now that we have accepted you as a brother, we give you as your right. And when one gets a right, he must share both good and bad stuff."

Vinoba nodded in assent and said, "So I become your family member now. But I plead for justice. Won't you like your brother to stand on his feet like

you? Naturally he must be made to share, besides land, all other things too. I am your weakest and youngest brother. Whence I have an extraordinary claim."

They all blushed at these words. The Congressman seemed to be struck aghast. He grinned: "Baba, you are continuously attaching more and more."

"Is there anything unfair in what I ask? Would you dare make merry, while your own brother be in a wretched condition? At any rate, I would expect you to get broken all fallen land you give me."

All the four conceded this demand.

More than an hour had passed. It was past eight Vinoba turned to the workers who wanted to consult him on some points. And the four brothers took his leave.

November, first week. Purnea district. Kishanganj town. A Muslim noble saw Vinoba in the morning. He had already donated 3,500 acres of land. He gave further 1,500 acres to Vinoba that day. "You have," said Vinoba, "offered all the *Gher Mazrui* Khas land (uncultivated) with you. Now as my right, I demand one-sixth of your *Khud Kasht* land (under cultivation)."

"I agree to your claim," spoke he very politely. "But in our Muslim families, a woman has also her right. And we are five brothers and two sisters."

"Then I become the eighth in your family," put in Vinoba, and I want one-sixth."

"Very gladly so." And he signed the *dan-patra* accordingly. Later he observed, "This mission of yours is in keeping with Islam which enjoining such gifts as duty. Your demand is a righteous one. God willing, the country would fulfill your demand."

A week later. A village in the Katihar subdivision of Purnea district. We were on our morning trek from the Navabganj Pokharia village to Kalyan-gaon. On our way, the local people welcomed Vinoba with an original song:

Sita Sita Ram Bolo!
Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!
Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo!
Sab Koi Sampattidan Dedo!

(Let us recall the name of God. Let everyone of us offer Bhoodan and Sampattidan.)

This gladdened Vinoba's heart. Reaching the halt, he observed that we human beings were called upon to do only two things: recalling God's name and offering gifts. He advised them to sing this *bhajan* regularly. As one eats day after day, so also one must offer *Dan*. A few days after the said *bhajan* was sung in this form:

Sita Sita Ram Bolo!
 Sabkoi Bhoomidan Dedo!
 Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!
 Sabkoi Sampattidan Dedo!

Associating Sita with Bhoodan and Radha with Sampattidan is very significant. The workers have now adopted this *bhajan*. I don't think that hymns to God and *Dan* are sung in this manner anywhere else in the country. That it was begun by the lay peasantry in a village in Bihar indicates to what depth the movement has penetrated into the heart of the people.

... ..

Last week of November. Santhal Parganas district. We were at a village in the Adivasi area. The prayer was held usual at 3 p.m. It was followed by Vinoba's address in which he pointed out that his object was to abolish private ownership of land and transfer it all to the village. They must regard the whole village as their own home and live like a family. Everybody should work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need, just as in a family.

After Vinoba had left the dais, an old, tall Santhali approached a worker selling some Bhoodan literature near the dais. The Santhali told him that he wanted to offer 1½ acres of land out of the ten acres he had in the hilly region. The worker began to fill in the *dan-patra*. When the time came for signing it, the Santhali told him, "I have twelve acres more in the plains. May I offer two acres out of that too?"

"Why not? Rather you must."

"Then fill in the *dan-patra* for that too. I would sign both of them simultaneously."

The worker did as desired. The Santhali gave his

thumb impression on both the *dan-patras*. And he walked back happily to his house.

... ..

Two days later. We were at a village Boria. Vinoba was returning to his camp after the evening prayer. On the way, several Santhali people greeted him. And one of them said: "Baba Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Ham Zamin Denge! (Baba, take land! take land! We shall give it.)"

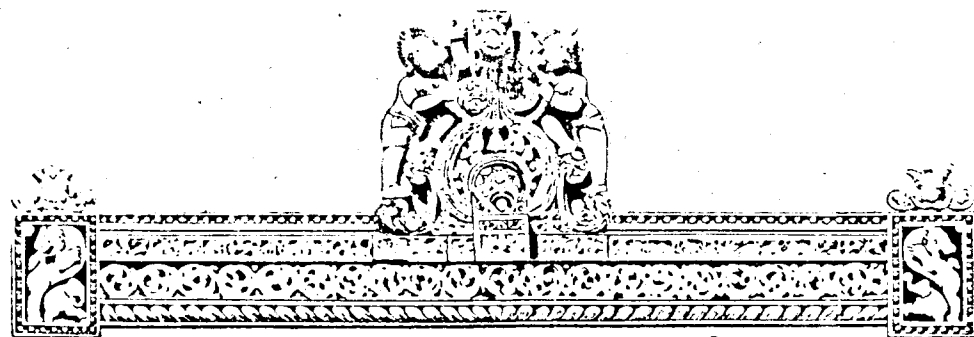
Vinoba folded his hand and stepped on. Then another Santhali stalwart came to him and spoke warmly, "Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Baba! Zamin lo! (Take land! Take land! Baba, take land!)"

Vinoba then stayed for a while and stated, "Give! Give! I have come to take! Distribute all land! Finish this collecting business. Distribute and share as in a family."

And he asked a worker to meet all these friends and fill in the *dan-patra* of their offerings.

... ..

The above events speak for themselves. When Vinoba entered Bihar, his words were: 'I want land. Give me land.' On the eve of his departure, Bihar's sky echoes and re-echoes with the word, "Take land! Take land!" What more is required? Now it is for the workers to contact the masses from house to house and execute the task. Not workers, but I would prefer, *Yagna-doers*! Once the *Yagna-doers* take to their feet, land ownership in India would become a thing of the unhappy past. All land would belong to the village, while the 'field-ings' to the peasant (*khet gaon ka, kheti kisan ki*). And if this can happen peacefully and smoothly, every other problem can be likewise solved by *Jan-Shakti* (people's power) in this country in keeping with our genius. Doubtless, that would lead us to true Swaraj, to Gram-Raj and to Ram-Raj.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY, ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD: By G. J. Renier, Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Pp. 272. Price 16 shillings.

This is one of the most thorough and important works on historical methodology that have appeared in recent years. The author who has a number of historical works to his credit combines astonishing erudition with a rare faculty of close analysis and critical appraisal of the views of other scholars, while his capacity for lucid exposition holds the reader in a firm grip from beginning to end. In his foreword while rightly criticising the attitude of the scientists and the extreme Marxists towards history, he justifies his own treatment from the point of view of a practising historian. Himself an acknowledged disciple of well-known pragmatic philosophers like William James and John Dewey, his originality lies in his application of their method to the problems of history. He divides his work into three parts bearing the titles, *What is History*, *The Detection of Events*, and *Telling the Story*, which between themselves cover the complete course of a historian's craft from the initial quest for knowledge of the past experiences of societies through the collection of material down to the record of those experiences in writing. The author's definitions of a large number of technical terms in the course of his narrative are always apposite, while his criticisms of well-known doctrines like those of the Roman Catholic Church and the Marxist writers as well as the interpretations in Toynbee's *Study of History*, are informing and instructive. Altogether this is a highly stimulating and suggestive work which should serve as an excellent guide for all worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of History.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MEWAR AND THE MUGHAL EMPERORS, (1526-1707): By Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shivalal Agarwal and Co., Hospital Road, Agra. 1954. Pp. 248+x. Price Rs. 12-8.

There is hardly any episode more fascinating and attractive in Indian history than the annals of the Ruling House of Mewar. Founded by Bappa Rawal the line produced such a succession of noble warriors that the saga of their fight for freedom and sacrifices undergone outshine the romantic tales of the Scottish and Dutch war of independence. Both the Scotch and the Dutch sustained a fight against enemies with whom they were united by ties of race and culture. On the other hand, wide divergences in religious beliefs and social practices separated the Sisodia from his Muslim adversary and gave an unexampled bitterness and intensity of passion to the struggle.

The Mewar Ranas' contest with the Turkish Sultans and the Padishahs of Delhi have, therefore, an epic element and flavour. It is not too much to say that the Ranas like Kumbha (1433-1468), Sanga, (1508?-1528), Pratap (1572-1597), and Raj Singh (1652-1698), fought with the dogged obstinacy of the Anglo-Saxon, the reckless courage of the Tartar and the chivalrous disposition of the knight-errants of medieval Europe.

The book under review is an attempt at reconstructing the history of Mewar on the basis of the primary sources. The author has brought to light many raw materials which had hitherto been unknown. A mass of Sanskrit epigraphs and Sanskrit works, such as the *Amar Sar*, *Amar Bhushan*, *Jagat Singh Kavya*, *Amar Singh Kavya*, etc., *Kheyats* and *Vansabalas*, such as the *Granth Vansabali*, *Vansabali Ranajini*, *Sisod Vansabali*, and a new Persian chronicle *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahan Namah* by Zahid Khan which is an abridged version of Shah Jahan's reign, as given by Qazwini and Abdul Hamid Lahori.

The chief merit of the volume is that it reinforces the main facts of Mewar history, previously compiled by G. H. Ojha and supplements our knowledge on many points.

Reference may also be made to the chapter on the "Economic and Cultural" history that forms the epilogue to this volume; to the ten maps, two plans of battle, numerous illustrations, such as the armoury of Maharana Pratap, Saddle, Chhatra, and Chhatra (pavilion) of Chetak that are incorporated here.

The book is a thesis approved for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, but the tediousness of expression and dull narration reduce interest in the work for which I would recommend the cutting down of the thesis to half its size.

N. B. ROY

MAN IN BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY: By Rev. Dr. Bryan de Krieger, Ph.D. Published by Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta-16. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 3.

The author is a Protestant Christian Missionary in Ceylon and the book under review is his thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. As the title suggests it makes a comparative study of the conception of Man as held by Hinayana Buddhism and Protestant Christianity. It is divided in nine small chapters, besides eight short appendices on pertinent topics.

The comparison is critical and pointed and documented with copious quotations from established authorities. The learned author had to study patiently very many standard works on Buddhism and Hindu-

ism in order to write this book. Passing references are made to Hinduism, and its differences with Christianity are clearly pointed out. Sangha, Arhat, Enlightenment, Anatta and other conceptions of Buddhism are respectively compared with the Church, New Man in Christ, Redemption, Original Sin and other corresponding conceptions of Christianity. It is regrettable that the comparison is intended firstly, to bring out the sad contrast between the two faiths and finally to prove the superiority of Christian doctrines over the Buddhist and Hindu ones.

In the fifth chapter entitled "The Buddha and the Christ" the orthodox author wrongly observes: "The word 'avatara' which is the Hindu equivalent of the Christian word 'incarnation,' literally means an apparition. Rama and Krishna are *avatars* of God, they are apparitions. They do not become 'flesh' and dwell with men." In the opinion of the dogmatic missionary, therefore, an *avatara* is apparition! He means to say that Christ is the only incarnation whereas Rama, Krishna and Buddha are not! Is it anything other than tomfoolery on the part of a bigoted Christian.

In page 73 deaths of Buddha and Christ are cited to show the essential contrast between the two world-religions. In this connection the fanatic author remarks: "The Buddha cannot help any man at death. In contrast the death of the Christ on the Cross has universal meaning." So in the author's view-point in order to be great every *avatara* like Christ must be crucified! If crucifixion means atonement for the sins of humanity then Buddha certainly underwent crucifixion of a different type which the bigoted missionary fails to understand and appreciate.

In page 24, the author opines: "The main difference in the conceptions of Reality in the two faiths is clearly indicated by the Mappamondo painting in the Campo Santo in Pisa and the Buddhist idea of the wheel of life or the Bhava-chakra. . . . While the Buddhist artist paints the wheel in the hands of Yama, the Christian pictures it in the hands of God. The final word for the Buddhist is Yama, the God of Death; for the Christian it is the living God."

The book is blackened by similar vilifications on almost every page. The Hindus as well as the Buddhists will be benefited by reading this propagandist work and knowing how their religions are being misunderstood and misinterpreted by Christian missionaries at home and abroad.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA
MY PARENTS: By Kailasnath Katju. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

Dr. Katju is well-known as an able minister, jurist and politician. This brief account of his parents—Rampyari Sohagrani Katju and Pandit Tribhuvannath Katju—is interesting not merely as a part of his family history, but also as affording a glimpse into Nineteenth Century India. The account of his mother as given here is translated from Hindi, that of his father was originally written in English.

D. N. MOOKERJEE
THE CHANGING MAP OF INDIA: By G. S. Halappa. H. Venkataramiah and Sons, Vidyavidhi Book Depot, Mysore. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an important publication when the States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India is examining the problem in all its aspects and touring all over the country to assess

public opinion on the subject. The author has dealt with this vast and complicated subject from different angles in six chapters, viz., The Evolution of Political Map of India; British Opinion on the Reorganisation of States; Indian Agitation for Linguistic Provinces—Pre-Independent Period; Post-Independent Period; Linguistic States in Theory and Practice; and National Unity and Reorganisation of States. The Congress before the attainment of Independence promised Linguistic provinces for the country. But now the leaders are afraid to change the provincial boundaries as this may set in motion separatist tendencies and may lead to narrow "State patriotism" detrimental to All-India unity. The author by dealing with the object historically in different periods—Hindu, Muslim and British, has shown that there is nothing to be afraid of from mapping out India linguistically. On the other hand, such a step will reduce the number of States and thereby reduce cost of administration and help development of regional languages and spread of education and efficiency of the people and above all, satisfy the aspirations of the people. India's unity is in her diversity and to try to shape the entire sub-continent into one pattern will not only be improper but dangerous for her future development and progress. Hindi as an all-India language will better develop under such linguistic States on willing co-operation. The author also supports the adjustment of boundaries of States of West Bengal, Orissa and other States in North India. To him the problem of linguistic provinces is particularly a problem of the South—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese, Marathi and Gujarati speaking people. We have pleasure in recommending this book to all who are interested in subject.

PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO-OPERATION: By V. Veerasingham, Manipal Hindu College, Manipal (Ceylon). Pp. 155. Price not mentioned.

It is a study of co-operative philosophy and movement with special reference to Ceylon. The writer himself a co-operator and an educationist of repute has done a service to his countrymen by bringing out in bold relief not only the material benefits but also spiritual gains of co-operation. The conditions are not much different in Ceylon from that of India and the progress had its way more or less through governmental backing or initiative which the author rightly deprecates. Co-operation is a people's movement and it is the people who will work it up for themselves. Government can help it but cannot create co-operation. Co-operation presupposes many human qualities in its organisers and initiative among workers for a great cause irrespective of immediate benefits to them. The author depicts co-operation as a religion which people of all lands and faiths must honour. He believes in world co-operation and world salvation through co-operation. Capitalism, Socialism and Communism, each has its merits and defects but co-operation brings within itself a happy compromise to suit all countries, all people and all times. It is a panacea for war, ignorance, poverty, unemployment, immorality and social evils of all kinds. Such is the author's estimate of co-operation. Indeed with such a faith in co-operation, he is in a position to write with conviction on the subject.

The book contains twenty-one chapters dealing with various aspects of co-operative movements and activities. Law, State, Politics Economics, Religion,

Education, Party system, Bureaucracy, Co-operative government, all have been drawn in the discussion by the learned author. The book has been written in a pleasant style and subjects presented display the author's unshakable faith in co-operation. The author is very much against State interference in the matter of co-operation although he welcomes help (co-operation) from all quarters. The book deserves to be widely circulated among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

UPANISHADS (Vol. I, 1950 and Vol II, 1953): By S. M. Bhattacharya, M.A., LL.B., B.C.S. (Retd.). Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 228 and 430. Price Rs. 4-8 and Rs. 6.

We welcome the publication of the two handy volumes containing the complete text (in Devanagari) and translation in simple English of all the principal Upanishads, eleven in number, including the *Chhandogya* and the *Brihadaranyaka* taken up in the bigger second volume. Most of the standard books in English on the Upanishads are now out of market and the present work is likely to commend itself specially to common English-knowing readers who are not well-read in Sanskrit. The author with a rare devotion took up the study of the Upanishads as the greatest solace of his life in old age and as an inestimable boon. The book is, therefore, free from polemic and scholarly outlook. On the other hand, he approaches the scriptures from the common man's viewpoints, some of which he has pertinently discussed in the two forewords. He has, moreover, added interesting explanatory notes throughout. We only wish the author had arranged to correct the printing mistakes, from which the book is not unfortunately free.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA

SANSKRIT

CHIKITSA TILAKAM OF SRINIVASA: Edited with Introduction by Sri S. Venkatasubramanya Sastri. Vaidyanisara, Sahitya and Ayurveda Sivamani, Professor, Venkataraman Ayurvedic College, Mysore. Madras Government Oriental Series No. CVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 9-4.

South India has a rich store of old manuscripts of works in different Indian languages and on various subjects. A number of institutions have been engaged for a long time in publishing critical editions of valuable important works found among them. But it has been possible so far to bring to light in this manner a very small and insignificant portion of our great heritage. It is therefore very much encouraging to find that the Government of Madras has taken upon itself the task of making the unpublished manuscripts accessible to the world of scholars in decent printed forms. It has introduced a series of publications entitled Madras Government Oriental Series in which have appeared editions of old works in Sanskrit and provincial languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. A number of Sanskrit works published in the Series have been noticed in these pages (April, 1951, March, 1952, and January, 1953). The volume under review, No. 108 in the series, contains a little-known Sanskrit work on medicine which looks like 'a revised edition of the *Astangahridaya* brought up-to-date with additions.' We

have here only the Sutrasthana section in forty chapters—all that is available of a big work consisting of five parts with 130 chapters. The edition is based on a damaged palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras, which also possesses, it is recorded, a 'restored copy' purchased from the Sarasvati Bhandagaram. The learned editor claims to have corrected the mistakes in the manuscript with the help of well-known works on Ayurveda. Certain matters which appear to be irrelevant have been relegated to the footnotes together with the corrupt readings of the manuscript and an entire section dealing with mineral preparations has been suspected to be later interpolation and printed as an appendix. We commend the work to the notice of students interested in Ayurveda for critical and comprehensive study initiated by the learned editor in his Introduction in English and *Upodghata* in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

(1) JAJABAR, (2) MATIR MADHURI, (3) MADHUKARI: By Sudhir Gupta. M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 14 College Square, Calcutta. Card-board bound. Pp. 60, 58 and 60. Price (1) and (2) Re. 1-12 and (3) Rs. 2.

The author of these three books of poems is a romantic poet who loves to play with imagination and is enamoured with the charm of melody and verse. The muse of poetry has captivated his heart, his wants are few, but the beauty, grandeur and sublimity of nature has filled his heart with love and bliss. He wants to keep away from the hustle-bustle, hurry-scurry and the cold, calculating ways of the world, and seeks a peaceful haven where everything is full of amity and unison, but he likes to enjoy the roaring rumble of the sea and the fury of the tempest, safely nestled in the warm bosom of mother Earth. His verse is simple and rhythmical in contrast with the intricate mazes and perplexities of thought and verse of the modern poets. The poems entitled 'Rater Swapan,' 'Pranaya-Smriti,' 'Kabitar Prati,' 'Ghoom-Bhagani Gan,' 'Dustu Rakhal,' 'Mahakaler Prati,' 'Palataka,' and 'Swapane,' are charming and expressive. The reader will find his poems delightful.

B. K. SEAL

BENGALI-HINDI

RASHTRABHASHA-SHIKSHAK: By Sudhir Chandra Majumdar. Sole distributor: Chatterjee, Chatterjee and Co., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1-8.

The average Bengali has no clear idea about the relation between Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Majumdar is an adept in both the languages and is, moreover, an enthusiast in linguistic researches. His keen philological insight has helped him not only to afford to the Bengali readers an easy access to the State-language Hindi, but also to explain within the limited space of the book the relation between the two languages. The exercises will be of great help to the readers. The fact that the book has been appreciated by eminent scholars goes to show the merit of the book. We wish it a wide circulation. Frequent misprints have marred the value of the book, but the author has given assurance that they will be corrected in the next edition.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

HINDI

SIRDAR VALLABHAI PATEL (Part I): By Narahari Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Pp. 544. Price Rs. 6.

Though posterity alone can sit truly in judgment on the worth and work of an individual in the light of the "one-increasing purpose" of the author of the universe, yet it cannot be denied that Sirdar Patel would be reckoned as one of the tallest stalwarts in India's fight for freedom and a sagacious "integrator" of that freedom. As such, his life is bound to be a continual source of inspiration to all those who prefer justice to injustice, freedom to slavery, strength to weakness, service of the people to "self-help." For, as we read the present account of his life, which ends with 1929 we watch the step-by-step evolution of a patriot-cum-hero, whose forehead is stamped with the marks of a crusader with the cry on his lips, "I will never rest while my country languishes daily in soul-corroding slavery." Many an illusion in the public mind about the Sirdar being "a steel-frame," as if the human heart did not beat under it at all, or a politician of the market-place, and so on, will be dispelled after reading the book under review. Indeed, if Gandhiji was a maker of heroes, the Sirdar was a maker of patriots.

STRI-PURUSHA-MARYADA: By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Someshwar Purohit. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.

Man-woman relationship is one of the basic human relationships. Accordingly, like life it, too, grows and is not something static. It is subtle, however, and only a sensitive and keenly critical person like the author could "lay down" its logic as well as its "logical" (as against sentimental or customary) limits which will ensure "cleanliness" in our social life and also social solidarity of the right type in our times. Therefore, he has discussed the various aspects of this relationship—passion, celibacy, marriage, social contact, individual behaviour, etc.—with his characteristic courage and candour, nay, conviction. The reader will be saved from many an unsuspected pitfall and predicament, indeed, if he would care to act on the suggestions and advice contained in the book. It should, therefore, be in every educated family's private library. Shri Mashruwala's is a mind that sees, dares and does the right thing, come what may—which is a rarity in these days.

ASHOKA VAN: By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 176. Price Re. 1-8.

GANDHI GAURAV: By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1.

Both the books, each of which has twelve cantos, deal with themes, which shall ever remain dear to the heart of every Indian, specially every student of Hindi literature. The first "sings" of Sita's dark days, when she was a captive of Ravana in the then Ceylon, while the second "sings" of the life and achievements of Gandhiji, who modelled his life after that of Rama. The poet has, indeed, sung of his illustrious subjects in the manner of the minstrels of old, so spell-binding is his style.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHOJ ANE KALIDAS: By Lakshminarayan Mojilal Pandya. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 398. Price Rs. 4.

This book contains a collection of 104 stories, narrating discussions between King Bhoj and Kavi Kalidas. Whether apocryphal or mythical, they are most interesting, describing as they do the literary duels and contests taking place in the court of that well-known princely patron of learning in ancient India. This is the fifth edition of a work written by the late Mr. Ambalal B. Jani, a noted Gujarati writer. The present editor Shri Pandya has made extensive changes in the light of his further study of the subject and produced a work which fully sustains the reputation of the original writer.

SHODHAMAN (In Search): By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. Published by N. M. Thakkar and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1.

Dr. Jhaveri obtained his Ph.D. degree by writing a thesis on the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's many-sided literary work. One of the outstanding features of an all-round valuable literary work of Sir Ramanbhai was humour. He was one of the few Gujarati writers of humorous works. His incomplete story—the work under notice—has been completed by Dr. Jhaveri, and he has been able to sustain the spirit of the original and the whole work is so ingeniously dove-tailed that it is difficult to find out where Sir Ramanbhai ends and Dr. Jhaveri begins. To catch the humour of the hero's vanity (emptiness) and self-importance, the reader is asked to read the book at one sitting.

SANSKSHIPT NAGARIK SHASTRA: By Mahendra Kumar M. Desai, B.A. Published by Kikubhai Chandulal and Co., Baroda. 1950. Paper cover. Price Re. 1.

Science of Civics in brief: This is what the title means. In the present times when every one wants to know his rights and duties as a citizen of a State, a book bearing on the subject, written in popular and easy language, was a desirable requirement. Mr. Desai has met that need ably, efficiently and intelligently.

BUDDHI MAPAN: By P. C. Shah, M.A., B.T., M.R.S.T. (London). Published by the Gharhasa Prakashan Mandir, Bhavnagar. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 89. Price Re. 1-12.

As its name implies, this small book deals with an educational subject which has hitherto remained untouched and therefore unexplored in Gujarat. It is taking this measure (mapan) of a child's intelligence (buddhi). The writer is one concerned with the education of young men and has studied the science and art of this subject from all available sources. Tests in gauging the intelligence of a juvenile are laid down with hints from the guidance of teachers and parents. Those interested in this valuable question of national importance will benefit by its perusal.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Fundamentals of Jainism

Prof. Prithvi Raj Jain Shastri writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Speculations about man, the universe and the relation between them, and about the goal of human life have been agitating man's mind from time immemorial. This has given rise to many philosophical systems and religious doctrines, one of which systems is known as Jainism. Its followers, now-a-days mostly confined to India, hold a prominent place in this country. They have a vast literature in different languages, a most ancient culture, holy places scattered throughout the country and numerous historical monuments as symbols of their glorious past and evidence of their love of art and sculpture.

It is quite wrong to believe, as was held in the greater part of the 19th century, that Jainism was either a break away from the Vedic religion of the ancient Indian Aryans or merely an offshoot of Buddhism. (See Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to *The Jaina Sutras*, Part I, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII.) The Jains believe their system to be eternal truth, revealed for the benefit of mankind in every era by innumerable Tirthankaras or Jinas (Victors). (A Tirthankara is defined as he "who shows the broad fording-place of virtue, the best of all, reaching which men overcome pains and sorrows." —Samantabhadra; *Brihat-Svayambhu*, Stotra, 9.) These are omniscient expounders of the nature of things, preachers of truth and organizers of the *Sangha* or Holy Order of ascetics, and teachers of the laity, both men and women.

Owing to insufficient historical data scholars may hesitate to accept the claim of Jainism to be a most ancient system of thought. But there is irrefutable literary evidence that Jainism was flourishing in India definitely in the eighth century B.C., and even during the Vedic age. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 287):

"Jainism prevailed even before Vardhamana (Mahavira) or Parshvanatha. The *Yajurveda* mentions the names of three Tirthankaras—Rishabha, Ajitanatha and Aristanemi."

Buddhist literature contains evidence that Lord Mahavira did not reveal any new truth or found a new system. The four vows (*Chaturyama Dharma*) preached by Lord Parshvanath, the last Tirthankara before Lord Mahavira, were in vogue before Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. (Pandit Sukhlal: *Nirgrantha Sampradaya*, Parts I and II.) Lord Mahavira was but one of the promulgators of Jainism; his parents were followers of Lord Parshvanatha. (*Acharanga Sutra*, 11.15.16, and *Kalpa Sutra*).

Jainism is distinguished from other religions and philosophies by its clear-cut theological and metaphysical doctrines. The main purpose of this article is to acquaint the educated laity with the basic

principles of Jainism without going into details. The exposition will be based mostly on original, authoritative works.

Unbiased ideological research by European and Indian scholars has revealed in ancient India two distinct currents of culture, namely, the Vedic or Brahmanic and the Shramanic. They were so antagonistic in approach that some ancient scholars regarded their opposition as eternal, like that between a serpent and a mongoose or a cow and a lion. (Patanjali: *Mahabhashya on the Panini Sutras*, 2.4.9.)

The old Shramanic culture included the doctrines accepted by the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sankhyas and the Ajivakas. The Sankhyas have entered the Vedic fold, the Ajivakas are found no more and only Jains and Buddhists may now be regarded as representatives of this culture. Prof. A. N. Upadhye (A. N. Upadhye: *Pravachana Sara*, Preface, p. 12) describes it as "an indigenous system of thought; call it for convenience the Magadhan religion, which was essentially pessimistic in its worldly outlook, metaphysically dualistic if not pluralistic, animistic and ultra-humane in its ethical tenets, temperamentally ascetic, undoubtedly accepting the dogma of transmigration and the Karma doctrine, owing no racial allegiance to the Vedas and Vedic rites, subscribing to the belief in individual perfection and refusing unhesitatingly to accept a creator."

Pandit Sukhlalji, one of the greatest living authorities on Indian religion and philosophy, has very lucidly summed up the basic difference between these cultures:

"Brahmanism or the ancient Vedic movement was established on the attitude of inequality while the latter (Shramanism) was based on the attitude of equality. This basic difference is obvious in these three respects viz., concerning society, concerning the end to be achieved and concerning the outlook towards living creatures." (*Jain Dharma Ka Prana*, p. 1).

Both Jainism and Buddhism deny the authority of the Vedas, reject priestcraft and the rigidity of the caste system based on birth, deify the human soul, follow the doctrine of *Ahimsa* more earnestly than others and stress ethical standards. But other tenets of theirs differ, as do also their literature and their history.

Jainism accepts the existence of the eternal, non-material soul which persists through all changes and migrates from one body to another until finally liberated. Buddhism, denying the existence of such a soul, believes in an unbroken series of states, each depending on the condition just preceding it and giving rise to the succeeding one. The Jain and Buddhist concepts of liberation are also different. The tenets of Jainism, moreover, are claimed to have been promulgated by various Jinas at different times,

while the Buddhist doctrines were preached for the first time by Lord Buddha himself.

Jainism lays stress upon external and internal self-denial, while Lord Buddha was opposed to external austerities, regarding them as useless for purifying the mundane soul. While the two systems have in common words like 'Jina,' 'Arhat,' etc., used in both for deified souls, the word '*Niggantha*' (*Acharanga Sutra*, 109; *Bhagavati*, 9.6.383) (*Nirgrantha* in Sanskrit and *Niggantha* in Pali) meaning "free from all fetters," internal as well as external, is used exclusively for Jain monks and deified persons.

Prof. Dalsukh Malvaniya, a well-reputed Jain scholar, holds that in the Upanishads, regarded as the fountainhead of all other Indian philosophical systems, the foundation of Jainism is not found. This fact establishes its independence and originality. The exposition of Karma, of the *gunasthanas* (stages of spiritual development), of the order and creation of the universe, of atoms, matter, the six substances, etc., found in the canon attributed to Lord Mahavira, goes to prove this system to be the result of the labour of many centuries before his time as well as different from and independent of Upanishadic thought. (*Agama Yuga Ka Anekanta Vada*, p. 12).

Jainism maintains that truth and untruth have been existing and will continue to exist side by side. Professor Kapadia has rightly said:

"According to the Jainas their religion as propounded by their omniscient Tirthankaras is nothing but truth, and hence they are inclined to believe that there was never an age when Jainism did not exist at least in some part of the world and that there will never come an age when it will be completely wiped off from the surface of our globe." (H. R. Kapadia: *The Jaina Religion and Literature*, Vol. I, p. 7).

As to specific literary evidence to justify this claim, we have referred to Lord Arishtanemi's being named in the *Yajurveda* (IX. 25). The *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata* refers to *kshapanaka*, which means a Jain monk. The *Bhagavata Purana* (V. 3-6) gives the life of Lord Rishabha. The word *shramana* occurs in the *Ramayana* (I. 14-22) and commentators interpret it as meaning a sky-clad Jain Monk. In the *Prabhava Purana*, Lord Nemi is referred to as a Jina who obtained salvation on Mount Raivata.

The Buddhist *Dhammapada* refers to Rishabha and Mahavira. The *Mahavagga* mentions a Jain temple of Lord Suparssva as standing in the time of Lord Buddha. The *Shatashastra* (5th century of the Christian era) mentions Lord Rishabha as the founder of Jainism.

Archaeological proofs of the antiquity of Jainism are also not wanting. In the Orissa inscription of the Emperor Kharavela (160 B.C.) Rishabha is mentioned as Agradina. The Kankali Stupas of Mathura also prove the antiquity of the system. Some scholars maintain that nude figures discovered at Mohenjodaro are in the Yoga posture peculiarly Jain. (*The Modern Review*, August, 1932, pp. 155-160.) Prof. Pran Nath of the Banaras Hindu University deciphers Seal No. 449 as '*Jinesha*' (*Jini-Sarah*). (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, Supplement, p. 18.)

The foremost peculiarity of Jainism is that it claims no non-human source. Its tenets are based on the knowledge of the Victors, who have attained perfection by their own efforts in this very universe. According to Jainism it is the human soul alone which can reach the highest degree of purification. All souls are possessed of fullness and perfection. Jainism is

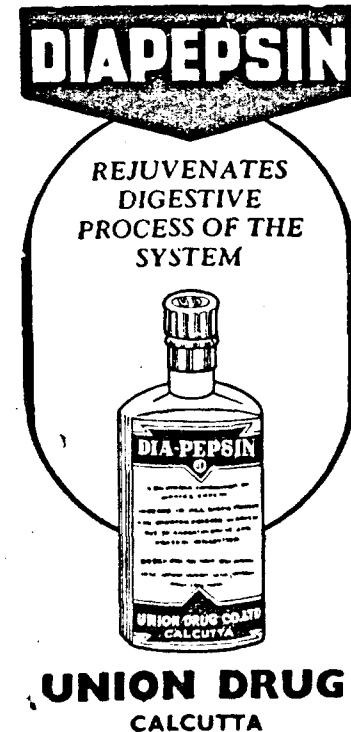
totally against offering devotion to any being, human or divine, in the hope of gaining bliss, immortality or perfection through the mercy of that being. The full development of the soul cannot be gained through outside aid. Lord Mahavira emphatically declared, "Man, thou art thine own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?" (*Acharanga Sutra*, 116.) One has to struggle with one's own enemies, having faith in one's own strength. The true victor is expected to defeat his passions and sense cravings and not his fellow beings.

"Fight with this, your own body; why should you fight with anything else?" (*Sutrakritanga*, 154).

"Fight with yourself. Why fight with external foes? He who conquers himself through himself, will obtain happiness." (*Uttaradhyayana*, IX. 35).

The noble, human character of Jainism makes it free from mystic ritual, unholy superstition and the feeling of helplessness or inferiority. That is why the late Virchand Raghavaji Gandhi (delegate to the Parliament of Religions, Chicago World's Fair, 1893), the first torch-bearer of the message of Jainism to the modern West, declared in one of his speeches:

"The philosophy of the Jains is not essentially founded on any particular writing or external revelation but on the unfoldment of spiritual consciousness, which is the birth-right of every soul. Books, writing and scriptures may illustrate, wholly or in part, this truth, but the ultimate fact remains that no mere words can give full expression to the truths of Jainism, which must be felt and realized within." (*The Jaina Philosophy*, pp. 15-16).



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According to Jain metaphysics, this universe is without beginning or end. It has always existed and will continue to exist for ever, undergoing countless changes which are produced simply by the inherent powers of different substances, without any intervention of an eternal God or Creator.

Substance has been defined as possessing some unchanging essential characters (*gunas*) and other changing modes (*paryayas*). (*Tattvarthadhigama Sutra*, 5.38). The essential characters of a substance are found permanently in it and it is on account of them that the substance exists. Non-essential or accidental characters of a substance are always subject to succeeding changes.

The world, according to Jainism, is changing as well as unchanging. Jainism rejects both the theory of impermanence accepted by the Buddhists and the theory of absolute permanence expounded in the Vedanta system. It believes in permanence in change. From one point of view, substance is permanent and from another it is subject to change. That is why substance or reality is also defined as consisting of three elements: origination, decay and permanence. (*Ibid*, 5.30.)

Paryayas originate and decay but the *gunas* remain permanent. Consciousness, for example, is regarded as a quality (*guna*) of the soul. There cannot be any time when the soul is absolutely devoid of consciousness. But pleasures, pains, etc., are merely various modes (*paryayas*) of the soul. They appear and disappear.

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India and Commonwealth

Mallikarjunan writes in *Careers and Courses* :

Off and on, in Parliament and outside, we hear talks of the necessity or desirability of leaving the British Commonwealth for one reason or the other. It would be well to study the problem away from the realm of local political controversy. The obvious tendency of the age in all spheres now is towards combination for strength or for safety. However unpleasant, 'collectivization' is the order of the day and the democratic nations practise it no less assiduously than the totalitarian. In the economic field, even those who cannot or will not organize themselves, into combines and cartels and collectives, make a compromise with necessity by forming voluntary co-operative associations, in order to save themselves from being swamped by larger forces. The logic of that method is no less applicable to the field of international politics.

TOWARDS DYNAMIC NEUTRALITY

The major part of the world has already organized itself into two powerful blocs, each unwilling to endure the other, each desperately and mortally anxious to secure by bribe or threat, strategic allies and strategic materials and strategic positions for a final showdown. Apart from the material strength of these blocs, their psychological influence is to be feared because they have neat ideologies at their command, each appealing to a certain section of the people in every country—one apparently preaching freedom and the other economic justice, though in reality they stand only for uncompromising reaction and uncompromising revolution. The patronage or dominance of either would spell disaster to nations like ours, trying to evolve at their own pace towards greater total prosperity as well as greater social justice. Rightly and bravely, therefore, has this country elected to tread the tightrope of dynamic neutrality, struggling hard to be herself and do things her own way. But she needs like everybody else the climate of peace in which to grow, and such a peace she cannot command entirely by her own strength. A third force or a neutral bloc—an association of nations who have not lost their heads altogether, of nations who are not power-erased or power-driven—is, therefore, of the greatest necessity in this period of strain.

The idea of such an Asian Federation was in the air a few years ago, but the complexion of the international scene has changed considerably since then; and with the inroads that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have made in this continent such a federation is not out of question. We are left, therefore, with the one association that we have had these many years—the Commonwealth. It is definite that we are not willingly joining either of the existing power blocs, and it is also clear that there is no chance of forming now any new association of the kind that we can welcome. We

have, at the moment, the option only between remaining in the only association of which we have ever been a member and of living in a splendid but distinctly hazardous isolation. It is a grave choice to have to make and merits more than casual consideration.

WHY NO TRUCK WITH BRITAIN?

Since the talk is of leaving the Commonwealth, it would not be illogical to consider at the outset the arguments adduced against continued membership. The first, which is rapidly eliminating itself due to the softening influence of time, is the sentimental antipathy felt in certain quarters against any association with Britain. But mature opinion has never supported this attitude. Gandhiji himself, foremost among the fighters for freedom, never gave up the desire of amicable association with Britain on terms of equal partnership in the Commonwealth. The leadership of the Indian National Congress has shown, even sentimentally speaking, a good deal of affection and respect for Britain and has been happy to continue the old association on a more honourable basis. Indian sentiment at the moment is, if anything, more strongly in favour of Britain than at any other time, and it is a matter of credit to both the nations.

The second argument relies for its strength on the various weaknesses of the Commonwealth. It is pointed out in the first instance that the Commonwealth does not have a common foreign policy. The relationships of the different Commonwealth countries with the United States vary in degree though not substantially in basic friendliness. Their attitudes towards the U.S.S.R. or Red China vary even in kind. Then too their own mutual relationships have not been particularly happy in recent years. The colour prejudice exhibited by South Africa and Australia, the lack of goodwill between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and other problems, the none-too-smooth relationship between even India and Ceylon—these do show that the members of the family of nations do not get on altogether too well with one another. Most critics, therefore, claim that the Commonwealth idea exists no longer in fact. Others liking or disliking it, point out also that, if anything, the British Commonwealth is becoming rather an Anglo-American Commonwealth with the increasingly close relations which the United States has established, not so much with Britain, as with Australia and New Zealand by the Anzus Treaty and with Pakistan through substantial military assistance. This intrusion of the United States as an active—indeed, too active—force in shaping the foreign policies of these member nations of the Commonwealth does not augur well for the safety of that association. These indeed are genuine handicaps and defects of Commonwealth today.

IMPORTANCE OF ASSOCIATION

But to grant these defects is not to take away from the value of that association. Differences in policy among the Commonwealth nations are bound to exist, though such serious differences are no doubt unfortunate. But the genuinely voluntary nature of the association and the almost complete absence of restriction on the members, which permits such differences, points out to a strong underlying unity. They all bear the impress of British ideas and institutions more or less uniformly in their intellectual, social and political life. All of them are busy with the task of national reconstruction and none of them is at the moment expansionist in outlook. The sentimental force of tradition has

shown itself already in the fact that India and Pakistan have opted to remain in the Commonwealth at a time when feeling that those countries was least favourable towards Britain. The further fact that the mutual differences between the member-nations as yet being attempted to be solved by consultations and conference is not inconceivably influenced by the same force.

Moreover, while our membership of the sterling bloc cannot perhaps be called an irreplaceable economic convenience, we certainly enjoy special trade privileges with Britain because of our Commonwealth associations. The Commonwealth has its own programme for raising social and economic standard of member nations (like the Colombo Plan) and these assistance measures, uniquely have no political strings attached. Commonwealth Defence Conferences keep us posted with valuable military information and there is provision also for training for our military personnel in the U.K. The Commonwealth Relations Office provides valuable political information to member-countries. These benefits may not compare with what we may gain by striking a bargain with either of the power blocs desperately anxious for friends but they are benefits nevertheless, and they are paid for in the honourable coin of goodwill and co-operation and not in slices of freedom.

Commonwealth membership is indeed independence with something added, as the Prime Minister of New Zealand once described it. No advantage is lost and no liberty or dignity is sacrificed for this membership. And yet we derive definite economic, political military and even intellectual benefits. We enjoy in the international sphere a certain added respect because the Commonwealth though long past its glory, is still associated with power and dignity. It may not be too fanciful to say that we are somewhat 'fenced' by the great name of that once-powerful organization. It is a unique association of peoples from every quarter of the globe united for peaceful purposes and providing a great example of voluntary co-operation whatever its defects may be.

Perhaps a little colourful but accurate enough is Mr. Louis St. Laurent's description of the Commonwealth as an organization building "a new bridge of understanding between the East and the West." Greater unity may perhaps be desirable in certain matters but one cannot have everything. One has to make some kind of compromise between liberty and order, and the present arrangement is not a bad one on the whole.

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We seem to have quite a bit of the advantages of combination with none of the accompanying restrictions. The Commonwealth represents "a gentleman's agreement," however vague, and we need more rather than less of that kind of thing in the world of today. The existence and the stability of that organization would seem to be still one of the guarantees that a third and total world war may yet be avoided. Our leaving the Commonwealth would be a definite disadvantage for our country as well as for the Commonwealth which is an important instrument for securing that peace which we desire for ourselves and for the world.

Racial Policy in South Africa

National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

The following resolution was adopted by the

British Council of Churches at its half-yearly meeting in London:

"The British Council of Churches, believing (1) that the just relationship of persons of different races is of vital interest to the whole Christian Church;

(2) that the policy of the South African Government as expressed in the Native Resettlement Act and the Bantu Education Act whereby it is proposed to ensure the mental as well as the physical segregation of the Bantu 'in his own community,' and to deny him any place in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour, is not only an offence against human rights, but also against the Divine Law as set forth in the Bible; and noting the contents of the recent Circular threatening the cancellation of leases to missions in African locations if representatives of those churches to which leases have been given take part in activities which the government regards as of a 'subversive nature' or tending to 'encourage deterioration in the relationship between the natives and governmental persons or bodies'; hereby affirms its whole-hearted support of the Declaration made by the World Council of Churches at Evanston on inter-group relations, including the following words:

"It is the duty of the Church to protest against any law or arrangement that is unjust to any human being, or which would make Christian fellowship impossible, or which would prevent the Christian from practising his vocation. . . . The Church of Christ cannot approve of any law which discriminates on grounds of race, which restricts the opportunity of any man to acquire education to prepare himself for his vocation, or in any other way curtails his exercise of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship for sharing in the responsibilities and duties of government."

Accordingly, the British Council of Churches asks the Archbishop of Canterbury, in consultation with responsible leaders of other churches, and with the chairman of the International Department to appoint a special group to advise the churches at an early date concerning opportunities for action which would strengthen the churches in South Africa."

The resolution was moved by the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, and representatives of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Baptist, the Methodist and Congregational Churches were among those who took part in the debate.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Safety from Atomic Attack

Richard Bolling and Lewis Anthony Dexter observe in the *New Leader*, November 29, 1954:

American military defense policy may be thought of as a chair with two legs which reach the ground, a third which is viciously foreshortened, and a fourth which is a mere stub. This article deals with the fourth leg—safety against attack, ways and means of making it less effective for an enemy to attack with A-bombs and H-bombs. Since the significance of this fourth leg lies in its relationship to the other three, let us first identify them.

The first leg may be seen as representing hardware, the weapons of "massive retaliation." Obviously, without such weapons we would be naked in a world of power politics; but, it should be emphasized, the very notion of "retaliation" presupposes that the enemy first attacks us.

The second leg stands for the military aspects of defense—radar screens, continental air defense and the rest, which may permit us to detect and knock out some attacking enemy bombers. However, the situation here seems to be still generally the same as when the late General Hoyt Vandenberg, then Air Chief of Staff, wrote: "Should war come, we can be expected to destroy no more than 30 per cent of the planes making an attack in strength on the United States before their bombing missions are accomplished." (*Saturday Evening Post*, February 19, 1951) In other words, this system of continental defense presupposes an attack—and an attack which will be successful in damaging and perhaps ruining many of our big cities.

The third, foreshortened leg stands for immediate pre- and post-attack civilian defense. Civilian defense concentrates on mass evacuation before an attack, putting out fires, rebuilding telephone lines, rescuing the wounded, etc. All these things presuppose that the enemy successfully completes a most unpleasant attack—or at least threatens to do so. An effective program of civilian defense could mean the difference between a rapid resumption of military production and public services in many areas and a situation so catastrophic that we could not continue fighting. Consequently, one of our pressing needs at present is to rescue the Federal Civil Defense program from the no-man's land of buck-passing to which an unrealistic notion of states' rights has condemned it.

But the fourth leg—safety from attack—still

remains to be considered. A group of scientists and scholars over the last eight years have pointed out that the basic reason why we must fear the atomic bomb is that we are all bunched up together like lambs in a slaughterhouse. The sixty-seven critical target areas contain most of our productive resources—including defense factories and a lot of skilled people. We must, these scholars have pointed out, spread out, or, in the event of war, we shall surely perish, individually and perhaps nationally.

For instance, an editorial in the September, 1951, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* said: "Dispersal is the only measure which could make an atomic 'super-Pearl Harbor' impossible. . . . The most exhaustive preparations for (civilian defense), while they can promise a considerable reduction in the number of casualties, could do little to protect the production facilities of an attacked city—facilities whose incapacitation is likely to be the prime aim of the attack."

The reasons why this is so have been cogently, patiently, carefully, scientifically and persuasively presented in a series of publications, the most notable of which is probably *Project East River*, Part V (published by Associated Universities, New York, 1952). This report should have set off wide discussion, but in fact, it has been almost completely ignored; as of July 1951, neither Harvard nor MIT even had library copies.

These arguments were cogent, careful, scientific and persuasive to those who read them. But they were and are largely, though not entirely, ineffective; the national industrial-dispersion policy, announced by the President in the summer of 1951, has never been broadly implemented, and by and large, since then, target cities have kept on growing faster than the rest of the country. For example, there is every reason to suppose that about 30 per cent of all investment in plants in metropolitan areas during the last three years has been in the central target areas. (The city manager of Cambridge, Massachusetts was quoted in July 1954 as urging that Cambridge, which is right in the heart of a high-priority area, start to build skyscrapers).

It is only fair to say that the use of certificates of necessity sometimes has encouraged new construction outside rather than inside target areas. But what has been done has been only a drop in the bucket compared with what could be done.

To be sure, a number of communities, under some prodding from Federal authorities, have formed industrial-dispersion committees. The chairman of

the New Haven committee said in the spring of 1954: "Industrial dispersion is not accepted as practical. Most people recognize the sense of it . . . but don't want to face up to its implications." In San Diego, the assistant city manager says: "There have been no cases of (industrial dispersion) in the last two years." A member of the industrial-dispersion committee in a New England area says: "As a matter of fact, there is a conflict between the idea of industrial dispersion from a defense and security point of view and the attitudes of our local civil organizations with respect to holding industry within . . . the city." Dudley Harmon of Boston says: "Our committee (on industrial dispersion) seems destined for complete inactivity."

Basically, the Federal Government has merely given undramatically presented advice on industrial dispersion and on some means of making cities less attractive targets. It has then chiefly left things up to the individual manufacturer, institution or worker. This is what Senator Norris used to call the "lazy fairy" notion of government run mad.

It is about as sensible as it would be for the Federal Government to proclaim that in order to defend ourselves we need battleships, tanks, airplanes, guns, uniforms, trained officers, etc., and then to leave it up to the manufacturers or the cities to produce them. If the Federal Government wants weapons or officers, it has to supply incentives for producing or training them; otherwise, since what is everybody's business is nobody's business, we would all be left defenseless. Similarly, if we want safety, we have to provide incentives for those who can secure it.

A co-author of this article, Representative Bolling, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives which is directed toward finding out how we can most effectively and inexpensively purchase safety by using space. Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) introduced a similar resolution in the Senate last July and, in his remarks explaining the meaning of the resolution, discussed the possible establishment of an Urban Decentralization Authority. Like any proposal for a legislative investigation, the Bolling proposal is not altogether new and has numerous ancestors and antecedents. But it goes well beyond any previous proposal in that it assumes that it is and should be national policy to use all the economic powers of the Federal Government to encourage industrial dispersion wherever such use will increase the safety of the country.

How can and should this be done? At present, nobody knows very clearly; and, consequently, the gist of the Bolling proposal is the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Economics of Atomic Defense, which would "conduct a special study of the ways in which existing and proposed Federal economic powers and programs can make their greatest contribution to defense against modern atomic attack."

The resolution declares that "it is the purpose of this resolution to bring before the Congress and the American people the best judgments of scientists, lay leaders and Congressional experts on the effect of the H-bomb or its successors on existing concentrations of population and industry; the possibilities for defense measures within those areas; the degree to which industrial dispersion and urban decentralization can be expected to reduce the dangers of present-day atomic warfare; the length of time and the scale of action necessary to arrange for dispersion and relocation of population and industry now in target areas; and the ways in which the Federal Government in co-operation with state and local governments can, within our free-enterprise system, contribute to such dispersal or relocation policies through its monetary, credit and fiscal policies and through purchases and construction, aids to education, health and welfare, the regulation of transportation, and other programs or policies affecting the pattern of the nation's economic development." Congress has, of course, adjourned since the Bolling and Humphrey resolutions were introduced, but they will be reintroduced next year.

We hope that investigation and analysis by such a committee will lead to the invention of better ways of making us safer from attack than anything we now propose. Indeed, one of the biggest arguments for such a committee is simply that it may focus attention and discussion on the question: How can we best preserve our lives and our civilization against atomic attack?

But, in any case, the first, obvious task of such an investigation would be to find out how and where the H-bomb and other developments of the last three years affect the conclusions of Project East River about how far we must spread out to be safe. This, in itself, is a question on which we must rely upon scientific judgment; but it seems probable that the area of great danger is considerably smaller than most people (or Chambers of Commerce) now fear. If so, this is of considerable importance; it means that industries can remain at their present locations.

However, whatever the facts are, they should be established, and the first function of the committee will be to summarize and interpret them so that the people can understand what decisions must be made.

Having done this, we are inclined to believe that the committee will decide to explore and make recommendations on the following points:

1. *New Building*: The major target cities add new building each year which altogether is the equivalent of four Bostons. That is, we make the target cities more attractive to attack—and less safe to live in—by something like this amount.

Through mortgage insurance, housing loans and taxes, the Federal Government can influence who builds what where. It could shut off new building almost entirely in obvious target areas by refusing to



give the same tax and loan considerations to building there as elsewhere. If a firm knows that it can deduct all expenses from gross—from the top—if it builds in Brunswick, Maryland, for instance, but not if it builds in Baltimore, it is likely to build in Brunswick; if, at the same time, Federal loan and mortgage policy makes it less probable to build new houses or new department stores in Baltimore than in Brunswick, new buildings of this sort will take place in Brunswick and not in Baltimore.

So stated, the problem seems simple. But it isn't. Only a few firms should be encouraged to build in Brunswick; otherwise, Brunswick itself would become a new target area! And under what circumstances does an addition to plant get counted as new building? Who shall make the decision on such knotty points as this: Radcliffe College builds a new Center for Graduate Students: is it new building? And what if a manufacturer puts a new wing on a plant? And in order to avoid fire storms, if for no other reason, slum clearance in target cities is still highly desirable; how can it be encouraged if new housing is not to be built in its place and the land is to be turned (as for safety it should be) into parks?

2. *Vital Products and Services*: Many basic national products and services are manufactured or developed entirely in target cities. In some cases, if the target cities were to be destroyed the goods and services could not be obtained elsewhere. Probably many essential parts of vital weapons are now produced exclusively in target cities; if several of these cities were knocked out, our capacity to retaliate would be much reduced or destroyed altogether. Conversely, then, our capacity to retaliate would be increased by some measure of dispersion.

At present, the purchasing agents for the Defense Department do not systematically take the contractor's safety from attack into account in placing contracts. Congress should make it unmistakably clear that they should do so. But, here again, the problem is complicated. Some order of priority needs to be set up. It matters relatively little if a contractor engaged in making uniform buttons is bombed out; some substitute can doubtless be found, and in all probability other button manufacturers in smaller cities can, at need, replace the defunct button king.

But, on the other hand, along the Charles River in Boston and Cambridge there is a terrifying concentration of scientific research, most of it defense-oriented, all of it with defense implications. And it is right at the center of a target area. Yet, the Defense Department has kept on placing contracts with MIT, Harvard and adjacent institutions; in most cases, new contracts have led to an even greater concentration of research talent in the field under study by bringing more specialists to Cambridge. But, in most instances, with some effort and perhaps at a slightly greater cost, it would have been possible to place the contracts at institutions like Cornell, the University of Missouri, the University of New Hampshire, or the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

3. *Governmental Operations*: The Government itself is a prime offender in making life unsafe for everybody. The Federal Civilian Defense Administrator has often declared that he thinks Washington is the Number 1 target for any enemy. Yet, only one Federal agency, the Federal Civilian Defense Administration itself, has actually arranged to move in order to meet the atomic threat.

The National Security Resources Board proposed

plans, which were approved by President Truman, for dispersing essential governmental bodies into units so scattered that an A-bomb attack would use too much of the enemy's power to be worthwhile. This proposal, which seems the most obvious common sense, has run up against a stone wall of indifference and hostility. Common sense, similarly, would suggest dispersing Federal agencies out of metropolitan New York and San Francisco.

4. *Inducements and Compensations*: A basic reason why the Federal Government has been unable to persuade itself to seek safety, so to speak, is the unwillingness of its employees to move. Indeed, at present writing it appears probable that a substantial number of Federal Civil Defense Administration employees will refuse to move to Battle Creek and will transfer or resign. They own houses, their children go to school in Washington, a wife or husband works in Washington and cannot find employment in Battle Creek, they like the metropolitan atmosphere of Washington, and so on.

All this proves, of course, that it is awfully hard to persuade a man who lives on a volcano to get off it—"tomorrow never comes." So, no doubt, the elegant Romans of Britain in 390 A.D. would have disregarded any warning that they had better get out while the getting was good; ten to fifteen years later, most of them had been killed off or enslaved by the barbarian invaders.

Such historical parallels are unlikely to be convincing without the provision of concrete inducements. These the Federal Government can offer, if it will, to its employees in large measure. For instance, the Government could—and perhaps should—assume carrying charges on houses which are vacated and cannot be sold as a result of its requiring employees to move. In instances where employees suffer a loss because, for instance, a wife has to give up a job, a very substantial non-taxable cost-of-moving bonus should be provided; and, furthermore, the United States Employment Service or some similar agency should provide special aid and help in getting new jobs for displaced wives. The Government cannot exactly transfer Maryland schools to Battle Creek, but there should be legislation permitting it to give aid to Battle Creek schools as "Federally-impacted" areas immediately, before the move takes place.

The biggest obstacle to getting people to move out of cities is that they will miss some service that they are accustomed to. In some cases, for instance, there might be considerable movement to a town without obstetricians. In such cases, inducements should probably be provided for specialists to move into the area. A parallel has already been provided by loan programs for GIs entering business, and no doubt such legislation could be adapted to help those establishing new businesses or professional services in towns showing a population increase because of spreading out from the cities.

5. *Transportation*: This problem of service could also be tackled by improving our transportation arrangements between smaller towns. At present, roads, railroads and bus schedules spread out from the big city like spokes from the hub of a wheel. This means that people who want any sort of service—use of a big library, beauty treatment, medical care from a specialist, a chance to see *The Pajama Game*—have to go into the city. Consequently, the daytime population of cities is needlessly large, and anybody who lives outside the city is at a disadvantage. But if there were easy rapid transit between the smaller

suburbs and outlying districts—that is, from spoke to spoke, rather than through the hub—the difficulties involved in getting people to move out would be reduced. In some instances, all the Government would need to do would be to provide subsidies to the bus companies for more frequent bus trips. In other cases, it would need to stimulate—financially—the building of roads or bridges, or the development of ferry services.

There are, no doubt, dozens of other ways in which people could be persuaded to seek safety by spreading out. Very likely, many of these ways—if adopted—would be equally effective. The actual problems are: (1) What proposals would be adopted with the least resistance and resentment? (2) What proposals permit the most economical and effective administration? Discussion anywhere, but particularly before a Congressional committee, will throw a good deal of light on what will be accepted most readily and some on the problems and difficulties of administration.

But public discussion of this sort can have even greater value. It might dispel the deadly lethargy of hopelessness about the possibility of effective defense against H-bomb attack. It might then reveal alternative methods of defense among which an informed choice could be made. And this could have consequences far beyond the military field.

Behind Britain's Dock Strikes

John Clews observes in the *New Leader*, November 15, 1954:

A study of the Communist party's present position in Britain reveals a curious paradox. Party membership has sunk to a low of 35,000 in a population of over 50 million, and the Young Communist League now has less than 3,000 card-carriers. As a purely political body, the Communists are on the decline. But, despite what CP executive-committee member John Gollan terms "the continued stagnation in the membership of the party," the Communist cause is flourishing in Britain as a Moscow instrument.

Moscow's "new line" has brought about a sudden boom in delegations to Iron Curtain countries. In contrast to earlier ones, they consist of the politically naive and even anti-Communists. The recent Parliamentary delegation to Moscow contained such resolute anti-Reds as Stanley Evans, Labor MP from Weymouth.

Most of the newly revived organizations sponsoring these pilgrimages have been proscribed by the Labor party as Communist fronts. Nevertheless, the British-China Friendship Association, the British-Soviet Friendship Society, the British-Polish Friendship Society and similar groups are getting more and more Labor MPs and Labor-party members in their delegations. The Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR is in a particularly strong position, since it has not been proscribed on the grounds that it is primarily cultural (*sic!*). This fiction lets it operate in political territory closed to its blood-brother, the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

It is difficult to assess the real influence of these delegations. Indeed, Communist operations in the film and television fields are far more important. A special firm has been set up to distribute Communist films at very cheap rates. Some innocuous feature movies are shown in London and a few even make the rounds in the provinces. In television, the main target, almost every Soviet cultural group somehow manages to get a spot on one of the top programs.

Recently, for example, the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR sponsored a Russian tour for five British musicians. At least two of them were solid party-liners, but the group's official leader was Kenneth Wright, head of the BBC's television music department. He returned with a firm record of the trip—made with Soviet-provided equipment—and stressed his complete freedom to select what he wished and use his own commentary. As it turned out, this "non-political" film went off on a tangent to show happy Soviet workers and farmers toiling for the socialist fatherland. Thus, several million British viewers were fed some excellent Kremlin propaganda, and, in terms of political capital, the cost of this particular delegation's trip was worth every copeck.

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NOTES

The Union Budget

We have received the Budget at the very last hour of the month of February. But even with a hurried perusal two things stand out.

First of all it is apparent that the Government is reverting back to the old soulless bureaucratic form, completely out-of-touch with the people of the Union and indifferent to their actual well-being, despite all the pious resolutions of the Congress and the flowery speeches of its only mouth-piece. For, it seems mental and moral welfare of the people counts for nought. If it were not so then paper taxes would not have been enhanced, because paper stands for education, both for the adult and the child, in all civilized countries.

Secondly it seems that the Government now has joined hands, with all the other evil forces, in sealing the doom of the Middle class, the class that was responsible beyond all others for the liberation of the country and the betterment of its peoples.

This year's Union Budget, for the year 1955-56, has been received with dismay by all sections of the people. It affects not only the richer class, but also the middle class, including the lower middle class. In his eagerness to spread the net, the Finance Minister seems to have forgotten the ordinary principles of taxation and the net is cast over all ignoring the taxable capacity of the payee. The budget reflects an increasing tempo of Government expenditure during the closing year of the first Five-Year Plan. The current year's revenue deficit was reduced to Rs. 5 crores from Rs. 15.36 crores envisaged in the original budget. For the coming financial year, at the existing levels of taxation and with increased provision for development expenditure, revenue is estimated at Rs. 468.76 crores, and expenditure at Rs. 498.93 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 30.17 crores.

The overall deficit for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 208 crores as against Rs. 239 crores originally anticipated. Following larger provision for development expenditure, the Minister estimated for

the coming year an overall deficit of Rs. 340 crores. The sizeable budgetary deficit, he said, did not carry threat of serious inflationary pressures. The Government view is that, the production potential of the economy is steadily increasing and the various economic indicators suggested that the country could go ahead more boldly. The last year's total revenue under the revised estimate is placed at Rs. 451.08 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 456.08 crores, the deficit being Rs. 5 crores.

The changes in income-tax will seriously affect the middle class. Dealing with the new proposal for taxation of direct incomes, the Finance Minister stated that the broad pattern of adjustments suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Commission had been accepted by the Government with such modifications as had been found necessary and desirable. The existing tax exemption slab of Rs. 1,500 has been raised to Rs. 2,000 for married persons and reduced to Rs. 1,000 for unmarried persons as a first step towards a scheme of family allowances. The net loss of revenue on this account is estimated Rs. 90 lakhs. Increased or new excise duties have been imposed on a number of articles, namely, sugar, cloth, cigarettes, woollen fabrics, sewing machines, electric fans, electric lighting bulbs, electric batteries, paper and paper board, and paints and varnishes, all of which will together bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 17.7 crores. Supertax will now be payable on incomes above Rs. 20,000. The new taxation proposal allows a development rebate of 25 per cent of the cost of all new plant and machinery installed for business purposes instead of the present depreciation allowance of 20 per cent. Losses in business will be allowed to be carried forward indefinitely instead for six years as at present.

Entertainment allowances and other benefits will now be subject to tax. The export duty on cotton cloth is reduced to 6½ per cent. A slab system is prescribed for export duty on tea in lieu of the existing flat rates. From March 1, the price of imported sugar has been raised by Re. 1 per maund. The increase in



THE RETURN OF RANA PRATAP FROM HALDIGHAT

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Biresh Chandra Ganguly

The negative aspect of Communist activity in Britain was dramatically illustrated during the recent dock strike here. All the major ports—London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, the Tyneside and Southampton—were tied up, most of them for nearly a month. Approximately \$560 million worth of import and export cargo was locked up in 350 ships. And the guiding spirits behind this strangulation movement were a handful of men from the Communist-led National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union, which succeeded in calling out 14,000 dockworkers.

The NASDU achieved notoriety for its leading role in the 1949 Beaverbrae strike, which dragged on for three months. This was in support of a strike by the Communist-dominated Canadian Seamaus Union. It was described in a Government White Paper as a "cold and deliberate plan" of the Communists, who were "completely indifferent to the loss and suffering that might result."

There have been other Red-inspired strikes since 1949, but the latest has been the most important. The problem of "voluntary overtime" for dockworkers, the official cause of the strike, has been the NASDU's main scourge. There has also been an inter-union fight between the Stevedores and Dockers on the one hand and the huge Transport and General Workers Union on the other. Arthur Deakin, fiercely anti-Communist General Secretary of the T&GW, is a major Red target. In violation of a sacred inter-union agreement, the NASDU enticed several thousand dockworkers away from the T&GW and, consequently, was temporarily expelled from the Trades Union Congress. It should be noted, too, that the decision to call off the strike—which was announced in the *Daily Worker* the night before NASDU spokesmen officially told the dockers to return to work—was based on conditions that had been proposed three months before it developed.

In some quarters, there is still speculation as to whether the strike was actually Communist-inspired or the result of a general grievance that the CP exploited. All the evidence available, however, indicates that the former is true. It followed the familiar Red pattern, with a mixture of action by small Communist-led unions and "unofficial" Communist-led strike committees. A *Daily Worker* editorial on the "Overtime Menace" was reprinted by the NASDU as a fighting pamphlet. And it was undoubtedly groups of Communist activists that transformed a matter of general indifference into something dynamic. T&GW officials were content to do nothing and thus let things get out of hand.

A similar situation developed in the London bus strike, which immediately preceded the dockers' action. This was over genuine grievances: irregular hours, spread-over duties, and often excessive overtime due to the general shortage of public transport

workers. The CP's London District Bus Advisory Committee issued a leaflet demanding certain wage adjustments and a rearrangement of the working week—both of which were impossible under existing conditions. Then the strike began in Communist-dominated garages like Dalston and Twickenham and spread rapidly on the basis of the leaflet's demands. Like the dock outbreak, it ended without any real achievement, except that a number of drivers and conductors found new jobs while out of work and the staff situation is now more critical than ever.

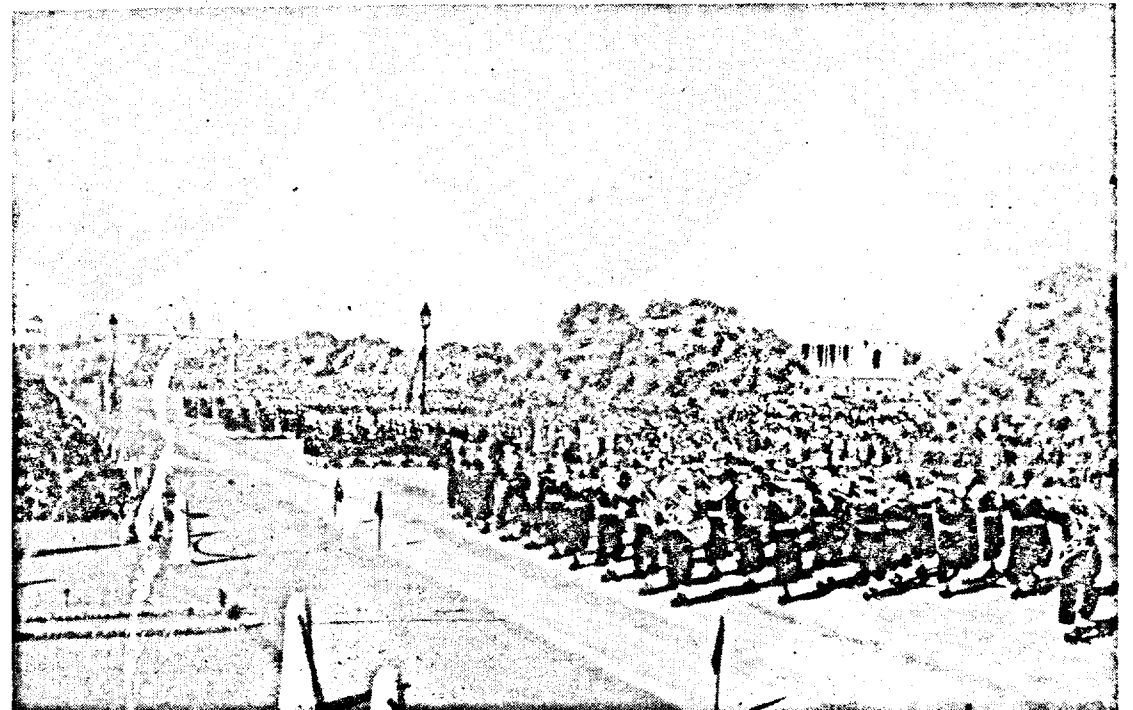
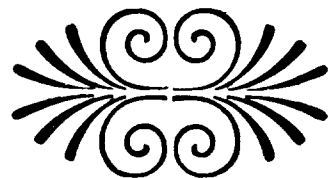
Other strikes have occurred recently at the instigation of the Electrical Trades Union and the Construction Engineers Union, both Communist-infiltrated. In all these actions, there is evidence of close contact with the Moscow-run World Federation of Trade Unions through its London branch.

It is interesting, too, that in the middle of the dock strike London's Red industrial activists met under the chairmanship of Claude Berridge, a Communist and leading official of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Of the 400 present, some 350 were active on various levels in 45 different unions covering all sections of industry. The general policy agreed on covered agitation on the factory floor, penetration of the Labor party through trade unions and trade councils, an all-out attack on right-wing labor leaders, and a drive to convince workers that the present full-employment conditions make strikes all the more desirable now.

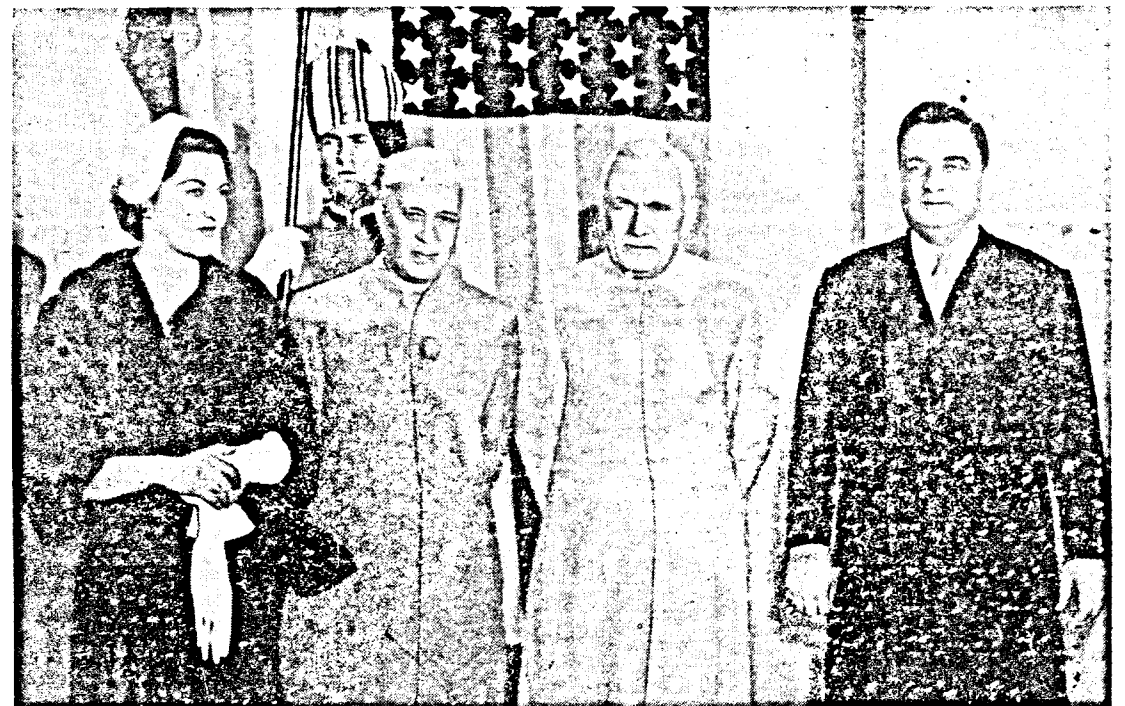
Another industrial conference, involving shop stewards, will be held shortly to discuss priority strike targets. The list of plants to be considered includes two important ship-building firms, a large steelworks, two large automobile plants, an aircraft factory and one of the biggest electrical-equipment plants in the country. Most of these factories, as might be expected, are doing important defense work.

Of course, the Communists' successes are mixed with failure. Indeed, the dock and bus strike may harden the public's attitude toward them, particularly if anti-Communist union leaders make their members realize the extent of Communist activity in their ranks. Nevertheless, things are going well for Moscow in Britain. "Peaceful coexistence" is becoming more and more respectable. British and other European firms are eager for East-West trade, and Russia can profit from the dock strike, because her deliveries were held up and she can impose severe penalties under various clauses in her trade contracts.

There is one bright spot in this generally dark picture, however: While the pattern of strike action laid down by the Communist Party Congress in the spring is now being worked out, the formal body of the Communist party is withering away. Party leaders had hoped that their activity would help swell their ranks. This has not happened.



Indian Naval contingents led by their band marching along Kingsway, New Delhi, on the Republic Day



President Rajendra Prasad held a Reception in Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, on January 26. (Left to right) Begum Iskander Mirza, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib and the Hon'ble Major-General Iskander Mirza

excise duty on imported sugar will not however leave unaffected the indigenous sugar. The price of Indian sugar is also bound to go up in sympathy with rise in price of imported sugar.

Coming to the ways and means position, the Finance Minister stated that the Government needed Rs. 30 crores for meeting the revenue deficits, Rs. 578 crores for financing capital outlay and loan requirements of the State Governments and Rs. 69 crores for repayment of the maturing debt. Against this, the Government is expected to raise Rs. 125 crores from market loans and Rs. 52 crores from small savings, while foreign aid is expected to be of the order of Rs. 74 crores. Other miscellaneous debts and remittance transactions may bring in Rs. 86 crores. This raises the total gap between revenue and overall expenditure to Rs. 340 crores, only a part of which is expected to be met by increased taxation. As the cash balance will have no margin left to be drawn upon, the whole of this gap will have to be met by issue of Treasury bills. In the current year's budget, there is also an overall deficit of Rs. 239 crores which has to be met by expansion of Treasury bills.

As regards the capital expenditure, the current year's budget provided for an expenditure of Rs. 145.75 crores. In the new budget, the expenditure is estimated at Rs. 178.54 crores. The increase is accounted for by a worsening of Rs. 61.59 crores under Government Trading schemes largely due to purchase of rice stocks from the State Governments offset by saving of Rs. 28.80 crores in other items. A provision of Rs. 10 crores was made in the budget for possible purchase of shares in the Hindustan Steel, but this provision will now remain unutilised during this year.

The revenue from Customs in the coming year has been placed at Rs. 165 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 180 crores. The recent enhancement of the export duty on tea will bring an additional revenue of Rs. 11 crores over the current year's yield. Imports of motor spirit, kerosene and lubricants will, however, decrease to almost a quarter of the present level as a result of the second oil refinery at Bombay also coming into full production. In consequence there will be a drop of about Rs. 20 crores under Customs. The revenue from Excise Duty is placed at Rs. 123.45 crores in the coming year as compared with the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 103.65 crores. The increase is largely accounted for by revenue from the excises on kerosene and petrol following larger internal production. The collections of tobacco excise are also expected to improve by Rs. 3.3 crores, and following better production, the collection from sugar excise will rise by Rs. 1.5 crores. Under the income-tax, the current year's figure of Rs. 165 crores is being repeated for next year. Collections recently have been somewhat lower

than expected due to the progressive clearance of arrears. Revenue from Estate Duty is estimated at Rs. 3 crores next year, but the proceeds thereof goes almost wholly to the States. A credit of Rs. 8 crores from the sale of imported sugar on Government has been taken. Under Currency and Mint, profits of the Reserve Bank are placed at Rs. 20 crores next year as against Rs. 17.5 crores in the current year. This year the Finance Minister has not taken any credit for repayment of partition debt by Pakistan in view of non-payment during the last two years.

The expenditure in the coming year is being placed at Rs. 498.93 crores—Rs. 202.68 crores under Defence Services and Rs. 296.25 crores under Civil Heads. The estimates for Defence Services show an increase of Rs. 4.68 crores over the revised estimates for the current year. Civil expenditure next year shows an increase of Rs. 38.19 crores. The bulk of the increase represents larger allotments for development expenditure.

The taxation proposals in the new budget should evoke a good deal of criticism from all sections of the people. The taxation measures will hit both the rich and the middle class and the question is how best the least aggregate sacrifice of the taxpayer can be equitably distributed among all sectors. The series of excise duties will undoubtedly add to the cost of living and the cost of production as well. The excise duty on consumable goods will operate as a purchase tax, and the only difference between these two alternatives is that while the latter discriminates according to the paying capacity of the payer, the former does not. The excise duty is not at all discriminating and imposes a burden at the flat rate and is against the principle of the least aggregate sacrifice. But the main point that has been missed by the Finance Minister is that he has failed to take into consideration the sales tax imposed by the States. Cloth is subject to the payment of sales tax in the States and imposition of Union excise duty at an enhanced rate will constitute as a deterrent to consumption imposing an excessive burden.

The State has failed to look at the whole net tax position of the small income receiver, which comprises not only his income tax, but also the indirect taxes which he pays, the contributions to social security, and the benefits which he receives from the whole system of social security. Income-tax is now-a-days not merely a contribution to the general expenses of the State; it is also in part a means of financing these latter benefits. It is inevitable that these latter benefits should be financed, in considerable measure, by contributions from the same classes as mainly benefit from them. The whole burden of an elaborate system of social services, together with that of an expensive system of defence,

could not be borne by the wealthy and middle classes alone; there are not enough of them to be able to bear it. The lower income groups are bound to contribute in some manner; the question seems to us to be that of the form of that contribution.

Although the present schedule of income taxes has been influenced by inflation, the basic reason for the rise in taxation is not a monetary accident; it is the rise in the real expenditure of the Government. To that expenditure, or at least to the social security part of it, it is agreed that the lower income groups should make some contribution; it seems much better that their contribution should in some way take the form of income tax, which does make an effort to adjust payment to capacity, instead of being confined to indirect taxes and social security contributions, which do not. It is one of the great advantages which accrued from the discovery of the P.A.Y.E. (Pay As You Earn) that it made some shift into income tax technically possible, thus diminishing the weight which had to be laid upon the less equitable taxes. Any movement in the opposite direction, such as would in practice be implied by the recognition of a high exemption limit for income tax, seems to deny the equity of taxation.

Colombo Plan's Progress

The third annual report on Colombo Plan covering the year 1953-54 indicates a considerable rise in investment in the Colombo Plan countries during this period. In the public sector, the amount spent on development increased by 27 per cent, from 2423 million in the preceding year to £544 million. The latest report envisages a further increase of 31 per cent to £704 million in public investment in the area in 1954-55. The financial position of each member country indicates that the external aid continued to play an important part in their economic development. During the first three years of the Plan, development in the public sector cost about £1,250 million, of which external aid accounted for one-third. Rising development expenditure was accompanied by a notable increase in budget deficits. Financial assistance made available by members of the Consultative Committee outside South and South-East Asia since the inception of the Colombo Plan in 1951 has been as follows:

The United Kingdom: Sterling balances are made available to India, Pakistan and Ceylon at the rate of £42 million a year in the aggregate. The actual rate of withdrawal depends on the choice of the countries themselves. A credit of £10 million was made available to Pakistan in 1953 to finance the import of capital goods from the United Kingdom to assist food production. As part of loans made by the International Bank, £10 million has been released from the UK's subscription to the Bank; £5 million for the expansion of steel production in India, and £5 million for the Sui gas project in Pakistan. In 1953-54, £12.5 million was approved in grants and loans for development in the Federation of Malaya, Singapore,

North Borneo and Sarawak, bringing the total grants and loans to these territories in the last three years to £53.5 million, excluding contributions to the cost of the Emergency in Malaya. In its first year of operation the Commonwealth Development Finance Company contributed £1 million to the equity capital of Pakistan's Sui gas project. In March 1954, Ceylon raised a loan of £5 million in London.

The United States: Technical Co-operation for development assistance made available by the United States Government on a grant basis between July 1, 1951 and June 30, 1954, amounted to about \$168 million. Allocations to individual countries were: Burma \$21 million; Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam \$73 million; India \$185 million; Indonesia \$24 million; Nepal \$1.6 million; Pakistan \$45 million; Philippine Republic \$65 million; Thailand \$23 million. Pakistan was also granted \$30 million to finance the procurement and transport of wheat in 1953, and in the middle of the same year received a grant of wheat valued at \$68 million. In 1951, \$190 million was loaned to India for the purchase of food-grains and \$15 million to Pakistan in 1952 for the same purpose. The US Export-Import Bank has authorised credits of \$100 million to Indonesia, \$25 million to the Philippine Republic and \$1 million to Thailand. Aid has also been made available by the US Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Canada: Including \$C 25.4 million voted for use under the Colombo Plan in 1954-55, Canada has made available approximately \$C102 million. Allocations to date are: India \$C49 million; Pakistan \$C33 million; Ceylon \$C6 million. In addition a special grant of \$C5 million has been made to Pakistan for wheat.

Australia: By the end of 1953-54 Australia has spent or committed £A17.8 million of the £A31.25 million it pledged in 1950. Allocations are: India £A6.4 million; Pakistan £A8.1 million; Ceylon £A1.3 million; Indonesia £A1.53 million; Cambodia £A0.15 million; Laos £A0.15 million; and Viet Nam \$A 0.15 million.

The report concludes that the future still holds many problems, and the countries of the area are under no illusions about the magnitude of the efforts required. But the fact that against the background of the economic difficulties analysed in the last year's report they have been able to spend 27 per cent more on development in the last year than in the preceding year showed that they responded to the spur and the challenge which those difficulties presented. They are aware that the main burden must be borne on their own resources, though external aid can do much to smooth and accelerate the progress towards a higher standard of living. But they have come through the initial difficulties, and not as isolated entities but as members of a great and growing partnership animated by a common purpose and increasingly conscious of each other's problems and aspirations. The chief obstacle to more rapid progress is not attributed to lack of money, but certain administrative and technical deficiencies which restricted the number of effectively planned projects.

The Railway Budget :

This year's railway budget for 1955-56 is important in several respects. It is the budget for the last year of the Five-Year Plan. Naturally it raises much hope and calls for stock taking, for evaluating the achievement. The new Railway Convention has added importance to the new budget. Indian railways have no doubt maintained significant progress during the post-war years, but the progress is much below the country's requirements. The war-time shortages have been made up and efforts are being made for modernisation and expansion of the whole railway system in this country. But to achieve these twin purposes large outlays are necessary and lack of finance provides the most formidable problem. It is gratifying to note that railway surpluses have been improving in recent years. As for example, in 1953-54 the surplus stood at Rs. 2.56 crores; for 1954-55, it is estimated at Rs. 6.57 crores and for 1955-56, it is placed at Rs. 7.14 crores, after making a provision of Rs. 5 crores more to depreciation fund than in the current year. It may however be pointed out that in 1951-52, the surplus was Rs. 28 crores and in 1952-53, it was Rs. 13 crores.

The rise in ordinary working expenses is the main cause for dwindling surpluses. Between 1952-53 and 1953-54, gross traffic receipts increased from Rs. 270.5 crores to Rs. 274.3 crores. During this period, the ordinary working expenses also rose from Rs. 188 crores to Rs. 201 crores. The increase in expenses has been accounted for by increase in staff, in allowances and in conversion of the "grain shop" into cash relief. Nevertheless, the mounting expenses will handicap the progress of the railways and the authorities should realise that whatever may be the so-called valid reasons for higher expenses, the surpluses must be maintained at a progressively higher rate, other expansion and modernisation will remain just in ideals only. The ratio of net revenue to capital-at-charge declined from 5.5 per cent in 1952-53 to 4.2 per cent in 1953-54. The rising trend in expenses will neutralise to a great extent this falling return. The Planning Commission emphasised that the policy of the railways should be to keep down the working expenses to the lowest level compatible with efficiency and reasonable standard of service, in order that the necessary surplus for financing the development programme becomes available.

The net railway revenue for 1954-55 has been estimated at Rs. 41.5 crores. The dividend to General Revenues will take away Rs. 35 crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 6.57 crores which is proposed to be transferred to the development fund. The budget for 1955-56 has been drawn on the basis of the 1954 Railway Convention. Under this new Convention, the annual contribution to the depreciation fund from the railway revenues has been raised from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 35 crores. The Railways will continue to contribute dividend at the rate of 4 per cent on the capital-at-charge. On the basis of the new Convention, it has been estimated that there will be

a shortfall of Rs. 31 crores, after meeting working expenses and providing for depreciation fund, during the next five years. This consideration greatly prompted the Railway Ministry to make certain changes in freight rates. There has been a reduction in the wagon-load-scale for foodgrains and pulses, and for fertilisers there has been some increase in the freight rates for the first leg of 300 miles. While long-distance passengers have been assured of a relief, the passengers for short-distance shall have to pay fares at slightly higher rates. This will entail a further strain on the vast body of middle class passengers.

The estimates of receipts for 1955-56 amounts to Rs. 292.5 crores and ordinary working expenses at Rs. 207 crores. Miscellaneous transactions and the dividend to General Revenues have been estimated at Rs. 36 crores and appropriation to depreciation reserve fund is estimated at Rs. 35 crores. The net surplus of Rs. 7.14 crores is proposed to be credited to revenue reserve fund. The increase in freight rates for the 300-mile leg will no doubt have adverse effect on the industries which generally get their supplies of raw materials from nearby areas. They will, however, be benefited by the reduction in the rates for the transport of their finished products over a long-distance. The surcharge on "smalls" of 12½ per cent is being viewed as a purely economic measure, because their transport takes disproportionate wagon space and involve unduly a large number of handlings and of claims. The opposition maintains that this measure will throw a burden on small traders. The problem of freight rates has been outstanding for several decades and it is indeed a step in the right direction to note that the Railway Minister is considering the advisability of appointing a committee to go into it. It is hoped that the proposed Committee will go into the problems of freight rate in all its varied aspects and will settle the problem. Such a solution calls for a reconciliation between the Railways' demand for larger finances to meet their expansion programmes and the demand of trade and commerce for efficient transport facilities at a low cost.

While the other aspects of the Five-Year Plan suffers from ambitious planning, the railways suffer from under-planning. The target laid down in the Five-Year Plan for the railways is obviously modest. The extension programme is too insignificant to rouse much enthusiasm. It may be stated here that the British Railways, whose mileage is much lower than that of the Indian Railways, has launched an expansion programme at an estimated cost of £1,200 million. A network of railway system is urgently necessary for this country to make our villages developed and enlightened, to ensure equitable distribution of raw materials and foodgrains and to foster village industries. Of course, the shortage of rolling stock is holding back the rate of expansion and modernisation. A good portion of the rolling stock, for which orders have been placed, would be delivered only in 1956-57 or late in 1955-56 and would therefore be available

for use only in the first year of the second Five-Year Plan.

The two main complaints against the railways are "bottlenecks" and overcrowding and although the Five-Year Plan is nearing completion, these complaints still persist. The plan for the railways was formulated not to meet the ever-growing traffic, but to handle more efficiently passenger and goods traffic at around present levels. This present budget does not in any way offer any solutions.

U.S. Foreign Trade Programme

Since the end of the second world war, the US foreign economic policy, particularly in relation to trade, has been subjected to severe criticisms from the countries of the world. The main grievance against her is that she has been pursuing a restricted trade policy and with the aid of high tariff walls, she is keeping the import trade at a low level. The result is almost a one way trade—her exports far surpassing her imports. It is therefore gratifying to note that President Eisenhower has realised the truth of the allegations against the USA in this respect and suggested to the US Congress, in a recent special message, for the liberalisation of foreign trade. World economic strength is being envisaged as the possible outcome of the US trade liberalisation. Advocating the promotion of a high level of international trade, President Eisenhower emphasised that the world alliance "will be most firmly cemented when its association is based on flourishing the mutual trade as well as common ideals, interests and aspirations. While stressing the need for a moderate, gradual and reciprocal trade programme, he was, however, cautious in pointing out that a radical or sudden tariff cut would not be in the interest of the US." The following are his main proposals :

1. The USA should—

- (a) Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act for three years and authorise the President to negotiate tariff reduction of 5 per cent each year;
- (b) authorise for the reduction of all tariff rates to 50 per cent and grant power to make cuts of 50 per cent in rates effective from January 1, 1955, on all articles which are not now being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities;
- (c) revise customs calculation procedures;
- (d) approve US participation in the International Finance Corporation.

2. President Eisenhower reiterated his pledge of last March to submit the organised features of the revised General Agreement on Tariff and Trade to Congress for its approval and observed that the revision was being undertaken for the purpose of making the agreement, "a simpler and more effective instrument for the development of a sound system of world trade."

3. The United States should take account of the effect of any agricultural programme on US foreign economic relations to assure that it contributed to the development of healthy expanding foreign market over the years.

4. The flow of US capital abroad should also be encouraged.

5. A tax incentive should be provided by taxing business income from subsidiaries or branches at a corporate rate of 14 per cent lower than the 52 per cent rate on domestic income. Additional tax incentives through tax treaties were also advocated.

Cachar

The question has often been asked, "why linguistic provinces?" We give an answer with an example.

Cachar, a Bengali district of Assam, has been placed in a peculiar position after Partition. Four thanas of Sylhet have been added to it, but the addition of population through refugee influx has been much more than proportionate. This district has become a victim of the policy of Assamisation, now vigorously pursued by the present Ministry in that State.

The name of Assam for that State has been a misnomer. The proportion of Assamese people there is only about a third. Through their policy of Assamisation, the Ministry has alienated the support of the Bengalis and the tribal people. Assam has now become a hot-bed of discontent. According to the new policy, the non-Assamese people must either be completely Assamised or they must lose their citizenship rights. A Division Bench of the Supreme Court consisting of Mr. Justice Mahajan, Mr. Justice Vivian Bose and Mr. Justice Jagannath Das (in Civil Appeal No. 176 of 1952, AIR June 1953 SC 309) pronounced severe strictures against the Government of Assam. In delivering judgment, Bose J. remarked:

"This is a curious case in which the State Government of Assam, having granted the first respondent a lease, later cancelled its grant and re-granted it to another party and now contends that it is not bound by the laws and regulations which ordinarily govern such transactions . . . According to all notions of contract current in civilised countries, that would have constituted a binding engagement from which one of the parties to it could not recede at will . . . But the State Government did not feel itself hampered by any such old-fashioned notions regarding the sanctity of engagement . . . In spite of the efforts of the Government to appear as a bold brave despot which knows no law but its own, we are constrained to dismiss the appeal with costs payable to the first respondent."

The lease had first been granted to a non-Assamese, then it was cancelled and re-granted to "bonafide Assamese fishermen."

Government grants are withheld from primary schools unless Assamese is made the medium of instruction. Discrimination in the matter of service, scholarships, etc., are now the general rule. Money granted for the development of Assam under the Five-Year Plan is being spent in the five Assam districts to the exclusion of the Bengali and Tribal areas. The attitude of the Government towards the refugees is very apathetic, to say the least. The Government of India have failed to stop the activities of these miniature Malans in Assam. The States Reorganisation Commission should take serious view of the case.

Storm Clouds in the Far-East

The tension in world affairs has been at a peak for some time now over the question of the islands under control of the Chiang Kai-shek regime of Chinese Nationalists. The International Edition of *The New York Times* for February 20, carries an excellent summary of the situation up to that date together with a short description of the isles of contention. We give below the relevant extracts:

"When the Chinese Nationalists were driven off the mainland in 1949, they retained islands off the coast that fell into two distinct categories. In one category were Formosa and the Pescadores. These islands were ceded by China to Japan in 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese war. At Cairo in 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek declared it their "purpose" to restore Formosa and the Pescadores to China at the end of the war. But when the Japanese peace treaty was signed, the allies could not agree on whether the Peiping Government or the Nationalists should get Formosa and the Pescadores. Accordingly the territories never have been formally restored to any Chinese Government.

The other category of islands retained by the Nationalists in 1949 was a series of inshore isles—among them Quemoy and Matsu—which legally had always been Chinese territory. United States policy toward these inshore islands has gone through three phases:

Phase One began two years ago, after the Eisenhower Administration announced a policy generally described as "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek, i.e., withdrawing the orders to the Seventh Fleet to prevent Nationalist attacks on the mainland. At that time, the Nationalist Government sought a pledge of military support from Washington if the Communists counter-attacked against the inshore islands. The Administration replied that it could give no firm assurance.

Phase Two began last September when the Communists, free of their military involvement in Korea and Indochina, stepped up their military activity in the Formosa Straits. President Eisenhower, overruling a recommendation by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and three of the four Joint Chiefs of Staff, decided that the United States would not fight to defend the coastal islands.

Phase Three opened last month with the Administration's dual move for a Congressional resolution—passed almost unanimously—of United States determination to fight for Formosa and "such related positions and territories" as the President deemed essential to its defense; and for a U. N. cease-fire in the Formosa Straits. Implicit in the moves, it was widely believed, was a "two Chinas" policy—acceptance of the permanent separation of the mainland from Formosa and the Pescadores. Accordingly, the Administration was believed willing to yield the coastal islands in exchange for a Communist renunciation of force against Formosa.

Then comes the question, Peace or War, what are the odds? The odds are given as follows with a concise summing up of the attitude of members of the opposing camps:

"The answer to whether the Quemoy and Matsu conflict would erupt into an armed clash appeared to lie in the tactics and stakes of the three parties involved—the Communists, the United States, and the Allies. This was how they appeared to shape up last week:

Communists. The Communists have strong reasons for wanting to capture Quemoy and Matsu. The existence of two Nationalist-held islands right on China's doorstep is a profound irritant to the Peiping regime. They are a demonstration to the world of Chinese Communist weakness and they make the threat to invade Formosa, 100 miles away, seem hollow.

But there are also considerations to give Peiping pause before attacking Quemoy and Matsu. The Communists made two attempts, in 1949 and 1950, to capture Quemoy and failed. Their forces are far stronger now, particularly in the air. On the other hand, they now have to reckon with not only Nationalist opposition but U.S. armed strength as well.

The picture would be different, of course, if Soviet planes and possibly Soviet submarines were sent into the Formosa Straits. Moscow has a mutual defense alliance with Peiping and last week both capitals were talking as if concerted military action by them was a foregone conclusion. In Peiping, Mao Tse-tung, head of the Chinese Government, said:

"We can all perceive that with the great co-operation between China and the Soviet Union there are no aggressive plans of imperialism that cannot be smashed."

In Moscow, the Soviet Union's new Premier, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, said:

"China knows that it can look to us not only for sympathy but also for help. That help will be forthcoming when needed."

Despite such pronouncements, there is reason to believe the Kremlin, while it might want to see tension maintained in the Far East since it diverts U.S. attention and strength from Europe, would not actually like to see its Chinese ally involved in another "limited war" with the United States. The Korean war was a heavy drain on Soviet military supplies. With Moscow apparently troubled about its heavy industry production,

a new drain could hardly be welcome. Moreover, the limited war might become an unlimited one. There is no indication that Moscow wants that.

United States.—There are both political and military elements in the United States' stake in Quemoy and Matsu. On the political side is the Administration's belief that withdrawal from the islands after the Communists have defiantly rejected overtures for negotiations would be interpreted as a sign of weakness throughout Asia. In addition, voluntary withdrawal from the islands would eliminate Washington's main bargaining leverage for obtaining a cease-fire.

On the military side, there is the fact that Quemoy and Matsu are indisputably key positions if the Communists actually are planning an attack on Formosa. Thus the import of Mr. Dulles' statement clearly was that unless and until the Communists renounced any intention to use force against Formosa, the United States would regard an attack on Quemoy or Matsu as a preliminary to an assault on Formosa, and respond accordingly.

Allies.—Britain and most of the other allies have gone along with Washington's decision to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. But they feel the Administration has no legal case for defense of the coastal islands and is asking for trouble in insisting on holding on to them. They want the United States to create a de facto cease-fire in the Formosa Straits by forcing Chiang to withdraw from the coastal islands and put 100 miles of blue water between himself and the Communists. *The Times* of London, in an editorial last week widely believed to reflect the Government's view, called Washington's opposition to withdrawal from the coastal islands "most regrettable." The strong implication was that if the United States does fight to defend Quemoy and Matsu, it will fight alone.

The Bangkok Conference

The same issue of the *New York Times*, International Edition, forecasts the probable track of discussion at the S.E.A.D.O. Conference at Bangkok. It gives a clear picture of the British attitude regarding the crisis:

London, February 19—Sir Anthony Eden will press British proposals for Nationalist China's withdrawal from Quemoy and Matsu when he meets Secretary of State Dulles next week.

Before his departure today for Bangkok the Foreign Secretary said only that there would be opportunities to discuss Formosa and the offshore islands at the meeting of the Manila treaty powers in Thailand's capital.

Clement R. Attlee, former Prime Minister and leader of the Labor party, declared today, "We want to work with our American friends but that does not say we must."

Although there is nothing to substantiate it, the Laborite charge that the Government is accepting the "dangerous" United States policy in the Far East gets a wide hearing.

Mr. Attlee's assertion in a speech at Newcastle that "the more you attack the Chinese, the more they will look to their only friends, Russia," carries conviction in a country that has always hoped for the separation of the two Communist colossi.

Sir Anthony Eden's programme is outlined thus:

Although the Formosa situation is uppermost in Sir Anthony's mind at the moment, the task of stabilizing the vital area of Southeast Asia and thus improving "prospects for peace in the world" is also given maximum importance.

The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty is "purely defensive and threatens nobody," Sir Anthony said in answer to complaints by Asian critics.

At Bangkok and during his stops at Karachi en route, and at New Delhi and Rangoon on the return journey, Sir Anthony hopes to convince some of the Asian Governments of the treaty organization's peaceful intent.

The British Government has been disturbed by the success of Communist propaganda in picturing the treaty as a disguised return of Western imperialism. The Foreign Secretary hopes to demonstrate to the Indian, Pakistani and Burmese Governments that the development of the treaty should be fundamentally Asian and that collective defense is its only object.

The British view is that there are three principal topics to be discussed at Bangkok. These are:

1. The establishment of a permanent organization of treaty powers to supplement the work of the council, as mentioned in the treaty. The council is to meet "from time to time" but the British think a small secretariat is necessary to co-ordinate and direct policy on the spot.

2. Planning of action by the treaty signatories against internal subversion in Southeast Asia. Such action was agreed on in Article 2 of the pact but specific plans are lacking. To the British, who believe that political infiltration more than military aggression is the danger from Communist China in Southeast Asia, this planning appears vital.

3. The examination of the economic implications of the treaty.

Diplomatic sources emphasize that although Britain disagrees with the United States on the disposition of the Quemoy and Matsu Island groups, the Government understands the importance of retaining Formosa in relation to the general situation in the Far East.

The Economist commented in this week's issue that if Formosa fell to Communist China by war or internal decay "the chances of maintaining even the present degree of mental steadfastness against the Communist propaganda onslaught on Southeast Asia would be sharply reduced."

But in another comment this weekly, usually a supporter of United States policy, emphasized that "public opinion outside the United States could not be expected to support American military action in the

coastal islands" and that "the chances of lowering tension will never be very good until the Straits of Formosa lie between the two opposing sides."

The H-Bomb, After-effects

The realization of the consequences of the H-Bomb blasts, is slowly penetrating into the brains of the H-Bomb enthusiasts. The true nature of this fiendish weapon is very partially revealed in the report of the Atomic Energy Commission from which the *New York Times* gives a summary. We append an extract:

In the case of the Bikini Bomb, the A. E. C. reported that an area down-wind from the explosion scene about 140 miles long by twenty miles wide was so contaminated by the local fall-out of radioactive particles of sand, dust and coral that unless persons in this area had taken protective measures no one in it could have survived. The area of lesser contamination—where death or injury would have occurred to some though not all—extended over an area about as big as the state of New Jersey—an area forty miles wide by 220 miles, long. Put in the simplest fashion, this means that if a megaton (million-ton) hydrogen bomb were detonated perhaps 3,000 feet above Grand Central Station, the entire area of Long Island down-wind from the explosion scene would be contaminated with radioactivity which would be initially lethal, but which would "decay," or lose its potency, rapidly.

Obviously, this phenomenon requires a new approach to civil defense, and a revised concept of continental defense. The only protection against the heat and blast of the hydrogen bomb is dispersion; i.e., evacuation of our cities. But since the enemy could drop a hydrogen bomb nearly anywhere upwind and impregnate a wide area with radioactivity, the necessity for peripheral shelters around our cities becomes apparent. Shelter—frame houses or brick and above all cement and earth—reduces the danger from local fall-out materially. If a man could remain in a tornado storm shelter or behind concrete for a couple of days until the virulence of the radioactivity had subsided, he could survive even in the most contaminated part of the fall.

Mendes-France and Tunis

After the defeat of French Premier Mendes-France by the reactionaries, the question of peace in the French colonial possessions in North Africa has become very involved indeed. It seems that there are still considerable numbers of Frenchmen who hope for the prolongation of the mediaeval and oppressive methods of colonial rule, of which France is one of the worst exponents. The following summary is taken from the *New York Times*, International Edition, issue of February 6:

Paris, Feb. 5—Tunisian nationalists saw today in the defeat of Premier Pierre Mendes-France the probable end of an effort to establish peace in North Africa.

Members of the Opposition that voted M. Mendes-France out of office and the permanent officials in Tunis gave assurances that promises he had made of internal autonomy were commitments that no future French Government could renounce. Tunisian Nationalists thought little of these assurances.

Rather they shared M. Mendes-France's own judgment, delivered to the Assembly before it voted early this morning, that by rejecting his policy of conciliation and reform it had adopted the only alternative: that of repression and force.

The Tunisians repeated today what they had always said—that M. Mendes-France was the last chance by which the French presence in North Africa could be assured on the basis of its free and amicable acceptance by the native populations.

Both the Premier and the Tunisians are known to have regretted they could not reach agreement before he was defeated. According to the nationalists, the Premier, with all his goodwill and desire to end the talks successfully, had been obliged by pressure from the hostile Assembly to harden his attitude in the course of the negotiations and make demands the Tunisians felt they could not accept.

A major point of disagreement concerned the extent to which the French would conserve police and administrative powers. The French sought, according to the Tunisians, to keep control over the southern territories south of Gafsa, amounting to about a third of the country. They contended this was strategically important for the protection of Algeria and French Equatorial Africa.

The French also desired full control of security around Ferryville and Bizerte, their two major military bases in the north. The Tunisians said they could not accept this division of the country at a time when they sought its unity and its centralization.

STERNER ATTITUDE HINTED

The Tunisians asserted they had made concessions to M. Mendes-France, notably in their demands for an armed force and diplomatic representation, because they had confidence in him and were eager to get an accord while he was still in power. Lacking the same confidence in the goodwill of those who defeated him and will presumably succeed him, they indicated they might withdraw these concessions and be much more demanding.

"If we can get agreement with the new Government, so much the better," they said. "If we cannot, so much the better also." They explained that in the latter case the situation would become clear for the entire world and the struggle to realize nationalist aspiration—which go as far as independence—could be resumed on a basis of force with greater justification than ever.

It was said that the armed nationalist bands, called Fellaga, who had agreed to lay down their arms pending the outcome of the talks in Paris would probably be tempted to return to their mountain redoubts. The possibility that if the talks are stalemated efforts once again

will be made to present a case against France to the United Nations was also broached.

SOME EXULTANT IN TUNIS

Tunis, Tunisia, Feb. 5—The champions of undiminished French authority here exulted today when they heard the news of M. Mendes-France's defeat. They had been waiting for this and thought they had won a great victory.

They professed to believe in a liberal policy toward the Arabs, but seemed to feel that M. Mendes-France had gone too far.

Tunisie-France, the organ of the so-called preponderants, was confident this morning that the negotiations looking toward Tunisian home rule would now be placed on a "new basis."

But many Frenchmen here reacted with shock and dismay. Some wondered whether the European and Arab populations could still go it together in North Africa.

"This is the greatest blunder France has ever made in her relations with the Moslems," one Frenchman commented. But it was generally conceded that the new French Government could not renege on the promise of Tunisian home rule.

This view was reflected in the newspaper *Tunis-Soir*, which ran an editorial today stating the new Government would have no choice but to pursue the policy of M. Mendes-France.

The moderate nationalists who had placed their faith in M. Mendes-France did not hide their sorrow. But they also affected a brave front, alluding to a possible recourse to arms if all else failed.

Backward Regions of the West

It seems that there are areas in the new world where the conditions prevailing are almost as bad as in Asia. We give the following report from the *Worldover Press* which is interesting in view of what is being done in India to combat similar problems:

A LABORATORY OF BETTER LIVING

Adobe houses with the letters "D.D.T." painted on their side walls by insect control brigades, school children drinking milk from tin cups or gourds, experimental plots of sesame, castor beans, or some new variety of corn, coffee or sugar cane, trenches being readied for new water pipes or sewage disposal conduits, and bulldozers scooping up the earth for new and enlarged airports—these are some of the signs of change taking place today in Central America.

The old picture of that region as an isthmus of frequent revolutions needs to be discarded or retouched. Upheavals there are at times, but even more radical changes are being made in the ways of life for the ten million humans in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. These five underdeveloped countries are undergoing a non-violent revolution which is far more significant than any of the violent revolts of the past or of recent days.

Transport is vital where the backs of human beings

or tiny two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen have served for centuries as the chief way of getting goods to market. In this part of the world a good highway or airport is of prime importance in raising the standards of living for the men and women whose average per capita income ranges from an annual \$60 in Honduras to \$146 in Costa Rica, compared to \$1,425 per person in the U.S.A.

In most of this planning the United States has played an important role, as also in construction, through technical help and through substantial sums of money for equipment and materials. But the interested countries themselves match the gifts from the U.S.A. and sometimes exceed them.

To anyone who cares about the lives of human beings, health conditions in large parts of Central America are shocking. For example, the average life expectancy in El Salvador is currently around 30 years—and the figures are similar for most of Central America.

But there is another side to the story, too. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N., the World Health Organization and its Latin American branch—the Pan American Sanitary Bureau—the United Nations Children's Fund, the Technical Assistance program of the U.N., and other groups, are vitally concerned. And for those who are skeptical about local governments pulling their own oars, the fact should be underlined with heavy pencil lines that they are. El Salvador for example increased its public health appropriations from 200,000 colones in 1940 to 3,300,000 colones in 1953. Few if any governments in the world could show comparable support for better conditions. Nicaragua allotted \$128,160 in 1953-54 for child feeding programs, a sum which represents more than the entire budget of the Health Ministry five years ago.

The work of UNICEF in child feeding has been outstanding. At the height of its program, in 1952, it was feeding dried milk to 300,000 boys and girls, largely through the schools. That was a feat in itself. More important in the long run, however, is the effect UNICEF has had in stimulating national governments and private groups to carry on such work by themselves.

In Honduras 60 water systems have been built in the last 11 years with the help of the Point Four program and its predecessors. The extent of the campaign against malaria, one of the worst scourges, may be gained from the figures of June, 1953, in Honduras, where 4,000 homes were sprayed with D.D.T.

GAINS IN FOOD AND FARMING

Central America is of course the center of banana and coffee plantations, and large sections of the population are dependent for their cash income on one crop. Thus one major task is to diversify agriculture. Another is to halt erosion and promote soil conservation. A third is to find more protein products to supplement the heavy diet of corn and beans. A fourth is to improve the domestic animals.

Power for homes and factories is one of the many needs in modern nations, but unfortunately Central

America lacks coal, oil, and gas. However, it does have a few rivers which are suitable for producing electricity. The most important single project recently has been the task of harnessing the Lempe River in El Salvador, the largest river in the isthmus.

BETTER EDUCATION IS FUNDAMENTAL

Illiteracy is still very high in this part of the world. Recent figures are difficult to obtain and often unreliable, but the estimates indicate only 30 to 35 per cent literacy in most of these countries, with about 20 per cent in Guatemala and 75 to 80 per cent in Costa Rica. No major campaigns against illiteracy are under way which compare with the ones in Mexico or Turkey a few years ago, but slow progress can be reported.

Our Himalayan Barrier

The following communique, sent by the famous American journalist, C. L. Sulzberger, and titled "East West Struggle in the Himalayas" published in February 21st issue of the *New York Times*, will be of interest to all Indians who are interested in defending India's territorial integrity:

"Bangkok, Thailand, February 20—When the SEATO Foreign Ministers confer here this week one area they will almost certainly not discuss is Tibet. Yet it is from that quarter China ultimately hopes to outflank South-east Asia if it is unable to gain this strategic area by direct assault. Already a skilful, patient process of infiltration has been started.

After the Chinese occupied Tibet four years ago they installed a remarkably mild and affable administration. Ever since they have been seeking to develop this into a political showcase for the Himalaya region. The hope is that the dynasties and governing forces of the feudal states south of the mountain barrier—Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim—will decide to abandon India's protection and throw in their lot with Peiping. And if China is ever able to subvert its way across the impassable Himalayas the road across the flat Bengal plain to Calcutta will be open. The existence of both India and Southeast Asia would be menaced.

China has less than 30,000 troops in Tibet, and these are used mainly as labor forces to build roads—the first in the country's history. Two highways are being constructed into Sinkiang and Sikang and another toward India. The Chinese have pulled their military headquarters forty miles out of Lhasa, the capital. They have left the administration in the hands of the *Kashag*, or Tibetan Cabinet. The Dalai Lama is still recognized as the supreme temporal and ecclesiastical power.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS HELP RULE

In fact, the Chinese are now using the Dalai Lama, who is in Peiping and has made several declarations favorable to the Communist regime. As a reserve for emergency they are also entertaining the Panchen Lama in Peiping. In theory a triumvirate of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and a Chinese general instruct the

Kashag. Actually, Mao Tse-tung's personal representative, Chang Ching Wu, remains in Lhasa with a political commissar, General Than.

By mild and polite government the Chinese have made themselves surprisingly popular. Their troops have behaved in exemplary fashion. The fame of their road-building program—which has now brought truck convoys to Lhasa—has spread beyond Tibet. They have constructed new schools in Lhasa. Chinese has not been made a compulsory language. Ruined monasteries have been rebuilt and others are being subsidized. Even guerrilla resistance in East Tibet was only gently squashed and its leader generously treated.

China is using Tibet as a forward base for political penetration, not military threats. Tibet is too remote and its terrain too difficult to be made into a spring-board for armed aggression. There is not yet even an airfield in inner Tibet. But word has been disseminated throughout the Himalayas about the friendly and helpful Chinese Administration. With political ferment sweeping across all Asia, some of the states hitherto dependent upon India are thinking of shifting their allegiance. The ruling families of Bhutan and Sikkim reflect increased sympathy for China. And in Nepal, home of the fighting Gurkhas and Mount Everest, unrest is in the air.

After India became independent Nehru promoted a putsch in Nepal ousting the tyrannical hereditary Prime Ministers. Since then instability has prevailed; reform has been inadequate and discontent is growing. A rebellion is rumored to be shaping up under a Chinese puppet named K. I. Singh, who is now said to be in Tibet.

GATEWAY TO INDIA

All China needs to accomplish the disruption of India and the outflanking of SEATO is to establish hegemony over one of the little protected states south of the Himalayas—Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim. Once that is done India becomes indefensible. And New Delhi is losing popularity as Chinese influence subtly gains. Already the Nepalese accept Nehru's aid with much the same begrudging reluctance he takes ours, saying "Remember, no strings attached."

From the Himalayan states southward to Calcutta is less than 300 miles extending over flat, politically confused Bengal. Bengal, notorious for its uneasy political atmosphere, was disrupted by partition between India and East Pakistan. Religious hatreds and political ferment there have been encouraged by the Communists from Calcutta—main outlet for Chinese propaganda in India. To keep the atmosphere ripe for subversion the Communists are endorsing independence for everyone in the Chinese frontier area from the Naga head-hunters of Assam to a free "Gurkhanistan" to include Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Darjeeling district of India.

Trouble is plainly shaping up not only for India but along the western border of the fledgling SEATO coalition. East Pakistan, part of the alliance, is directly threatened. But while the eventual danger is evident,

there is still time to check it. Dry rot south of Tibet has not yet advanced irreparably far. The trouble is that, important as the question is to SEATO, this alliance can do little about it. The problem is India's. And relations between India and SEATO are poor."

We hope Indian political leaders would carefully study the above article and investigate about the real situation regarding India's territorial insecurity.

India must develop military power to defend her borders. Even though we desire peace and amity with all nations, we must realize that outlooks change very quickly in totalitarian States, with the change of the leaders and that as yet the world is far from being safe for the weak and the peace-loving peoples. Neither slogans nor shibboleths would help if we are caught unawares.

U.S. Aid to Pakistan

The communique reproduced below is also from the Foreign Affairs column of the *New York Times* from its February 5 issue. It is likewise from the able pen of C. L. Sulzberger. It clarifies many issues and many false ideas. The real value of the Pakistan rupee and the reason for the aid are all clearly discussed, as are the hopes of U.S. diplomats:

Karachi, Pakistan, February 4—This year the United States is investing \$105,000,000 in economic assistance to Pakistan. Agreements committing this considerable sum, in addition to military aid already pledged, were signed last month. At the official rupee rate this represents more than a seventh of total Pakistani expenditures budgeted for 1955. But since the rupee is overvalued, the true worth of American aid exceeds a quarter of all national receipts.

The immediate reason for this proportionately huge assistance program is to keep this leaky ship of state afloat. When the Korean fighting ceased Pakistan's false prosperity ended. Its two-crop economy collapsed as cotton and jute prices sank. Simultaneously Finance Minister Chaudry Mohammed Ali, one of the few really able leaders, fell ill. The foreign exchange position deteriorated. The nation depends on imports for consumer goods and prices rose dizzily. Pakistan asked us for help.

This aid is about to start. The promised dollars have not yet entered the pipeline, but the mere pledge has stiffened morale. Black market trends are reversing. However, there is no excessive optimism in American quarters. Some wheat previously sent here rotted because of bad storage and transportation facilities. Tractors were allowed to rust in idleness. The number of truly efficient men is limited and there is much corruption. Yet Washington is determined to salvage this vessel and thinks it can do so. The ultimate question is whether it can be made seaworthy.

A GEOGRAPHICAL ABSURDITY

The United States is committed under the Eisen-

hower Administration to pursuing a foreign policy of enlightened self-interest. Therefore, one must seek in this curious country particular reasons for our concern. Karachi, a great jerry-built town, seems far removed from us with its innumerable crows, its yellow-checked chattering myna birds, its hideous kites wheeling in search of Parsee burial towers, its rubber-tired carts drawn by padding camels with belled legs, its karakul caps recalling the Mogul conquerors.

On the map Pakistan is an absurdity. Much more than half the population lives in East Bengal—one thousand miles across the Indian subcontinent from Karachi. East Pakistan is a green delta land of highly unmilitary people, monsoons, jute plantations and burlap mills, where the diet is fish and rice and the language is Bengali. Its inhabitants are descendants of low-caste Hindus converted to Islam. Geographically and climatically it belongs to Southeast Asia. West Pakistan is a land of camels, *mullahs*, veiled women and a proud fighting tradition. Its climate is hot and dusty. Its people grow cotton and wheat. They are meat-eaters and speak Urdu. They belong to that great stretch of Western Asia known as the Middle East. America's particular interest derives largely from the fact that this weird geography gives Pakistan a special significance in political strategy. In both Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian planning Pakistan is being used for its symbolical value by Washington's policy-makers to give appearances of strength to coalitions we are promoting.

There is still more shadow than substance in Pakistan's contribution to regional security. This country remains shaky economically, politically and socially. Its constitutional processes have been temporarily suspended. Its middle class disappeared with the Hindus after partition. Eighty-six per cent of the population is illiterate. There is a battle yet to be fought between the modern intelligentsia running the nation and the fanatical, religious *mullahs*. The Pakistani Army would be of limited use in Middle Eastern or South-east Asian operations. It is best employed *sur place* to maintain order, backstop Afghanistan and balance uneasy India.

A THREEFOLD VALUE

But Pakistan has a threefold diplomatic value. In the Middle East we hope its prestige as the world's largest Islamic Power will help Turkey break the Arab League logjam and induce other countries to join a defense organization extending from India to Greece.

Secondly, Pakistan blocks potential Soviet expansion southward through Afghanistan. The Afghan Premier, Sardar Mohammed Daud Khan, has signed a series of agreements with the U.S.S.R. granting great privileges. Russians are building petroleum pipelines and storage tanks, silos, roads.

The United States clearly wants to bulwark Pakistan both to play a Middle Eastern role and to counteract Soviet pressure. Finally, it hopes to use this country to strengthen Southeast Asian defense. East Pakistan

already is threatened by armed Communist bands in the Indian state of Tripura and the Garo Hills of Indian Assam. The so-called Free Thai movement created by Peiping now extends from Indo-China to East Pakistan's frontier. The United States would like to reverse the Communist trend creeping over Southeast Asia. Pakistan's geography and prestige might help accomplish this.

Thus, in a curious way, Pakistan plays a geopolitical role right across Asia. Potentially it can be of immense assistance in bolstering up rickety areas. But to do so it must itself be bolstered first. That is the purpose of United States aid.

Commonwealth Premiers' Conference

Representatives from nine Commonwealth countries representing a quarter of the world's population met in a conference in London from January 31 to February 8. The Governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented by their respective Prime Ministers while the Government of the Union of South Africa was represented by its Deputy Prime Minister.

The holding of such a conference in itself was an event of great international importance. It was further increased by the fact that the talks preceded two important international conferences—the SEATO meeting in Bangkok in the fourth week of February and the first Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung (Indonesia) about the middle or end of April. The talks reflected the shadow of the danger of major hostilities flaring up in the Far East over the Chinese Nationalist and the People's Governments clash over Formosa.

A communique was issued on February 8 summarising the decisions and discussions of the conference. It said that the members of the Commonwealth, resolved to their utmost to ease international strain, aimed not only at preventing an outbreak of hostilities but also at promoting "conditions in which real peace can grow and thrive so that freedom and plenty may be enjoyed by all peoples."

The Premiers had noted the improvements in the international situation since the time of their last meeting in 1953. The Trieste dispute had been solved. The differences between the Government of the United Kingdom with those of Egypt and Iran had been resolved. They expressed satisfaction at the end of hostilities in Indo-China and "stressed the need for strict adherence to the conditions of the Geneva Agreement and for increase of welfare and stability" in South-East Asia.

"The Prime Ministers were informed that the Commonwealth countries associated with the North Atlantic Treaty were convinced that the early ratification of the agreement reached in London and Paris and the acceptance of Federal Germany into the

community of the Western nations would mark an important advance towards the security and cohesion of Europe."

Referring to the impending crisis in the Far East over the question of Formosa, which had received special importance in the discussions, the communique spoke of the Premiers' unity of conviction of the necessity of avoiding incidents while efforts were made for a peaceful solution. The discussions the Premiers had had over this question, it was stated in the communique, "would be a valuable foundation for future consultations with one another and with other countries directly concerned and for the development of their policies on this question."

Having reviewed the improved outlook for world trade and prosperity which had taken place since the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Sydney in January, 1954, the Premiers "recognized that the Commonwealth countries had made a substantial contribution to this by maintaining the stability of their currencies, by continuing their development programmes in which the Colombo Plan had played its part, and by expanding their production."

The Commonwealth Governments had made progressive efforts to facilitate trade and exchange between Canada and the sterling area and the Prime Ministers "affirmed their determination to continue these policies of economic progress."

The Prime Ministers had given "anxious thought to the problems of nuclear energy," which had confronted humanity with a force beyond human comprehension and measurement. Declaring their determination never to embark upon aggression they had emphasised the imperative need of preventing war on the face of the annihilating power of the new weapons.

The Commonwealth countries would "work for a disarmament which includes forces and weapons of all kinds and is both comprehensive and effective." Peaceful uses of atomic energy would become feasible with such international accord on disarmament, said the Premiers.

The Prime Ministers had been informed of the progress made in the U.K. in the matter of the use of atomic energy for industrial and other peaceful purposes; and they looked forward to continue close co-operation in this respect between the U.K. and the other Commonwealth countries.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, had informed the other Ministers of Pakistan's resolve to become a Republic and of her desire to continue membership of the Commonwealth.

The Premiers in a declaration on February 4 had signified their agreement to Republican Pakistan continuing as a full member of the Commonwealth on the basis of the latter's recognition of the Crown as a symbol of its sovereign members.

The communique referred to the peculiar character of the association of the Commonwealth countries and pointed to the common outlook of the members, in spite of differences of geography, religion and race.

"The Commonwealth countries do not pursue any selfish purpose. They seek no aggrandizements, and will always oppose aggression. In concert with all who share their ideals, they are resolved to do their utmost to further the cause of peace throughout the world," the communique concluded.

Notwithstanding the views expressed in the communique there was apparently some divergence in the views of Pandit Nehru on one side and the other Premiers in the assessment of the effect of atomic warfare on international affairs.

Sir Winston Churchill, with whom most of the other Premiers were in agreement had expressed the view that the U.S.A.'s great start in atomic weapons development and her technical and material superiority had still held the balance of power. The Soviet Union could, however, soon catch up with America and only in that circumstance might lasting agreements between the two world blocs be possible.

The Premiers (except Sir John of Ceylon) has viewed that world war could be prevented only if the Western Powers maintained in readiness forces sufficiently strong to deter aggression and that the superiority of the Western Powers in nuclear weapons had so far offered the greatest deterrent to potential aggression.

The Indian Prime Minister, Sri Nehru, on the other hand, had reportedly held that the hydrogen bomb had made war obsolete as an instrument of policy. He had suggested that the world statesmen should work for the complete abolition of atomic and hydrogen weapons which threatened the extinction of mankind. He had also proposed for the discontinuation of the production of hydrogen and atomic weapons and their further experiments.

Over the question of Formosa also two attitudes had been discernible among the Premiers, according to the Diplomatic correspondent of the London Times. Many delegates had expressed their sense of disappointment at Peking's refusal to the invitation of the Security Council. Other delegates, again with the Indians in prominence, had always had the conviction that the Government of the People's Republic of China would certainly refuse the invitation.

The Indian Prime Minister figured prominently in the London talks—and especially so in matters concerning Asia and the Far East. On the specific question of Formosa he reportedly indicated his firm conviction that a conference of interested countries outside the framework of the U.N. was more likely to succeed in ending the dangerous situation in the Formosa straits.

Stating the British attitude towards a Soviet-

British meeting for the easing of international tension, the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, had told the conference that Britain would agree to meet Russia at the conference table only after the Paris treaties to arm West Germany had been ratified, probably in May.

In the course of the conference, the representatives of those Commonwealth countries which had special defence interests in particular areas had met together to review plans for the defence of those areas. Such special meetings were held to consider the responsibilities of the respective countries under the North Atlantic Treaty and in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Southern Pacific. The Premiers of India and Ceylon did not attend such meetings.

On the fourth day (February 3) of the meeting, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler had presented the conference with a review of the sterling area's economic, financial and trade position. According to *Reuter*, Mr. Butler reportedly had made the following points:

(1) Now that the sterling area is pushing up its own production, more import are being allowed to flow in;

(2) Exports have recently reached record levels in volume and value;

(3) The sterling area's task is to expand its world trade. The U.S. Government is giving priority to the extension of trade agreements, as well as modifying its "Buy American" policy;

(4) More than half of Britain's trade is now with her Commonwealth partners;

(5) Britain, because of her expanding production, was now importing more commodities including coal; and

(6) A date for convertibility certainly cannot be envisaged, but there had been distinct advances, assisted by improvements in American policy.

Financial quarters in London interpreted Commonwealth policy to be the postponement of free convertibility of sterling until the achievement of free sound internal economic and financial policies in the Commonwealth countries, adoption of good creditor policies by America and sufficient strength of the sterling area central reserves to cushion any unfavourable world money or trade trends.

Commonwealth dissatisfaction at U.S. trade policies had found expression in a speech by Mr. Hollard, Prime Minister of New Zealand. He had said that the American cut price disposal of surplus farm produce was a real threat to New Zealand's exports of meat and dairy produce.

SEADO Council Deliberations

The Council of the Eight Nation South-East Asia Defence Organisation, (SEADO), which had come into being at a meeting of the foreign Ministers of the USA, UK, Finance Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines last September, which officially came

into being on February 19, with the depositing in Manila of the instruments of ratification by the eight member countries, met for three days from February 23 to Feb. 25 in Bangkok, Capital of Thailand. All the participating Governments were represented by their respective Foreign Ministers except that France, which had no Foreign Minister as a result of the Government crisis, was represented by a delegation headed by M. Bonnet, former French ambassador to the USA.

The Council meeting had been preceded by intensive discussions in Washington ranging over many weeks among representatives of the member countries. According to a decision arrived at the Washington talks, the Powers concerned initiated strong diplomatic efforts to persuade India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon to reconsider their earlier rejection of the membership of the SEADO. In a despatch from Washington on Feb. 12 *Reuter* stated that "Extension of treaty membership to these nations was understood to be one of the major objectives of the eight Foreign Ministers due to hold their Manila pre-business session in Bangkok in 11 days' time."

Political circles in New Delhi however discounted suggestion of any more Colombo Powers joining the SEADO, and any shift of policy of the neutral Asian nations was considered unlikely before the outcome of the ensuing Afro-Asian Conference was known. India's objection to the alliance remained as strong as ever.

It was agreed during the Washington talks that the USA, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand would post additional troops in the treaty area. Those powers were also authoritatively stated to have had agreed to fill a "defence" gap south of China, basing a medium-sized force, powerfully equipped with the latest weapons, in Malaya.

• Singapore would be the central base for a combined British-Australian-New Zealand aid force with a total strength of 500 planes and the airfields there would be adapted to accommodate the latest jets. United States air units would be able to use the fields in an emergency.

The Conference in Bangkok lasted three days. The Foreign Ministers to the Conference were accompanied by top-ranking military men of their respective countries. The British Foreign Secretary was accompanied by the Chief of Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Sir John Harding; and the American Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles; by Admiral Felix Stump, U.S. C-in-C. in the Pacific.

Reuter points out that the meeting of military officers from the eight nations "was the biggest military conference in the area since World War II."

During the Bangkok discussions arrangements were decided upon to help carrying out the provisions of the SEADO treaty. Accordingly, the Council of the SEADO to be composed of the Foreign Ministers of the member Governments or their designated representatives, would meet at least once a year in some place in the treaty

area. Decisions would be taken by unanimous agreement.

During the second day's meeting it was decided that the permanent Headquarters of the SEADO would be situated in Bangkok to which body each of the eight Powers would assign a Resident Ambassador.

The Headquarters would have three key groups—"a military group will prepare plans for halting possible armed aggression, an anti-subversive group will co-ordinate action against infiltration by Communist agents and an economic aid group will help fight hunger."

Each member would send one representative to each of these three groups. Besides working with their groups, those representatives would also form part of their own country's delegation. Each Government would also have its own small secretariat and there would be an international secretariat as well.

The military group, the powers agreed, would be required to visit each of the member states in South-East Asia and there make plans for local defence while studying ways of "protecting" the whole area. Just after the military programme had been agreed upon the military experts reportedly left the conference hall for a top secret discussion on how to stem armed aggression.

The Military Advisers of the SEADO powers also issued a communique at the end of the Conference. According to *Reuter*, "It said that military staff planners would meet in Manila in April to initiate plans for implementing 'certain military' aspects of the pact. It also announced that the military advisers to the Council would meet in Bangkok soon after the Manila meeting."

There was some difference among the SEADO powers over economic plans. Pakistan reportedly favoured an overall economic plan while the Western Powers did not like the idea of interrupting existing aid programmes by the creation of a new authority.

In a speech before the SEADO Foreign Ministers on February 25, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, said, reports *Reuter*, "that American military strategy in the Far East was based firmly on the atom bomb as a conventional defence weapon, according to conference sources."

"Mr. Dulles was said to have made this statement in explanation of an earlier statement that American military power in the Pacific was now equal to its peak in World War II."

"He said American military planners were now thinking of the atom bomb as a conventional military weapon rather than as a 'last throw' weapon."

Mr. Dulles' statement has caused much surprise and anxiety in political circles in New Delhi. Though no official comments have been made in view of India's firm attitude against atomic and hydrogen bombs, it was considered very unfortunate that such a statement was made by Mr. Dulles.

There was some apparent Anglo-American difference over Formosa. While the U. K. opined that Matsu

and Quemoy islands should be allowed to be occupied by the mainland Chinese, Mr. Dulles is reported to have expressed strong U.S. disapproval of such a suggestion.

There was a last minute hitch over whether Communism should be named as a menace to South-East Asia. Sir Anthony Eden's objections against the use of the word in the final communique was overruled by the other members, notably by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Casey.

The communique issued at the conclusion of the meeting stressed the defensive character of the arrangements already made or proposed to be made by the SEADO Powers. It was the belief of the members that the Manila Treaty which had set up SEADO had already exerted a positive influence for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific.

"The Council discussed specific attempts by elements directed from outside to subvert institutions and Governments in the treaty area. The Council viewed the subversive with grave concern and was determined to help the peoples of the area to resist them," the communique said.

Malenkov Resigns

The announcement on February 8 of the resignation of the Soviet Prime Minister, M. Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov, took the world by surprise. On that date at a joint meeting of the two houses of the Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the Soviet Union, M. A. P. Vorkov, read out a letter from M. Malenkov in which the latter requested to be released from the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. On a motion from Deputy A. M. Puzanov the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously resolved to accept the resignation of the Prime Minister.

In his letter of resignation M. Malenkov said that his decision to resign was "based on businesslike considerations of the necessity of strengthening the leadership of the Council of Ministers and the expediency to have at the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. another comrade possessing greater experience in government activities." He criticized himself for his "insufficient experience in local work and in direct supervisions of separate branches of national economy in a ministry or any other economic body" which had "detrimental effect upon the fulfilment of complicated and important duties of Chairman of the Council of Ministers." In this connection he specifically mentioned his failure to follow a correct policy in regard to agriculture.

The Supreme Soviet, meeting three hours later on the same date, approved the appointment of Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, until then one of the Deputy Premiers and Defence Minister, as the new Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., on a motion from Nikita S. Khrushchev.

M. Malenkov retained his Cabinet post by a decree of the Supreme Soviet on February 9, which approved of his appointment as one of the Deputy Prime Ministers and Minister of Power Stations of the U.S.S.R., relieving Alexei Sergeyevich Pavlenko from the latter post. M. Bulganin's post at the Defence Ministry went to Marshal Georgy Konstantinovich Zhukov.

Though the actual resignation of M. Malenkov came as a complete surprise to the world the western press had for some time been reporting on possible divergence of outlook among the Soviet leaders. For example, the *News Chronicle* wrote on January 10, about a month before Malenkov's resignation. "It seems from the signs that a dark and devious struggle for power is taking place now within the Kremlin. . . ."

Referring to what the newspaper considers to be the usual communist preference for a cover for their differences, it continued: "There will be no public debates in the Soviet Union, therefore, and the man-in-the street in Moscow will not be invited to make up his mind whether he prefers the co-existence line of M. Malenkov, head of the State, or the back-to-Stalin policy of Khrushchev, head of the Party. The 200,000,000 Russians whose future hangs upon the outcome of the Kremlin battle will not be consulted at any point. The decisions will be made by a few men responsible only to one another."

Western commentators have interpreted the ministerial change, in so far as it had any bearing on internal Soviet developments, as the reassertion of the policy of developing the heavy industry in Soviet Union and associate countries over a policy of the expansion of the light consumer industries. The change has also been interpreted to mean the personal ascendancy of the Party Secretary, M. Nikita Khrushchev. Thirdly, in its repercussion on the international situation, attention has been drawn to the significant coincidence of the resignation of M. Malenkov and the announcement the following day of the Chinese (Communist) Government's decision to introduce conscription. The inclusion of two Marshals in the Cabinet has also come in for some comment. It has been stated that a new phase in the Soviets' world politics has come in. And also that the control now passes over on to the army.

It is too early to come to any conclusion, particularly as the world is left guessing as to the real causative factors of this sudden change. As yet no significant change can be perceived in the outward policies of the Soviets. But it has caused the prevailing world tension to mount further.

Bulganin's Speech

The new Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, outlined the policies his Government proposed to follow in a speech before the Supreme Soviet on February 9.

M. Bulganin pledged the Ministry's continued adherence to the general line prescribed by the Communist Party. He said that the Government would follow a policy

of all round development of heavy industry which "has always been and remains the basis of the further advance of our national economy." Next, the government proposed to carry out measures for the development of socialist agriculture and it would strive to fulfil the task of raising in the 5-6 years the annual grain yield to at least ten thousand million poods, and that of increasing the output of major livestock products twofold or even more.

"On the basis of the further development of heavy industry and the upsurge of agriculture the production of consumer goods—clothing, footwear, foodstuffs, household goods and articles serving the cultural needs of the population—will be expanded," added M. Bulganin.

Referring to foreign policy, the Soviet Premier said that his Government would "continue to pursue consistently the policy—which has justified itself and been tested in practice—of strengthening peace and general security, the policy of friendly relations with all peoples."

He reiterated the Soviet Government's solidarity with the Government of the People's Republic of China in the latter's determination to recover the possession of Taiwan (Formosa) and condemned the attitude displayed by the UN on the matter.

The Soviet Budget

Analysing this year's Soviet budget Mr. Benjamin E. West writes that the funds allocated for the production of consumer goods and food this year would be 41 per cent under those of 1954, despite the fact that in total expenses the new budget virtually duplicated the last.

The 1955 Budget, approved by the Supreme Soviet on February 7, provided for outlays totalling 562,900 million roubles or nominally 140,000 million U.S. dollars compared with last year's total of 562,800 million roubles.

According to Mr. West the Soviet budget made four major provisions:

"(1) That light industry, which is concerned primarily with consumer goods production, receive 26,000 million roubles. This is 29 per cent under last year's figure of 36,500 million roubles.

"(2) That agriculture receive 5,200 million roubles, or 12 per cent less than the 74,400 million roubles allotted last year.

"(3) That heavy industry is granted 163,300 million roubles, or 23 per cent more than the 1954 allocation of 133,200 million roubles.

"(4) That 112,100 million roubles be set aside for military purposes. This represents an increase of 12 per cent over last year's 100,300 million roubles."

Soviet Offer Re: Atomic Weapons

In a statement broadcast by the Moscow Radio on February 18, the Soviet Union urged the United Nations to call a world conference this year to reduce armaments

and ban atom and hydrogen bombs. She proposed that all nations should pledge themselves: "(1) To destroy all stocks of atom and hydrogen weapons and use atomic power exclusively for peaceful purposes; and (2) not to increase their armed forces, or armaments or their military budgets above the level of January 1955" (*Reuter*).

"The Soviet Union declares itself in favour of setting up an appropriate international control for the supervision of these decisions," the statement said.

The Soviet Union considered that delivering the people from the threat of an atomic war was the most important task of the United Nations, and that an international pledge to refuse to use atomic weapons would be an important step towards banning them.

The statement repeated the Soviet dissatisfaction at the absence of an Asian representative on the disarmament Committee. Her proposal to include China, India and Czechoslovakia on the Committee had been rejected by the Western Powers.

Pakistan Constituent Assembly

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been dissolved by an order of the Governor-General of Pakistan on October 24, 1954. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, President of the Pak Constituent Assembly, had objected to the dissolution of the Assembly contending that the Governor-General had no power to do so and filed a petition in the Sind Chief Court challenging the validity of the Governor-General's order.

A full bench of the Sind Chief Court, in a unanimous judgment on February 9, declared the proclamation of the Governor-General dissolving the Constituent Assembly as illegal. A writ of mandamus was ordered by the Court to be issued restoring Moulvi Tamizuddin to office and restraining all the respondents from interfering with the duties of the President of the Constituent Assembly and from obstructing him in the exercise of his duties.

The Court allowed an appeal to be preferred by the Federation of Pakistan and other respondents in the Federal Court of Pakistan but refused to grant an order for the stay of execution of the order of the Court.

The *Statesman* reports:

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Bachal gave a joint judgment while Mr. Justice Vallani and Mr. Justice Mohammad Baksh gave separate judgments. The three judgments run to 103 pages.

Dealing with the Governor-General's power to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, the Chief Justice said that there was no case throughout the Commonwealth outside England where dissolution of the Legislature takes place except by express provision in the Constitution: There was no such provision in Pakistan's Constitution.

Mr. Justice Vallani felt that dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was null in law and that both it and the office of the President were still existent. He

said it was common ground that as a result of the proclamation, the petitioner had been prevented from performing the functions of his undoubtedly public office.

He observed that the Chief Court had the power to issue a writ against any Government, including the Federation of Pakistan. Section 306 of the Government of India Act 1935, confers personal immunity upon the Governor-General, but it did not limit the scope of the proceedings against the Government which, in the case of the Federation of Pakistan, corresponds to the Executive Authority of the Federation exercised by the Governor-General either directly or through officers subordinate to him.

The prerogative to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, he said, was governed by the express provisions of Sec. 5 of the Independence Act, but the Act did not give power to the Governor-General to dissolve the Constituent Assembly.

He held that powers to set up the Constituent Assembly were given to Lord Mountbatten by his designation and not by person and did not confer powers upon the Governor-General for time being to set up another body of men as the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Justice Vallani, dealing with the powers of the Constituent Assembly, observed:

"The supreme prerogative is granted solely to the Constituent Assembly and since the grant is without any words of limitation, exercise of it by the Constituent Assembly is as supreme and as unfettered as could be the exercise of Her Majesty.

He said that in the field of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General could exercise no power of Her Majesty unless it was assigned to him.

QUESTION OF POWERS

Mr. Justice Mohammad Baksh, in his 68-page judgment, dealt exhaustively with the question of the Governor-General's powers and the Constituent Assembly. He observed that the provisions of the Independence Act "leave no room for any manner of doubt that the Constituent Assembly was the sovereign body and was not subject to any checks and balances, restraints and restrictions and could make any law it liked, even though it was against the laws of England or the Independence Act.

"It was unthinkable that the only legislature of the country which was also a sovereign body under the Independence Act could be dissolved on the principles of justice, equity and good conscience. He had unshaken belief that the Governor-General had no power of any kind to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and there was no provision in the entire 1935 Act under which the Governor-General could issue a proclamation and it was apparently on account of this reason that no provision of law was cited in it."

The verdict of the Sind Chief Court, the *Vigil* writes in an editorial article on February 19, "must be regarded as a judgment of the highest importance for Pakistan not merely from a constitutional point

of view but in a far wider sense involving the very substance of a democratic political life. However, the legal issue is decided by the Federal Court, the emphatic and unanimous conclusion of the Sind Chief Court, namely, that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by a fiat of the Governor-General was illegal and void, must and should have a profound effect on public opinion in Pakistan."

There could be no illusion about the unrepresentative character of the Constituent Assembly—especially after the expression of the people's mind in the last general elections in Eastern Pakistan when the Muslim League Party had completely been routed, writes the newspaper. Neither the need for a new and more representative body was in question. "But a dissolution by a fiat of the Executive could never be the right thing. The proclamation of October 24 was not inspired by any democratic motive; it was rather, both in intention and effect, an underhand blow to democracy."

Recalling its own original disapproval of the manner of the dissolution of the Assembly, the newspaper points to the misjudgment of those who had welcomed the Governor-General's action. In this connection the newspaper particularly criticizes the shortsightedness displayed by the United Front leaders of Eastern Pakistan in approving of the Executive's action—a fact fully borne out by later developments.

The decision of the Sind Chief Court, it is pointed out, presented new possibilities before the democratic elements in Pakistan to reassert themselves. At the same time it necessitated a re-appraisal of their position and policy. Those who had opposed the dissolution of the Assembly had not all been motivated by democratic interests. Neither did the Sind Court's ruling make the Assembly more virtuous than it had been before October 24, 1954. The Court's decision by putting the authoritarian elements on the defensive had only created a new psychological and moral atmosphere in which the democratic forces of Pakistan, given a good and unselfish leadership, could take the initiative in bringing about the unquestionably necessary reformation of the Constituent Assembly by democratic action.

Amending the Constitution

The need for amending Article 31 of the Constitution of India has been explained in an article by Sri Sisir Gupta in the *A-I. C. C. Economic Review*:

The introduction by the Prime Minister of the bill to amend Article 31 of the Constitution, Sri Gupta writes, constituted one of the most important steps in the direction of achievement of the ideal of creating a society wherein social and economic inequalities would be obliterated, an ideal long cherished by the masses of Indian people and re-iterated by the Congress on numerous occasions.

The vicissitudes through which the country had to pass in the wake of the attainment of independence necessitated a temporary postponement of the pursuit of those objectives; but with the gradual return to normalcy an eventual return to the path of that long-cherished goal was inevitable. The manifest contradiction between the declared objectives of the economic policy of the Government and the judicial interpretation of some articles of the constitution thus understandably prompted the Government to move for the amendment of those articles of the constitution which tended to obstruct its policy of engendering social justice and progressive economic equality thereby placing certain items of law above the purview of the Constitution, notwithstanding what appeared in other parts of the Constitution.

Sri Gupta writes that the laws above such interpretation, according to the proposed amendment, would be those relating to:

"(a) The acquisition by the State of any rights therein, or

"(b) The extinguishment or modification of any rights in estates or in agricultural holdings, or

"(c) The maximum extent of agricultural land that may be owned or occupied by any person and the disposal of any agricultural land held in excess of such maximum whether by transfer to the State or otherwise, or

"(d) The acquisition or requisitioning of immovable property for the relief or rehabilitation of persons displaced from their original place of residence by reason of the setting up of the dominions of India and Pakistan, or

"(e) The acquisition or requisitioning for a public purpose of any land, buildings or huts declared in pursuance of law to constitute a slum or of any vacant or waste land, or

"(f) The taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or

"(g) The transfer of any undertaking wholly or in part from one company to another or the amalgamation of two or more companies either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the undertaking or of any of the companies, or

"(h) The extinguishment or modification of any rights of managing agents, managing directors, directors, managers or shareholders of companies, or

"(i) The extinguishment or modification of any rights accruing by virtue of any agreement, lease or licence for the purpose of searching for, or winning, any mineral or mineral-oil or for the purpose of supplying power, light or water to the public or the premature termination or cancellation of any such agreement or licence."

Referring to the hue and cry raised in certain quarters against the proposed amendment, Sri Gupta pointedly draw attention to the fact that constitutions were made for the people and not vice versa, and if the interests of the people demanded it, they should justly be changed or amended. Refuting the objections based on the theory of the so-called sanctity of private property, Sri Gupta writes that it was now recognised almost universally that the right to private property could not be extended to a length which would curb the rights of the masses in many other spheres to such an extent as to check the growth of the majority of a country's people. Moreover, specifically the Directive Principles of State policy laid down in the constitution of India could hardly be reconciled with an unqualified granting of rights to private property.

The opposition of private enterprise and feudal aristocracy to the proposed amendment was understandable, writes the author. But it was surprising that they could enlist the support of some leading newspapers and personalities. It was, however, quite fortunate that the main political parties of the country had endorsed the propriety of the steps contemplated in the Constitution Amendment Bill.

No progress could be made in the development of the country without a complete change in the agrarian pattern which again could not be undertaken without an amendment of Article 31 of the Constitution.

The provisions in the proposed amendment which related to industries, mines, etc., were not designed to nationalise all private industry. The only aim was to put an end to the system of managing agency, which, though once an important aid to industrial growth, had now become a stumbling block in the way of the industrial progress of the country. Without such an amendment it would be impossible to act on the recommendations of the Company Law Reforms Committee for a thorough change in industrial organisations.

Lastly, the most important point was whether the proposed amendment tended to injure the spirit of the Constitution and the essentially democratic structure it wanted to build up. The answer was an emphatic no. Because, as Sri Gupta writes in conclusion, "Who knows this spirit better than the man who has moved the present amendment?"

We have quoted the above article fairly fully because of the importance of the subject-matter and the significance evidently attached to it by the journal containing it. We, however, do think that more enthusiasm than reason is displayed in the article. The modifications would give such comprehensive powers to the executive that any corrupt minister or high official could misuse it, with all the force of the Government behind it. Where are the safeguards

against that? Noble sentiments and pious wishes have a curious way of being subverted in the hands of the morally degenerate.

The A-I. C. C. *Economic Review* should clearly state whether it espouses the democratic procedure or the authoritarian. In democratic practice such laws clearly define reliefs to the private owner.

Rural University

The *People* devotes its editorial article on February 13 to an examination of the functions of a rural university and of the question of setting up such a university in the Uttar Pradesh.

The most important characteristic of a rural university, that distinguished it from others, it is stated, lay in the fact that a rural university was intended to "catch the young and train them so well that they will have their stakes in the land." To achieve that end such a university would necessarily have to provide specialised training in soil improvement, sociology, rural social welfare, village planning, rural medical aid, sugarcane research, animal husbandry, forestry, etc. and so on.

The Government of the Uttar Pradesh had accepted in principle the suggestion of setting up a rural university in Gorakhpur in the eastern part of the State. The idea to establish India's first rural university there was undoubtedly prompted by the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission which had visualised a network of such universities throughout India.

Gorakhpur provided an ideal setting for such a university, the newspaper writes. It had an agricultural school with assets of over five lakhs of rupees. The existing technical school with an extensive plot of 100 acres could be developed into a first class school of technology. The nearby Kusumbi forest could be useful for forest research as could be the Kurrughat farm for sugarcane research. The Gorakhpur University Foundation Society, founded in 1949, had already collected land and funds valued at Rs. 24 lakhs.

Nothing more could apparently be required for starting the university, the newspaper continues. But the State Government instead had appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Acharya Jugal Kishore to examine the question of having such a university in Gorakhpur. Though the Committee's reports had not yet been published it was understood to have had suggested a sort of an amalgam of a rural university and general university. The Committee had reportedly suggested that the proposed university should also provide sound training in other subjects besides providing for specialisation in rural subjects. It was also reported to have had suggested the reduction of existing degree colleges to the status of intermediate colleges.

Strongly critical of the reported suggestions of the

Jugal Kishore Committee, the *People* writes that those suggestions were only unwanted and there was no need to deprive the people of the locality of the existing degree colleges they already had, "nor can these colleges in any way stand in the formation of a rural university." In the view of the paper, there appeared to be some confused thinking about the purpose of a rural university. It was not clear why the State Government should have appointed a separate committee when the Centre had already appointed one to go into the question of starting rural universities. "At the most the U.P. Government ought to have waited till the Shrimali Committee report was out."

The newspaper concludes by saying that if Gorakhpur should eventually have a rural university, the two existing degree colleges could be affiliated to another university thereby enabling the former profitably to specialize only rural subjects on the model of Roorke University which specialized in Engineering subjects only.

Jammu and Kashmir University

Welcoming the conversion of the University of Jammu and Kashmir into a teaching one, the *Kashmir Post* writes that "the measure, even though given effect to without any unnecessary delay, would come not a day too soon." Though the progress of the University since its founding a few years ago had not been very much impressive "there can be no denying the fact that it has been a tremendous convenience and a boon to the students of Jammu and Kashmir" for whom it had opened the vista of a brighter educational prospect.

The University had come into being at a time when the State's security had been gravely endangered by the invading tribes from Pakistan and it had so long been functioning purely as an examining body.

Considering all the handicaps under which the University had to function the newspaper however still expresses the view that its working had not been as it should have been.

The *Kashmir Post* regrets the insufficient attention so far given to such an important organisation as the University and expresses the hope that the Universities Grants Commission and the Government of India would "render the maximum possible assistance to the infant University"

Corruption in Kashmir

The *Kashmir Post*, in an editorial article on February 4, criticizes certain provisions of the newly enacted Jammu and Kashmir Government Servants (Prevention of Corruption) Act and writes: "It is perhaps a tragic irony that while the present Government is very anxious to root out corruption, corruption itself should have been made a non-cognizable offence in the State."

Accordingly to the newspaper the above law, in the

first instance, "inevitably abrogates the general provisions of the Indian Penal Code" as a result of which the offence of receiving illicit gratification was no longer cognizable by the Police. Secondly, a special agency for receiving complaints had been created which by itself lacked suitable means of investigating those cases. Thirdly, that authority was vested in a particular set of officers who were stationed either in Jammu or Srinagar, thereby making it difficult for people in outlying areas to seek remedy.

"But perhaps the most serious flaw of the said Act, the newspaper continues; lies in the fact that the procedure for investigation is so slow and defective that it is well-nigh impossible to track down a culprit." It also criticizes the fact that the authority to regard a complaint as constituting a *prima facie* case should vest in a few individuals of the executive who in Jammu and Kashmir were not fully above board. "Another serious shortcoming of the special law seem to be that there is little protection provided to the people against the excesses of the police in the matter of demanding illegal favours and gratifications."

The recent attempts to amend the Act by an Ordinance, the newspaper continues, showed how carelessly important laws were passed in the State without forethought. It then goes on to criticize the composition of the Law Department of the State and advises the Government to obtain expert legal opinion before embarking on the enactment of important laws rather than deliberately making a "laughing stock of itself by rushing through measures which are so defective as to kill the very purpose of the legislation."

As a matter of fact corruption and evil practices are rampant all over the Union because of the fundamental weaknesses in the law and gross inefficiency in the executive.

The framers of the Constitution have left lacunae everywhere. But the greatest weakness is in the provision of Fundamental Rights. As matters stand we find that anyone who has the gumption and the means to approach and plead before the fairy-godmothers provided by the Constitution, can break all the laws of the land, regaining the eradication of corruption and black-marketing, with impunity. We find that the disadvantage lies with the law-abiding everywhere, like in the days of British rule. Evil is still the force in ascendant.

Students and Newspapers

A newspaper readership survey was conducted among the College students by the Department of Journalism of Hilsop College, Nagpur, with a view to getting the students of journalism acquainted with the techniques and problems of making such a survey. The Survey which covered 234 students including about 23 girls, disclosed some interesting facts, reports the *Hilsop Herald*, the fortnightly magazine of the Department of Journalism of the Hilsop College.

About 59 per cent of the students interviewed were

found to have read either the *Hilavada* or the *Nagpur Times* of December 4, 1954. The survey was of those issues of the two English dailies. Five read both the papers. The readership appeared very poor in the case of undergraduates, particularly among those who resided in private lodges. Such students had not developed a reading habit but some of them who could not buy their own copies "would not miss the chance to read a newspaper if they could get it conveniently." About 101 students read other papers in addition to either of the above two dailies.

The students appeared to be more interested in local news than national or international, the survey disclosed. In the case of readers of both the dailies the stories of the murder of the proprietor of a cafe and the court proceedings of what was known as Shanta Apte case were found to have had the highest percentage of readers. "The New York cotton report was the least favourite of the collegians. The movie advertisements caught the attention of most of the readers. Commercial and other advertisements did not create much interest in them. The majority of the readers did not read editorials of that day." (*Hilsop Herald*, February 14).

Mine Disasters

Fifty-five persons are reported to have been killed on February 6 in an explosion in a colliery near Jharia. This was the second mining disaster in three months—the first one, which had occurred in Chikali coal mines in Parasia, about 100 miles from Nagpur, killing 65 miners as a result of the flooding of the pits.

This unfortunate occurrence closely followed on the heels of another mining tragedy in the Jharia area on February 2 in which ten persons including four women and three children had been killed and eight others injured as the result of a sudden collapse of a portion of the Model Dharmaband Colliery together with its adjoining area containing the residential quarters of the miners.

The Government of India ordered a public inquiry into the explosion of the colliery. A Judge of the Patna High Court would preside over the Court of Inquiry.

The tragedy might have been more catastrophic but for the fact that out of a total of 1600 workers all but 257 had been away in Dhanbad to participate in the demonstrations before the States Reorganisation Commission.

These mining disasters, which took an unusually heavy toll in human lives, have exposed the utter inadequacy of the safety measures in our mines. While the enquiry promised by the Government of India would undoubtedly be helpful in discerning the cause of such tragic accidents and would point to the necessary precautions to be adopted, the frequency and seriousness of the tragic occurrences cannot but cause general anxiety.

INDIA, SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND WORLD POLITICS*

BY PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,
Department of History, Columbia University and the Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies,
New York University, New York City

WHEN one thinks of the cultural, political and economic history of the world, one finds that from ancient times Asia has played an important role. Let us not forget that religion is a vital part of man's culture and all the great religions of the world—Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the three Semetic religions, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism originated in Asia. When the people of Europe were living like savages great empires flourished in Asia—the Persian Empire, the Indian Empire, the Chinese Empire and others. In the past, politically Asia was very powerful and a large part of Europe, for several centuries was under Asian rule and it was not until the 18th century that European powers began their domination in parts of Asia.

It was the wealth of Asia, especially that of India that attracted Europe's extra-European expansion. America was discovered because European merchants and rulers were interested in finding a sea-route to India. If we study the history of European expansion in Asia, then we find that the commerce of India and South-East Asia played a very great part. The Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, British and French fought for Asian commerce during the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth centuries. From the 18th century on, they fought amongst themselves to get control over Asia. Time will not permit me to go into details of the Asian angle of the Napoleonic War or the Anglo-French rivalry in world politics in the 18th and early 19th centuries. It is not generally emphasized that the British from India fought the French in South-East Asia (in Java) so that the French might not control that region which is so vital for the defense of India which was the heart of the then existing British Empire. It was Asia and particularly India which caused the Anglo-Russian rivalries, including the Crimean War, British opposition to Russia after the Russo-Turkish War. It was Asia—French expansion in South-East Asia, endangering Burma and India, which caused Anglo-French rivalry and brought about a Franco-Russian alliance. It was Asia, which was the prime cause of Anglo-Russian rivalry, during the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It was to check Russia from getting control over Korea and Manchuria. Japan was interested in forming an alliance with Britain, while Britain was interested in checking Russia and France from coming too near to Indian frontiers and sought Japanese support. Rivalry among the great Powers in Asia and also the rise of Japan, consciously working for independence, led to the Russo-Japanese War and later on the formation of the Triple Entente to check German march in Asia—West Asia by the Berlin-Bagdad Railway and in East Asia by

entrenching herself in the province of Shantung in China. The first World War was fought due to the great European Powers' rivalry amongst themselves primarily in Asia. One of the causes of the second World War was the rise of Japan as a great naval power and economic force marching into China and South-East Asia and trying to eliminate political control of Western Powers in these regions.

After World War I and II one of the most important features of world affairs has been and is going to continue the assertion of Asia to be free and independent from alien rule. Freedom of Asian people is one of the most important results of the World War II in which Asian people—the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and others—played an important role. The American and Western statesmen, unfortunately do not fully grasp the significance of the changes in Asia and they fail to think in terms that *Free Asia is as important as Free Europe or Free America*. To be sure the subjugated peoples of Asia, recently freed from the foreign yoke, have not yet developed great military potentials, but in matters of rights and potential possibilities free India cannot be treated as inferior. The same is the case with Japan and other nations in Asia.

Behind all important development in world politics, during the past five centuries or longer, Asia has played a significant role and it is certain from the second half of the 20th century onward, every vital issue of world politics will be influenced by Asia. Thus it is necessary for America to pursue such world policies which would lead to better understanding between Asian states and America for the cause of preservation of world peace with freedom and justice for all peoples.

Keeping this view before us, we shall try to discuss the definite question of India, South-East Asia in World Politics and World Peace.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS

In the arena of world politics of South-East Asia—Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China and the Philippines—three forces have been in operation; they are (a) alien colonial imperialism, (b) nationalism and (c) efforts of great powers to use South-East Asia to their advantage in their rivalries. Alien colonial imperialism in South-East Asia have been struggling to keep the peoples in subjection and thus maintain their political, economic, cultural and racial supremacy in this vast region. This is in conflict with the forces of nationalism which are for emancipation of the peoples through their own efforts supported by outside forces. While the peoples of South-East Asia have been seeking outside aid to free themselves from their alien rulers, Soviet Russian imperialism, aided by Communist China, are trying to use the popular uprising of the peoples of South-East Asia to their advantage, against their opp-

* The Sixth Annual Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture at the State University of Iowa, delivered on January 6, 1955.

nents in world politics. Thus in the arena of world politics, happenings in South-East Asia are mere parts and parcels of the broader issues of the cold war between Soviet Russia and her partners on one side and the United States of America and her allies on the other. It may be wise to remember that internal politics, party-politics of South-East Asian countries have been influenced and are being influenced by foreign Powers trying to secure support of the important strategic positions, raw materials and millions of the population of the region. In one sense, South-East Asian countries are holding a balance of power among Rival Factors. Thus, what is happening in South-East Asia lends a great deal of importance to world politics and to the cause of world peace.

In discussing the recent happenings in South-Eastern countries one should remember that as matters of internal politics, various political parties will have their rivalries for getting in power and maintaining it, but on the larger issues of upholding national interests involving national independence and territorial integrity of the state, leaders of these would follow policies which might seem to us to be opportunistic and not far-sighted. But before condemning these policies, we should try to understand the motives behind adopting such policies. Let us discuss the realities of world politics in South-East Asian countries from the points of view of those who are directing the affairs of state.

BURMA

In the struggle for Burmese independence from the British rule, the Burmese people as a whole were pro-Japanese and the Japanese, during World War II utilised Burmese support to their advantage to the fullest extent. But when it became evident that the Japanese, if victorious, would try to impose their rule over them, and the Japanese might be defeated, then the very Burmese who aided the Japanese in defeating the British in Burma, fought with anti-Japanese forces to establish their independence. Thus the change of sides, to the Burmese people and their leaders, was not abandoning the ideals of freedom, but changing the methods of operation for the success of their cause. After the conclusion of World War II one of the powerful parties, the dominant party in Burma were pro-British and some of the leaders were in favor of having a dominion status within the British empire, but the Republicans in Burma and the Communists started their campaign for complete emancipation of their country from British connection. At this juncture the pro-British Burmese leaders pleaded for absolute independence of Burma from British connection so that their political enemies might not get in power and the British agreed to grant absolute independence to Burma. This realistic Burmese policy of Britain made it possible for her to make arrangements in the field of economics and national defense.

The Burmese leaders, being interested in their national interests, were opposed to policies of the

nations which might undermine national security. At first they were concerned with the revolts—civil wars in Burma which were promoted by outside support. The Burmese held that Communist Chinese and Soviet Russia were aiding the communist rebels from the North and there were some British agents and American missionaries who were behind some of the rebel forces; and they were also opposed to the Nationalist Chinese of Chiang Kai Shek, who were interested in having armed forces in Burma to be used against communist China. Thus Burma sought for support of a nation which is vitally interested in Burmese independence, to further common interests. Burma found in India such a friend; because India was interested in Burmese independence; because Burma under foreign control would endanger India's national security in the regions of the north-eastern frontier and the regions adjoining the Bay of Bengal. Let me remind you that it was for the protection of India, the British penetrated into Burma and it was through Burma, the Japanese forces and the forces of Subhas Chandra Bose, the nationalist Indian leader, attacked India during the Second World War. It was the Indian forces, primarily, which freed Burma from the Japanese control. Thus it became quite clear to the Burmese and Indian statesmen that they have a common interest in matters of national security and thus must adopt common foreign policies concerning specific problems. This is the foundation of the existing cordial and co-operative Indo-Burmese policies existing today, although in 1930's some of the Burmese statesmen were anti-Indian, because they thought a free India might incorporate Burma as one of its provinces.

There was no conflicting interest between Burma and the United States, but when it became apparent that Chinese nationalists, receiving American support, were engaged in establishing bases in northern Burmese border for operation against Communist China and which might involve weak Burma into a war with powerful communist China, then the Burmese policies became anti-American and took the color of being pro-communist, although Burma was opposed to Chinese communist infiltration into Burma from the north and also to supplying arms to Burmese communists who were interested in overthrowing the Burmese Government.

But recently the Burmese attitude has partially changed toward the United States because the American government was the restraining influence over Chiang Kai Shek's policies in Burma and it may be apparent to the Burmese that American economic and other aid would lead to the development of Burmese economy and strengthen Burma's position in world politics. Because of the existence of a common interest between India and Burma that *Communist China must not march any further into the south endangering the independence of Burma and other south*

Asian states, Mr. Nehru during his conference with Chou En Lei at New Delhi induced the latter to visit Rangoon and give an assurance to the Burmese statesmen that China would restrain her citizens from disturbing peace in Burma and also recognize the territorial integrity of her neighbors.

After Mr. Nehru's visit to China, the Burmese Premier also went to Peiping; it seems that the two nations have come to some understanding that mutual respect for territorial integrity is essential for peace in South-East Asia and their own survival. It is also interesting that Communist China and Burma are going to have certain arrangements in matters of Trade by which Burma's surplus rice may be taken by China while the latter would supply other commodities needed for the development of Burmese industries.

One of the recent and most far-reaching developments in South-Eastern world politics is the conclusion of a peace treaty between Japan and Burma. The signing of this treaty was hindered for some time due to Burma's insistence for a large indemnity for the damages done by the Japanese forces in Burma. By this new treaty Japan will give Burma a sum of \$400,000,000 within ten years, partly by supplying goods and also investment of Japanese capital in Burma to develop Burmese industries. It is expected that Japan would purchase surplus rice from Burma which will help to develop Burmese-Japanese commercial collaboration. It is significant that already Japanese engineers are in Burma to explore possibilities of development of oil industries in this land and open up mines. It is not idle to think that development of economic and possible political collaboration between Japan and Burma has received the blessings of the United States which is interested in economic stability of Japan. It would mean that Japan will be indirectly participating in the development of underdeveloped areas like Burma. One may safely assume that existing American-Japanese friendship, newly established Japanese-Burmese collaboration, and the long established Indo-Burmese friendship and also Indo-Japanese friendship may have decisive effects regarding Communist Chinese policies toward South-East Asia.

It is interesting that the Burmese Premier will be visiting Washington in the near future and it may have special significance in solving the existing misunderstanding between the United States and Burma and other Asian powers.

MALAYA

The British government is a colonial power in Malaya and it intends to keep control over this region, very rich in raw materials and holding an important strategic position.

There is a war going on between the British and the guerrilla forces of the Malaysians, which is commonly termed as British efforts to root out communist rebels. British control of Malaya and particularly the post of Singapore was motivated by the policy of keeping strong

enemy powers from controlling this region, Indonesia and also the routes to Australia. Burma and India have vital interests in preventing Malaya from being used by any enemy power against them and as long as Britain's relations with these states remain cordial, they would not oppose British control over Malaya on the ground that removal of Britain from Malaya might mean Communist control of the region. In Malaya, like in other countries we find three forces are operating—the Communists under the leadership of Chinese communists of Malaya are carrying on guerrilla warfare against the British. They are evidently working for the ultimate policy of having Malaya incorporated as a part of Communist China or in alliance with the latter state; the Malayan nationalists composed of all racial elements are divided into two principal parties, one demanding dominion status and the other seeking Malayan independence. It seems for reasons of larger interests in world politics, the United States is at present not interested in any change in Malaya which might lead to the increase of communist control of the region. It is also expected that the stand of Siam, Indonesia, the Philippines, as well as South Indo-China and Japan will be opposed to Chinese expansion to Malaya.

INDONESIA

It is not generally well understood that the very creation of a free and independent Indonesia is more due to American support to the cause of Indonesian freedom than any other factor. To be sure Indonesian nationalism has contributed the most, but the external forces that created Indonesia were the support of the United States, India, Australia and other states. But Indonesian policy is not fully pro-American. The pan-Islamists in Indonesia are anti-American due to the Arab influence in Indonesian politics. They think that America is opposed to Islamic people and in favor of the Jews. Then the Communists have infiltrated into Indonesia and they have become an important factor in Indonesian politics and thus they have exerted an anti-American influence.

Indonesian politicians of all parties like those of India and Burma are opposed to the South-East Asia Treaty Organization created by the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Siam, Pakistan and the Philippines, because such an organization might lead to war between China and the Western allies which would be detrimental to the cause of peace and freedom in South-East Asia.

The United States policy toward South-East Asia has been made clear by her defense pact with Japan, Australia, Nationalist China, the Philippines, New Zealand and also the formation of Seato. The main object is to check a further march of communist states in South-East Asia. It is also to see that control of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean may not fall in the hands of Soviet Russia and Communist Chinese allies. Indonesia is opposed to Chinese expansion to the south, but Indonesia has a complaint against Netherland and

Australia regarding their policies of occupation of Iris or Eastern New Guinea to Indonesian control. In this matter, England, France, Australia, Netherland and the United States as well are opposed to her. To Indonesia and the Asian states supporting Indonesia, the issue involves not only colonialism, but racial imperialism. Thus it has a greater significance than is ordinarily understood in the United States.

Colombo Powers—representing India with a population of 357,000,000, Ceylon with 8,155,000, Indonesia with 78,163,000, Burma with 19,045,000 and Pakistan with 75,842,000—in their recent meeting at Jakarta have made a significant decision that in April, thirty Asian-African states, all independent Asian and African states, including such widely separated nations as Communist China, the Gold Coast Federation, Laos and Ethiopia and also Japan would participate in a conference at Bogor, near Jakarta. This conference will have an important influence in developing the policies of Asia for the Asiatics and also ending all vestiges of colonialism in Asia. It is certain that Communist China will participate in this conference and it would mean that there would be more persistent demand for representation of Communist China in the United Nations and the coming conference of Asian-African Powers under the leadership of Colombo Powers will be a great event in world politics and its effect will be far-reaching.

CONCLUSION

It is quite clear to all that the world today is divided into two camps—the Western bloc of Powers, headed by the United States, and Soviet Russia and her allies. The struggle in the diplomatic field between these two blocs of powers has taken the character that each group is trying to check the other from gaining allies. In Europe, Russian diplomacy, after getting control over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania tried to extend its influence further into the Balkan, specially Greece, and in Asia towards Persia, which if succeeded, would have meant Soviet Russian control of the Eastern Mediterranean and also the Russian march into the Persian Gulf and thus to the Indian Ocean. This could not be tolerated by the Western Powers, specially U.S. because of her vital interests in this region. Furthermore Soviet Russia and Communist China in 1950 formed an alliance for twenty years, directed against Japan and the United States which has vital interests in the Pacific. The main policy of Soviet Russia in the Far East has been to secure support of China, Japan and India and also the countries in South-East Asia to extend her influence and if possible control of the Pacific. The United States cannot allow this to happen and has shaped her policies to prevent it. The United States is interested in winning co-operation of the people of Asia, especially those of India and South-East Asia to prevent Communist, Chinese and Soviet Russian expansion.

As it is a fact and it need not be over-emphasised that to make a Soviet Russian march into Asia possible, she should make her position in Europe strong and protected. Thus the key-stone of Soviet Russian policy in Europe was to partition Germany to weaken the latter and then Sovietise both parts of Germany and utilise German power to strengthen Soviet Russia. Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance in Asia has developed an expansionist policy of China and Soviet Russia which promoted the Korean War and also the prolongation of the war in Indo-China; and to prevent any further expansion, steps have been taken to develop a combination of powers. Similarly, to check any further expansion of Soviet Russia in Europe, steps have been taken to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in which Germany is to be taken in as a full partner, to develop a powerful defense force to check the march of Soviet Russia and her allies in free Europe. I am mentioning this to emphasize the inter-relation of developments in World Politics in Europe with those in Asia. If Soviet Russia and China can control South-East Asia, then with their combined force and resources, they would be powerful enough to threaten Western European Powers. Suppose Soviet Russia and Communist China form a bloc in East Asia as Japan tried to do before and during the Second World War—so-called East Asian co-prosperity region—and direct this force against the United States and other western powers and the peoples of South-Eastern Asia, then it would be far more dangerous than the Japanese adventure. Thus the defense of South-East Asia becomes a very important issue not only for the defense of Asia, but for free Europe.

Regarding the defense of South-East Asia, India holds the key position. It has been demonstrated in the past, that without Indian support South-East Asian independence cannot be maintained from any attack from a first class power of the continent of Asia, or a nation having control over the Pacific. To make this point clear, permit me to emphasize that if India had been allied with Japan and Germany, actively, during the last World War II, then Japan and Germany might have been victorious. Suppose India gives her present policy of "neutrality" to and becomes an active partner of Soviet Russia as Communist China is today, then the whole picture of defense of South-East Asia would be seriously endangered.

It is apparent that India has been supporting Communist China diplomatically, but India under Mr. Nehru's rule is opposed to communism and by no means has been aiding Soviet Russia and China as Britain has notoriously been doing. Now Mr. Nehru has taken a positive stand against any further expansion of Communist China in Eastern Asia which would endanger the territorial integrity of any of the Asian Powers. This stand of India is possibly the most valuable asset to the cause of peace in South-East Asia, deterring Communist Chinese expansion in this region. There are many reasons for coming to this conclusion, but one of

the foremost reasons is that Communist China does not wish to lose Indian support and friendship in its present endeavors for becoming strong and not to be wholly dependent upon Soviet Russian support. In many ways for the very existence of a sovereign China Indian support and support of Asian states, especially those that have a common border, are essential.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I wish to make it clear that I have been advocating Indo-American co-operation in world politics. I have advocated that an Indo-American-Japanese and if possible Chinese alliance is the only way to check Soviet Russian march into Asia. But Mr. Nehru thinks differently. However, Mr. Nehru's stand against the Chinese march to South-East Asia is far more important than what some of the powers associated in Seato may contribute for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia. Thus I feel the United States government should find means to co-operate with India for the defense of peace and freedom in this region. If the United States fails to gain the support of India, it is dubious that she would be able to gain active support of Indonesia and Burma in the defense of South-East Asia.

In world politics Asia is holding an important position and the people of Asia and their rightful aspiration for freedom from alien rule cannot be ignored in formulating world policies to uphold peace and freedom. Thus the position of India and the countries in South-East Asia has a very great significance and it is desirable that American statesmen should find means to have a close and friendly collaboration with these countries.

I wish to conclude my talk with a few words regarding my late friend Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who was

one of the pioneers in promoting better understanding between the East and the West and particularly between India and the United States through furthering the cause of study of oriental history, politics and culture in American Universities. To be sure, he was the first among Indian students in America who came to the United States during the early part of the first decade of the twentieth century and worked his way through American Universities to learn what is best in America in the field of social sciences and then entered the field of teaching Asiatic history and politics in this university.*

*Dr. Taraknath Das concludes his article with the following paragraphs: Sudhindra travelled far and wide in the United States and spoke on Asian problems and wrote on these issues, because a section of the American people—a far-sighted minority—made his cause as their own. Sudhindra possibly died heart-broken for many reasons. But there is no doubt that the seed he sowed in the fertile soil of the University of Iowa and which has been so ably nurtured by his devoted wife and friends is in the process sprouting to become a stout and beautiful tree which will bear beautiful flowers and life-sustaining fruits for human brotherhood.

The Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture is a mere beginning made through the generosity of Mrs. Bose and friends. It is to be hoped that those who believe in the cause championed by the late Dr. Bose, the cause of better understanding between Asia and America, through spreading knowledge of Asia in America, through American educational institutions, will support it by their moral and economic support. It is my ardent prayer and an appeal to Indian students in the university that they should support the work started by the late Dr. Bose by making a small sacrifice of a regular annual contribution—at least the amount they spend for their own living for a day—to the fund. It is my hope that while the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture will remain a permanent feature of the university activities for the promotion of international fellowship, it may be possible that through an active support of the university and from the income of the fund there may be a Sudhindra Bose fellowship in Oriental History, Politics and Culture and later there may be a permanent chair bearing the name of my esteemed friend who has left a legacy for us all.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AVADI SESSION

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress at Avadi near Madras will be of special significance from several points of view. Firstly, Congress workers from different parts of the country will be able to go to South once again after a number of years and get the opportunity of establishing living contacts with the people and the cultural heritage of Southern India. Such personal and organisational contacts between Congress workers of the North and the South are of great value in forging the cultural and psychological unity of India after the advent of political freedom. Secondly, the Avadi session will be presided over by a younger leader who has been chosen by our elders to serve the nation and the Congress with a fresh mind and method of approach towards a number of problems which still await solution. Thirdly, the Session would have the privilege of reviewing national and international events at a time when

India's prestige in foreign relations is rising higher and when in domestic matters the Prime Minister has been laying special emphasis on the need for establishing a Socialist economy in the country.

The Diamond Jubilee Session of the Congress will, surely, take note of international affairs, particularly relating to Indo-China, the Manila Pact and the Joint declaration by the Prime Ministers of India and China. The Five Principles or the Panch Shila have now become the basic principles of the foreign policy of a number of countries. The statements of Marshal Tito during his recent visit to India were also, more or less, along the same lines. Prime Minister Shri Nehru's pronouncements regarding the foreign policy of India have evoked the spontaneous appreciation of many nations and it is now being realised in an increasing measure that India stands for non-alignment with either

of the power blocs from the standpoint of ensuring world peace and co-operation. India's approach to international problems is not a negative or passive one; it is a positive and dynamic approach with a background of age-old culture and philosophy of life. The Father of our Nation taught us and the world the ideals of truth and non-violence and it is extremely gratifying to find that our Prime Minister is straining every nerve to follow those ideals in the international sphere with remarkable courage, of conviction. We have no doubt in our minds that India is destined to play a still greater role in establishing peace on earth and good-will among men.

In the economic sphere, India's achievements during the past seven years have, indeed, been considerable. It will be highly unpatriotic to under-rate our own achievements as compared with other countries of the world. But we do not entertain any ideas of self-complacency. Although much has been achieved, much more still remains to be achieved in the years to come. The Parliament of India has accepted a Socialist economy as the national goal and the Congress is also determined to move towards Socialism and greater socio-economic equalities. Our approach towards the Socialist ideal is not a doctrinaire approach; it is not an imitation of the Western systems of either democratic socialism or totalitarian Communism. In India, it must be clearly understood by all of us, Socialism can only mean Sarvodaya or the well-being of all. In the economic domain, Sarvodaya implies the widest possible decentralisation of the industrial organisation in the form of small-scale, village and cottage industries. Although the basic or mother industries have to be generally on a large scale, our consumer goods industries must be reserved for the decentralised sector with a view to increasing production, providing fuller employment and securing greater social and economic justice. As Mahatma Gandhi put it, in place of 'mass production', the Indian type of Socialism would bring about 'production by the masses.' Gandhian Socialism, if we may use the term, essentially connotes the decentralisation of political and economic power in the form of village panchayats and industrial co-operatives. We earnestly hope that our basic economic policy would be stated in very clear and unambiguous terms at the Diamond Jubilee session of the Congress at Avadi. If the basic objectives and ideals are understood clearly by the people, the speedy application of those principles to practical problems does not present much difficulty. Just as we desire to steer clear of both the extremes in the international sphere, so we intend pursuing a middle course in the domain of economic affairs in India. The middle or the balanced economy would avoid the evils of both capitalism and authoritarianism and combine the good features of individual initiative and public control.

In the social sphere, the Avadi Session must warn the nation once against the dangers of casteism and communalism which are raising their ugly heads partly

owing to the frequent elections involved in the democratic method. It has to be realised beyond any shadow of doubt that communalism and casteism are the greatest enemies of national unity and solidarity and all Congressmen must resolve to surmount these evils at least in their own organisational sphere. Moreover, we should also realise that radical social reforms are as important as progressive economic reforms in building up a New India. In this connection, we welcome the recent Bills introduced in the Parliament regarding the abolition of Untouchability and reforms in the Hindu marriage system. Although the evil of untouchability has already been abolished under the Indian Constitution, it has now to be rooted out of the social fabric in a practical but firm manner. Mahatma Gandhi regarded untouchability as the greatest blot on the fair name of India. We are convinced that this curse must disappear from the social system if democracy in India is to be built up on sound foundations. The status of women in the country should also be raised in all spheres of life. They have been subjected to unjust treatment in our society for long. This state of affairs must now cease to be.

Above all, the Diamond Jubilee Session should solemnly resolve to give the highest priority to the needs of the poorest and the lowliest sections of our society. The philosophy of *Unto this Last* should underlie all our plans and projects. So far, we have, undoubtedly, tried to devote considerable attention to the needs of the rural areas, particularly in regard to agricultural improvements. But it has not yet been possible to take care of the neediest persons or regions. Even in our schemes of Community Projects and National Extension Services, we have generally tried to help those who already possess something. But the person who is a "have-not" remains almost unattended to. In the cities, we may broaden the roads and tar them and build palatial structures for housing our offices. But the Second Five Year Plan will remain incomplete so long as we are not able to serve all our villages with at least half-pucca roads and so long as the slums in the cities do not yield place to well-planned colonies for the poorer sections of our population. On the great occasion of the sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress, let us remember with gratitude the glorious Talisman that the Father of our Nation gave us for our guidance:

"Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following tests: Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubt and your self melting away."

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(IV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Equality (Continued)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

*Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science,
University of Calcutta*

I
In my preceding article¹ in this series I dealt with one aspect of our Fundamental Right to Equality. In this article I propose to deal with some other aspects of this Right.

II
Apart from Article 14, the implications of which were discussed by us in our preceding article,² there are subjects to what follows hereinafter, some other provisions in our Constitution for the prevention of unfair discrimination, and for the ensuring of equality of treatment, as between one citizen and another. We have particularly in mind here Articles 15, 16, 17 and 29 of the Constitution. Thus we find in Article 15:

"(1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

"(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to—

(a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels³ and places of public entertainment; or

(b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

"(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1955.

2. See *ibid.*

3. We find on page 663 of the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November, 1948, that on that day the Constituent Assembly had adopted an amendment of Mr. Mohd. Tahir (Bihar: Muslim) that "after the words 'restaurants, hotels' the words 'Dharamsalas, Musafirkhanas' be inserted." We wonder why these words do not occur in the Constitution of India! In moving his amendment to Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding to Article 15 of the Constitution of India, Mr. Tahir had said: "After the word 'hotels' the words 'Dharamsalas, Musafirkhanas' be added . . . We find that these two institutions are regularly run throughout our country by private funds. If a traveller who is in need of accommodation happens, fortunately or unfortunately, to be a scheduled caste or any other caste man who is not liked by the management of the 'Dharamsala' he is not allowed to halt in the 'Dharamsala.' And so is the case in respect to 'Musafirkhanas' also. Therefore I submit that these words 'Dharamsalas, Musafirkhanas' should be added after the word 'hotels.'" Mr. Tahir's amendment was a very sensible one.

"(4) Nothing in this article or in Clause (2) Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

And we find in Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution:

"No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them."

As we have seen before⁴ in connexion with Articles 13 and 14 of the Constitution, under Article 12 thereof, and unless the context otherwise requires, the word "State" in relation to our Fundamental Rights includes "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

Now so far as the first three Clauses of Article 15, as quoted above, are concerned, not much need be said by way of explanation as they are practically self-explanatory. Discrimination is permitted in favour of women and children for obvious reasons, and special provision may be lawfully made for them. Otherwise discrimination against any Indian citizen is prohibited on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. This is quite in consonance with the purposes of our Constitution as set forth in its Preamble,⁵ and also follows as an inevitable corollary to the principles of secular democracy embodied in it. Nevertheless, there are certain points in Clauses (1) and (2) of the Article which perhaps need elucidation, and we propose to do it now.

In the first place, unlike Article 14 of our Constitution with which we have dealt before,⁶ Article 15 is meant only for Indian citizens. Resident aliens in India, therefore, do not come within its scope.

Secondly, Clause (1) of Article 15 is meant to be a safeguard only against any discriminative action on

4. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77, and for January, 1955, p. 26.

5. Also see in this connexion *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, pp. 194-96.

6. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1955.

the part of the State; whereas Clause (2) of the Article is a protection not only against any discriminative action by the State but also by private persons who, or which, may lawfully come within its purview.

Thirdly, the word "only" both in Clause (1) and in Clause (2) is very significant. It means that no discrimination can be made on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. But it does not mean that no discrimination can be made, subject of course to the requirements of the other provisions of our Constitution, on grounds of requisite qualifications, health, morality, indecency, or disorderly conduct. Thus, for instance, the Principal of a Government Educational Institution may certainly refuse admission to a student if he or she does not possess the requisite academic qualifications. Similarly, the owner or the officer in charge of a hotel, public restaurant, theatre, or a cinema, may refuse admission to a person suffering from a contagious disease, or found indulging in some indecent or disorderly conduct, either as a result of drunkenness or otherwise.⁷

We have shown above that no discrimination is permitted on the ground of place of birth. But can any discrimination be permitted on the ground of residence? This is rather a ticklish question. We feel, however, that there is no constitutional bar to such discrimination under Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15. It may be noted in this connexion that originally the expression "place of birth" did not occur in Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly. Now this Article 9 corresponded to Article 15 of the present Constitution of India. The expression "place of birth" was inserted in Article 9 by way of amendment, on the motion of Syed Abdur Rouf⁸ in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948.

"The intention of this article" (i.e., Article 9), said⁹ Syed Abdur Rouf in support of his motion, "is to prohibit discrimination against citizens. We have prohibited discrimination on grounds of 'religion, race, caste or sex.' But I am afraid, Sir,¹⁰ the evil elements who might attempt to make discrimination against citizens will do so not on the ground of religion, race, caste or sex . . . In my opinion attempts may be made to make discrimination against citizens on (the) ground of place of birth and under the guise of local patriotism. To guard against this possibility, I have

brought in this amendment and I hope that it will be accepted."

The amendment was duly accepted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and also by the Constituent Assembly.¹¹ And thus it occurs in Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15 today.

Now the question is: Is the expression "place of birth" sufficient by itself to fulfil the object which Syed Abdur Rouf had in mind when he moved his amendment, namely, the prevention of what is generally known as "provincialism"? We are afraid it is not. A place of birth does not necessarily mean a place of residence. And a State may, for instance, insist on some residential qualification for admission to its educational institutions: It may lay down a rule that no person will, apart, from other requirements, be eligible for admission to a College maintained by it unless he or she has lived in the State for a certain, prescribed number of years. Under Clause (1) of Article 15 as it stands, there is, to our mind, no constitutional bar to such a rule being laid down. We may even give an extreme illustration. The owner or manager of a hotel or a public restaurant in Madras may refuse admission to a Bengali, even though the latter may have been born in Madras, on the ground that he is not ordinarily a resident of Madras and that the hotel or the restaurant is meant only for the *bona fide* and habitual residents of Madras. Such refusal of admission would not, it is submitted, be constitutionally wrong today.¹² Thus the law as it stands now is not an adequate protection against "provincialism." It may be interesting to note here that the word "residence" occurs, as we shall see later on, after the expression "place of birth," in Clause (2) of Article 16 of our Constitution. It may also be interesting to note here that the position in the Commonwealth of Australia in this respect is much better than what it is in our country. Thus under Section 117 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900:

"A subject of the Queen, resident in any State, shall not be subject in any other State to any disability or discrimination which would not be equally applicable to him if he were a subject of the Queen resident in such other State."

We do not know whether the omission of the word "residence" in Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15 and also of the words "place of birth" and "residence" in Clause (2) of Article 29 as quoted before, was deliberate or due to an oversight. At any rate, this omission is unfortunate and would not help the growth of a national feeling and a sense of national solidarity in our country. We, therefore, suggest that these omissions should be rectified at the earliest

11. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948.

12. Also see in this connexion Durga Das Basu, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82.

7. Also see in this connexion Durga Das Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 1951, p. 82.

8. Assam: Muslim.

9. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, pp. 650-51.

10. The Chairman of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly (Vice-President, Dr. H. C. Mookherjee) was meant.

possible opportunity by necessary constitutional amendments.

Fourthly, it may be noted here that the word "shops" in Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) of Article 15 has been used in a very wide sense. When, for example, a member¹³ of the Constituent Assembly inquired of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, on 29th November, 1948, whether the word "shops" in the expression "access to shops" in Article 9¹⁴ of the Draft Constitution of India, also included places like "a barber's shop," or "a shaving saloon," or "laundries" where people purchased "services" rather than "things," Dr. Ambedkar's reply was:

"Well, so far as I am concerned, I have not the least doubt that the word 'shop' does include laundry and shaving place. To define the word 'shop' in the most generic term one can think of is to state that 'shop' is a place where the owner is prepared to offer his service to anybody who is prepared to go there seeking his service. A laundryman therefore would be a man sitting in his shop offering to serve the public in a particular respect, namely, (to) wash the dirty cloths of a customer. Similarly, the owner of a shaving saloon would be sitting there offering his service for any person,¹⁵ who enters his saloon."¹⁶

At this stage, a member of the Constituent Assembly inquired whether the word 'shops' included the offices of a doctor and a lawyer. Dr. Ambedkar replied:¹⁷

"Certainly it will include anybody who offers his services. I am using it in a generic sense. I should like to point out therefore that the word 'shop' used here is not used in the limited sense of permitting entry. It is used in the larger sense of requiring the services if the terms of service are agreed to."

On this occasion Dr. Ambedkar also made it clear in reply to some other questions, that the word 'shops' in Article 9¹⁸ included 'ponds', and that the expression "places of public resort" would include a burial (or cremation) ground, subject to the fact that such a burial ground was "maintained wholly or partly out of public funds."¹⁹ He added, however:²⁰

"Where there are no burial grounds maintained by a municipality, local board or taluk board or Provincial Government or village paychayat, nobody of course has any right, because there is no public place about which anybody can make a

claim for entry. But if there is a burial ground maintained by the State out of State funds, then obviously every person²¹ would have every right to have his body buried or cremated therein . . . the word 'public' is used here in a special sense. A place is a place of public resort provided it is maintained wholly or partly out of State funds. It has nothing to do with the definition (of the word 'public') given in the Indian Penal Code."

Finally, we should like to say a word or two in regard to the expression "State funds" in Article 15. This expression was substituted by the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948, for the corresponding expression "the revenues of the State"²² in the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, on the motion of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar himself.

"The reason," said Dr. Ambedkar in support of his motion,²³ "why the Drafting Committee felt that the words 'the revenues of the State' should be replaced by the words 'State funds' is a very simple thing. In the administrative parlance which has been in vogue in India for a considerably long time, we are accustomed to speak of (the) revenues of a Provincial Government or (the) revenues of the Central Government. When we come to speak of local boards or district boards, we generally use the phrase local funds and not revenues. That is the terminology which has been in operation throughout India in all the provinces. Now, the honourable members of the House²⁴ will remember that we are using the word 'State' in this Part²⁵ to include not only the Central Government and the Provincial Governments and Indian States, but also local authorities, such as district local boards, or taluk local boards or the Port Trust authorities. So far as they are concerned, the proper word is 'Fund.' It is, therefore, desirable, in view of the fact that we are making these Fundamental Rights obligatory not merely upon the Central Government and the Provincial Governments, but also upon the district local boards and taluka local boards, to use a wider phraseology which would be applicable not only to the Central Government but also to the local boards which are included in the definition of the word 'State'."

We shall now refer to Clause (4) of Article 15 as quoted before. This Clause has a history. It did not originally occur either in the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, or in the Constitution of India. It was inserted in Article 15 by Section 2 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951,²⁶ as a consequence²⁷ of

13. Shri S. Nagappa (Madras: General).

14. Corresponding to Article 15 of the Constitution of India, as stated in the text before.

15. Of course, this person must be an Indian citizen. This follows from the context.

16. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 661.

17. See *ibid.*, p. 661.

18. See foot-note 14 above.

19. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November, 1948, p. 662.

20. See *ibid.*, pp. 661-62.

21. See foot-note 15 above in this connexion.

22. See Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948.

23. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 654.

24. I.e., the Constituent Assembly of India.

25. I.e., Part III (Fundamental Rights) of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948.

26. This Act of our Parliament received the assent of the President on 18th June, 1951.

27. See the *Parliamentary Debates* (India) of May and June, 1951, Official Report.

the judgment of the Supreme Court of India in Case No. 270 of 1951 (The State of Madras vs. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan) and Case No. 271 of 1951 (The State of Madras vs. C. R. Srinivasan).²⁸ These cases were "appeals from the judgment passed" by the High Court of Madras on 27th July, 1950, "on two separate applications under Article 226 of the Constitution (of India) complaining of breach of the petitioners' fundamental right to get admission into educational institutions maintained by the State."²⁹ Briefly speaking, the facts of the cases in which the judgment of the Supreme Court was delivered by Mr. Justice S. R. Das on 9th April, 1951, were as follows:³⁰

It appears from the judgment of Das J. that the State of Madras maintained four Medical Colleges and that only 330 seats were available for students in those four Colleges. Out of these 330 seats, 29 were reserved and the rest were "apportioned between four distinct groups of districts in the State." Similarly, the State of Madras maintained four Engineering Colleges and the total number of seats available for students in those Colleges were only 395. Out of these, 33 seats were reserved and the rest were "apportioned between the same four distinct groups of districts."

For many years before the commencement of the Constitution of India on 26th January, 1950, the seats in "both the Medical Colleges and the Engineering Colleges so apportioned between the four distinct groups of districts used to be filled up according to certain proportions set forth in what used to be called the Communal G.O." Thus, "for every 14 seats to be filled by the Selection Committee, candidates used to be selected strictly on the following basis:

Non-Brahmin (Hindus)	6
Backward Hindus	2
Brahmins	2
Harijans	2
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	1
Muslims	1."

Subject "to the aforesaid regional and what have been claimed to be protective provisions, selection from among the applicants from a particular community" from each of the groups of districts "used to be made on certain principles based on academic qualifications and marks obtained by the candidates." It also appears from the said judgment that "the proportion fixed in the old Communal G.O." had been adhered to even after the commencement of the Constitution, and, indeed, "G.O. No. 2208, dated June 16, 1950, laying down rules for the selection of candidates for admission into the Medical Colleges substantially" reproduced "the communal proportion fixed in the old Communal G.O."

28. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part V, May, 1951.

29. See *ibid.*

30. See *ibid.*

Now on 7th June, 1950, Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan made an application to the High Court of Madras under Article 226 of the Constitution for the protection of her fundamental rights under Article 15(1) and Article 29(2) thereof, and "prayed for the issue of a writ of mandamus or other suitable prerogative writ" restraining the State of Madras and all its officers and subordinates "from enforcing, observing, maintaining or following or requiring the enforcement, observance, maintenance or following by the authorities concerned of the notification or order generally referred to as the Communal G.O. in and by which admissions into the Madras Medical Colleges were sought or purported to be regulated in such manner as to infringe and involve the violation of her fundamental rights." It appeared, however, from the affidavit filed by her that she had not actually applied for admission to any Medical College, but that on inquiry she had come to know that she would not be admitted to any such college as she belonged to the Brahmin community. By its judgment on 27th July, 1950, the High Court of Madras "allowed this application of Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan." The State of Madras thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court against this judgment.

Sri C. R. Srinivasan "who had actually applied for admission into the Government Engineering College at Guindy, filed a petition praying for a writ of mandamus or any other writ restraining the State of Madras and all officers thereof from enforcing, observing, maintaining or following the Communal G.O. in and by which admission into the Engineering College was sought to be regulated in such manner as to infringe and involve the violation" of his fundamental right under Article 15(1) and Article 29(2) of the Constitution. By the same judgment the High Court of Madras followed this application also, and the State of Madras filed an appeal to the Supreme Court against it. The Counsel "appearing" for the State of Madras conceded that these two applicants would have been admitted to the educational institutions they intended to join and they would not have been denied admission if selections had been made on merits alone."

Das J. referred in this connexion to Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 29³¹ of the Constitution and then observed as follows:

"It will be noticed that while Clause (1)³² protects the language, script or culture of a section of the citizens, Clause (2) guarantees the fundamental right of an individual citizen. The right to get

31. Presumably, before the Supreme Court of India, although this is not very clear from the text of the judgment of Das J.

32. We have quoted before in this article Clause (2) of Article 29. Clause (1) of this Article lays down: "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."

33. Of Article 29. See the preceding foot-note in this connexion.

admission into any educational institution of the kind mentioned in Clause (2) is a right which an individual citizen has as a citizen and not as a member of any community or class of citizens. This right is not to be denied to the citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. If a citizen who seeks admission into any such educational institution has not the requisite academic qualifications and is denied admission on that ground he certainly cannot be heard to complain of an infraction of his fundamental right under this article. But on the other hand, if he has the academic qualifications but is refused admission only on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them, then there is a clear breach of his fundamental right."

With regard to the question of Fundamental Rights vis-a-vis the Directive Principles of State Policy³⁴ raised by the Advocate-General for Madras in connexion with the cases under consideration, Das J. remarked:

"The learned Advocate-General appearing for the State (of Madras) contends that the provisions of this Article³⁵ have to be read along with other articles in the Constitution. He urges that Article 46³⁶ charges the State with promoting with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and with protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It is pointed out that although this article³⁷ finds a place in Part IV of the Constitution which lays down certain directive principles of State policy and though the provisions contained in that part are not enforceable by any Court, the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental for the governance of the country and Article 37³⁸ makes it obligatory on the part of the State to apply those principles in making laws. The argument is that having regard to the provisions of Article 46, the State is entitled to maintain the Communal G.O. fixing proportionate seats for different communities and if because of that Order, which is thus contended to be valid in law and not in violation of the Constitution, the petitioners are unable to get admissions into the educational institutions, there is no infringement of their funda-

34. See Part IV of our Constitution.

35. I.e., Article 29(2) of our Constitution.

36. Article 46 lays down: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." The word 'State' in this article has also the same meaning as in Article 12 of our Constitution.

37. I.e., Article 46.

38. Article 37 has laid down: "The provisions contained in this Part (i.e., Part IV of the Constitution) shall not be enforceable by any Court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws." The word 'State' in this Article has the same meaning as in Article 12 of our Constitution.

mental rights. Indeed, the learned Advocate-General of Madras even contends that the provisions of Article 46 override the provisions of Article 29(2). We reject the above noted contentions completely. The directive principles of the State policy which by Article 37 are expressly made unenforceable by a Court, cannot override the provisions found in Part III which, notwithstanding other provisions, are expressly made enforceable by appropriate Writs, Orders or Directions under Article 32. The Chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or Order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate article in Part III. The directive principles of State policy have to conform to and run as subsidiary to the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. In our opinion, that is the correct way in which the provisions found in Parts III and IV have to be understood. However so long as there is no infringement of any Fundamental Right, to the extent conferred by the provisions in Part III, there can be no objection to the State acting in accordance with the directive principles set out in Part IV, but subject again to the Legislative and Executive powers and limitations conferred on the State under different provisions of the Constitution."

Referring next to Article 16³⁹ of the Constitution, Das J. stated:

"It will be noticed that Article 16 which guarantees the fundamental right of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and provides that no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State, also includes a specific clause in the following terms:

"(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

"If the arguments founded on Article 46 were sound, then Clause (4) of Article 16 would have been wholly unnecessary and redundant. Seeing, however, that Clause (4) was inserted in Article 16, the omission of such an express provision from Article 29 cannot but be regarded as significant. It may well be that the intention of the Constitution was not to introduce at all communal considerations in matters of admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds. The protection of backward classes of citizens may require appointment of members of backward classes in State services and the reason why power has been given to the State to provide for reservation of such appointments for backward classes may under those circumstances be understood. That consideration, however, was not

39. Quoted and dealt with by us in detail hereinafter.

obviously considered necessary in the case of admission into an educational institution and that may well be the reason for the omission from Article 29 of a clause similar to Clause (4) of Article 16."

In conclusion Das J. observed:

"Take the case of the petitioner Srinivasan. It is not disputed that he secured a much larger number of marks than the marks secured by many of the Non-Brahmin candidates and yet the Non-Brahmin candidates who secured less number of marks will be admitted into six out of every 14 seats but the petitioner Srinivasan will not be admitted into any of them. What is the reason for this denial of admission except that he is a Brahmin and not a Non-Brahmin. He may have secured higher marks than the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians (*sic*) or Muslim candidates but, nevertheless, he cannot get any of the seats reserved for the last mentioned communities for no fault of his except that he is a Brahmin and not a member of the aforesaid communities. Such denial of admission cannot but be regarded as made on ground only of his caste."

"It is argued that the petitioners are not denied admission only because they are Brahmins but for a variety of reasons, *e.g.*, (a) they are Brahmins, (b) Brahmins have an allotment of only two seats out of 14, and (c) the two seats have already been filled up by more meritorious Brahmin candidates. This may be true so far as these two seats reserved for the Brahmins are concerned but this line of argument can have no force when we come to consider the seats reserved for candidates of other communities, for, so far as those seats are concerned, the petitioners are denied admission into any of them not on any ground other than the sole ground of their being Brahmins and not being members of the community for whom those reservations have been made. The classification in the Communal G.O. proceeds on the basis of religion, race and caste. In our view, the classification made in the Communal G.O. is opposed to the Constitution and constitutes a clear violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizen under Article 29(2). In this view of the matter, we do not find it necessary to consider the effect of Articles 14 or 15 on the specific articles discussed above."

"For the reasons stated above, we are of opinion that the Communal G.O. being inconsistent with the provisions of Article 29(2) in Part III of the Constitution is void under Article 13."⁴⁰

As noted before, this judgment led to the insertion of Clause (4) in Article 15 in 1951. Under this clause notwithstanding anything in Article 15 or in Article 29(2) of the Constitution, special provision may be made, as in the case of women and children under Clause (3) of Article 15, for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of

citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. It may be interesting to note here that when Article 9^a of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, was before the Constituent Assembly, Professor K. T. Shah had moved an amendment on 29th November, 1948, that "at the end of Clause (2)^a of Article 9, the following be added:

'or for Scheduled Castes or backward tribes' for their advantage, safeguard or betterment."

Dr. Ambedkar had opposed the amendment on the ground that it might "have just the opposite effect."

"The object," he added,⁴¹ "which all of us have in mind is that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should not be segregated from the general public. For instance, none of us, I think, would like that a separate school should be established for the Scheduled Castes when there is a general school in the village open to the children of the entire community. If these words are added, it will probably give a handle for a State to say, 'Well we are making special provision for the Scheduled Castes' To my mind they can safely say so by taking shelter under the article if it is amended in the manner the Professor wants it. I, therefore, think that it is not a desirable amendment."

Thus Professor Shah's amendment had been negated by the Constituent Assembly. People thought otherwise, however, in 1951 after the judgment of the Supreme Court referred to above.

But as it stands, Clause (4) of Article 15 is not free from difficulties. As was pointed out by more than one speaker when the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951, was before our Parliament the power conferred by the Clause may be abused by a State Government, and thus the object of Article 15 may be largely defeated by it. Moreover, the expression "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens" in the clause is very vague and not capable of any precise definition. Further, whether any action taken by a State Government under the clause is justiciable or not, is a matter on which there may be an honest difference of opinion. It is, therefore, sincerely hoped that the power conferred by the clause will be exercised by our State Governments cautiously and reasonably.⁴²

41. As noted before, this corresponded to Article 15 of the Constitution of India.

42. It ran as follows: "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children."

43. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 661; also see pp. 655-56.

44. It may perhaps be interesting to note here that in its letter No. 120142 E4/54-1 Education, dated 17th January, 1955, the Secretary to the Government of Madras, "Health, Education and Local Administration Department," has kindly informed us in reply to an inquiry that in 1951 the Government of Madras "decided that 15 per cent of the seats available in the Government Colleges should

Before we leave this topic, we should like to invite the attention of the reader to the absence of the words 'sex' and 'place of birth' in Article 29(2), and of the word 'language' in Article 15. It, therefore, appears to us that, subject, of course, to the other provisions of our Constitution, discrimination, on the ground of sex or place of birth, under Article 29(2), or, on the ground of language, under Article 15, will not be constitutionally invalid. At any rate, this point needs clarification. Further, as will appear from what follows, the word 'descent' occurs in Clause (2) of Article 16, but it does not occur either in Article 15 or in Article 29(2). Does it, therefore, imply that, subject, again, to the other provisions of the Constitution, discrimination may be made, under Articles 15 and 29(2), on the ground of descent, origin, or lineage? This point, too, needs clarification.

III

We may now pass on to Article 16 of our Constitution. It lays down:

"(1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or to appointment to any office under the State."

"(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."

"(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office under any State specified in the First Schedule or any local or other authority within its territory, any requirement as to residence within that State prior to such employment or appointment."

"(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

"(5) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connexion with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination."

Reference⁴⁵ may also be made in this connexion to Article 335 of the Constitution, which runs as follows:

"... be reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and not less than 25 per cent of the seats for socially and educationally backward classes," and that "from the year 1952 onwards, 15 per cent of the seats have been reserved for (the) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 25 per cent for the backward classes."

45. It is also worthy of note here that special provision has been made in the Constitution for the appointment of members of the Anglo-Indian community to posts in certain services. See Article 336 in this connexion.

"The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connexion with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

After what we have stated above in connexion with Articles 15 and 29(2), we need not say much by way of explanation with regard to Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 16. The object of these clauses is, ordinarily, to provide for an equality of opportunity to all citizens of India in matters of public employment, irrespective of their religion, caste, race, etc. The absence, however, of the word 'language' in Clause (2) seems to imply that discrimination is, subject, of course, to the other requirements of the Constitution, permissible on the ground of language. No discrimination is ordinarily permissible on the ground of residence, but Parliament, and not the legislature of a Constituent State in India, specified in the First Schedule to the Constitution, nor any local or other authority therein, can make a law, under Clause (3), providing for a residential qualification as a prerequisite for certain types of appointment as stated in the clause. It may be noted here that neither the word 'residence' in Clause (2), nor Clause (3) itself, originally occurred in Article 10^a of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948. They were inserted in the Article by the Constituent Assembly on 30th November, 1948, by way of amendment, on the motion of Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor,⁴⁶ as amended by Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.⁴⁷ Moving for the insertion of the word 'residence' in Clause (2) of the said Article, Shri Kapoor said⁴⁸ that his object was to ensure that "every citizen of the country, wherever he might be living, should have" an "equal opportunity of employment under the State . . . anywhere in the country;" and that "there being only one citizenship for the whole country, it should carry with it the unfettered right and privilege of employment in any part and in every nook and corner of the country."

Unfortunately, he continued, "for some time past we have been observing that provincialism has been growing in this country. Every now and then we hear the cry, 'Bengal for Bengalis,' 'Madras for Madrasis' and so on and so forth. This cry . . . is not in the interests of the unity of the country, or in the interests of the solidarity of the country . . . I can easily understand a Provincial Government laying it down as a rule that only those who possess adequate knowledge of the provincial language shall be eligible for employ-

46. Corresponding to Article 16 in the Constitution of India.

47. "United Provinces: General."

48. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 676-78 and pp. 699-703.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 676-77.

40. For Article 13 of our Constitution see my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

ment in the province. I can also understand . . . a rule being laid down that a person who wants employment in the province should have adequate knowledge of local conditions . . . All that is easily understandable in the interests of efficiency of the services . . . I, therefore, submit that in the matter of employment there should be absolutely no restriction whatsoever unless it is necessary in the interests of the efficiency of the services. The unity of the country must be preserved at all costs; the solidarity of the country must be preserved at all costs. We must do everything in our power to preserve the unity of the country, and the amendment that I have moved aims at this and is a step in this direction."

Shri Kapoor's motion as amended by Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, was accepted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on behalf of the Drafting Committee. In justification of this acceptance Dr. Ambedkar observed,⁵⁰ among other things:

"It is the feeling of many persons in this House that, since we have established a common citizenship throughout India, irrespective of the local jurisdiction of the provinces and the Indian States, it is only a concomitant thing that residence should not be required for holding a particular post in a particular State because, in so far as you make residence a qualification, you are really subtracting from the value of a common citizenship which we have established by this Constitution or which we propose to establish by this Constitution. Therefore in my judgment, the argument that residence should not be a qualification to hold appointments under the State is a perfectly valid and a perfectly sound argument. At the same time, it must be realised that you cannot allow people who are flying from one province to another, from one State to another, as mere birds of passage without any roots, without any connection with that particular province, just to come, apply for posts and, so to say, take the plums and walk away. Therefore, some limitation is necessary. It was found, when this matter was investigated, that already today in very many provinces rules have been framed by the provincial governments prescribing a certain period of residence as a qualification for a post in that particular province (sic). Therefore the proposal in the amendment that, although as a general rule residence should not be a qualification, yet some exception might be made, is not quite out of the ordinary. We are merely following the practice which has been already established in the various provinces. However, what we found was that while different provinces were laying down a certain period as a qualifying period for posts, the periods varied considerably. Some provinces said that a person must be actually domiciled. What that means, one does not know. Others have fixed ten years, some seven and so on. It was therefore felt that, while it might be desirable to fix a period as a qualifying test, that

qualifying test should be uniform through India. Consequently, if that object is to be achieved, viz., that the qualifying residential period should be uniform, that object can be achieved only by giving the power to Parliament and not giving it to the local units, whether provinces or States. That is the underlying purpose of this amendment putting down residence as a qualification."

It is perhaps not necessary for us to say anything further in regard to the word 'residence' in Clause (2), or in regard to Clause (3), of Article 16 after what we have quoted from the speeches of Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly. These extracts from their speeches make the object of the word 'residence' as well as of Clause (3) very clear and one can hardly disagree with it.

We may now pass on to Clause (4) of Article 16. This Clause is apparently simple, but the expression "backward class of citizens" in it is so vague that it may create difficulties in practice. As more than one speaker pointed out in the Constituent Assembly on 30th November, 1948, in the absence of a clear definition, the expression is liable to different interpretations by different persons and may "lead to a lot of litigation."⁵¹ This apprehension was not altogether unfounded. Dr. Ambedkar, however, thought otherwise. "Somebody asked me," he said,⁵² "What is a backward community?" Well, I think any one who reads the language of the draft (Constitution) itself will find that we have left it to be determined by each local Government. A backward community is a community which is backward in the opinion of the Government. My honourable friend, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari asked me whether this rule will be justiciable. It is rather difficult to give a dogmatic answer. Personally I think it would be a justiciable matter. If the local Government included in this category of reservations such a large number of seats, I think one could very well go to the Federal Court (sic) and the Supreme Court and say that the reservation is of such a magnitude that the rule regarding equality of opportunity has been destroyed and the court will then come to the conclusion whether the local Government or the State Government has acted in a reasonable and prudent manner." It is rather difficult to agree with Dr. Ambedkar in this view. In the absence of any definite criteria for judging of the 'backwardness' of a class of citizens, we fail to see how the court of law can help in the matter. That is to say, there will be no precise and unchanging yardstick for judges to act upon in this matter: no possibility of any mechanical application of a measuring rod by them. As a result, the length of the judicial yardstick used will change from case to case accord-

51. *Ibid.*, p. 699.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 702.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 699-701.

ing to the discretion of the judges who will apply it. Thus there will naturally be a certain amount of uncertainty in the whole matter.

At the same time, we can appreciate the difficulties of those who had to draft this provision. In this connexion what Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly on 30th November, 1948, is certainly worthy of consideration. In regard to the "use of the word 'backward' in Clause (3) of Article 10" (of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948), Dr. Ambedkar observed:⁵³

"I should like to begin by making some general observations so that members might be in a position to understand the exact import, the significance and the necessity for using the word 'backward' in this particular clause . . . There are three points of view which it is necessary for us to reconcile if we are to produce a workable proposition which will be accepted by all. Of the three points of view, the first is that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens." It is the desire of many members of this House that every individual who is qualified for a particular post should be free to apply for that post, to sit for examinations and to have his qualifications tested so as to determine whether he is fit for the post or not and that there ought to be no limitations, there ought to be no hindrance in the operation of this principle of equality of opportunity. Another view mostly shared by a section of the House is that, if this principle is to be operative—and it ought to be operative in their judgment to its fullest extent—there ought to be no reservations of any sort for any class or community at all, that all citizens, if they are qualified, should be placed on the same footing of equality so far as the public services are concerned. That is the second point of view we have. Then we have quite massive opinion which insists that, although theoretically it is good to have the principle that there shall be equality of opportunity, there must at the same time be a provision made for the entry of certain communities which have so far been outside the administration . . . The Drafting Committee had to produce a formula which would reconcile these three points of view."

Thus, continued Dr. Ambedkar, addressing the members of the Constituent Assembly:

"If honourable members will bear these facts in mind—the three principles, we had to reconcile,—they will see that no better formula could be produced than the one that is embodied in sub-clause (3) of Article 10 of the Constitution.⁵⁴ They will find that the view of those who believe and hold that there shall be equality of opportunity,

has been embodied in sub-clause (1)⁵⁵ of Article 10. It is a generic principle. At the same time, as I said, we had to reconcile this formula with the demand made by certain communities that the administration which has now—for historical reasons—been controlled by one community or a few communities, that situation should disappear and that the others also must have an opportunity of getting into the public services. Supposing, for instance, we were to concede in full the demand of those communities who (sic) have not been so far employed in the public services to the fullest extent, what would really happen is, we shall be completely destroying the first proposition upon which we are all agreed, namely, that there shall be an equality of opportunity * * * Therefore the seats (posts?) to be reserved, if the reservation is to be consistent with sub-clause (1)⁵⁶ of Article 10, must be confined to a minority of seats (posts?). It is then only that the first principle could find its place in the Constitution and (be) effective in operation. If honourable members understand this position that we have to safeguard two things, namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time satisfy the demand of communities which have not had so far representation in the State, then, I am sure they will agree that unless you use some such qualifying phrase as 'backward,' the exception made in favour of reservation will ultimately eat up the rule altogether. Nothing of the rule will remain. That I think, if I may say so, is the justification why the Drafting Committee undertook on its own shoulders the responsibility of introducing the word 'backward' which, I admit, did not originally find a place in the fundamental right in the way in which it was passed by this Assembly . . . I think this is sufficient to justify why the word 'backward' has been used."⁵⁷

It is clear from the above that Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution which corresponds in essence to Clause (3) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, is a sort of compromise between the demands of the abstract principle of equality of opportunity for all citizens and the demands for the reservation of posts in the services of the State in favour of certain communities which were in the past very inadequately represented in those services on account of their social, economic, educational and, consequential, political backwardness. But it must be noted here that, although the reservation of posts in favour of what may legitimately be regarded as a 'backward' class of citizens is thus constitutionally permissible, it is not permissible for

53. Corresponding to Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

54. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 701-702.

55. Dr. Ambedkar obviously meant here Clause (3) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding, as noted before, to Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

56. I.e., Clause (1) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding to Clause (1) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

57. I.e., Clause (1) of Article 10 (Draft Constitution of India, 1948). Also see the preceding footnote.

58. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 701-702.

the State to reserve any post or appointment on religious or communal grounds, except as allowed for the Anglo-Indian community, during a short period, under Article 336 of the Constitution. This principle was definitely established by the judgment of our Supreme Court in the case of *B. Venkataramana (Petitioner) vs. The State of Madras and another (Respondents)*, delivered by Das J. on 9th April, 1951. This case arose⁵⁹ as a result of an application under Article 32 of the Constitution, "complaining of the infringement of the petitioner's fundamental right to employment in the State service of the first respondent." The facts of the case were briefly as follows:⁶⁰

By a notification, dated 16th December, 1949, the Madras Public Services Commission "invited applications for 83 posts of District Munsiffs in the Madras Subordinate Civil Judicial Service. It was notified that out of the 83 posts to be filled by direct recruitment, 12 were to go to persons already in the service holding certain classes of employment in the Madras Civil Judicial Department," and that the remaining 71 posts were to be "filled up from among the Official Receivers, Assistant Public Prosecutors and practising members of the Bar. It was further notified that the selection of the candidates" were to be "made from various castes, religions and communities in pursuance of the rules prescribed in what are popularly described as Communal G. Os., namely, for Harijans 19, Muslims 5, Christians 6, Backward Hindus 10, Non-Brahmin Hindus 32 and Brahmins 11." Moreover, "different and unequal age limits for candidates of the above-mentioned different classes were fixed and no age limit was fixed for Harijans and Backward Hindus."

It was admitted that the petitioner possessed "the requisite qualifications for being selected as a District Munsiff," and that "the marks secured by him would entitle him to be selected if the provisions in the Communal G.O. were disregarded." It appears that "out of the 83 posts, 12 were selected from the Madras Judicial Department," and that in its Notification in the Supplement to Part 1-B of the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 6th June, 1950, the Madras Public Services Commission "published the list of selected candidates under each community." The petition of B. Venkataramana "was filed on 21st October, 1950, praying for an order declaring that the rule of the communal rotation, in pursuance of which the selection to the posts of District Munsiffs was made in the Madras Subordinate Civil Judicial Service, was repugnant to the provisions of the Constitu-

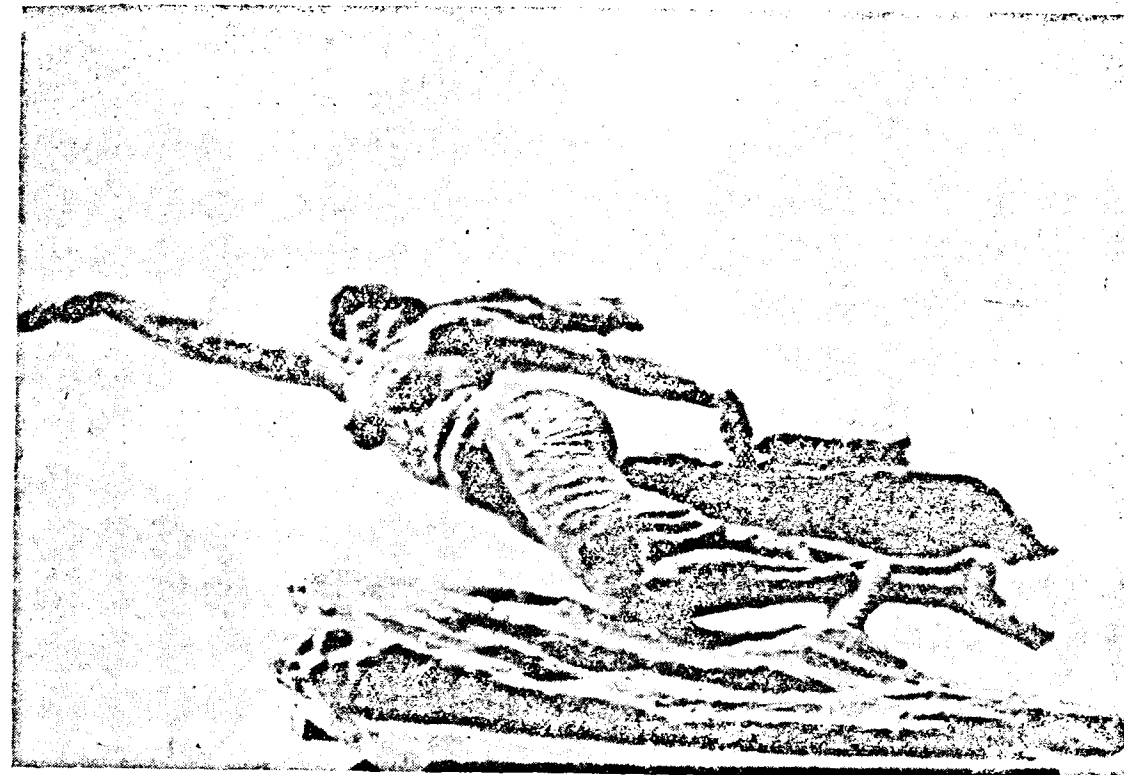
tion and, therefore, void, for directing the Madras Public Services Commission to cancel the selections already made, prohibiting the State of Madras from filling up the posts from out of the candidates selected in pursuance of the Notification, dated 16th December, 1949, and for directing the disposal of the petitioner's application for the said post after taking it on the file on its merits and without applying the rule of communal rotation."

"The Constitution by Article 16," said Das J., "specifically provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. The relevant clauses are as follows" . . . Clause (4) expressly permits the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services of the State. Reservation of posts in favour of any backward class of citizens cannot, therefore, be regarded as unconstitutional. The Communal G.O. itself makes an express reservation of seats for Harijans and Backward Hindus. The other categories, namely, Muslims, Christians, Non-Brahmin Hindus and Brahmins must be taken to have been treated as other than Harijans and Backward Hindus. Our attention was drawn to a Schedule of Backward Classes set out in Schedule III to Part I of the Madras Provincial and Subordinate Service Rules. It was, therefore, argued that Backward Hindus would mean Hindus of any of the communities mentioned in that Schedule. It is, in the circumstances, impossible to say that classes of people other than Harijans and Backward Hindus can be called Backward Classes. As regards the posts reserved for Harijans and Backward Hindus it may be said that the petitioner who does not belong to those two classes is regarded as ineligible for those reserved posts not on the ground of religion, race, caste, etc., but because of the necessity for making a provision for reservation of such posts in favour of a backward class of citizens, but the ineligibility of the petitioner for any of the posts reserved for communities other than Harijans and Backward Hindus cannot but be regarded as founded on the ground only of his being a Brahmin. For instance, the petitioner may be far better qualified than a Muslim or a Christian or a Non-Brahmin candidate and if all the posts reserved for those communities were open to him, he would be eligible for appointment, as is conceded by the learned Advocate-General of Madras, but, nevertheless, he cannot expect to get any of those posts reserved for those different categories only because he happens to be a Brahmin. His ineligibility for any of the posts reserved for the other communities, although he may have far better qualifications than those possessed by members falling within those categories, is brought about only because he is a

59. *The Supreme Court Journal*, Madras, Vol. XIV, 1951, pp. 318-20; also *The All-India Reporter*, Nagpur, 1951, pp. 229-30; also Durga Das Basu, *Cases on the Constitution of India*, 1950-51, pp. 37-39.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Das J. quoted here Clauses (1), (2) and (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution. These clauses have been quoted by us before in this article.

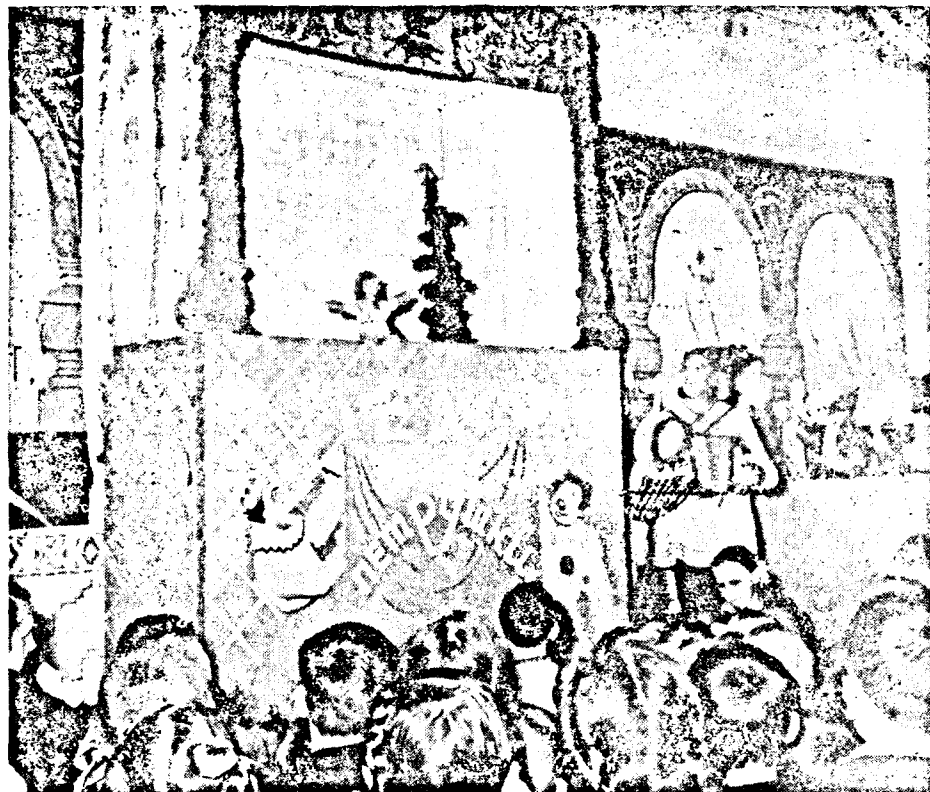


Swimmer. The last stroke (Bronze)

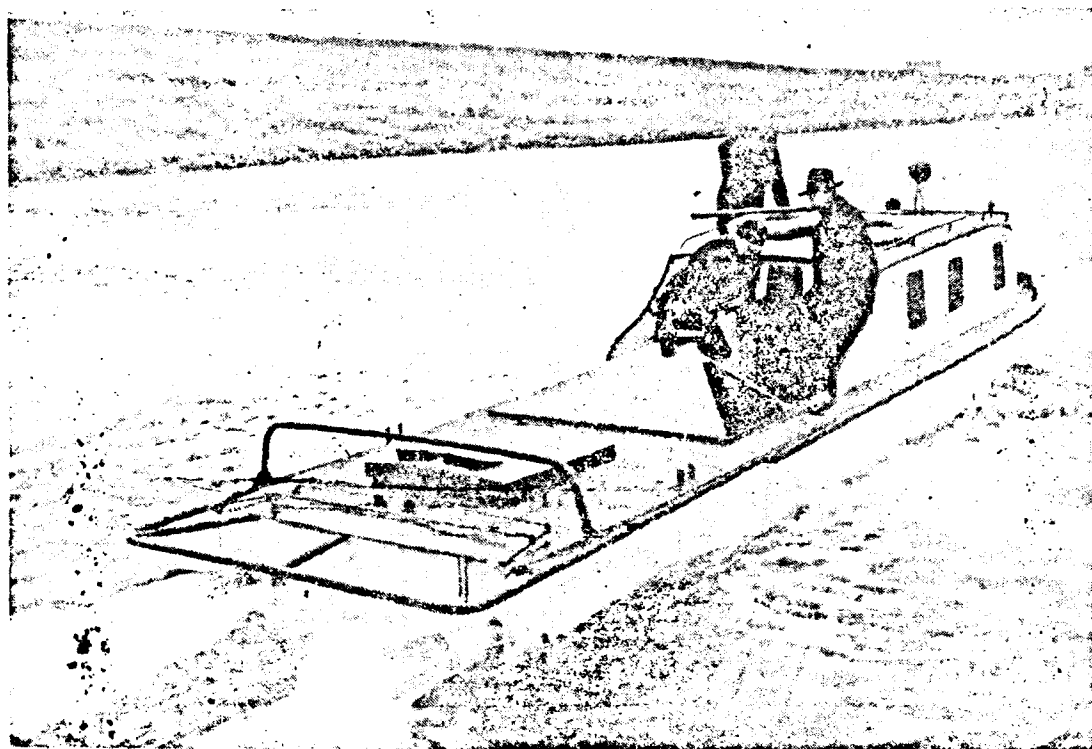
Sculptor —D. P. Roy Chowdhury



Southern Slav nationalities, Hungary



Fir Tree party for school-children, Moscow. The children at the Trade Unions House party are enjoying the Punch and Judy show enormously
Photo: V. Nosov and D. Sholomovich



A new shallow-draught hydro-jet cutter designed for use in the upper reaches of rivers and in their shallow tributaries, Moscow
Photo: V. Koshary

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Brahmin and does not belong to any of those categories. This ineligibility created by the Communal G.O. does not appear to us to be sanctioned by Clause (4) of Article 16 and it is an infringement of the fundamental right guaranteed to the petitioner as an individual citizen under Article 16(1) and (2). The Communal G.O., in our opinion, is repugnant to the provisions of Article 16 and is as such void and illegal. We, therefore, direct the respondents to consider and dispose of the petitioner's application for the post after taking it on file on its merits and without applying the rule of communal rotation. The petitioner will be entitled to his costs of this application."

Thus the petition of B Venkataramana was allowed by the Supreme Court, and the principle was established that there could be no reservation of posts, on religious or communal grounds, in the services of the State, except, as noted before, for the Anglo-Indian community during a brief period.

We need not say anything in regard to Clause (5) of Article 16 as quoted before, as it is self-explanatory and as the exception provided for in it is not merely reasonable, but is also a logical consequence of the principle of religious neutrality which our State has adopted as one of its fundamental features.

IV

We shall now say a few words in regard to Article 17 of our Constitution, corresponding to Article 11 of the Draft Constitution of India 1948. It lays down:

"Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law."

This is a very important provision of our Constitution and its object is to abolish some iniquitous social customs and disabilities from our country. As we have seen before⁶² in connexion with the question of the Preamble to our Constitution, the Constitution wants, among other things, to secure to all the citizens of India 'social justice' and 'equality of status,' and also to promote among them all "fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation." Article 17, properly implemented, will certainly help to achieve these objects. It may also be noted here that this Article, as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out⁶³ in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November 1948, instead of leaving it to our Parliament or to a State Legislature to make the enforcement of any

disability arising out of untouchability a crime, itself declares any such enforcement an offence punishable by law.

The Article, however, is not free from difficulties. Although we generally understand what is meant by the word 'untouchability' in the context of our social system, yet, as a legal term, it lacks precision since it has not been defined anywhere in our Constitution. It obviously means 'untouchability' on the ground of descent, caste, race, or religion. But the word 'untouchability' is applicable to so many varieties of things or conduct in different parts of our country that, in the absence of a clear definition, it may lead to any amount of vexatious litigation with the ever-increasing sense of self-respect in the minds of those in whose interest the Article has been framed. A certain type of conduct has been declared to be a penal offence, and yet it has now been considered necessary to define or describe it in the language of law. We appreciate the difficulties in the way of such definition or description; yet we fail to see how we can avoid it if the object of the Article is to be fulfilled. The same criticism also applies to the expression "any disability arising out of 'untouchability'" in the Article. This expression, too, needs a clear definition or, at least, an illustrative elucidation both for the enlightenment of the general public and for the guidance of the judiciary. It may, however, be noted in this connexion, that, except as otherwise provided in Clause (b) of Article 35 of the Constitution, under Sub-Clause (ii) of Clause (a) of the same Article, the Parliament of India alone, and not the Legislature of any constituent State, has been empowered by the Constitution to make a law for prescribing punishment for any offence envisaged by Article 17; and that the Parliament has been required by the Constitution, as soon as may be after its commencement, to enact necessary legislation for the purpose. This power has been rightly given to Parliament alone with a view, as Dr. Ambedkar stated⁶⁴ in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948, to ensuring uniformity of legislation on the subject throughout the country. As far as we know, no such legislation has yet been enacted, although the matter has for some time been under the active consideration of the authorities concerned. We sincerely hope that such legislation will be enacted without any further delay.

In our next article we propose to begin the consideration of our Fundamental Right to Freedom.

62. See *The Modern Review* for September 1954, pp. 194-96.
63. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November 1948, p. 561.

64. With reference to Article 27 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, which corresponded to Article 35 of the Constitution of India.—*Ibid*

AGRARIAN FINANCE IN INDIA

By PROF. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.,

Patna University

II

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

THE co-operative societies, next to the village moneylenders and indigenous bankers, form the most important source of rural credit. These societies, according to the Gadgil Committee, constitute 'the ideal agency for rural credit' and according to the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, are regarded as 'miniature banks for village and the only appropriate organisations through which banking facilities can reach the vast mass of the rural population.' Indeed, they are deemed not only as the appropriate agencies of supplying rural credit but also of mobilising rural savings. The Planning Commission also have considered these co-operatives as "the most effective agency for providing finance for agricultural purposes." The co-operatives, according to the Commission, have the following special advantages: (1) A co-operative society organised by the people for their economic and social welfare places proper emphasis on the character of a member without losing sight of his material security; (2) Compared to State agency a Co-operative can exercise better supervision and it can ensure utilization of loans for productive purposes more effectively; (3) The recovery of loans is also facilitated as, besides coercive action, public opinion is also brought to bear against wilful defaulters; and (4) Co-operatives are also in a better position to mobilize local savings.

With this importance of the co-operative societies, let us examine their origin, growth and present position and see how far the hopes reposed in them by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee and the Planning Commission can be fulfilled.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH

As regards their origin, they are not the result of a spontaneous democratic movement, but the outcome of Government policy and are restricted to the problem of rural credit. The immediate impulse was to stop the rapid deterioration of agricultural situation on account of the piling load of rural indebtedness and to save the small and poor farmers from the paralysing grip of the village money-lenders, in the last decade of the 19th century. In 1901, the Government of the day appointed a Committee to consider the question of the establishment of agricultural banks and the report of this Committee resulted in the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904. The Act aimed at encouraging thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means, and the societies that were to be started were intended to be small simple credit societies for small and simple folks with simple needs

and requiring small sums only. Knowledge of confidence in their fellow members which are the keystone of success was ensured by providing that a society should consist of persons residing in the same town or village or groups of villages and should be members of the same tribe, class or caste. The Act introduced the principle of unlimited liability for rural societies. The seed thus sown has grown in the course of 45 years into a fine tree with twigs and branches, spread out in many directions.

This Act was full of defects, viz., (a) it left primary societies unaided; (b) it sanctioned for credit societies only; (c) it provided for no central agencies for supervision and supply of capital, etc. To remedy these defects, was passed the co-operative societies Act of 1912 according to which (a) non-credit co-operative societies were also started; (b) new organisations for supervision, audit and supply of capital were recognised in the shape of (i) unions, consisting of primary societies for central supervision and audit; (ii) central banks for co-ordinating the activities of and financing the primary credit societies; and (iii) Provincial Co-operative Banks for the supply of capital. Thus the Act of 1912 made provision not only for the formation of central credit societies, but also for the formation of co-operative institutions of almost all types and for all purposes.

The Constitutional Reforms of 1919 made this co-operation a transferred subject and the Provinces were given the option either to form co-operatives according to the Act of 1912 or to pass their own enactments to suit their own local requirements.

In the first few years of the movement the number of societies grew very slowly but the growth was considerably accelerated from 1910 and the average number of societies from 1910 to 1915 was about 12,000. The pace of growth still further quickened after 1915 but came to a stand-still in 1929. The period between 1919 and 1939 in the history of the co-operative movement was a period of Reform, Rehabilitation and Reorganisation rather than that of expansion.

The whole movement was confronted with such serious problems as heavy overdues and sharp curtailment of fresh advances. The situation was so grave that various provinces appointed Committees to take stock of the position and to devise ways and means of reorganising the movement. In some provinces definite schemes for rehabilitation were drawn up. Their cardinal feature was to examine the loans due to societies and scale them down to the paying capacity of the borrowers. The Governments of the

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respective provinces agreed to give financial assistance to help the process of rehabilitation.

The years between 1939 and 1946 were the years of far-reaching developments in the movement. The war unleashed certain economic forces which changed the character of the movement and now the movement covers a wider area of economic life of the agriculturists. In the first place, the greatest contribution of the war to the co-operative movement was the shifting of the emphasis from the credit aspect to its productive and distributive functions, or more generally, to its multipurpose potentialities—a long-felt need for imparting that richness and balance which is necessary for the proper development of the movement.¹ The most noted advance had been in the direction of the consumers' movement. Again, both the military and civil needs of the country during this period have caused the creation of new types of producers' societies and a marked growth in existing types. Thus weavers' societies, milk supply unions and societies, and several other societies for cottage industries—all showed heavy increase in their number and business. In the second place, the war also saw a general improvement in the overall position of the movement. There was an appreciable increase in (a) number of members; and (b) in the amount of working capital. In terms of percentage, the increase since 1938-39 were 41.0, 70.6 and 54.0 respectively.² But the increase in the working capital was not in proportion to the war time inflation, on account of two reasons; (a) the societies themselves discouraged any larger augmentation of their funds owing to decreased demands on the same and (b) the farmer, once he cleared his burdensome debts out of his increased earnings, lost further incentive to save and lapsed into his traditional habits of improvidence.

The co-operative financing did not play any important part during the war period. The repayments exceeded the amount of fresh loans, and the co-operative borrowers liquidated a good part of their old dues. Thus with a large turnover, accelerated repayments and shrinkage in the overdues, the societies gained in strength and vigour. So the tasks as left by the war before the co-operators were firstly to maintain the progress achieved so far and secondly, to further its uniform progress by their own earnest efforts, as these developments were very largely products of abnormal and artificial conditions engendered by the war.

Thus from the above analysis it will be clear that the co-operative movement, even during its heydays could not achieve the end of promotive thrift among the co-operators—a fact which was also noted by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) which observed:

1. *Review of the Co-operative Movement, 1939-46*, p. 1.
2. *Ibid*, p. 2.

"Their ability to attract deposits and stimulate thrift has, however, continued to be low, deposits at present being only Rs. 3.04 crores."

In the second place, whatever improvement the movement made, was by no means uniform in all the provinces. Uttar Pradesh and Madras had a large number of societies while other major states like Bombay, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Assam showed smaller figures.

States	No. of societies	No. of societies per one lakh inhabitants
Punjab	13,251	105.1
West Bengal	....	63.9
Coorg	....	202.9
Ajmer	....	130.5

The total number of members of primary societies stands on the 30th June, 1950 at 126 lakhs. Taking the normal family at a little under 5, it is clear that about 6½ crores of people in India are being served by this movement.

The above figures give us a very rosy picture of the progress of the movement but viewed in the other way, the following figures will show that the movement has been able to touch only the fringe of the population and the area of its operation cannot be widened unless the very income of the agriculturists is not adequately increased or supplemented.

In 1945-46 there was one society for every 3.8 villages and the population touched by the movement was 10.6 per cent of the total.³ The reports of the various provinces submitted in response to the queries put to them by the Famine Enquiry Commission, 1945 tell the same tale.⁴ Besides, the co-operatives supply only 3.1 per cent of Rs. 750 crores which are borrowed every year by the Indian farmers to meet their current requirements.⁵

The number of membership per thousand in most of the states of Bombay and Madras is 61.3 and 56.6 only. Reduced in terms of percentage, the movement has touched only 6 per cent of the inhabitants of Bombay and 5.6 per cent of those of Madras. In other states, except in a few 'C' States like Coorg and Ajmer, the number of membership per hundred of their inhabitants is much smaller.

FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

The financial structure of the co-operative movement is largely composed of three parts: (1) Primary Co-operative Societies; (2) Central Co-operative Banks; and (3) The State or Provincial Banks.

3. *Ibid*, p. 2.

4. *Famine Enquiry Commission, 1945*, p. 495.

5. All-India Rural Credit Survey, 1954, published in the *Statesman*, December 22, 1954: "At the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase of agricultural production, the all-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivator from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum. Out of this amount, the Government supplied as little as 3.3 per cent and co-operatives the equally insignificant proportion of 3.1 per cent."

The Primary Co-operative Societies, which form the base of the co-operative credit structure are of two types: (a) agricultural and (b) non-agricultural. Agricultural societies counted the largest among the number of co-operative institutions, and even among the agricultural societies, the credit societies formed nearly 85 per cent in 1939-40, 77 per cent in 1945-46, and 66 per cent in 1947-48 of the total. These figures indicate that the non-credit aspect has been gaining prominence. Between 1939 and 1946, on account of the rise in the price level, there was an all-round improvement in the financial position of the Primary Societies. The number of their membership and their deposits position—all increased. The repaying capacity of the borrowers also increased so much so that overdues went down from Rs. 11.2 crores to Rs. 6.2 crores. Much of the large amount of loans considered frozen and irrecoverable was recovered.

But although their over-all financial position improved, they were not able to develop among the co-operators the habit of frugality in proportion to inflation, and as such the measures of dependence on external sources of finance was disproportionately large.

Year	(In crores of rupees)		
	Deposits	Working capital	Index No. of wholesale prices
1938-39	2.8	31.6	100
1945-46	5.4	33.0	272.6
30th June, 1950	1.09	35.21	409.7

The figures indicate that in spite of the improved position in the working capital, the deposits still play an insignificant part on account of the rise in the cost of living and cultivation of the members of the agricultural societies and of the lack of active efforts on the part of the co-operative institutions to tap and conserve the savings of the agriculturists.

The all-round improvement referred to above does not, however, mean that the progress made has been of the same order in all provinces and states. While from the point of view of the number and membership of the societies, the province of Bengal would seem to be the most outstanding with 39,880 societies and 11.1 lakh members from the qualitative point of view, it would seem to be the most disappointing area, with nearly 80 per cent of the outstanding overdue. On the other hand, Punjab fared worse. Its total working capital showed a big decline of Rs. 1.20 crores. In the province of Bihar the co-operative movement underwent a process of intense rehabilitation. The most important trends in the movement during 1939-46 had been (a) the all-round improvement in the position of the agricultural societies, though it was not uniform in all the provinces; (b) reduction in overdues; and (c) diversification of the functions of the primary societies in the direction of non-credit ones.

THEIR RESOURCES

The funds of an agricultural credit society are raised from—

1. Entrance fees,
2. Share capital,
3. Deposits or loans from non-members; and
4. Loans from Co-operative Institution, from Government and Reserve Funds.

The financial position of the agricultural credit societies on 30th June, 1950, was as noted below.

(In thousands of Rupees)

Share capital	7,16.67
Reserve and other funds	8,12.66
Deposits	4,09.76
Loans	35,21.75*

These figures indicate that the income from share capital and deposits is small compared with that from loans. Loans from Central Banks, in fact, furnish the bulk of the working capital of these agricultural societies at present.

Low dividends and voluntary services resulting in low cost of management have made it possible to divert a substantial proportion of the profits of these societies to reserve funds; and thereby provide against unforeseen losses, bad debts and investment depreciation. The general practice in regard to the use of the reserve funds in the business of the societies is that it is used as ordinary working capital.

These figures calculated in terms of per capita agricultural finance (assuming the number of agriculturists in India to be 25 crores at the rate of 70 per cent of our population) give us a figure of Re. 1 and As. 6 and pies 4 only. If an agricultural family consisted of 5, the figure will be nearly Rs. 7 which is its annual share of agricultural co-operative finance—a negligible fraction of its total credit requirements. Thus the greatest problem of the agricultural credit societies is the *Paucity of Funds*.

NARROW BASE

Besides the base of these societies is also not broad as the movement has not been found very popular among all classes of our agriculturists. The proportion of the rural population benefited by the movement is indicated by the figures in the following table:

Province	Percentage of members of agricultural credit societies in families in rural areas
U.P.	1.8
C.P. & Berar	2.3
Bihar and Orissa	3.1
Assam	2.9
Bengal	3.8
Madras	7.0
Bombay (combined)	8.7
Punjab	10.2*

* India and Pakistan Year Book, p. 77.

* Finance Enquiry Commission Report, p. 202.

These figures relate to the situation in 1928, but even in 1945-46 the picture is almost the same. In 1945-46 there was one society for every 3.8 villages and the population touched by the movement was 10.6 per cent of the total.*

The figures indicate that the growth of these societies has been sectional, not general. They have not been able to make themselves popular to all classes of agriculturists, small, medium and big. Thus the second greatest problem of our agricultural credit societies is its narrow base.

PAUCITY OF FUNDS

'Paucity of Funds' is a qualified term. It means only the dearth of local funds. The societies have failed to attract sufficient local deposits which constitute a highly desirable method of raising funds as they imply 'thrift in the village' from a good lying or reserve of money, and they tend to interest in the management of the society as a useful body of men who stand as sentries over their own deposits. Following are the most important causes of the low local deposits: (a) Paucity of savings among the villagers; (b) Land-mindedness, cash-mindedness and gold-mindedness of the agriculturists; (c) Comparatively low rates of interests which the society offers to the depositors against the higher rates of interest fetched by money-lending and commerce.

As regards Rural Savings, it is generally suggested that the rural sector has no savings worth mentioning, and whatever savings might have taken place in the rural sector have been drawn from the urban areas. But the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) did not accept this assumption, "as wholly correct." The Committee observed:

"The Rural population consists of various classes some of whom at least, such as big landholders, cultivators of economic holdings and the thrifty sections of small holders and tenants, and traders, possess, except during periods when conditions are abnormal, a margin for saving. The surplus enjoyed by such people have generally been invested in the purchase of lands, in acquiring additional livestock, etc. Sometimes a portion of such surplus has also flowed into urban enterprises, such as trade, establishment of processing industries and the acquisition of urban real estate—Indian imports from 1920-21 to 1930-31 having amounted to Rs. 422.1 crores. It is well known that a substantial portion of these imports ultimately found their way among the rural people with whom, as with the rest of the people of this country, precious metals have for various reasons been a favourite medium of investment. To suggest that there has been no substantial saving in the rural sector in normal times is to ignore the existence of the relatively more affluent and thrifty sections among the rural population. We consider

therefore, that it would not be unreasonable to assume some net savings in the rural sector of our economy even in normal years."

Thus it is clear that the co-operative societies have not been able to attract the relatively more affluent and thrifty sections among the rural population. The Committee has dealt at length with the various measures and machineries to be adopted for the mobilisation of rural savings. Here it will be sufficient to say that the societies have failed to achieve their ends of making available to the needy the surplus of the well-to-do brethren through the medium of the society. The existing village credit societies instead of consisting of more or less of all sections of the population of the village, are very largely made up of the needy section, the well-to-do keeping aloof and playing or trying to play the *sahukar*. They can be attracted by either stopping by Government legislation their investments in other channels or by giving an offer of comparatively higher rates of interest. Land-mindedness can be removed by means of fixing the maximum ceiling of land per family of cultivator and consolidation of economic holdings; cash-mindedness can be replaced by an adequate development of banking habit among the rural population while gold-mindedness by offering more stable and secure channels of investment to them.

As regards its narrow base, the idea that these societies must act up to the principles of sound banking is its great cause. It means two things: (a) Liquidity and (b) Profitability. In practice, these principles made these societies to advance loans only to those who are creditworthy, who have something (landed property generally) to offer as security against the loans. Thus nearly 30 per cent of the rural population who are agricultural landless labourers or very small farmers do not come into the orbit of these principles as they have nothing to offer as security against loans. The procedure involved in the advance of loans requires so much detailed information about the economic positions of the borrowing families that very few really show readiness to divulge their economic secrets for a morsel of loans—perhaps Rs. 100 per higha only.

Thus the ideal co-operative security of honesty and character of its members has been replaced in practice by the material security which, combined with cumbersome process of advancing loans, has deprived the most needy section of the community of the advantages of co-operative movement and has made it a movement of middle class farmers. Nor does it satisfy the two more important of the three essential characteristics of short-term finance, viz. elasticity and promptness. Besides, the activities of co-operative societies have hitherto been mostly confined to the sphere of supplying credit which touches only one aspect of the agriculturist's life. It is

* Review of the Co-operative Movement, 1944-45.

* Madras Committee Report, p. 45.

happy augury that during and after the World War II, non-credit aspect of co-operation has been gaining importance and today in almost all provinces emphasis is now being laid on the organisation of multipurpose societies which are intended to cater to the several needs of our agriculturists.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

The Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 provided for the registration of Central Co-operative Banks and since then, their number has grown rapidly specially in the Punjab, West Bengal and United Provinces.

The functions of these central banks are not only to supply the required capital to the primary societies, but also to make the surplus resources of some societies available to other societies in want of funds and to provide proper guidance to and inspection over them. The central banks, however, are essentially financial agencies. Besides financing the affiliated societies, most central banks do other banking business, viz., accepting of deposits of various types; collecting bills, cheques, hundies, dividend warrants and railway receipts; issuing drafts and hundies, safe custody of valuables, purchase and sale of securities, etc.

There are four main sources from which a central bank derives its working capital which stood in 1949-50 at Rs. 50 crores: (a) Share Capital, (b) Reserves, (c) Deposits and (d) Loans.

The paid-up share capital and reserves of central banks constitute the owned resources of these banks as distinguished from borrowed resources and provide the guarantee fund against which additional funds are raised by them in the shape of deposits or loans. It is usual to prescribe a suitable proportion between the owned and borrowed resources of central banks in each State.

The most usual proportion observed in practice between the borrowed and owned resources is 1 to 8. Deposits from members and non-members constitute the owned and borrowed resources of central banks. The total amount of deposits held by central banks in the year 1949-50 from individual and other sources amounted to Rs. 23½ crores and from primary societies to Rs. 11 crores.

In addition to funds obtained by deposits, central banks raise loans from outside banks, from other central banks, from the local State Bank and from the Government. Central Banks ordinarily do not directly borrow loans from the Government. The main source of loan is, therefore, the State Bank; and where the State Bank exists, the central banks are generally prohibited from having any direct dealings with either the Imperial Bank or the Reserve Bank or any other Government stock banks or with one another.

They also advance loans to the individual members. In Bombay and Madras, these loans amounted to 8½ crores of rupees in 1949-50. Advances are made to the individuals on the pledge of agricul-

tural produce thus combining trading with banking which is against sound banking principles and is thus roughly un-co-operative since they finance the very middlemen whom comparative sale seeks to eliminate. Besides, such advances encroach upon the domain of marketing finance and hamper the growth of co-operative marketing.

STATE CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

State Co-operative Banks have been characterised as apex institutions for the co-operative financial structure in each State and their functions are:

(i) To act as bankers to the co-operative societies, both as urban and rural, as also to the central co-operative banks,

(ii) To provide financial accommodation needed by the Co-operative Societies and the Central Co-operative Banks, and

(iii) To act as balancing centres and co-ordinating agencies for the provinces or the State concerned.

There are 12 such institutions in the whole country. Their constitutions vary considerably; yet their functions are more or less the same, namely, the co-ordination of the work of the central banks and utilisation of finance in them for the entire State.

ROLE OF RESERVE BANK

The Reserve Bank of India extends financial assistance to the agricultural operations only indirectly. Its direct participation, it is said, is not possible on account of its positions as 'Bankers' Bank' and the 'Lender of the last resort.' These two functions put so onerous a financial burden on the Reserve Bank that it is not deemed as desirable that the Reserve Bank should finance agriculture, which is a risky adventure in view of its uncertain character and as such against the principles of sound banking. And hence the activities of the Reserve Bank in this sphere are confined only to the following:

(i) It can sell, purchase and rediscount agricultural bills and promissory notes endorsed by a scheduled bank or a provincial co-operative bank, drawn for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations, or marketing of crops and maturing within 15 months as against 90 days only in case of commercial bills;

(ii) It can make loans or advances for 90 days to State Co-operative Banks and central land-mortgage banks, declared to be State Co-operative Banks and through them to co-operative central banks; and

(iii) It can extend advance to provincial co-operative banks for 90 days against the security of promissory notes of central co-operative banks drawn for financing seasonal agricultural operations, etc.¹⁰

10. The main provisions of the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment Act), 1951, among others, were: (1) the eligibility for rediscount of commercial paper by the Bank under Section 17 is extended to bills bearing the signature of a State Co-operative Bank; (2) the period of maturity of bills drawn for the finance of ses-

This indirect participation of the Reserve Bank of India has been criticised by some as based on orthodox banking principles and as such they advise at least the grant of cash credit facilities to Co-operative Banks by the Reserve Bank of India. Although in the new perspectives as set up by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, 1950, regarding mobilisation of rural savings, the character of the rural indebtedness and agrarian finance has changed,¹¹ yet the necessity of supplementing the local deposits will remain on the Reserve Bank level as they are not expected to meet the total credit needs of the Indian agriculturists.

No doubt, the emphasis has, in most places, shifted to the mobilisation of rural savings and towards a reconstruction at the base rather than at the apex, yet the base cannot get sufficient strength without reconstruction and reform at the centre. It may be in the shape of Reformed and Reserved Bank of India, or Agricultural Credit Corporation which we shall discuss further.

Thanks to nationalisation that it has increased the role of the Reserve Bank of India in the sphere of agricultural credit. Now (a) the Reserve Bank can provide clean or unsecured advances to the apex institutions (i.e., State Co-operative Banks) for financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops.

(b) It has also been authorised to grant secured advances against Government securities and land-mortgage bank debentures, and to grant advances against documents of title to goods, although such advances have been very little on account of the absence of warehouses.

(c) An amendment made in 1951 has raised the maturity of agricultural bills in India from 9 to 15 months. Besides, the accommodation made available by the Reserve Bank could be used by the apex banks not only to finance only 'A' and 'B' class societies, but also 'C' class societies on the recommendation of the Registrar.

(d) Till recently, all loans taken by Co-operative Banks from the Reserve Bank had to be repaid on a certain fixed date. The Reserve Bank has now decided to allow all loans taken by Co-operative Banks to run for their full periods, though the total outstanding at any time should not exceed the credit limit fixed for any year for the institutions concerned. Co-operative Banks have also been granted substantial concessions in interest rate charged for Reserve Bank accom-

sonal agricultural operations of the marketing of crops, eligible for rediscount by the Bank, is extended from 9 to 15 months, etc. (Report on Currency and Finance, 1950-51, p. 67).

11. "Secondly, the primary purpose of mobilising rural savings is to make them available for investment in rural development, either directly by the agriculturists or indirectly through projects undertaken by Government." (Rural Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1950, p. 44).

modation. They can still borrow at 2 per cent even though the Bank rate was raised to 3½ per cent in November, 1951. They also enjoy usual remittance facilities granted by the Reserve Bank to all scheduled Banks at concessional rates. Thus for increased agrarian financial assistance from the Reserve Bank rural India depends primarily on the future healthy growth of her co-operative movement.

The above analysis shows that the activities of the Reserve Bank are confined only to the provision of short-term credit alone in the field of agriculture. Medium-term and long-term credits are statutorily outside its scope. Nevertheless, it participates in the provision of long-term agricultural finance indirectly, i.e., by subscribing to the debentures of land-mortgage Banks which are guaranteed by the State Government.

A perusal of these facts will indicate that the action of the Reserve Bank of India in the field of Agricultural finance has been performed through the medium of Co-operative Banks which get (a) opportunity of longer usance in the case of agricultural bills and (b) concessional rates at which they are allowed to borrow from the Reserve Bank. The effectiveness of these devices adopted by the Central Bank in causing its funds to flow into the channels of agriculture depends on how far agricultural finance is used in the form of rediscountable bills and how efficient is the organisation of ware-housing in the country.¹² Financing through bills of exchange is almost non-existent except the practice of drawing up of hundies in India. Besides, the agricultural sector is also not properly organised and effectively integrated into the money market structure—a fact which is most essential for the successful financial assistance of the Reserve Bank into the field of agrarian finance. It will be evident from the records of the Reserve Bank¹³ that the Bank has been granting, from time to time, concessions to moneylenders (in 1938), and to co-operatives (in 1942, 1944, etc.) in the matters of borrowing from it for agricultural purposes. But the response to these concessions was, as the bank itself recognised, 'very poor,' as is evident from the figures given below:

Amount Borrowed by the Co-operative Banks from the Reserve Bank of India at 1½ per cent¹⁴

Year	Amount advanced Rs.
1946-47	1,150,000
1947-48	1,700,000
1948-49	10,300,000
1949-50	27,100,000

12. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (London): *Central Banking in Underdeveloped Money Market*, p. 214.

13. *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, August, 1947.

14. 'The Co-operative Banks were asked to maintain minimum cash balances with the Reserve Bank amounting to at least two and a half per cent of their demanded deposits and one per cent of

THE ART OF MATISSE

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

THE early years of the present century saw the advent in Paris of a group of young painters whose creeds and techniques were conditioned by their aversion towards the cold intellectualism of hyper-scientific painting. They sought to relieve the art from the complexities of neo-Impressionist painting, to make it simpler and to secure a maximum of expression with a minimum of means. They evinced a childish fancy for bright clean colours; their canvases had no perspective, no light and shade, and no depths. The art-circles of Paris were scandalised and quite promptly they branded the upstart group with a never-to-be-forgotten epithet, "fauves" or wild beasts. The canvases shown in the "Salon d'Automne"—the group held their annual show in autumn, and hence the name—were condemned as impossible, "not art, but a dangerous and infectious disease."



M. Henri Matisse

It was Henri Matisse who headed the rebellion. Naturally, therefore, he came in for the highest honour to be bestowed by the critics, "King of the fauves." Posters appeared on the walls of Montparnasse, "Matisse turns people mad; he is more dangerous than absinthe!" It was not the French alone who condemned him; in the famed Armory Show of Chicago held in 1913, effigies of his masterpieces were burnt in public

places. But Matisse withstood all vicissitudes of fortunes and fashions and lived long enough to be regarded as an Old Master. His art has become an important and integral part of what has been called "The Modern Movement," and his claim as one of the greatest painters of his time will ever be honoured.

It was rather in an unusual way that Matisse chose his vocation as a painter. He was born of middle-class parents at Cateau-Cambresis, a country of calm and poise in the north of France on the thirtyfirst of December, 1869. His father wanted him to qualify for Law, but rebelling against parental discretion, he chose to be a painter. He was convalescing once after an operation, when, for the first time, he was given a box of colours to paint his idle hours away. In this he experienced an unusual happiness, a happiness of which he said later:



A Pencil Sketch

"I found myself in a sort of Paradise, where I was completely free, alone, in peace, whereas I always felt anxious and bored in all other things one asked me to do."

But he had his share of tribulations to brave for this decision. He had to earn his way through schooling copying the old masters in the Louvre. He had to

THE ART OF MATISSE

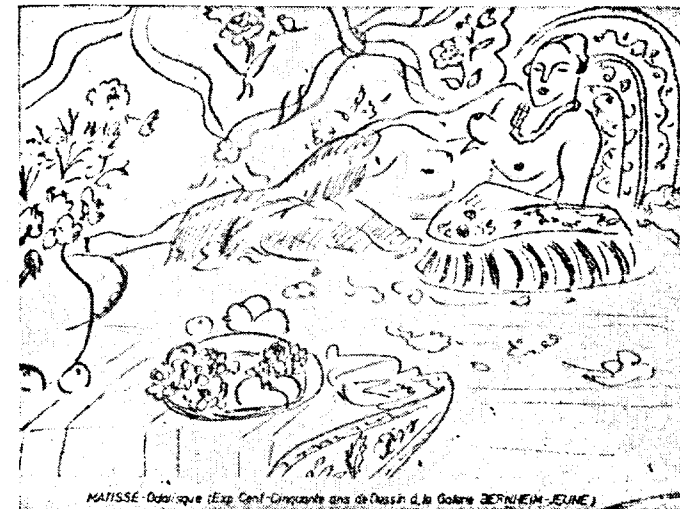
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support his family for months—he married Amelie Moellie Parayre in 1893—on the four hundred francs an art-dealer gave him for all his still lifes. But one day he had a strange experience. He had just finished one of his pictures. It was quite as good as the previous one, and on its delivery, he would get the money he sorely needed.

alternatively red, green and blue, painted in large flat surfaces of pure colours with a remarkable emphasis on rhythm and arabesque. He started an art school but pupils refused to go to him. He was still regarded as a dangerous fauve, though the younger generation adored him and many successful exhibitions of his paintings were held in a few countries. In 1908 he met

Picasso and they became life-friends. By this time, he had codified his creeds and techniques and his conceptions would henceforth express themselves with a complete disdain of traditional ideas.

He wandered over Morocco and the Pacific islands to assimilate a taste for simplification, purity and schematization. His mission was successful and henceforth he would paint only the durable and the essential. In 1917, he settled at Nice, met Renoir and painted a celebrated piece, "Interior at Nice," using black as a colour with a perfection which was never reached before by any other artist. He concentrated subsequently on painting 'Interiors' and 'Odalisques' or nudes, in very bright colours. His pictures became more sensuous but the sensuousness was expressed only by colour and the element of luxury and splendour was more pronounced than femininity. This period lasted till about 1930.

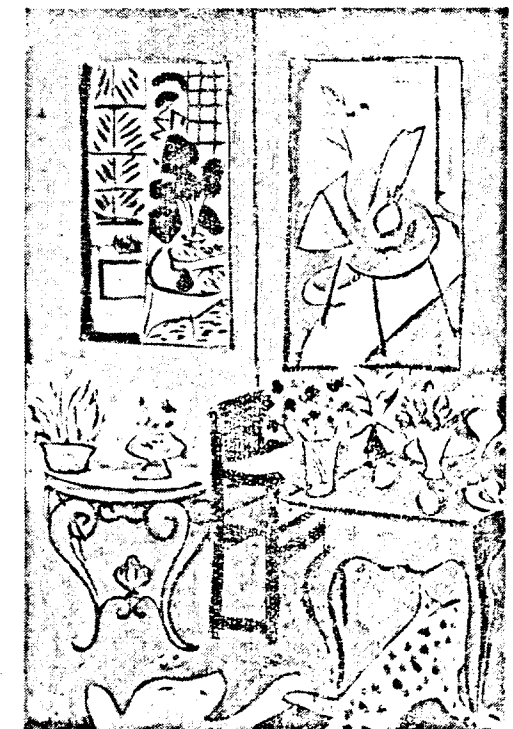


A Nude. It illustrates the artist's stress on rhythm and arabesque and the remarkable power of his line

"I looked at it and then and there a feeling came over me that it was not I, that it did not express me or express what I felt." He tore the canvas, counting on his emancipation from that day.

He began by painting still lifes in dull colours, and four of his works were for the first time exhibited in 1896. Impressionism claimed him subsequently, but his flirting with its intellectual tendencies soon came to an end. He abandoned the mosaic method of painting and used a sweeping brush and large planes of colour to fill in the masses of what are essentially linear designs. In a memorable statement, the painter Maurice Denis sums up thus the vital role of colour in modern European painting: "Always remember that a painting is not primarily the rendering of, say, a horse, a woman or some other scene, but it is first and foremost a flat surface covered by colours which are assembled in a certain order." It was indeed a bold deviation from the academic concepts about colour, particularly in regard to the indispensability of complementary colours. So the exhibition of the "Salon d'Automne" in 1905 came as a rude shock to the critics and they branded him and his confreres as "fauves," wild beasts. Thus a new school of painting took shape, and critics named that school "Fauvism."

The "wild" canvas exhibited by Matisse in 1905 was a picture of three nude figures on ochre on an



Grand Interior Rouge, 1948

Thus the maximum loans granted by the Reserve Bank of India in any year have not exceeded Rs 271 lakhs, which is completely inadequate to meet the

their time deposits the rates being five per cent and two and a half per cent respectively for the commercial banks. In 1942, the Bank prepared another scheme, offering to grant accommodation for the marketing of crops at a concession rate of 1 per cent below the Bank rate, provided the benefit of their rate was passed on to the agriculturists. In 1944, this scheme of rebate was extended to cover bills and promissory notes drawn for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations and the rebate was increased to one and a half per cent in 1946. —Central Banking in Underdeveloped Money Market by Dr. S. N. Sen, p. 216.

seasonal needs of our agriculture. This failure of the Bank to attract good response from the rural financial institutions has led us to think of the reorganisation of the machinery of rural credit.¹⁵

15. At the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase of agricultural production, the all-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivators from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum. —All-India Rural Credit Survey, published in the Statesman, December 22, 1954, p. 4.

16. K. K. Sharma, The Reserve Bank of India and Rural Credit, 1947.

THE AGRICULTURAL LAND OF ANCIENT INDIA

By Prof. BHAWANI SHANKER SHUKLA, M.A.

THE real owner of the land in Ancient India was, according to some scholars, the sovereign and not the private individuals. But the truth is just the other-wise. The Hindu Law recognised the principle of private ownership of the land. The owner of such property exercised absolute right over it. Dr. Jayaswal quotes the following lines from Colebrooke's Essay on Mimamsa:

"The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour. It belongs, says Jaimini,¹ to all alike; therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince."

The same view is held by Nilakantha who says that

"Proprietary right in the whole land with regard to villages and lands, etc., lies in their respective land-lords, etc. The king's right is limited to the collection of tax therefrom."²

Several other authorities, e.g., Madhava, Katyayana and the commentary Bhattadipika say the same thing in their own way.³

1. Vide Early History of India by Dr. Vincent Smith. ("The native law in India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property"). Dr. V. R. R. Dikshitar writes: "The fact that the lands are given to tenants for life, or for a period of time on contract and are confiscated at any moment bear testimony to the regulation of public lands only. Thus Kautilya had in mind both crown lands and communal lands when he used the terms *sita* and *bhaga*. Foreign travellers could hardly be expected to understand the complexity of land tenures and hence their accounts cannot certainly be taken at their face value. Strabo and Diodorus speak of the king's ownership of all lands, the cultivator's claim being one-fourth of the produce as remuneration. Arrian does not state anything about the proprietorship of land, but records that a certain tribute was paid to the king for land by husbandmen." —Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp. 365-66. The king could have a fixed share of the produce of the land in lieu of the services that he renders to the State. —Baudhayana-Dharmasutra.

2. Na bhumiya sarvapatti avishkatasat—(Jaimini)—Puror Mimamsa, VI).

3. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, p. 344.

4. Sampurna prithvi mandalasya tattadgrama kshetradi svatoam: a tatadbhoomikadinam: rajam: ts karagrahane matram—Yasodhara-nayakha.

Thus the private ownership of the land was an established fact. Apart from it, certain kind of land was held by the crown also. But this private ownership of the land was confined only to arable (*vastu*) land. Pasture was held in common by the people. About the forests Manu writes that

"He who clears a piece of land is the owner of it." "Beyond a distance of 600 feet round a village begins a common zone, not that it belongs to the community, but because it is a 'no man's land'."

The community-land was managed by the village panchayat which appointed a special Land Management Committee for it. The panchayat controlled the entire land of the village. The land held by private people or crown or devoted to the temple was usually excluded from such control. But the acquisition of the land was not an impossibility. In the first instance, "fresh clearing" was one of the sources through which the assembly acquired new land. Sometimes the assembly dissolved the private ownership of land if the revenue of the land was not paid within a stated period. According to one South Indian Inscription, "By royal order defaulters for a period of three years were liable to such confiscations." The assembly could further confiscate the land of private people as a mark of punishment if the people who held such land were found to be antagonist to village (*gramadrohi*). That land was also acquisitioned after properly compensating its holder if it was to be used for public welfare.

The disposal of land held by the assembly was done in many ways. The land could be allotted to any person if the latter paid a prescribed tax for it to the assembly. If the person wanted to purchase it for ever, it could also be so done. But such sales

5. Land is not his (king's) property because sovereignty is for protection and growth only.

Deva na va mahabhumih svatoam rajo sadatu tam

Palnasyava rajatvanna svambhukatyate na sa.

—Madhava: Nyayamala

"When the king is called the Swamin (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not that he is master of any other way." —Katyayana.

were usually made if the land was to be endowed to a temple. The village assembly always encouraged such transactions and often provided a good number of facilities to purchasers. Public bodies, e.g., guilds also sometimes purchased the land for welfare-work. And if the object of purchase of land was pious and charitable, the assembly often granted the land free of cost. On certain occasions the assembly sold the land by public auction. Private owners could also auction their land if they wanted. A procedure was fixed for such sale.

A land transaction always involved a number of formalities to be observed. First, a proper description of the land for sale was given and boundaries were marked out. If the village assembly was the seller, it fixed the price of its land. Then a deed of sale was executed. The following is the language of a deed of sale where 1/20 veli of land was sold to a lady by an assembly:

"We the assembly of—sold the following land at a price settled by the assembly—. The price which we have to receive from her for this one-twentieth veli of land and on which we have agreed is one good Kasu current at the time. Having received this one Kasu in full into the hand, we, the assembly of—sold the land and made and gave a deed of sale. For this one-twentieth veli of land, this alone shall be the record of the final payment of the money besides this. Having thus agreed, having received this one Kasu and having sold this one-twentieth veli of land at the full price, we, the assembly of—, have received the money in full."

The above draft was to be engraved on copper or stone. The transfer was not complete unless the draft was signed by proper persons and witnesses whose signatures, too, were attested by other persons, usually priest or black-smith of the village. The witness wrote:

"I (so and so, know this, this my writing."

The attesting formula was:

"This is writing of so and so. Thus do I know (his occupation being also stated here)."

The transferer gave away all the rights vested in him to the transferee with execution of the transfer.

The village assembly also 'exercised the rights of preemption as against outsiders.' But transfers of property to outsiders were sometimes permitted with the consent of the assembly.⁷

The king got the land surveyed by his officers who sought help for this purpose from land survey committee of the village assembly and fixed the royal revenue. The revenue could be paid both in cash and kind. In case the revenue was not paid within the stated time, the land could be confiscated as referred to above. The assessment was made according to the quality of the land and its different uses.⁸ The extent,

6. Dr. R. K. Mookherji: Local Government in Ancient India, pp. 226-27.

7. Kautilya: Arthashastra, III, Ch. 9.

8. Kautilya classifies the entire land into the following divisions: Sandy, swampy, wet and dry. Of these sandy and swampy lands are useless for cultivable purposes. Tamil literature makes

ownership and the assessment classification of land were to be noted in the village and temple registers by specially appointed clerks and both such registration and possession were deemed essential to establish ownership.⁹

Irrigation facilities were provided to farmers and for that a water-tax was levied which was usually one-fifth of the produce.¹⁰

We often come across land-grants in the inscriptions. Many such grants were made to Brahmanas. The land granted to Brahmanas for their maintenance was called *Brahmadeya* land and it was free from taxes and forced labour. The holder of such land either cultivated for himself or got it cultivated by others. 11a—b Certain perpetual settlements which had cultivated land, well, etc., were known as *paribhoga* land. Besides the above, there were *bhatta* villages, *sarvamanya* and *ekabhoga* grants.

Private owners could also grant the land of their own accord. But such grants were usually made in the form of religious endowments. All the transfers were made in documentary form.¹² And their registration in the State Record Office was necessary. The language of the entry of these grants into government records was very precise. The draft of grants contained specific conditions under which they were held. The illustration of the concluding portion of the famous Nasik Cave Inscription informs us as follows:

"And all this has been proclaimed and registered at the records office according to the customs."

Undoubtedly, sometimes red-tapism also occurred in these offices and the transactions and transfers were delayed but the efficiency of the system of land management, specially of agricultural land, was on the whole very remarkable and satisfactory.

similar classification of land but on regional basis, i.e., (1) Neytal (maritime), (2) Morutam (fertile), (3) Mullai (pasture), (4) Palai (desert) and (5) Kurinji (hill).

9. Dr. R. K. Mookherji: Local Government in Ancient India, p. 182.

10. The following shares of produce payable as water-tax (*Udabhaga*) are laid down:

Hastopravartima—when the water has to be raised by manual labour—one-fifth.

Skandhapravartima—when the water is raised by water-lifts worked by bullocks—one-fourth.

Srotayantpravartima—when the water is supplied by irrigation channels—one-third.

Nadisarastakakupodghata—when the water is supplied by rivers, lakes, ponds or wells—one-fourth.

F. J. Monahan: The Early History of Bengal, p. 65.

11 (a) "To those upon whom he (king) has bestowed (land) he must give a document destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of cloth, or a copper-plate, and must contain the name of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal." Vishnu, II. Several such records have been engraved on copper-plates or rocks.

(b) The land could also be granted to village assemblies, guilds and other like organizations as religious endowment for maintaining temples, burning lamps inside the temple, or feeding Brahmanas or other charitable acts. The king sometimes granted the land to his officers as pension for their maintenance. Vide Arthashastra.

12. Supra, foot-n. 11a.

In 1929, he received the first prize in the Pittsburgh International Exhibition for a still life and soon many exhibitions of his paintings, some retrospective, were organised in many countries. He was polishing all the while the reckless crudities of Fauvism and by 1933 his art underwent a remarkable change. Henceforth he would give greater importance to the composition or the pattern of the canvas rather than to the subject supposed to be represented. The contours are always



Two Young Girls

important as they impart structure and rhythm; and the drawing and colouring are envisaged wholly in relation to decoration. It was, however, in decorating the Chapel of Vence in the South of France, towards the end of his career that he tested all his theories on painting, decoration and architecture.

By 1934, Matisse was hailed everywhere as a great master. One masterpiece after another followed, and with them his innovations too. In 1941 he underwent a serious operation from which he never recovered fully. He was partly bedridden during the decoration of the Vence Chapel that took him full four years to complete. When the work was over, a work he regarded as his masterpiece, he declared, "My bags are packed." He

was living at Nice since 1917 but on his eighty-third birthday, he donated a hundred of his works, valued at one and a half crores of dollars to his home town of Le Cateau. Death came swiftly to the aged artist on the fourth of November, 1954 at the age of eighty-four, an event he was awaiting with a serene composure of mind.

Matisse held no common ground with those who considered modern art as a new mode. Every art is a logical reflection of the time in which it is produced, an orderly and rational development of what had gone before. He began his career by believing with Gauguin and others that modern civilization is a disease.

"If modern life is diseased, modern art must be diseased also. We can restore art to health by starting it afresh like children or savages."

Thus he became a protagonist of Fauvism; but Fauvism, as a school, did not last long, though he went on refining its crudities till it became in his hands, "one of the subtlest and most delectable of painterly languages." He was passionate and inventive, elegant and intelligent, but was never obsessed by the cold intellectualism of Picasso and other modernists. He was one of the world's greatest colourists possessed with an unerring sense of pattern. He believed that representation in art is only a means to an end, and not the end itself. He observed:

"By mechanical means an image is now fixed on a photographic plate in a few seconds—an image more precise and exact than it is humanly possible to draw. And so, with the advent of photography disappeared the necessity for exact reproduction in art."

His greatness lay accomplishing the extremely difficult synthesis between instinct and intelligence, between form and colour, and in this he has very few equals in the long history of art.

But with all his startling innovations, Matisse has upheld the values of art the old masters believed in. He used his techniques for a serious purpose, and that is the rarest quality in modern art—to dispense happiness. He believed that

"A work of art should be for the businessman as well as for the literary artist, a thing which calms his brain, something akin to a good armchair which gives him rest from physical exertion."

His message to the world of art is simple, but its significance is ineffable.

"Art is a search after truth, and truth is all that counts An artist has to look at life without prejudices, as he did when he was a child."



HUNGARIAN FOLK ART*

By DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
Governor of West Bengal

THE tremendous gulf between the town and the village, the enormous differences between the educated city-dweller and his less fortunately placed peasant countryman, are far from being restricted to this country. For many centuries in the West, very much like what we find in India, the townsman looked down upon the village "yokel," smiled at his odd clothes, at his quaint habits, his supposed "uneducated" conversation and his so-called "primitive" art.



Bori Kisjanko, Master of Folk Art. Matyo

In India we are just beginning to awake to the fact that the much despised villager and hillman has a deeply rooted culture of his own, different from our city ways, nonetheless beautiful and full of genuine feeling. As a matter of fact, it is only in the last few years that we have come to realise the value no less than the beauty of the vast treasure we have in folk dancing and folk music, the so-called culturally "backward" peasant has evolved. And we needed the genius of a lone adventurer, such as Mr. Jamini Roy to show us the exquisite charm, the grace and the fascination of village painting and village toymaking.

*Speech delivered at the inaugural ceremony of an Exhibition of Hungarian Folk Art under the auspices of the National Academy of Art at the Ashutosh Hall, Ashutosh College, Calcutta, on Friday, the 11th February, 1955.

In the West too, it was first the music of the peasant people that roused the classical composers of towns to admiration; and it was in Hungary that this endless treasure-house of consummate music was taken very seriously by two of the greatest composers of this age. From 1848 onwards, there has been a growing love of peasant music; and, in the last decade of the last century, some sixty years ago, the world-famous composers, Bela Bartok and Professor Kodaly started



Embroidery work by Young Women of Kalocsa

on long treks, to collect the folksongs of Hungarian peasants. Many other countries followed, and the finest composers of the music of France, Russia, Germany and Hungary based their music on the inspiration derived from this inexhaustible source of spontaneous and truly beautiful singing.

The revival of interest in other folk arts has taken longer. It is only lately that the great beauty of peasant embroideries, village pottery and the people's carvings has been realised by the sophisticated townsman.

The first reaction in the twenties of this century was to exploit these village industries with the result that commercial firms commissioned villagers to manufacture for export what was originally made, for the satisfaction of their artistic instincts only. This had the effect of replacing the old love of the villager, for what is essentially beautiful and what he produced



Embroidery. Kalocsa girls

for the satisfaction of his own needs, by the liking of the townsman for what is cheap and meretricious, the more so because the former was being more and more rapidly drawn towards urbanisation on account of the amenities available in towns no less than of the opportunities they offer for reaching higher economic levels.

This tendency towards urbanisation manifested itself in such matters as giving up the wearing of the old beautiful costumes in favour of ugly machine-made fabrics, using highly decorated mass-produced pottery instead of the old earthenware pottery made by village people themselves. At the same time, the old arts and crafts, such as embroidery, continued to be practised, not because they were valued or their beauty loved, but because of the brisk demand for them in the export market. The tragedy lay in the fact that the makers of these articles, the beauty of which foreigners realised gradually, lost their sense of beauty so that they were

unable to create new and beautiful patterns and had therefore to adhere to the traditional patterns. It is thus that individuality in their products is being lost and a dull and monotonous uniformity is gradually replacing it.

A few beauty-loving enlightened people fought and are today fighting this tendency with the result that, during the last two decades, the tide has turned. Now, especially under the new regime, the peasant is given credit for and feels pride in his own homely arts and crafts; the beauty-loving and discerning townsman not only patronises, where he can, his embroideries, his ceramic ware, his carvings, but the producer is also made to realise that here is an inheritance of which he must be proud, and which he must not lose.

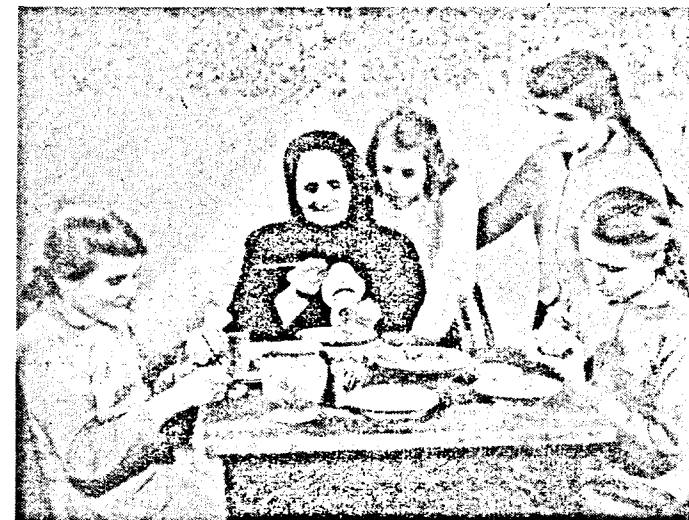
The Hungarian peasant is, by inclination, a born artist. The variety of embroidered and decorated dresses that he wears is enormous, especially when the

small size of the country is taken into account. The ceramic ware is full of invention and originality. The painted walls of houses, the stitch-decorated fur-coats that resemble so much the sheepskin coats of the Afghan and the Pathan tribesmen, are a joy to behold; and there is not a horseman, not a swineherd in the great plains of Hungary, who would go about with a plain whip in his hand; it must have carved and incised decoration.

The scholars in the Institute of Ethnography in Budapest have taken infinite pains to piece together the history of these crafts and of the motifs that dominate the Magyar peasants' handiwork. I understand that they have succeeded in tracing back most of the crafts as far back as the 16th century, in some cases to even earlier times. Visitors to this exhibition will be struck by some of the motifs—most of them will be found to be floral motifs—as remarkably similar to some Indian elements of decoration. No doubt all peasant crafts have something in common, even though the place of the lotus flower of our country may be taken by the rose in another country.

It is these similarities and dissimilarities that make such an exhibition fascinating; but what I think is the

most urgent message for us is the love, the affection, the understanding, the Hungarian educated classes bear, for their fellow-Hungarians in the villages. I express the hope that we too, in India, will learn to admire the



Artistic decoration on pottery by Kalocsa women

handicrafts of our brothers and sisters in the villages, the seven lakhs of villages to which Mahatma Gandhi was the first to draw our attention. There is much we can learn from the villagers, whether they live, move and have their being in Hungary or in India.

—:O:—

THE HOLY CITY OF BANARAS

By M. R. SEN

THE attention of the public was focussed recently on the Holy City of Banaras when Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of U.P., inaugurated the renovation work of the magnificent bathing ghats at Banaras, many of which were either crumbled or were badly damaged.

The holy city of Banaras needs no introduction. Even the illiterates are familiar with the name Kashi and Banarasi, though they do not know anything about their geographical situation.

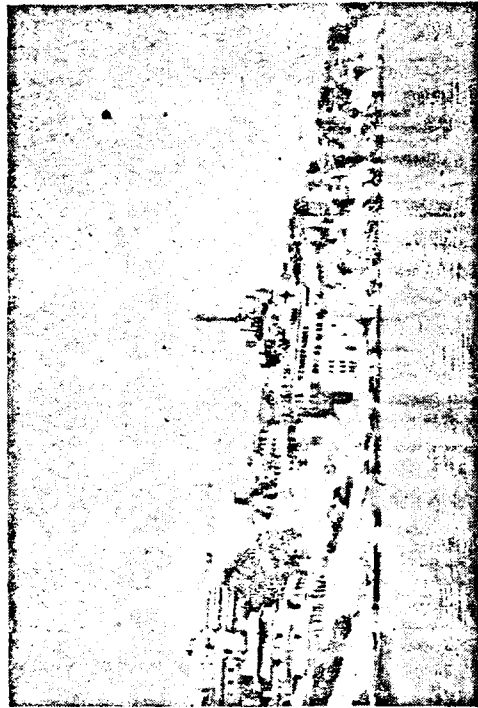
Although a part of U.P., Banaras looks like a city of Bengal, because Bengalis mostly predominate here. Unfortunately the interior of the city is dirty, clumsy and unplanned. The lanes and bye-lanes are veritable puzzles. To reform the holy city is perhaps an unholy affair.

Bulls at Banaras play a prominent part in the civic life. They have a status of their own and probably their civil liberties are guaranteed. They have a well-planned group particularly at Dasaswamedh

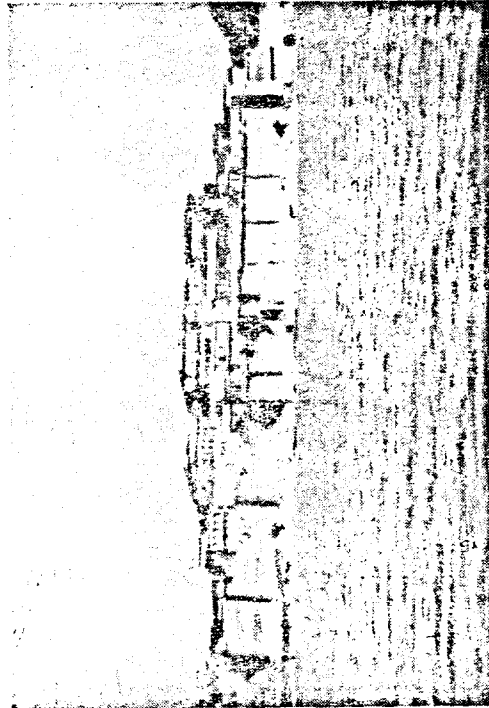
bazar so that when attacked by pilgrims they know how to do battle. Since their names are associated with some religious acts they are not kept in yokes. They live in *Ram Rajya*. In some lanes bulls often form a hallow square and their horns are presented to the enemy strictly in religious fashion. Walking down lanes and bye-lanes is a difficult job and a visitor has to be extra-cautious all the time because a bull in the city of Banaras belongs to a "privileged class." Incidentally I had once made a complaint to the present Chief Minister of U.P. and suggested to him to engage extra police squad to deal with these redoubtable bulls, but he expressed his inability to do anything without consulting the members of the Legislative Assembly because this meant extra expense!

PANDAS

Like those of all holy places the Pandas of Banaras stand as a good example of social parasites. They haunt a visitor like C.I.D. men. A Panda is an object of



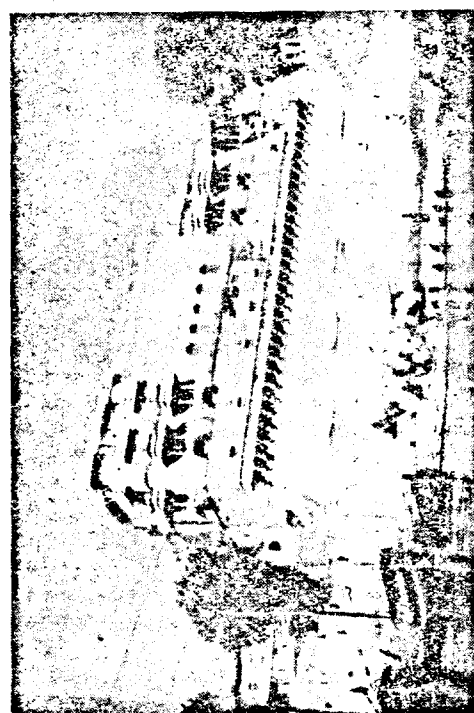
Panchganga Ghat



Ramnagar Fort



Dasaswamedh Ghat



Manmandir Ghat

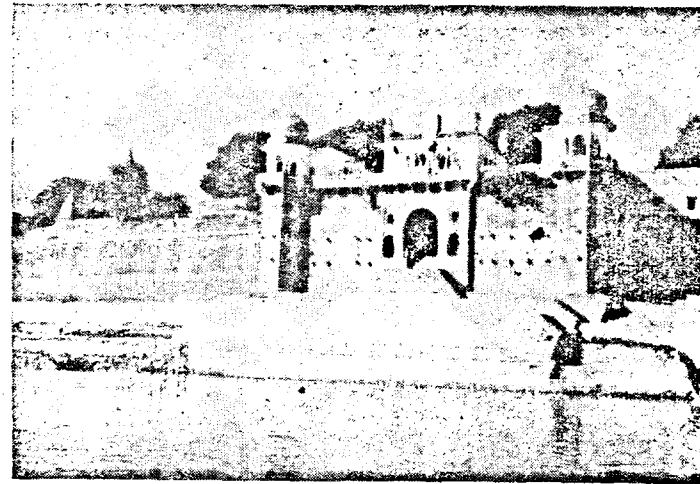
THE HOLY CITY OF BANARAS

social study. He lives and grows on the religious sentiments of uneducated people. Pandas do not seem to be religious as they pretend; yet in the name of religion they have been exploiting the innocent pilgrims who fall a prey to their pseudo-religious traps. By nature a Panda is shrewd. He has an x-ray eye which enables him to detect the rich and the poor.

she has ever received the willing homage of her subjects scattered all over India: as a lover she has secured their affection and regard."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Being the centre of Hinduism, Banaras received the attention of the Mahomeden invaders in the middle ages. During the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Banaras and destroyed its shrines and put an end to the rule of Hindu dynasties. Again in 1194 A.D. it was ravaged by Kutubuddin, and lastly it became the victim of Aurangzeb's fanaticism when he levelled down the city's temples in 1669 A.D. including the old temple of Viswanath. Throughout the Mughal rule Banaras continued as a *Subah* of the imperial rulers of Delhi except for a time when Shah Shuja of Bengal snatched it from the Mughals. In the general confusion that followed Aurangzeb's death, Banaras passed into the hands of Saadat Ali Khan, the Vizir of Oudh. Mansa Ram, one of the Hindu lieutenants of the rulers, was the founder of the present dynasty of the Rajas of Banaras.



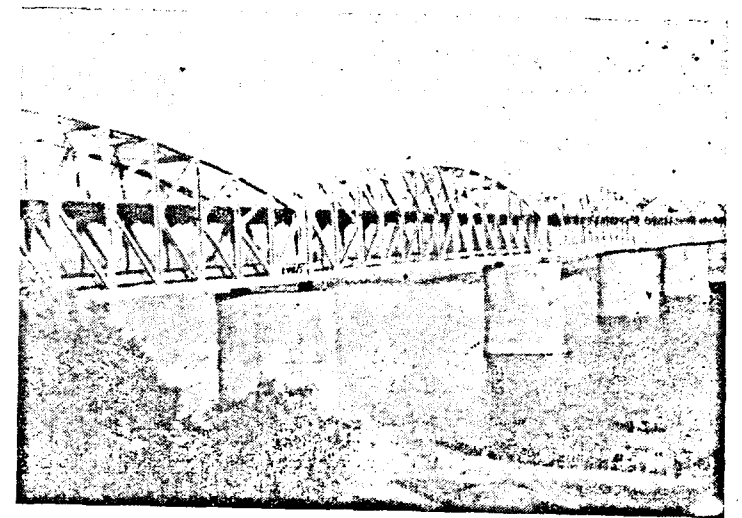
Chait Singh Ghat

He will probably treat a poor man with sympathy but will not spare a rich man. What a fine profession indeed in the name of religion!

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Banaras of course, is a city of great religious significance—although historically it is no less important. Referring to the tradition and sanctity of Banaras, the Rev. M.A. Sherring said:

"Of its great antiquity stretching back through the dim ages of early Indian history far into the clouds and mists of the Vedic and prehistoric periods there is no question. Banaras is a city of no mean antiquity. Twenty-five centuries ago, at least, it was famous. While many cities and nations have fallen into decay and perished, on the contrary for long ages past, it has shone with utmost meridian splendour. Her illustrious name has descended from generation to generation and has been a household word venerated and beloved by the whole Hindu family. Notwithstanding the manifestation in her physical aspects of repeated changes, yet as a city no sign of feebleness, no symptom of impending dissolution is apparent in any of the numberless references to her in native records. As a queen



Malaviya Bridge

Mansa Ram moved tactfully with his Mussalman masters and his sovereignty was soon recognised by the rulers of Oudh. He was succeeded by Balwant Singh in 1738 who by virtue of his military prowess firmly established his dynasty in alliance with the East India Company. His successor Raja Chait Singh incurred the displeasure of Warren Hastings who put an end to the dynasty in 1785. Lord Minto

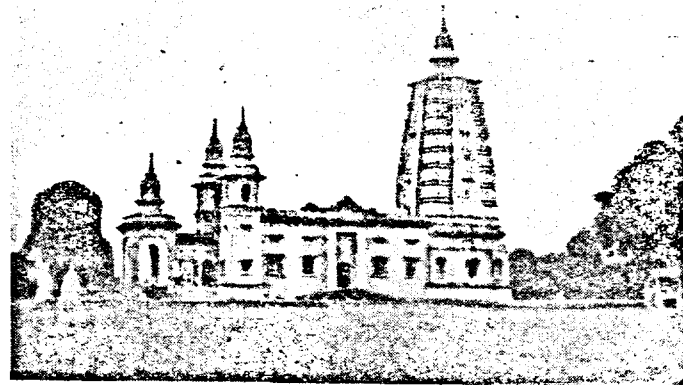
restored the state to Raja Chait Singh's successors but Banaras city was placed under the direct administration of the Government of India. The State of Banaras with its capital at Ramnagar on the other side of the Ganga continued under the Rajas of Banaras till after the independence of India it was integrated with the Indian Union on October 16, 1949.



Bharatmata Mandir

Geographically Banaras is in the Uttar Pradesh and situated in the centre of India. Banaras is the most important of the seven cities sacred to Brahmanism. From the train one gets the first view of the city over the Ganges lined up by beautiful ghats and temples with their shooting spires and gilded pinnacles. Such a panorama of lovely sights for miles together along the watery course—and all set apart for religious purposes—could hardly be found anywhere in India. There are about 1500 Hindu temples. As most of them are dedicated to Shiva, it is not illogical to suppose that the Shiva influence was more predominant in the city than that of the Vaishnava cult. Most of the temples were built during and after the 18th century. Truly speaking, Banaras is the religious capital of India. Here the ghats are really attractive and are accredited with great sanctity and millions of pilgrims gather there daily to perform religious acts. During Shiva Ratri or other festivals, the banks of the Ganges present a seething mass of humanity. The bathing ghats which total about 80 are built of stone slabs and spread for four

miles. Of these 16 are considered most important. Assi Ghat near the Assi Sangam (now dried up) marks the southern limit of Banaras. Historically this ghat has some significance because here the famous Hindi poet Tulsidas died in 1623 A. D. Dasaswamedh Ghat is so called because Brahma, the God of creation, once performed the famous ten horse-sacrifice here being inspired by Shiva. Visitors make it a point to visit this ghat first because apart from facilities of river excursion it is an important point of river traffic. Of the temples in Banaras, the first in point of religious importance is the Golden Temple of Viswanath who is the principal Hindu deity in the holy city of Uttar Pradesh. For the Hindus the centre of the world lies immediately beneath the dome of this temple. Hindus consider this spot as a pyramid which is said to have been brought here by Brahma Himself. This pyramid is not an ordinary one. Not larger than a thimble, it is made up of sixty forms of little disks of gold, each smoother than the last. There are three little posts, around one of which lies the pyramid. The demolition must be performed by removing one disk at a time and by placing it either on an



Side view of Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath

unoccupied post or a larger disk. The millions of pilgrims that visit Banaras throughout the year go to offer their prayers at this shrine. The temple is, however, not very striking from the point of view of art and architecture: of course its religious importance is immense.

SARNATH

Banaras is a holy place not only for the Hindus but also for the Buddhists since this place was fixed

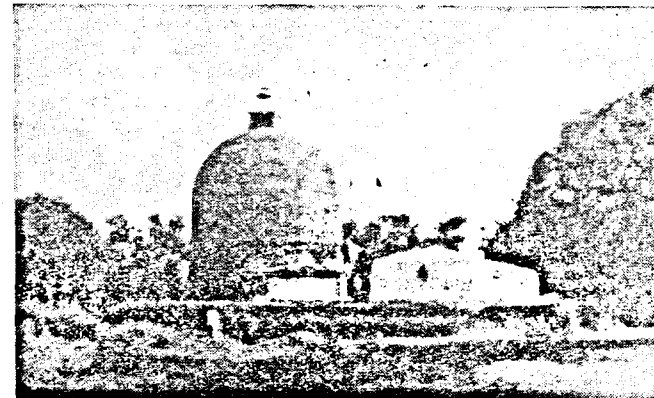
upon by Lord Buddha as the centre from which his faith should be preached. Buddha made Sarnath the venue of his religious teachings. It was from this place that the world first received the immortal message of Lord Buddha. Sarnath with its quiet pastoral surroundings is a striking contrast to Bana-

As a companion I found him quite interesting. Harsh Bahadur of his own accord said:

"Babuji, I am sure you will like Sarnath: it is a quiet place: neat and clean, better than your Banaras. Here you have seen Buddhist Bhikshus—how simple and amiable."

I nodded my head and agreed with him and thought myself that in any case they were not like the Pandas of the Golden Temple!

My young friend surprised me most when he refused to accept *Baksis*. He said he was not a professional guide: he loves to help visitors in his humble way. Being questioned he told me that he was good at lessons at school and his aim was to obtain the highest degree of the University and do something better. When I bade him good-bye I thought myself whether his poverty would enable him to pursue higher studies. Who knows if given a chance this boy might become a



Mahaparinirvana Stupa, Kushinagar

ras city. When I visited Sarnath recently I was greeted by a young Nepali boy aged 9 years. I cannot forget him as I write these lines. He gave his name as Harsh Bahadur. I found he had a better knowledge of Sarnath: not that he had committed anything to memory. His intelligence impressed me. He said that his father was a Chowkidar in the Museum who had since died. He is a student of 5th class of the local high school. He spoke with firmness that he was a student of history and that Buddha and his relics were his special subjects. He answered me all intricate questions with remarkable ability. Here is a specimen of his lecture when he took me to the excavated site;

"Here Buddhist remains lie scattered over the ground. Here Buddha explained the wheel of Law (Dharma Chakra) to his first five disciples. Here Buddha used to discuss with the Bhikshus many difficult problems of Buddhism. Thus Banaras became an important centre of Buddhism for 800 years. In many parts of the Holy City you will find ancient Buddhist remains and here in Sarnath these colossal relics of big monasteries have been discovered as a result of excavation."

My young friend continued:

"Two Viharas still attract numerous Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of India."

Pointing to Mulagandha Kuti Vihara he commented:

"This is the beautiful modern Buddhist temple built by Mohabodhi Society in 1931. Look at the elaborate colourful murals and fresco paintings done by Japanese artists which depict the whole life-history of Lord Buddha."



Lion Capital, Sarnath

leader of the nation. But is there any possibility under the existing circumstances? I asked myself.

THE WORKING OF A COAL MINE

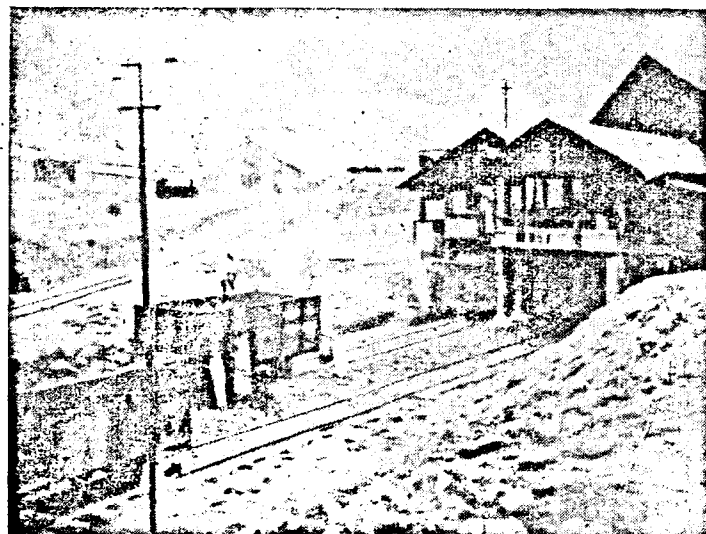
By SUDHIR BRAHMA

INTRODUCTION

"THE more popular the teaching of science becomes, the greater would be the chances of establishing democracy in the country"—this is because science has for us a new message, a new philosophy. Science has

of air and under great pressure of the earth. It is formed from wood and other vegetable matter, remnants of forests buried underground and which have undergone a long process of decomposition beneath the surface crust of the earth. An analysis of different stages reached from wood to the best anthracite coal proves the existence of wood in coal. Coal is a hard, black, rocky combustible matter producing heat energy of a high degree. It is defined in the *Memoris of the Geological Survey of India*, (Vol. LXI, page 259), as "a compact stratified matter of mummified plants (which have in part suffered arrested decay to varying degrees of completeness) free from all save a very low percentage of other matter."

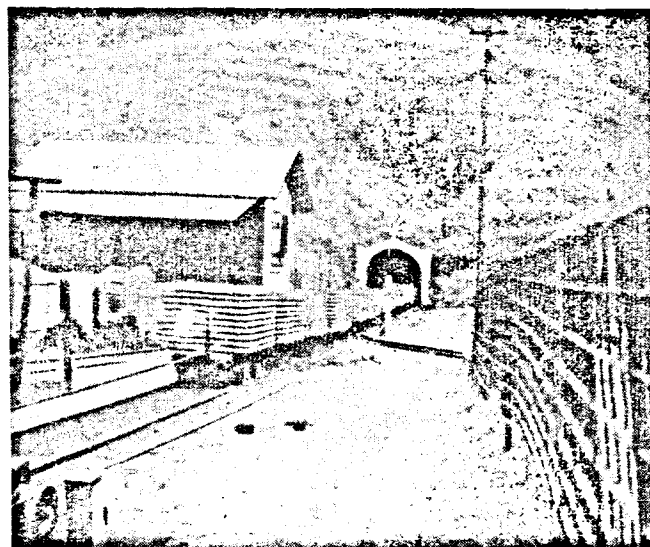
Coal is found in many countries of the world. In India, it is found at Jharia, Giridhi, Bokaro, Ramgarh and Daltongunj in Bihar, Asansol and Ranigunj in Bengal, Chanda and Karanpura in the Central Provinces, Umaria and Rewa State in Central India, Singareni in Hyderabad, Makum and the hills south of the Brahma-



Interior view of a coal-mine of Bargoli

not only harnessed the forces of nature and has given us a new outlook on life, but also has provided us with a new method of approach to all problems of life. Scientific analysis starts with man's desire to know about things which are not well-known. We see men grow old and die; we see horses and quadruped animals; and conclude that every man will grow old and die, that every cow will give milk and every horse will be a quadruped. This is a vague generalisation based on a few specimens that have been observed. But scientifically the generalisation may not be correct. Some day somebody may discover a man who does not grow old and die, may happen to see a cow which does not give milk, may see a horse which has only three legs. This is the reason why men remained in the primitive stage so long as they confined themselves to deductive reasoning.

It is difficult to know precisely how coal was formed. It is believed to have been formed by the gradual decomposition of vegetable matter in absence



The wagons loaded with coal are coming out of the mine

putra in Assam, Dandot in the Punjab, Mian-Wali in the North-West Frontier Province, Quetta and Kalat in Baluchistan. Coal deposits are found in layers lying in the crust of the earth varying in thickness from a few inches to over a hundred feet and are found slightly

THE WORKING OF A COAL MINE

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or heavily inclined. At some places a seam of coal is near the surface and at other places it occurs at a great depth. In the former case, it is economical and worthwhile to work coal in the open by cutting a 'quarry.' In some places it is not economical to work coal by excavating a quarry and so inclined paths are cut and roads are made to reach the coal seams under the rock. This is called working coal by 'Inclines.' But when coal seams exist at greater depths, say, beyond a hundred feet or so, wells called 'Pits' are sunk to the seam. Whereas in India pits are sunk to a depth of sixteen hundred feet only, in Europe they are sunk to a depth of three thousand feet.

Big cages of iron suspended by steel wire ropes and run by steam or electricity are lowered down the pipes to the depth of the coal seam and hauled up to the surface. The miners go underground through these shafts, make a tunnel and cut coal by means of hand picks (such miners are called 'Kachia Malkatta,' or ordinary miners) or by blasting coal with dynamite (such miners being called 'Pakia Malkatta' or C.P. Miners as this process was first introduced in India in the coal mines of the C.P.) or by coal-cutting or drilling machines (such miners being called machine-miners).

The coal thus cut is loaded in tubs. These tubs are then hauled up on train lines by stationery haulage engines or locomotives or conveyors from the points of workings and brought near the bottom of the shaft from where they are lifted up by an engine operating on the surface by steel wire ropes working over pulleys fitted on pit-head steel-frames. They are then carried by trucks and emptied near the railway siding from where the coal is loaded on the railway wagons and sent to places wherever wanted.

The working conditions underground are full of difficulties that have got to be overcome. As a measure of protection against these accidents the miners and other underground workers are not allowed to carry match boxes with them or to smoke underground. Another difficulty is that the roof of the mine supported by pillars of coal or pit-props may collapse due to high pressure. To protect themselves from this, those underground must always remain alert and watch the roof. If they find big pieces of coal falling from the roof or hear a rumbling noise, they hurry to a safe corner inside the mine, or if possible, they come out of the mine through the shafts. Then there are difficulties which crop up in the process of working, namely, the pumping of water and ventilation. These entail huge

expenditure. As the work is done at great depths, the pumping of water has to be done whenever water accumulates inside the mine. In shallow mines, water is pumped out to the surface by steam pumps, but in big mines it is pumped out by electricity. The question of underground ventilation is yet another problem. Ventilation is natural in mines which are only a hundred to two hundred feet deep, the air passing underground through various pits. But in deep and extensive mines, big ventilating fans having the capacity of thousands of cubic feet of air have to be installed and kept running day and night for circulating air throughout the mine.

Owing to the great importance of the coal industry from the point of view of national welfare and the difficult circumstances under which the workers engaged in the coal mines to work, the management must be entrusted to skilled and experienced mining engineers or geologists. The Royal Commission on Labour said that "Both in law and fact the manager is responsible for safety of workmen." Having regard to the safety of the miners and other underground workers, the contractors employing labour in a colliery should be a mining engineer or at least a mining man with some knowledge of geology. It is then that the output per man per shift can be speeded up and brought to the level of the European countries in years to come. Living quarters are provided for the workers near the pits, but they are no good. They are temporary huts, poorly made with corrugated iron sheets for roofs and no proper sanitation. The result is that the workers' health is poor. Drinking water can be had from the wells all over the collieries and the more wells a company has, the better are its chances of attracting labour. Reference has been made to some welfare facilities for the benefit of the Indian coal miners.

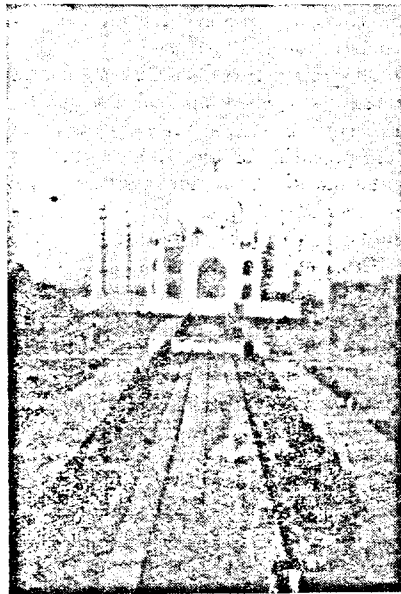
Coal is the life-blood of modern industry. Hydro-electricity from waterfalls can be used in place of coal for certain purposes, but not for all. It cannot be used for smelting metallic ores, nor can it yield the various useful chemicals that we get from coal. Electricity cannot be used for raising steam for boilers. When subjected to destructive distillation (i.e., heating out of contact with air) coal yields various by-products, viz., coal tar, ammoniacal liquor, coal-gas, coke and a lot of other chemicals. One such is benzol, a good substitute for petrol. The position regarding coal industry cannot improve so long as the governments of respective provinces do not take over the control of the running of coal mines in their own hands.



ARCHITECT OF THE TAJ

By M. YASIN SIDDIQI, M.A., LL.B.,
Lecturer in History, Lucknow University

So far, it has been a matter of speculation as to who was the real architect of the Taj? The experts of Indo-Muslim history and architecture revel in half-established theories based on vague generalisations for want of definite data. Fergusson, while dealing with the Tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, incidentally remarks that the Taj was most probably designed by Ali Mardan Khan, a Persian refugee. Majumdar in his *Imperial Agra of the Mughals*, also ascribes it to Ali Mardan Khan, who has also the support of Dr. Burgess. V. A. Smith challenges this theory by saying that this view "goes against the Persian histories of the reign of Shahjahan." He suggests the name of Ustad Isa, a



Taj Mahal

citizen of Agra as the chief architect. Sleeman holds that Austin-de-Bordeux, a skilled French engineer and craftsman, is the man who symbolised Shahjahan's love in marble. A pious assertion is made by the Augustinian friar, Father Sebastian Manrique, that the chief architect of the Taj was an Italian adventurer in Shahjahan's employ, one Geronimo Veroneo. Vincent Smith is inclined to accept this view while admitting that Ustad Isa might have taken up the work at a later date after the death of Veroneo, who died in India and was buried at Lahore.

Thanks to the spirit of research and luckily for us the architect of the Taj has been identified. And he is *Nadir-ul-Asr* Ustad Ahmad Lahori!

In 1931 Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi drew the attention of the scholars towards Ustad Ahmad Lahori as a great architect of Shahjahan's reign in an article "Lahore ka ek Memar Khandan," read before Adara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia, Lahore. Dr. Abdullah Chughtai took his Doctorate from Paris in 1937 on the subject of the History of the Taj. His thesis, written in French, establishes the fact that Ustad Ahmad Lahori, who held the title of *Nadir-ul-Asr* (Wonder of the Age) is the architect of the Taj. Though the name of Ahmad Lahori is occasionally mentioned in the contemporary Persian chronicles like *Amal-i-Saleh*, *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and *Tarikh-i-Shahjahan* (MS. in Deoband Library), it is *Diwan-i-Mahandis* of Hafiz Lutfullah Mahandis, the second son of Ustad Ahmad Lahori which removes all ambiguities and uncertainties surrounding the creator of the Taj Mahal. Lutfullah Mahandis, a craftsman himself, is the author of several well-known works especially on Mathematics.*

Ustad Ahmad Lahori was the chief architect of Shahjahan's court, well-versed in the science of building-craft. Shahjahan favoured him with the lofty title of *Nadir-ul-Asr* and his son Hafiz Lutfullah with *Mahandis* (roughly an Engineer). Ustad Ahmad died in 1059 A.H. about nine years after the completion of the Taj. His was the brain responsible for the creation of the Taj and the Red Fort of Delhi as is evident from the following lines of the *Diwan-i-Mahandis*: "Ahmad, the architect who was hundred steps ahead than others in his art, by the orders of the King, the Conqueror of Kingdoms, built the Tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. Afterwards by the orders of Shahjahan, the Refuge of the World, the Commander of the Stars, Ahmad, the Enlightened one, built the peerless Fort of Delhi. These two buildings which have been highly praised and described by me, are some of his (Ahmad's) treasures of arts and some pearls out of his mines of pearls."

Ahmad Lahori is no more but the Taj survives—immortal, always fresh with the raptures of love and tears. Even the name that gave concrete shape to the spiritual emotions of Shahjahan and Mumtaz Mahal was buried in oblivion but for the humble record of his own son just to give expression to the feelings of honour and pride and his association with it.

* The *Diwan-i-Mahandis*, written in the author's own handwriting is in possession of Sayyid Mahmud of Bangalore. Further details about the author of *Diwan-i-Mahandis* and the architect of the Taj could be had from *Baghistan* of Imamuddin Riyasi, son of Hafiz Lutfullah; MS. in Lucknow University Library.

AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS

A Survey of the Work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh in Nai Talim, 1952-53

By RAMKISHORE,
Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha

FIFTEEN years ago, in the year 1937-38, Mahatma Gandhi placed before the country the plan of Basic National Education. The articles in which he outlined his principles and methods began to appear in *Harijan* in July, 1937; in October the National Education Conference was convened at Wardha, and the Zakir Hussain Committee was appointed to draw up a tentative syllabus as a basis for experiment. The Committee completed its work, during the following two months, and in the spring of 1938 the Indian National Congress adopted the scheme as its educational policy and established the Hindustani Talimi Sangh as an autonomous body charged with the experimental working out of its principles in actual school practice.

The resolution of the Congress ran as follows:

"The Congress has emphasised the importance of National Education ever since 1906, and during the non-co-operation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organisation of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people. . . . It is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the Primary and Secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:

- "1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale.
- "2. The medium of instruction must be the mother-tongue.
- "3. Throughout this period, education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed and training to be given, should as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

"Accordingly, the Congress is of opinion that an All-India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established, and for this purpose requests and authorises Dr. Zakir Hussain and Shri E. Aryanayakam to take immediate steps under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of Basic National Education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.

"The said Board shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

The scheme thus outlined had not sprung fully grown out of nothing. Behind Mahatma Gandhi's

articles in *Harijan* in July-August, 1937, lay the forty years of his own social and educational thought and experiment, and the whole dynamic of the spiritual and cultural renaissance of India which had inspired Swami Shradhdhananda's Gurukula and Rabindranath Tagore's Brahmacharya Ashram. From 1920 onwards the National Vidyapiths and independent schools had been contributing to the pool of experience, and the constructive programme was acquiring a richer content and becoming more and more clearly an essentially educational venture on a national scale. In 1937-38, Basic education was placed before the nation as a whole as a practicable plan for universal education, whose immediate objective was to provide a seven-years' course for children of school age. The Basic course of eight years was later adopted in the light of experience.

The story of the development of Basic Education during the period of pre-war Provincial Government from 1937 to 1940, during the independence struggle between 1940 and 1945, and during the period of re-adjustment and new beginnings from 1946-49, has been told in successive reports of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, particularly in *The Story of Twelve Years* presented to the fifth All-India Basic Education Conference in May 1949. There is no need to repeat the record of work which is summarised there: This report will describe the position which has been reached in the summer of 1953 and indicate the developments which have taken place in the work of Nai Talim during the last four years.

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh has had from the beginning a double responsibility. It has had to conduct its own experimental institution, trying out, modifying, and developing method of education both in and out of school, in the light of actual experience with children and young people of various ages in a concrete village situation. It has also had to use its experience to advise and guide educationists in other parts of India, and workers in both Government and non-Government agencies, in the conduct of Basic schools and training schools for teachers. These two functions are closely inter-related, and it is not possible to draw any hard and fast line between them in an account of the work.

The Nai Talim community at Sevagram is now farming 190 acres of land. The larger part of this was acquired in 1945-46 when it was decided that agriculture, the basic rural industry, should be the basic craft of the post-basic school which was then being planned for. The object of the work is that the community of about 200 adults and 100 children who are normally in residence should be able to maintain

itself in food and clothing from the produce of the land. Thirty acres are reserved as pasture for the cattle, and another ten acres of irrigated land are used for the provision of green fodder throughout the year for milch cows. The pasture land also produces date-palms from which *gur* is obtained. Forty acres of land is under cotton and eighty acres under cereals (*juari* and wheat) and other "dry" crops, pulses, oil seeds, etc. The remaining thirty acres are irrigated vegetable and fruit gardens. All members of the community share in the work of the Farm according to their age and circumstances, and gardening is an important secondary craft in all departments, even where it is not the primary medium of education. The value of the students' work is credited to them in the Farm account and the produce is sold to the Community kitchen or the Khadi section at standard rates. Any surplus produce (cotton or fruits) is sold in the local market. The Farm accounts for 1952-53 show a profit of Rs. 1,336.

In May, 1953, the dairy herd consisted of 22 cows, 11 pairs of bullocks, 1 stud-bull and 67 calves. Of these 4 cows and 3 bullocks had been added during the year to the mature working herd from among our own calves.

This herd produced during the year 26,693 lbs of milk, and the accounts for the herd, excluding the feed of the calves, show a surplus of Rs. 667-8-0. The cows do not give enough milk for the daily needs of the community (calculated at 20 tolas per head per day) except in the hot season when some departments are wholly or partially closed and numbers are reduced. The Talimi Sangh has, therefore, been actively concerned for several years in the organisation and daily management of a Milk Producers' and Consumers' Co-operative Society which receive milk from producers in several villages round about, maintains the standard by regular scientific testing, and distributes it to consumers in the various Sevagram Institutions or converts the surplus into *ghee*, *dahi*, *khawa*, etc.

During the last two years the cattle have been re-housed outside the courtyard which they formerly shared with the post-basic boys' hostel. The whole courtyard is now available for living quarters for senior boys and teachers of the post-basic and University section. The girls hostels have also been expanded and improved, the office has been enlarged to give much-needed space for the publication department, "Santi Bhavan" has been extended by a paved annexe which gives additional space for meals, evening meetings, etc. A few new staff quarters have been built. The most significant addition to the accommodation, however, is "Kabir Bhavan" which was built in 1950-51 and came into full use as the workshop of the Khadi department in 1951-52. It had become impossible to give the members of the grow-

ing community any adequate training in weaving, or the opportunity to weave their clothes, on the few looms which could be crowded into the back of the Basic school building. Kabir Bhavan cost Rs. 9000, and has fifteen shuttle looms and 30 looms of Assamese and other special types. The first of these began work in July-August, 1951; during the year 1952-53, 1520 sq. yards of cloth were produced on shuttle looms and 374 yards of 16 ins. width on Assamese looms. The improved accommodation and equipment has not only increased productive efficiency but has also released space in the school buildings which is being utilised by the sewing and tailoring, bakery and other home science activities.

The expansion of activity and production in all these departments means that the importance of an efficient workshop where tools and accessories of all kinds can be made and repaired, and where carpentry and other building industries can be developed as scientific educational crafts, has been keenly felt. Interest in these crafts and rural industries has been stimulated in the community by a number of factors, particularly by the contacts which the Talimi Sangh has had with the International group of workers in the Service Civil International, and by the thought given to the development of work at a University level.

A special feature of the work of the last four years is the steady growth and consolidation of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan (Post-Basic School). By 1947, a number of pupils in Basic schools both in Sevagram and in Bihar had completed the full eight years' course of Basic Education, and some of them were eager to continue their studies at a more advanced level. The Talimi Sangh has been engaged in working out principles, methods and standards of education for the adolescent period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth years of life, in close consultation with others engaged in similar work. Pupils have been admitted to the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan both from the Anandaniketan Basic School at Sevagram and from complete Basic schools in the parts of India where post-basic education could not be provided at present. A full course of normally four years' duration has now been organised, and in 1951 and again in 1952 a group of students completed this post-basic course. Certificates of post-basic education were presented to them by the Prime Minister of India on the occasion of his visit to the Eighth All-India Basic Education Conference at Sevagram on November 1st, 1952.

The total number of pupils in the post-basic school is now about 80 of whom 14 are girls.

The aim or self-sufficiency at the post-basic stage is not, like the Basic school, to meet the current expenses of the school salaries and contingencies. The post-basic school is a "school-village," a society

of students and teachers living together in residence, and its aim is therefore to provide by its own work the food and clothing needs of all its members, not to accumulate earnings on a money basis. During the year 1952-53 a "life-sufficiency" of 65 per cent of life needs was attained by the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan.

The pattern of post-basic education developed at Sevagram is characterised by its stress on agriculture as the basic craft and on the development of mature personality able to shoulder full adult responsibilities. During the first two years each student is given a chance of experience in every aspect of the work of the farmfield crops, vegetable and fruit gardening, care of animals, dairying and the subsidiary industries of oilpress, palm-*gur* extraction, poultry and bee-keeping. In the latter part of the course he or she is encouraged to specialise in those aspects of the work which are most in line with his own gifts and tastes. All are expected, as parts of the qualification for entrance to the course, to be able to weave their own cloth, and are given opportunity in rotation to do so. Individuals who show a special interest in and talent for weaving, or for some other rural craft such as carpentry, or for health and first-aid work may be given an opportunity to become skilled workers in these fields. The pattern, that is to say, is of the development of hand and mind together through a thorough scientific and responsible use of the system of apprenticeship. The vigorous, efficient functioning of the various industries which supply the primary needs of the community is therefore of great importance. Equally important to the education of the emotions and the development of character is the practice of organising the post-basic school as a self-reliant, autonomous community which is also a part of the larger Nai Talim community, and a part of local and national society, and which recognizes its function and responsibility with regard to all of them. Details of the syllabuses and activities by means of which this intellectual social and moral training has been carried out will be found in the Handbook of Post-Basic Education which the Talimi Sangh has prepared on the basis of five years' experience. Mention must be made however of one of these activities, because of its significance in the recent development of Nai Talim as a whole. This is the work of Basic Education in the Rehabilitation Centres at Faridabad and Rajpura.

In August, 1949, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was requested by the Prime Minister to undertake the organisation of education in the Rehabilitation Centres of Faridabad and Rajpura where it was planned to build new townships. The Talimi Sangh accepted the task, and work began the following month. Twelve boys from the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan volunteered for this piece of public service and went with their teacher to Rajpura to help to start the

schools, with the confidence of children and parents, and establish standards of cleanliness, co-operative work and disciplined living. Workers from Sevagram and from the Nai Talim Centres in Bihar co-operated in the training of new teachers from among the refugees and in the retraining of old ones. The Talimi Sangh has continued the work from year to year in both centres, there are ten schools in the township of Faridabad, one for boys and one for girls in each *mahalla* with a total of 4,700 children, these schools have now reached the seventh grade. The three schools in Rajpura have also reached the seventh grade; it is a smaller township and the total number of children in school is about 1,600. Khadi craft, wood work and gardening are practised as basic crafts. In 1952-53, sums of Rs. 8,358 and Rs. 1,290 at Faridabad and Rajpura respectively were credited into the Government treasury as the proceeds of craft work.

The whole undertaking has demanded much thought, care and patience. It is an attempt to bring the principles of Nai Talim to bear on the problems of an artificial community created in adverse circumstance and of an essentially urban nature.

Side by side with the provision of education for the children, the Faridabad and Rajpura Development Boards have had to organise the building of the permanent townships.

In Faridabad, this work was undertaken by the people on a co-operative basis, and a small team of European workers of the Service Civil International (International Voluntary Service for Peace) gave their services also in road-making and building. Their work and interests brought them into close touch with Nai Talim workers. In subsequent years the S.C.I. undertook a number of other projects of community service, mainly in building construction, in different parts of the country, and several of their members have joined the Sevagram community, either for short holidays in the course of their work, or for longer periods after completing their S.C.I. contract. During the year 1952-53, three men have joined the Talimi Sangh in this way; M. Leon Bensimon, a Frenchman, works with the building department; Mr. Max Parker, a skilled mechanical engineer, an American, devoted four months to developing the workshop, and was helped for nearly three months by a Swiss volunteer, M. Franz Schenk. Max Parker took up two problems of great practical importance. One is the construction of a bullock-driven fodder-cutter which will, when perfected, eliminate much of the drudgery of fodder-cutting and to a very large extent prevent waste in feeding. The second is to devise a simple bullock-driven suction pump which could supply water for irrigation without the need for Persian wheels, which are costly to instal and troublesome in upkeep. Mr. Parker left in April, 1953, for a

visit to America, but plans to return and continue his work.

Developments in this field of rural technology are significant. They point the way to the next stage in the pioneer work demanded of Nai Talim. Since 1950, there has been much discussion of the place and nature of University work in Basic National Education. The Indian Universities' Commission has published its report including an important chapter on the "Rural University" to which a very large contribution was made by Dr. A. E. Morgan as a member of the commission. At the Seventh All-India Basic Education Conference in 1951, the subject of University education had an important place. Following the conference the Hindustani Talimi Sangh appointed a Higher Education Sub-Committee which worked out a scheme for the initial stages of a Visva-Vidyalyaya at Sevagram. Such an institution, if it is to be in line with the whole development of Nai Talim and of Mahatma Gandhi's conception of higher education, must relate its studies to national necessities. With this in mind the committee selected seven faculties (centres of work, study and practical research) and with the generous assistance of experienced educationists framed working syllabuses which the Talimi Sangh has approved. These seven activity-faculties are: 1. Agriculture and horticulture, 2. Animal husbandry and dairying, 3. Rural engineering, 4. Rural industries (including khadi), 5. Rural public health, 6. Food technology and nutrition, 7. Rural education.

This functional organisation of the material of education will be linked with an equally unconventional method. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh does not conceive of University work as consisting largely of lectures delivered to groups of passive students. It conceives of students who have developed through a post-basic course into mature and responsible people, and who have shown the intellectual alertness and initiative which will enable them to benefit by further opportunities being expected as individuals for further personal advanced study. It envisages them, under the personal guidance of a tutor who is an expert in the field, undertaking specific pieces of responsible work in the faculty they have chosen, and making a thorough scientific study of the conditions of their work and the problem involved. The problems of the fodder-cutter and the suction-pump referred to above are excellent examples of the kind of science which a Nai Talim university should foster.

Such a University needs not only an efficient workshop but an efficient laboratory. A small laboratory was added to the post-basic school in 1950, and scientific experiment in connection with the agricultural and khadi work of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan. Khadi work of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan have been directed from there. Shri M. A. Sathianathan, who has been in charge of this work, was the holder of a

Fulbright Scholarship for study in the United States during 1952-53. He studied methods used in the teaching of science in relation to productive work, especially in agriculture and dairying. The development of adequate laboratory facilities for the investigation of the problems raised by students in the University will be one of the immediate needs of the future.

Eighteen students were selected in November, 1952, for admission to the Sevagram Visva-Vidyalyaya after satisfactory completion of the post-basic course and thirteen of them began work at Sevagram. The majority selected the faculty of agriculture or of Animal Husbandry, and a few selected engineering or public health. It was decided, however, that in the initial stages all should work together at projects of immediate concern to the group as a whole, particularly the reconstruction of their residential quarters. The work involved a study of the principles of surveying and the problems of rural housing. Then came Shri Vinoba Bhavé's call to youth to devote a period to the work of Bhoo-dan, the students were eager to respond to this call, and most of them are still engaged in that work with the warm approval of the Talimi Sangh.

The developments in the local, national and world contacts of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh during the past few years all have points of interest. Side by side with the consolidation of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan and the initiation of University work, the Anandaniketan Basic School with its pre-basic classes has continued to work steadily. During 1952-53, the total income from the various productive crafts was Rs. 3,311-10-9 and the total expenditure on teachers' salaries and contingencies Rs. 4,303-6-0, giving nearly 77 per cent self-sufficiency. The senior grades continue to be held in the Talimi Sangh compound where they can make use of Kabir Bhavan and other facilities; the junior grades and the pre-basic school are held in the village. In 1950-51, two new school buildings, one for the pre-basic unit and one for the junior basic grades, were built on a site adjoining the village to replace the old and extremely overcrowded building which had been used up to then. The new site has a good well, and offers many opportunities for development.

In November, 1951, the Talimi Sangh entered into an understanding with the Wardha District Janapada Sabha by which the educational supervision of twenty village primary schools was undertaken by the Sangh. These schools are all, with one exception, in villages within a 7- or 8-mile radius of Sevagram, and form a compact area within which an all-round programme of community education might be attempted. The establishment of friendly relationships with the village schools and the adult community at once became one of the chief concerns of the Nai

Talim Bhavan (Teachers' Training Department). A good deal of spadework was done during the cool weather of 1951-52 and was followed by an intensive summer training school for the village teachers during May 1952. During the year 1952-53 a number of steps could be taken for the improvement of the schools, largely through the increased local interest in their welfare, more purposeful craft teaching and more interesting and varied community programmes. Plans were drawn up in consultation with the Janapada Sabha to overcome the various practical difficulties experienced by the teachers in trying to remould the schools on a "Basic" pattern; two informal conferences of teachers and interested villagers were held at Sevagram in March, and in May the Secretary of the Talimi Sangh and Kumari Shantaben Narulkar, met with the Director of Public Instruction and the Ministers for Education and for Planning in the State, and discussed the whole position of Basic education in relation to the State's policy for primary education and teacher training. It has been agreed that in the twenty schools of the compact area the ordinary Class IV examination will not be held but that the results of tests conducted by the Talimi Sangh will be recognised by the department. The Sangh thus finds a great opportunity and a great responsibility in its hands.

The Nai Talim Bhavan, whose work has been enriched by the contact with the villages which the compact area has afforded to its students, is the living link between the institutional work at Sevagram and the nation-wide interests of the Talimi Sangh. There have been several changes during the last four years. States which formerly sent a large number of students for training, like Madras, Orissa, Bombay, Bihar, no longer do so to the same extent because there are now facilities for training in their own areas. If students are sent it is usually for special purposes; Bihar sends men for special training in post-basic school work; both Bihar and Bombay have sent members of the administrative and inspecting staff of the Education Department for short periods of study. The majority of regular students are now drawn from a group of States which have begun work in Basic Education since 1950—Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Saurashtra, etc.—from the Ministry of Rehabilitation, which is specially interested in the training of young women as teachers or village workers, and from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and other groups interested in Basic Education as an integral part of healthier community development. During the year 1952-53 the group included more than 20 students, the majority for short courses, who were concerned in one capacity or other with rehabilitation work in Jammu-Kashmir State. The stimulus of intimate contact with fellow-students of extremely varied linguistic,

economic, cultural and religious backgrounds continues to be one of the most valuable educational features of the course. The number of women students has also steadily increased during the period, and during the last year they formed about 40% of the total.

The Nai Talim Bhavan has derived much benefit from the greatly increased facilities for weaving which the new Kabir Bhavan now affords. In spite of the very large numbers, it has been possible with careful organisation to give almost all the regular students at least some elementary practical experience of weaving and an appreciation of its value as an educational craft. Selected groups of students have also been given a real introduction to some other crafts, building, carpentry, animal husbandry, dairying, palm-gur and in particular agriculture are some of those that have been chosen. The fact that it has been possible to offer a full course of 9½ months for graduate candidates, and that a number of students have taken longer courses thus providing a link between one group and the next, has also contributed to a more thorough training.

Very close contacts have been maintained with a number of States in which Basic Education is being newly introduced or in which new developments are taking place. The Secretary of the Sangh is the Chairman of the Special Committee for Basic Education in Hyderabad State and also a member of the Boards which control it in a number of others. He is also a member of the Central Advisory Board on Education. This Board, at its nineteenth meeting in March, 1952, received the report of the Sub-Committee which it had previously appointed to consider the economic aspect of Basic Education. The Sub-Committee expressed the view that on the basis of the data it had collected, the C.A.B.E. would be justified in modifying the opinion it had expressed in 1944 (when it was suggested that the economic goal of Basic Education should not be pursued "at the cost of educational efficiency"). The C.A.B.E. has now emphatically re-asserted the importance of handicraft in education.

"The element of craft work in Basic Education is of such educational importance and value that even if no economic considerations were involved it is necessary to replace ordinary primary education by Basic education in a planned manner. In carrying out this programme special attention of the State Governments should be drawn to the fact that a system of education cannot be considered as Basic education in the real sense unless (a) it provides an integrated course including both the junior and the senior stages; (b) it places adequate emphasis upon craft work in both its educational and productive aspects."

Those who have followed the discussions of the last few years will know that these are the two points which Basic education workers have continually

pressed for; an integrated 7-8 years' school course as envisaged in Nai Talim is essential both on educational principle and to make the crafts effective for self-sufficiency.

Turning to non-Governmental agencies, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has earmarked funds for the development of Nai Talim in the States, and during the last two years a few students deputed by them have been trained at Sevagram, but the work is not widespread. The National Christian Council also held a conference of Christian educationists at Sevagram in March, 1952, in order to study Basic education at first hand. There were over sixty delegates from various parts of India. The conference recorded its conviction that "the life and work here constituted a challenge not only to our educational methods but to the whole of our Christian life and witness," and recommended to the National Christian Council the organisation of regional conferences on Basic education. One such regional conference has since been held in Hyderabad State, and Christian educational institutions have deputed a number of students for training in the Nai Talim Bhavan.

Mahatma Gandhi looked upon all his work in India as the application to the circumstances of his own country of principles of universal validity. The true welfare of mankind, he believed, will only be secured when society not only in India but throughout the world is based upon Truth and Non-Violence and has rejected the materialist values of modern "civilisation." Moreover, ideas know no frontiers, and both the principles and methods of education through work found an echo in some of the best educational and social thought of the West. In December, 1949, the World Pacifist Meeting held one of its sessions at Sevagram, and many of the overseas delegates who attended it became deeply interested in the significance of Nai Talim for the foundations of peace. The Talimi Sangh has maintained contact with these friends and with a steadily widening circle of others who have visited or corresponded with Sevagram. The close relationship with the members of the Service Civil International in India has already been referred to. Another organisation which is concerned to help its members to participate in work for international understanding is the International Development Placement Association in the United States, under whose auspices several young people have come to Sevagram for varying periods of work and study. Foreigners whose work or travel interests bring them to India frequently pay a visit to Sevagram, and some of them are sufficiently interested to maintain their contacts. Dr. A. E. Morgan of Yellow Springs, Ohio, who came to India as a member of the Indian Universities Commission, is a regular correspondent and valued friend. During 1952-53, 154 overseas visitors of seventeen different

nations visited the Talimi Sangh. Members of the Talimi Sangh staff also took part in three of the international conferences held in India in December, 1952, the Unesco Conference on free and compulsory education for S.-E. Asia, the International Conference on social work, and the International Child Welfare Conference.

The Assistant Secretary, Srimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam, was appointed by the Government of India as delegate for India in the Social Commission of the United Nations. In this capacity she attended the sessions of the Commission in New York in May, 1952, and May, 1953, and was able to give a number of lectures on Nai Talim which aroused great interest in the United States. Her work has brought the Talimi Sangh into touch with Officers of U.N.O. in the Social Commission and elsewhere, who are deeply concerned with community welfare, and a small conference was held at Sevagram under U.N.O. auspices in January, 1953, to explore areas of agreement and possible co-operation between Gandhian and other workers in the field of community development.

Some of the overseas contacts which may prove most significant for the future, though as yet they are few and sporadic, are those which have been made during the past few years with Africans from many parts of the continent. Many thoughtful Africans desire to see their countries develop, in accordance with their own genius, "a society where men and women may live in peace," and are vividly aware of how, in harnessing the forces of Nature, "man has become the slave of the machine and of his own greed."* They listen with keen interest to accounts of what has been done in Nai Talim in India, and believe that it may have a message for Africa.

This survey of the activities and interests of which the Talimi Sangh headquarters at Sevagram has become the centre, is not by any means complete. But it is sufficient to show the magnitude of the Sangh's opportunities and responsibilities both for intensive research and experiment in the development of Basic education at home, and for the expansion of the work and the presentation of its relevance to the fundamental problems of the modern world. The human resources at its command are quite inadequate to do what could and should be done, and in these matters it is the human, not the financial, resources that really count. One way in which this is felt is the inevitable delay in the production of literature, which is recognised on all hands to be urgently needed. The materials are there, but those who could put them in shape for general use are occupied with many duties and get little leisure for this work. The

* Quotations from a speech by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister, Gold Coast.

publication of the Hindi *Nai Talim* as a separate monthly magazine catering for the needs of Basic schools was resumed in July, 1952. The Talimi Sangh has recognised the need for another periodical, possibly a quarterly, in English, which would provide a forum for discussion not only of the technique, syllabus and detailed programmes which are needed by practising Nai Talim teachers, but of the general principles of "working to learn" and the psychological and social conditions which aid or hinder their application. Such a periodical could cater to a public, both in India and overseas, which we need to reach. But up to the present sheer pressure of work has prevented anything from being done in this field.

No special mention is made in this report of a subject with which all members of the Nai Talim

community have been very deeply concerned, the Bhoodan Yagna of Shri Vinoba Bhave, Nai Talim is an integral part of the "family society" of mutual care and responsibility for the common good which Shri Vinoba preaches as the goal of all his work. Students of all departments at Sevagram have taken part in Bhoodan Yagna programme both locally and in Shri Vinoba's own organisation. But the permanent responsibility of the Talimi Sangh and of all Nai Talim workers to the Sarvodaya programme is to demonstrate how a living education can provide the dynamic needed to rebuild national society in the ways of truth. The steady, daily influence for good of a devoted teacher and an inspiring school is the greatest contribution that Nai Talim can make to the welfare of any Indian village.

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LINGUISTIC BOUNDARIES AND STATES RE-ORGANISATION COMMISSION

By TEREL GOBINDA

ONE of the difficult problems that is facing the States Reorganisation Commission presided over by Sir Fazl Ali is to determine which language is predominant in a given region, for it is not a matter of mere statistics. From the questions put to the witnesses appearing before them either as individuals, or on behalf of the numerous political and local and cultural organisations in different parts of India by the members of the Commission it appears that they are simply thinking in terms of linguistic majorities or minorities, including the floating population in their calculation. At least it seems so from what has been reported in the newspapers, especially the great English language dailies like the *Hindu*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, etc. It may be that we are perhaps, doing injustice to them.

This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that there is often "no hard and fast boundaries" between two languages, especially the Aryan languages of Northern India. Each one in turn merges imperceptibly into its neighbour; and it is often impossible to say exactly where the one language ends and the other begins. It is complicated by immigration and emigration, casual, periodic, temporary and permanent as also the shifting dates of census and the change-over from the *de facto* to the *de jure* basis. Immigration of speakers of one of the two competing languages and emigration of the other from the particular region complicates the problem. The problem is not absent in South India. Andhra lost the city of Madras because the percentage of Telugu speakers has been decreasing, while that of Tamil speakers has been increasing during the last 70 years.

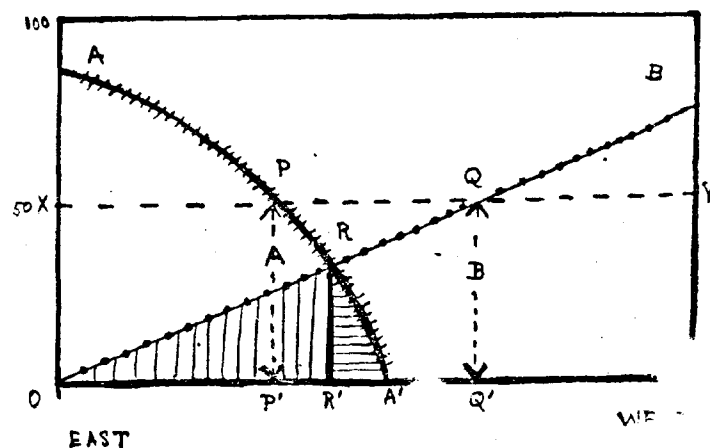
No area in India can be said to be purely uni-lingual. The highest that can be said is that in

some districts the percentage of speakers of a particular language is over 90 or 95; in other areas it is much less. The dominant language is often in a minority. Within the district one language is spoken in the east, and another in the west. Sometimes the minority speaks two or three or more local and tribal languages, each very much different from the other. The matter is further complicated by varying densities of population even within the district or the region under consideration. There are other difficulties too.

The difficulties are there; but to think of in terms of simple linguistic majority or minority, even when the two neighbouring languages do not imperceptibly merge into each other would be an over-simplification of the matter and a wrong approach to the problem.

We would illustrate our meaning and what we want to say by a diagrammatic distribution of two neighbouring languages. Such distribution is not rare and is often found in linguistic borders. In the diagram the distribution in space is shown exaggerated for the sake of clearness.

Let us suppose the density of population to be the same or uniform throughout the region from left to right, or say from East to West. The height indicates the percentage of speakers of Language A or Language B; the top horizontal line indicates 100 per cent. The dotted line XY in the middle represents the 50 per cent level. Language A crosses the 50 per cent line XY at P and drops down very rapidly as we proceed towards right or West. Language B crosses the 50 per cent line XY at Q, and decreases slowly as we proceed towards left or East. At R the two languages A and B are equal in number.



In determining the boundary between Languages A and B, if the simple majority rule is strictly followed A cannot claim any land beyond PP'; similarly, B cannot claim any land beyond QQ'. To whom, A or B, the land represented by P'Q' is to be allotted, and on what principles? If the onus is thrown on A it loses P'Q'; if the onus is thrown on B it loses P'Q'. It may be that the entire region is now within State A, where A is the predominant language. If the question is why should P'Q' be detached from State A, as language B is not in a majority, State B, (where B is the predominant language) loses it. If the question is why should P'Q' be retained in State A, as language A is not in a majority, it loses P'Q'. Much depends upon the form of the question.

In all the lands to the west of A', B is the dominant language though not the language of the local majority. Is it to be given to State B? Similarly, in all the lands to the east of R', A is the dominant language though B not the language of the local majority. Is it to be given to State A? To which state, State A or State B, is the land represented by R'A' to be given?

The percentage of speakers of both A and B are the same at R. If all lands to the east of RR' is given to State A, the minority of B left there is represented by the vertically shaded area ORR'. If all lands to the west of RR' is given to State B, the minority of A left there is represented by the horizontally shaded area RR'A'.

The area ORR' represents the number of persons speaking language B, for we have supposed the density of population to be the same or uniform throughout the given region under discussion. Similarly, the area RR'A' represents the number of persons speaking language A. But area ORR' is much larger than the area RR'A'; or in other words the number of persons speaking B left in State A is much larger than the number of persons speaking A left in State B.

The ideal solution would have been to leave no linguistic minorities in either A or B. But as that is not possible, the next best solution would be to try to make these areas as nearly to each other as possible; i.e., to make the number of speakers of A left in State B equal the number of speakers of B left in State A. For there is reason why one language should lose more than the other.

This would ordinarily be the principle applicable to all languages except Hindi. In a conflict between Tamil and Telugu, between Malayalam and Kanarese, between Marathi and Gujarati, the above principle

would help justice and equity. In a conflict between Hindi and any other language, Hindi should lose. Hindi is the national language of India; speakers of other languages have got to learn Hindi and are placed under a serious disadvantage. When the Railway Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, makes his policy speech in Hindi in the Indian Parliament, members ignorant of Hindi have got to remain silent. They can not either appreciate or criticise the speech to influence their fellow members. And this in the first half of the fifteen years allotted to English as an alternative national language. With the progress of time this disadvantage will increase as Hindi is an aggressive language and speakers of Hindi are generally more intolerant than the speakers of any other language. Speakers of Hindi have an initial advantage; and they cannot in all equity and fairness compete with other languages on terms of equality. They should not be allowed to do so. Some handicap should be put on the speakers of Hindi. For example, in linguistic borders no region should be allotted to Hindi unless they are in two-thirds majority. If in a region all the languages including Hindi are in a minority; and if further Hindi happens to be the most numerous minority that region should not go to Hindi unless the speakers of Hindi there exceeds the next best minority by say 16 or 17 per cent of the total population. Speakers of Hindi in such regions will not be at a disadvantage; for Hindi being the national language, it will be taught in schools; names of railway stations will continue to be painted in Hindi; and so on and on.

In our above discussions we have over-simplified the matter by assuming the density of population to be uniform throughout the region. But, in fact, it is seldom so, even in rural areas; far less in urban and industrial areas. Density is expressed as so many persons per square mile. But the basic data are the area of a police station and the number of persons enumerated there. Police stations are not natural geographical units. They were and are formed for an

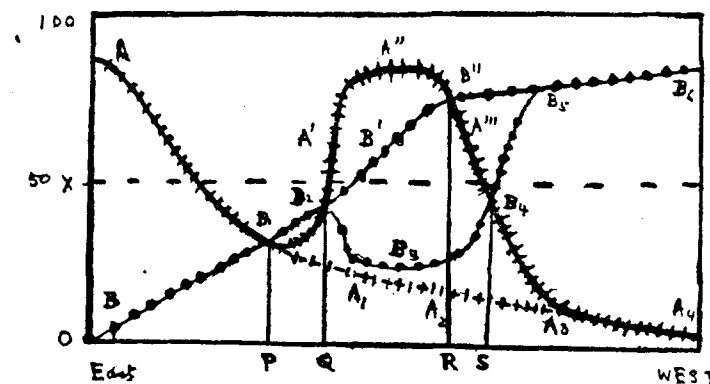
entirely different purpose, having regard to "Law and Order"; having regard to the peaceful nature or otherwise of the inhabitants, having regard to the occurrence of serious and violent crimes there; having regard to the disproportion between sexes in the floating population, having regard to the means of communication, easy or otherwise, with the headquarters; and various other factors. One Thana may be very large; another small. It is the disregard of this cardinal fact at the time of the Radcliffe Award in 1947, which showed a much larger area in both the Punjab and Bengal to be

Muslim majority area than their total population strength would warrant, and it is responsible for a bigger East Pakistan and a larger slice of the Punjab being allotted to Karachi.

Lastly, in coming to a just and proper decision the Commission should exclude floating population of the region from consideration. For inclusion of them will complicate matters. We will illustrate the difficulty by a similar diagram.

The original distribution of Language A was along $AB_1 A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4$. On account of influx of floating population speaking A, the present distribution is along $AB_1 B_2 A' A'' A''' B_4 A_3 A_4$. The original distribution of language B was along $BB_1 B_2$

$B' B'' B_5 B_6$; the influx has depressed their percentages; and their present distribution is along $B B_1 B_2 B_3 B_4 B_5 B_6$. According to original distribution B might have claimed up to P; but now it cannot claim beyond S. What about the territory PQ? It is a pocket in A territory. Though the percentage of B is less between Q and S, their actual number may not have decreased rather increased on account of their natural growth. Because B permitted or could not prevent or invited immigrants speaking A, are they to lose all lands between Q and S, or between F



SCIENTIFIC LIFE IN YUGOSLAVIA

By A. BELIC,

President of the Serbian Academy of Science

It is, of course, only a part of the scientific life in the world. But conditions for the complete development of that life depended, first, on the complete political and economic liberation from the enemy, and then also on liberation from fear of the ever possible aggression and constant insecurity. These conditions were afforded to a certain extent by the nineteenth century, but it was only the twentieth century which fully ensured them after the temporary liberation in 1918 and complete at the end of 1944.

But despite difficult conditions in which Yugoslavs lived before the Liberation, they distinguished themselves in the world war their scientific work. During the Renaissance and after many Yugoslavs took part in the science of the enlightened world under their own or, even more frequently, changed names. Of course, these were only individuals for the most part educated in foreign scientific schools. I will mention only a few of them. Thus a citizen of Dubrovnik, Marin Getaldic (1566-1620), after making his studies in Italy and in

Paris, considerably distinguished himself in Europe with his mathematical and physical researches. I will also mention the Croat Jurij Krizanac (1618-1683) who was exiled to Siberia because of his Pan-Slavic teachings in Russia. He was a polyhistor and one of the most prominent personalities among Slavs in the seventeenth century. The number of men who gained prominence with their scientific work—men from Dubrovnik and Dalmatia as well as from other western parts of Yugoslavia including Slovenia—is quite remarkable. I will mention only one other name, that of Rudjer Boskovic (1711-1787) who distinguished himself with his scientific treatises in mathematics, philosophy, physics and astronomy and was well known in the world. He printed his very much esteemed works in the greatest centres of Europe of that day. Many of his works, especially that on Atomism, are still valued in connection with modern science and spoken very highly about by the scientists in many countries.

The nineteenth century marks the liberation of

Yugoslavs and at the same time advancement of science and education among them. Already in 1808 Dositej Obradovic (1742-1811), a Serb from Vojvodina, also one of the few who were well-informed about various other countries in Europe at that time, imbued with the educational ideas of his time, founded the High School in Belgrade during the First Serbian Rising in the midst of commotion and insecurity. This was the early embryo of the University of today. After him came Vuk Karadzic, a Serb from the then unliberated Serbia, he reformed the Serbian (1787-1864) literary language and way of writing and laid the foundations for national culture of the Serbian people—also in the unquiet period of the Second Serbian Rising. Somewhat later (1830) Ljudevit Gaj with a prominent group of Croats and Slovenes, laid foundations for Croatian national culture. In 1950—to crown these national movements—several prominent Serbs and Croats gave the initiative for an understanding about the common Serbo-Croatian literary language, based on their identical national language, which was later to become a framework for their modern science and education.

As everywhere in the world, so also with Yugoslavs—their highest schools, universities, academies and scientific associations were the great nurseries of science and culture with their numerous publications, science institutes attached to the above-mentioned institutions and, as separate scientific bodies, separate smaller scientific institutions (scientific laboratories, often attached to factories, farm stations, nurseries, works, etc.).

I will try to give a brief description of this scientific movement which embraces the whole of Yugoslavia and which developed from insignificant beginnings in the nineteenth century into a torch which today lights up almost every corner of Yugoslavia.

Today there are five universities in the country (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo). This year has seen the building of the sixth university in Novi Sad (in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina as part of the People's Republic of Serbia). The Belgrade University nominally began in 1808, to say nothing about what had existed previously in the independent Serbian state of the Middle Ages, and actually in 1933 when Lyceum was opened for higher education—an institution which was turned in 1863 into the High School, later with four faculties, and finally received the name and organization of a university in 1905-6. This university taught natural science and mathematics, social and philological studies, the law and technical science, but unfortunately, neither Nikola Tesla, a Serb from Lika (1856-1943), who won fame in America with his inventions in the sphere of electricity, nor another Serb—Mihajlo Pupin (1858-1935) from Vojvodina, also a great electro-technical expert and professor at Columbia University—have worked in the Belgrade University. In it won distinction a number of important scientists (Đuro Danilic, Josif

Pancic, Stojan Novakovic, Jovan Cvijic, Mih. Petrovic and others). The University in Zagreb which was preceded by scientific collegiates in the previous centuries (in the seventeenth and later), was opened in 1874 and gave a large number of scientists especially from the sphere of historical sciences, for which it had a brilliant model in Franjo Racki (1823-1894), philological sciences in which Vatroslav Jagic (1839-1923) was already distinguished in the world, ethnographic-anthropological, legal and other sciences (with Dragutin Gorjanovic Kramberger (1855-1935)). Today the Zagreb University is developing in all directions, and its Medical Faculty is particularly on a high level. The University in Ljubljana (1919) was preceded by various scientific collegiates beginning from 1396. The Slovene University could from the very beginning be placed on a good basis as the Slovenes had previously been working at various scientific institutes and faculties in Austria. It was particularly distinguished by its linguistic-scientific work, for which it had great predecessors in Jernej Kopitar (1783-1844) librarian of the Vienna Court Library, the famous Slavonic scholar, teacher and assistant of Vuk Karadzic; in Franjo Miklosic (1813-1891), professor of Vienna University for many years and initiator of the scientific study of Slav languages—a famous Slavonic scholar and teacher of all Slav languages; in Vatroslav Oblak (1864-1894), prematurely deceased professor of Slav philology in Graz and others; it also won distinction in mathematical and technical sciences. The Spoplje University had a philosophical faculty since 1920, but was transformed into the real national Macedonian university in Skopje only after the liberation. Today it is successfully developing in all directions. After the liberation steps were also taken for the opening of the University in Sarajevo, which is gradually developing into a full university. Before the war, Vojvodina had a Faculty of Law in Subotica, and has now (1954) two faculties: The Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Agriculture, and is later to see the foundation of other faculties as well.

These are the first and most important nurseries of scientific workers who are continuing their training in various scientific workers' institutions. The highest scientific institutions which are today publishing numerous scientific works and training new scientific workers in their institutes, are scientific academies. So far we have three of them in our country: in Belgrade, in Zagreb and in Ljubljana.

The Serbian Academy of Science, which was preceded by the Society of Serbian Enlightenment (1842-1846), which was transformed into the Serbian Scientific Society (founded 1886, reorganized 1947)—is the highest scientific institution for the People's Republic of Serbia. It has now 68 years of development behind it, development interrupted by wars (from 1912-1918 and from 1941 till 1945). In a number of its publications it enabled a large number of scientists to develop their

capabilities. It issued important series of publications especially about national life and the origin of populations; series of editions on the historical (ancient) monuments both in the national and foreign languages. After the war, especially since 1947, the Serbian Academy of Science became very active in its efforts to rally the older and younger scientific workers in its institutes. Up to 1952 there were 23 of them. As some of them (for instance, the Hydro-technical Institute) the Nikola Tesla Institute, the Ecological Institute, etc., have developed thus far that they could work quite independently, ten of them were allowed to have a completely independent organization. In these Institutes younger and older cadres work on scientific problems, publish their works in the publications of the Institute, in separate editions, in the periodicals which some Institutes print and which keep a record of the movements of our science, sometimes covering the results of the movements of our science, sometimes covering the results of the whole of Yugoslavia. A similar organization characterizes also Yugoslav Academy of Learning and Art (1866) in Zagreb, which in addition to a large number of scientific treatises from nearly all branches, is also publishing an important historical dictionary of the Serbo-Croat language (up to now 12 and a half big books have appeared). This Academy likewise has a certain number of scientific institutes. The Slovene Academy of Learning and Art (since 1939), which was directly preceded by the Society for Humanist Knowledge and many other societies, publishes scientific treatises and works, especially from the sphere of archaeology; and has a certain number of scientific institutes.

Although other provinces have no academies, their numerous scientific and technical societies carry on an intensive activity.

The scientific societies also play a significant role in stimulating and raising the technical and scientific work in the country. There is a large number of these throughout the country and they are linked together in different scientific organizations. These organizations usually publish their periodicals, magazines which sometimes have a great significance for the development of our science (for example, the publication of the Medical Society, Biological, Geographical, Historical, Societies, the Serbian Language Society, etc.). There are in Yugoslavia about 250 such periodicals.

Finally, there exist in the country many independent scientific institutes, various independent scientific laboratories and ancillary institutions, such as libraries and museums. I must specially point to the archaeological excavations which are going on everywhere. How important some of these institutions are will be shown by the example of the Institute for Nuclear Physics (in Vinca near Belgrade) with several hundred

collaborators and a whole colony erected on the bank of the Danube, as well as the Lexicographer Institute in Zagreb, with over two thousand collaborators, who are occupied with the editing and publication of several bulky encyclopaedias of great value. In Split there is an Oceanic Institute for the study of the Adriatic Sea and fisheries, with excellent equipment, with several stations on the Adriatic shore. In Belgrade, and in other republican centres, there are excellent Hygienic institutions with a large number of doctors—experts. Also there are Geological institutions in all the Yugoslav republics engaged in research work in the field and studies in the laboratories. It would take too much space to enumerate all the scientific and semi-scientific institutes in the country. There are over six hundred of them. The fact that there are so many of these institutions and that their work is so varied calls for constant care about them. Their scientific significance, the value of their work and their financing, which means considerable expenditures, (although many of these institutes draw large incomes from their activity),—demand the organization of a separate body or separate bodies in both the republics and the Federal Government. This was not neglected by the people's authorities which wish to set up high scientific centres for the appraisal of the work of every individual institute in all directions, so that all of them could be helped if need be and that their work could be co-ordinated in every respect.

Tribute is due to the modern socialist organization of our country and to the people's authorities for all these results. Besides this, scientific researches are a great need for any organized work in school, in the field, in the factory. Although we must be constantly in touch with world science in order to keep our scientific work on a worthy level, our country understands its freedom and its independence as an opportunity to help with the scientific work of its sons not only the education of its peoples but also the satisfying of the pressing needs of their life.

Knowing the extent of the scientific disposition and scientific curiosity among our people, aware that Yugoslavia are always willing to devote themselves to scientific work in which they show a measure of self-sacrifice without which there can be no scientific success, and also—which is the most significant feature of all for modern Yugoslavia—with what understanding and constant care the people's authority sees to the creation of ever-improving conditions for scientific work in the country, we are convinced that the successfully started work will develop in Yugoslavia with increasing force and spread to ever new spheres of activity. This conclusion is imperatively imposed when we embrace in a glance all that has been done in this direction since the Liberation, in less than ten 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

MIDNAPORE SALT PAPERS: Edited by Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha. *Selections from Bengal District Records. Published by Das Gupta and Co., Calcutta-12. Pp. xii + 254 and two plates. Price Rs. 7-8.*

It is a pleasing sign that the series of old Bengal District Records, of historical or economic value, which was discontinued after Firminger, has been revived. The present volume comes to us under the editorial care of an expert like Dr. N. K. Sinha, who has been assisted by two very promising younger scholars, Profs. Tarit K. Mukherji and Arun K. Das Gupta. The West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee which has prepared the volume and the Provincial Government which has borne the cost of printing, alike deserve to be congratulated on the result.

The interest of the subject of salt production and distribution by Bengal spreads to other provinces of North India as well—Assam, Bihar (to some extent) and Orissa (though under Maratha rule till 1803) all drew this necessary of life from Bengal. The system of manufacture, distribution, check (on smuggling) and the worries of the contract system are here revealed from the letters of harassed officers. Salt was a very important item of the commodities dealt with by the Economist Writer ("Commercial Resident") posted by the E. I. Co. in the large district towns (like Rajshahi and Berhampur) along with the Collector and Magistrate, and the editor has traced the service history of many of the British civil servants who figure in this correspondence. A very important (and now forgotten) side of Bengal's history would have been lost to the memory of the present generation but for this book.

JADUNATH SARKAR

FAMOUS TALES OF IND: By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras. 1954. Pp. ix + 394. Price Rs. 4.

India has been a reputed land of stories and fables for centuries. While the Buddhist Jataka tales constitute the largest body of folk-lore in the world, the stories of the Panchatantra through their numerous translations and adaptations from the Middle Ages down to the present times have become part of the world-literature. In the present work the author whose well-written historical novels (*Chanakya* and *Chandragupta* and *Baladitya, a Historical Romance of Ancient India*) were noticed by us in previous issues of the periodical, has put in an English garb eleven stories dating from the Vedic times. The stories include such masterpieces as the tales of Nala and

Damayanti, Savitri and Satyavan, Dushyanta and Sakuntala (from the classical Sanskrit literature) and Kovalan and Kannaki as well as Manimekalai (from the literature of classical Tamil). At the end of his interesting Preface (pp. viii-ix) the author observes that his work has been written "mainly with a view to make the world outside acquainted with these fine Indian stories" and to make men and women all over the world "feel a kinship with India." This, he says, is in keeping with the spirit of the old Vedic sage who uttered the words *Mata bhumi: putro' ham prithivyah* as well as the present movement towards one world following from the rapid development of communications and "the breaking down of barriers by two World-wars" (sic). We have no hesitation in saying that the author has been successful in his laudable object. Using a plain English style he has succeeded in a large measure in reproducing the wonderful dramatic effect and the noble impulses and emotions of the original stories. We would, however, observe that the characters and incidents of the author's story of Harischandra are in part different from those of the familiar Puranic version dramatised by the poet Kshemisvara in his *Chandakavisa* drama. We would further draw the author's attention to the slips in his translation of Sanskrit proper names, such as Viswadevas (p. 9), Vaidharini (p. 71), Vasishtha (p. 78 f.) and Sarangrava (p. 143 f.). The transliteration and translation of the well-known Sanskrit prayer to the goddess Durga commencing with the words *Sarvamangala-mangalye*, are faulty in some respects. These slight blemishes, however, do not detract from the high merits of this work which, we hope, will attract a wide circle of readers.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE ARDENT PILGRIM (An introduction to the life and work of Mohammed Iqbal): By Iqbal Singh. Published by the Orient Longmans. Pp. vi + 246. Price Rs. 6-8.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal is one of those great men on whom widely divergent estimates have been made. Some have hailed him as the *Messiah* of a Muslim revival, as the prophet who envisaged a homeland for the Muslims of India, while others have regarded him as the harbinger of commercial discord.

The author Iqbal Singh steers clear of these views and attempts a critical appraisal of his hero on the basis of his writings. He sketches here the poet's career, unfolding at every step the bearing of the environment and of the contemporary events on his mental growth. For instance, the poet in early youth was a votary of Indian nationalism, and a bard of Hindu-Muslim unity expressing his thoughts in such poems as the *Tarana-i-*

Hind, Ode to the Himalayas and *Naya Shivalaya*. The sublimity of his thought was then reflected in such verses, "You think God exists in these idols of stone, Each speck of dust of my native land is as holy as country's idol."

A change in Iqbal's mental outlook occurred after 1905 when he went to Europe to study philosophy and came in direct contact with the amazing material progress made by the West, as contrasted with the backwardness of his community. For years the poet pondered deeply and his musings found expression in one of his remarkable books of verse, the *Assrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self). Here Iqbal gave utterance to a new philosophy, the essence of which was a life of ceaseless action and creative endeavour as against the ascetic views of life which was denounced by him in uncompromising terms. "Arise and create a new world, Be an Abraham, and wrap thyself up in flames."

He held Prophet Muhammad as the embodiment of human perfection, because he had united in his person high moral and spiritual excellence with dynamic action. The main burden of his song from 1914 to 1923 was the exaltation and glorification of Islam as reflected in his work (*Assrar-i-Khudi*, *Ramuz-i-Bekhudai*, *Talu-i-Islam* and *Khizi-i-Rah*). From 1923 Iqbal's Islamic thoughts were shot through and through with a new conception. It was the message of *Ishq* (love) which permeated his poetical works such as the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East), 1923, *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Psalms of the East), and *Bal-i-Zibrael* (Wings of Gabriel). The new refrain taken up by the poet reached its high-water mark in his *magnum opus—Javed Namah*. In this work Iqbal undertook an itinerary across the heavens, on the model of Dante and is claimed to have established his claim as a world-poet.

The author Iqbal Singh does not make such a clear-cut division of the poet's career which is the reviewer's own thesis fully expanded in an article published in the February issue (1955) of the *Vishva-Bharati Quarterly*. Mr. Singh writes with admirable dispassion in an easy flowing style, very rarely is his thought obscured by the verbiage of words. I unhesitatingly recommend this book to those who are interested in this remarkable man whose influence upon his contemporaries has been so revolutionary.

N. B. ROY

LORD MAHAVIRA—THE JAINA PROPHET: By Paranchand Samsookha. Published by Kubera Enterprises Ltd., 21, Sunkuram Chetty Street, Madras-1. Pp. 66. Price Re. 1.

The author of the small book under review has also written several books in Bengali on different aspects of Jainism. In the present booklet he has given in a very succinct form the life and teachings of Lord Mahavira, the last Jain Prophet and the elder contemporary of Lord Buddha. Mahavira was born in Kundagrama of Vaishali in 599 B.C. and attained Nirvana in Pawa in Bihar and breathed his last in 527 B. C. at the age of 72 years in the latter place. He conducted his spiritual mission for about thirty years and made disciples lay and monastic half a million nearly.

Lord Mahavira is the founder of Jain religion as it is followed today. His salient teachings and eleven parables gleaned from various Jain Sutras or Sanskrit classics on Jainism are also found at the end of the book. Jainism like Buddhism is an Indian religion and calls the highest state of spiritual experience as Nirvana. To the Jainas Nirvana is the state wherein *kevala jnana* or

absolute wisdom is attained whereas to the Buddhists the same is the state of nothingness. Like the Buddhists the Jainas did not fall into the quicksands of nihilism and atheism. A comparative study of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, which are only three aspects of Indian religion, is sorely needed to enlighten and inspire the New Indian Republic.

A perusal of this booklet will give the reader a basic idea of Jainism and its last Tirthankar Mahavira. It is readable throughout and authentic as well. The frontispiece contains a good picture of Lord Mahavira.

1. **WONDERS OF THE TIME-SPACE:** Page 202. Price Rs. 3.

2. **INTEGRAL EDUCATION:** Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8. By Swami Madhavtirth. Published by the Vedant Ashram, Post Valad, Ahmedabad. A. P. Ry.

Besides these two books under review, the learned author has half a dozen more volumes on Indian philosophy and allied subjects. The aim of writing these books is to interpret our age-old philosophy in the light of modern science. We are glad to see that he has succeeded considerably in this difficult but desirable task.

The first book under review deals with the wonders of space and time. In the eleventh chapter after which the book is named, three stories of Gadhi, Lila and Lavana from the *Yoga-Vasistha*, an ancient Sanskrit work, are told to illustrate the mystery of time-experience. The stories show how a moment looks like years in a dream and on being awake how those years appear as moments. King Harischandra experienced a span of twelve years in a short dream. An unhappy hour hangs heavy like an age whereas a happy year passes soon like a moment.

In the preface seventeen different calendars are mentioned to point out how the conception and calculation of years differs from country to country. This proves the relativity of time. Similarly, the relativity of space can be understood from ordinary observations. This is mathematically proved by Albert Einstein's theory of Relativity.

The book under review is the result of thirty years of patient research on the subject and is written to bring home to us that the latest discoveries of modern science do support the Vedantic theory of illusion.

The second book is on integral education and has the alternative title of *Brahmavidya*. In the Upanishads it is called *Para-vidya* by which the Immutable One is known. In the opinion of the Vedantist author, Srimad Bhagavatam is a standard Sanskrit work on integral education and King Parikshit learnt this from Sukdev within seven days. Such education is imparted even now in India by the Perfect Ones like Sri Ramakrishna, Sri Aurobindo, Sri Ramana Maharshi and others. In the West, the possibility of such education is being increasingly realised by the eminent thinkers like Count Keiserling and others after the discovery of the theory of Relativity.

The second book was prepared more than a year after the first and seems to be supplementary to the first. Both the books are informative and instructive.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CRIMES AND INDIAN CHILDREN: By Birendra Mohan Mukerji. Published by the National Literature Co., 105, Cotton Street, Calcutta. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a study of crime among children in Calcutta. The author is an officer of the Calcutta Police and had ample opportunities to study the child criminal—his psychology, his environment and his

associations and as such his remarks and opinions deserve serious consideration. The subject is discussed in eleven chapters, viz., the state of child crime, sociological factors—overcrowding, association and environment, heredity, defects in brain, insanity, marriage and defective home life, criminal children and their gang life, peculiarities of juvenile crimes, begging and child crime, poverty, population and child crime and finally, possibilities of reformation.

As a member of the society every individual is interested in the child and his future. In the child there is the seed of good and bad and it is for the society and the State to nourish and develop this tiny seed into full, vigorous and socially useful human being. The most modern idea about crime is that of social sympathy, education and reforms and not of punishment, pure and simple, as it was in old days. Crime is looked upon more as a disease than a sin. An individual criminal is not the only person responsible for his crime; society, his associations, education, heredity, physical defects and a lot of other things are to be taken into consideration and proper remedy applied in each case. Every child criminal is a problem to be tackled separately.

The author's treatment of the subject is scientific. His suggestions are constructive. He has drawn attention to the treatment of crime in Soviet Russia which deserves attention of our State authorities.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF INDIA: By Prof. R. V. Rao. Published by N. A. Agarwal and Co., Agra. Pp. x+66. Price Re. 1-8.

In this brochure the author has discussed the economic problems of the country, such as tariffs and industry, foreign capital, labour movement, cottage industry and planned economy and location of industry. The author wants the Government to formulate a policy which will further the economic welfare of the masses and not of the big capitalists or of "India Ltd." foreign concerns.

A SURVEY OF LABOUR IN INDIA: By V. R. K. Tilak. Published by Atma Ram and Sons., Delhi. Pp. 70. Price Rs. 2.

This is a regional approach to present a bird's-eye view of the condition of labour in India. The author discusses such an important subject in ten chapters, viz., the background, distribution of working population, cost of living, wages, trade unions, industrial disputes, accidents, unemployment, budgets and labour administration and legislation and this within a brief compass of 70 pages which is creditable. Most up-to-date figures and statistics have been used to make a correct presentation of the subjects dealt with. The manner of discussion is suggestive and helpful to the administrators. As all economic planning must take into consideration the human resources of the country, such a booklet is particularly welcome to them who desire a clear understanding of social and economic background to raise the social and living standards in India. Such a brochure deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF ORISSA: By Chittaranjan Das. Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. Price Rs. 4.

Much of our cultural heritage still awaits our recognition. The author has presented herein the result of his careful research at the Visva-Bharati. The book contains four chapters, viz., (i) Achyutananda and the Pancha Sakhas, (ii) Notes on Iswara Das's Chaitanya

Bhagavata, (iii) Mahima Dharma, (iv) Living Buddhists of Orissa. The Appendix at the end deals with a new manuscript of Dhyanamala. The work contains some new materials, likely to be of use to future historians.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

NATYASASTRA (Vol. III. With the commentary of Abhinavagupta): Edited with an Index by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIV. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 15.

The appearance of volume three of the edition of the well-known but occasionally obscure text of the Natyasastra of Bharata with the commentary of a great savant and polymath, Abhinavagupta, of Kashmir twenty years after the publication of the second volume will be highly welcome to the world of scholars. It comprises chapters 19-27. The three volumes together thus cover three-fourths of the entire work. We shall now be eagerly waiting for the fourth and last volume containing the remaining chapters, which, as assured by the learned General Editor, will be published at any early date. May we hope that it will give, among other things, a full description of the critical apparatus and an amalgamated index of the names of works and authors mentioned in the commentary? In the Index without any title occurring in the present volume a number of inaccuracies were detected.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BINGSHA SHATABDIR SHESH DETECTIVE UPANYAS: By Prabodh Chandra Basu. To be had of Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-8.

An interesting satire on ordinary detective novels, whose authors often create incredible situations and force upon the amazed reader an unwarranted conclusion. Here the detective dies at the very opening of the story. Gangaram's story-inventing power is nicely analysed. There are occasional flings at the failure of Law to catch hold of its evaders. On the whole, the book offers good enjoyment for an hour or so.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

RAT PAGAL HO GAI: By Shrivastava Himanshu. Pratibha Prakashan, Patna-4. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.

AVAGUNTHAN: By Satyaprakash Sengar. Avadh Publishing House, Lucknow. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2-12.

The former is "a psychological and revolutionary novel," so says the sub-title, and it is by a writer who is slowly coming to the forefront. His pen is, indeed, like a rapier, the thrusts of which ruthlessly do away, of course in the story, with all those individuals and elements which rob man of his social as well as economic equality and equity. The plot is woven round the life of an artist whom partly poverty and partly passion for social justice turn into a man of action, out to throw to the winds many a pet slogan and shibboleth. The writer has undoubtedly an ear and an eye for story-telling but at times he does more violence to his art and idealism than is actually warranted. But he will before long cultivate

a capacity to harness his blood-curdling spirit and scenes and win his spurs.

The latter is a sheaf of eight short stories by an author who though new in the field, has already acquired an effortlessness in subject as well as in style, which is the secret and stamp of all true art. His stories overflow with "humanism," so much so that even Nature, for whom he has the love and eye of a frenzied poet, is treated by him as if she were his next-of-kin. Shri Sengar should give us many more such short stories.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ALANKAR ADARSHA: By K. K. Shastri. Published by the Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 384. Price Re. 1.

Acharya Shri Viharilalji of the Swami Narayan cult had come in close contact with the late Kavi Dalpatram, who was a follower of that cult. The former had composed a work on Alankar Shastra which the latter had edited but for some reason or another it did not get the publicity it deserved. Shri Shastri has now edited it on modern lines, and although there are several compositions already on this topic, this attempt of Shri Shastri to put it forth on up-to-date lines deserves commendation.

MANILALNA TRAN LEKHO: By Prof. Dhirubhai P. Thakar, M.A. Published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 296. Price Rs. 2.

The late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi has left his mark on the literature of Gujarat, in various directions: Prose, Poetry, Drama, Criticism, etc. Prof. Thakar has already published a book on Manilal's life and work, called *Manilalni Vichar-dhara*. The three essays published under the heading of Manilal's Three Contributions (Lekho) are a sort of supplement to that important work and completes the survey of his writings. The topics,

Abhyas (study), East and West, and Nari Pratistha (Dignity of Women) have been dealt with by him in a highly thought-provoking way, and are full of details. His views about the influence of the West on the East are none too complimentary to the West. It is so good of Prof. Parikh to have rescued them from the obscurity into which they would have otherwise fallen. All credit is therefore due to him.

(1) **GUJARATNAN LOKE GITO** (Folk Songs of Gujarata): By Madhubhai Patel. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) **BHIMANAN PARAKRAMO** (The Courageous Deeds of Bhima): By Madhavji G. Patel. Price Re. 1-4.

(3) **HITOPADESHA:** By Sitaram J. Sharma. Price Re. 1-4.

(4) **GUJARATNI RANGBHUMI** (The Stage in Gujarat): By Diwan Bahadur Hiralal L. Kaji. Price six annas.

(5) **BHIMBHAINUN PEHARAN** (The Shirt or Bhimbhai): By Chhotubai J. Bhatt. Price four annas.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. 1950.

These are all information-giving books, priced cheap to make them popular. The Folk Songs of Gujarata is a creditable piece of research and throws light on the social habits of Gujarat. Bhim—the well-known Pandav Athlete—has his feats narrated in easy language. Hitopadesh requires no introduction. The tales are so well told, it is an all-India work. Diwan Bahadur Kaji's book realistically describes what the Theatre and theatrical companies have done in the past for the entertainment and enlightenment of the theatre-going public in Gujarat and Bombay. The last is an attractive illustrated work meant for children—"tiny tots."

K.M.J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Netaji of India

"R. D." writes in *The Indian Review* :

A youngman of twenty-four, with brilliant academic career, stood fourth in the I.C.S. but wrote to his brother from Cambridge in 1921, "If C. R. Das in his age can give up everything...., I am sure a youngman like myself is much more capable of doing it. The very principle of serving under an alien bureaucracy is intensely repugnant to me. The path of Aurobinda Ghosh," (who also passed I.C.S. but did not serve), "is to me more noble, more inspiring, more lofty, more unselfish, though more thorny....Personally I am not afraid of suffering...." That youngman is no other than Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Having resigned from I.C.S., he straight-away placed his services at the disposal of Deshabandhu C. R. Das, whose colossal sacrifice, fearless nationalism, wonderful resourcefulness and self-confidence and complete freedom from communal feeling marked him out not only as a leader but a leader of leaders in India. Soon Bose became the right-hand-man, nay the "best man" of the party of Deshabandhu Das, whose classical utterance, "If love of country is a crime, I am a criminal," was made when he (Subhas Chandra Bose) was placed under arrest in 1924. Equally soon he developed all the qualities of a leader. In fact, he was the youngest leader of India and one of the youngest Presidents of the Congress.

He had "only one goal—the freedom of India and only one will—to do or die in the cause of Indian freedom." "Let there be one solemn resolve—either liberty or death," was his vow and this he inculcated upon his 'comrades and officers.' To attain that goal, he was prepared to make any sacrifice, to hazard any risks and to continue to fight without being deterred by any trials and tribulations and even defeats. To him nothing seemed impossible if only it led to the attainment of freedom.

Not only did he "sacrifice his all for the hard-won freedom," as remarked by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, he never accepted any personal advantage for himself. In fact one of the pledges he prescribed for applicants before enlisting as his Volunteers was, "I shall seek no personal advantage for myself." His surrender of Rs. 1000/- from his pay as Chief Executive Officer of Calcutta Corporation was one of the earliest instances of such voluntary surrender.

He was completely fearless and discharged all risks to attain his goal in life, as will be evidenced by his escape from his guarded house in Calcutta in 1941 in the face of all vigilance and abnormal war-time risks through Afghanistan and Moscow to Berlin as Signor Orlando Mazzotta under an Italian passport, his dangerous journey in submarine from Germany to Singapore in 1943 which he himself described in a letter in Bengali as a "perilous journey in which very likely he might not live to reach his destination" and his Azad Hind Government and Azad Hind Force. Like risks, he conquered difficulties in almost impossible situations. In 1941, he found him-

self a stranger in Germany during the critical days of war for that country and yet he succeeded in making the German Government agree to bear all expenses for his "Free India Centre", to supply technical personnel for his Azad Hind Radio and to train, by German military training personnel, the volunteers of his "Free India Legion" who were to have the same facilities and amenities as German units but were not to be mixed with any of the German formations nor to be put on any German front except for India against British forces and for the first time an Indian Flag flew in Germany, as we learnt from the articles contributed by Sri A. C. N. Nambiar and Sri N. G. Ganpuley. So he was always undaunted by any difficulties or even by any setbacks. "I am a born optimist," he said, "and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances."

His organisations were from the beginning thorough and perfect, be it procession, picketing, hartal, Volunteer or Relief organisation. He threw himself entirely into what he did and organised and he always insisted on strict discipline and proper training. That was how he endeared himself to his co-workers and officers and that was why things were unhesitatingly left to him by Deshabandhu Das in political organisations, by Dr. P. C. Roy in Relief Organisation and by Sardar Vithalbhai Patel in the matter of his will. All these ultimately contributed to the organisation of his "Free India Centre" in Germany and of the famous I. N. A. in which diverse elements of different languages, religions, castes and races were welded into a wonderful homogenous whole. The brave deeds and deaths of the warriors of I. N. A. with the name of Netaji in their lips only testified to his unique organising genius and cementing influence. Even after his reported death, a General of I.N.A., on coming to his house in Calcutta, bitterly wept crying out the name of Netaji.

As a true leader of India, he was always guided by the all-India spirit and the principle of "Nation First." In his historic letter to Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, on the eve of his hunger-strike in November, 1941, he wrote, "Individuals must die, so that the nation may live. Today, I must die so that India may win freedom and glory." His organisations of "Free India Centre" and I.N.A. were completely non-communal and one of the pledges prescribed by him for his Volunteers was: "I will regard all Indians as my brothers and sisters without distinction of religion, language and territory." He was so proud of his country and nation that he insisted that "the only flag to fly over Indian soil would be the National Tricolour" and not the Japanese Flag and that "the officers and men of Azad Hind Foj would be under their own military law and not under the Japanese military law and Police." Even in 1941 when starting his "Free India Centre" in Germany, he formulated our national salutation as 'Jai Hind' and selected our national anthem as 'Jana Gana Mana' and Hindusthani as our national language and it

was since then that he was being called 'Netaji' in right Indian style. Whenever he inspected his men of 'Free India Legion' in Germany, he always appeared in national dress. Though most unfortunately he could not see the inauguration and celebration of Independence in Delhi, yet 'Onward to Delhi' ('Delhi Chalo') and 'the road to Delhi is the road to freedom' were his inspiring slogans in I.N.A. and he realised in his heart of hearts that "there is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer" and that 'the future generation of Indians will be born not as slaves but as free men' as he said in 1944.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru said on his previous birth anniversary, "It is not enough to remember our great men on occasions like these. We should emulate their code and principles of life to improve future wellbeing of our fellowmen." In this connection, the nation cannot help remembering that these two idols of India had many things in common in their life as they were the two earliest advocates of Independence of India. "To me Subhas was like a younger brother, a brave and beloved co-worker and he had endeared himself to me within a very short time" said Jawaharlalji at Kalyani in January last.

Poets and Poetry

The following paragraphs are reproduced from *The Aryan Path* :

Poets have occasionally offered definitions of poetry or declared that it is inherently indefinable. An attempt to analyze the precise nature of the appeal of poetry was made in Sanskrit poetics. Anandavardhana, a Kashmir poet, contended well over a thousand years ago that the soul of poetry is *dhvani*, the subtle suggestion of an appealing meaning which in various ways produces *rasa* or the resonance of aesthetic satisfaction in the responsive reader. No one can complain that poets have not said enough on poetry.

But poetry is seldom discussed publicly by two poets belonging to completely different generations. This happened, however, when the B.B.C. broadcast such a discussion between James Stephens and Dylan Thomas which *Encounter* (November 1954) reproduces.

Dylan Thomas held a view slightly similar to that of Anandavardhana: Poetry is "memorable words-in-evidence which move and excite me emotionally."

James Stephens declared that "the poet is a fellow who can take hold of a thought and make it sing."

Of course much depends upon the receptivity of the reader. Carlyle said with epigrammatic exaggeration that a man is a poet who can read a poem well. Perhaps he was only suggesting that to the truly sensitive reader of a fine poem, the world can never be the same again. As Dylan Thomas pointed out:

"A good poem helps to change the shape and significance of the universe, helps to extend everyone's knowledge of himself and the world around him."

This important statement only echoes what Shelley said so inspiringly in his ill-understood "Defence of Poetry":

"...poetry defeats the curse that binds us to be subjected to the accident of surrounding impressions.... It equally creates for us a being within our being. It makes us the inhabitant of a world to which the familiar world is a chaos.... It compels us to feel that which we perceive, and to imagine that which we know. It creates the universe, after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration."

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The Position of Women in China

In an article in the *Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Tripura Chakravarti of the Calcutta University, who had been to China as a member of the Indian Goodwill Mission, discusses the position of women in China:

We all know that the position or status of a person or group of persons is determined to a large extent by the social environment and the concrete conditions that prevail in society. Changes, however, can be brought about only by intelligent planning, and by forthright expression. When a social system lacks these characteristics, it becomes static. Unfortunately, all unconscious processes of evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. Believing in the thesis of progress, we cannot deny that it can be accelerated by intelligent planning, and by conscious and deliberate efforts. Many of you are, perhaps, familiar with the famous dictum laid down by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in his *Ancient Law*: "The movement of progressive societies has been a movement from status to contract." And contract implies conscious change, conscious efforts on the part of those who want to make the changes.

In China, society remained static for many centuries. The picture that we get in the pages of Confucius, the philosopher who emerged in China as early as the sixth century B.C., shows that Chinese society had just ended feudal chaos and disintegration, and was formulating certain definite principles. Confucius legislated for all ranks of Chinese society until very recently, and it was said in China that Confucianism was the bed-rock of Chinese character and Chinese outlook on life.

CONFUCIAN THEORIES.

Confucius made certain definite recommendations for Chinese women. He prescribed four virtues and three disciplines for them. The four virtues were child nursing, child rearing, house keeping, and looking after the ancestral deities. The three disciplines were obedience to the father before marriage, obedience to the husband during marriage, and obedience to the son after the death of the husband. These recommendations correspond closely with those of the great India law-giver, Manu:

Pita raksati kaumare bharta raksati yauvane, raksanti sthavire putra na stri svatantryam arhati.—[During girlhood, the father protects (a woman); in youth, the husband; in old age, the sons; a woman is never fit for independence].

I do not deny that these laws of the great master were without any meaning in the age in which Confucius lived. Perhaps, they were necessary. But we find that the laws of Confucius became hide-bound, and through the succeeding centuries China did not do anything to alter or modify them. Chinese society became static, and it cannot be said that during the centuries, it moved from status to contract. In the succeeding ages, the position of women became increasingly miserable. Polygamy and concubinage were sanctioned by social custom. Child-betrothal was allowed; even the marriage of widows was tolerated; and compulsory dowry and other malpractices connected with marriage were openly encouraged. These features were not in consonance with the teachings of Confucius, but were accretions that continued to grow unhindered.

RECENT CHINESE REVOLUTIONS

China suffered from foreign invasions. The Mongols set up a cruel despotism in the fourteenth century, and the country groaned under the rule of the alien Manchu dynasty from A.D. 1644 to 1912. In 1911, the first Chinese revolution was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen of hallowed memory. Though it failed to accomplish its purpose, it succeeded in expelling the foreign Manchu dynasty from the throne of China. China became a republic for the first time in her history in 1912. But real liberation of the people, by which I mean the liberation of the people from the yoke of foreign Powers, from the unsympathetic domination of the governing classes, and from reactionary ideas and cultures, did not come; and Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself was the first to recognize the inadequacy of all that he had done. Immediately after the revolution of 1911-12, the reactionary forces gained the upper hand, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, himself the founder of the Chinese republic, had to flee the country, leaving his work unfinished.

China's history from 1912 to 1919 is a history of aggression by Western Powers and by Japan. In 1919, the Chinese government was compelled to sign the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. This humiliation created a great revolution in China. On the 4th May, 1919, a day now regarded as a most glorious day in modern Chinese history, the students of the National Peking University and some other institutions demonstrated in front of the Manchu police headquarters and outside the foreign legations in Peking, demanding the abrogation of the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. Though this movement was anti-foreign, it very soon assumed a new meaning. It became a

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national campaign against cultural feudalism. People all over the country—teachers, *litterateurs*, scientists, and journalists—raised the cry that China could not be saved, that China would not be saved, unless there was a thorough cultural and moral revolution. This campaign accomplished a wonderful revolution in modern Chinese history. The women joined the campaign and later participated in the war against Japan and in the war against the foreign Powers.

The Kuomintang, under the guidance of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, assumed power in the second Chinese revolution of 1926-27, which was a national revolution. Afterwards, there was a split in the ranks of the Kuomintang, and the Left-wing Kuomintang left the parent organization and began to preach its views and ideologies independently. In fairness it must be admitted that the Kuomintang raised the status of women during its administration. An elaborate civil code was promulgated on the 3rd December, 1930, several articles of which related to women. Articles 1049, 1050, 1051, and 1053 provided for divorce. It was realized that women were oppressed by men, and these Articles were intended to protect them, but, unfortunately, they remained virtually a dead letter.

FEMININE DOMINATION

Nothing was done in subsequent years to improve the status of women. Here a reference to the views of a very distinguished Chinese statesman, Hoo Shee, who is called the father of the Chinese renaissance, would be appropriate. Dr. Hoo Shee gave much thought and attention to this problem and said, in his Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago in 1933, that foreign observers or superficial observers exaggerated the sufferings of women in China. Dr. Hoo Shee said that in China the wife was the mistress of the household. Her position was recognized in society, and if there was maltreatment sometimes, it was the maltreatment of the husband by the wife. China was proverbially the nation of henpecked husbands.

Dr. Hoo Shee referred particularly to two writers, Pon Sing Loon, who flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and Wang Shee Yo, who wrote something on the condition of women in China towards the end of the nineteenth century. Both these writers have graphically described the horrible sufferings of Chinese husbands. Later, Dr. Hoo Shee wrote an interesting serial of one million words. A man had a one-eyed wife. In the seventeenth century, although there was no law forbidding divorce, yet divorce was not sanctioned by Chinese custom. The wife persecuted her husband and followed him from place to place. The only condition on which divorce could be obtained was proved adultery, and adultery could not be proved. Therefore, there was no escape from the hands of the wife.

Another story, given by Wang Shito towards the end of the nineteenth century, was something like this: the wife was illiterate, and could not understand anything. Wang Shito describes his sufferings and mortifications in his diary: 'I cannot convince you. You are illiterate, you cannot read what I am writing; but I solemnly say that I want to escape from your hands. Perhaps, my lot is due to my karma. Perhaps, in previous births I did something wrong, for which I am being oppressed. Perhaps, in my previous birth I was the oppressor and you were the oppressed, and in this life you have become the oppressor and I am the oppressed.'

These are some isolated stories which really do

not prove much, just as the isolated dictum of Manu, 'Yatra naryastu pujoyante ramante tatra devatah.' [Where women are adored, there the gods rejoice.]

We talk glibly of that maxim, but that does not prove anything. An isolated text taken from Manu certainly does not prove that the position of women in India in the social system was very high. On the other hand, there are many other stories or accounts that would give a different picture.

WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN

In the revolution in China from 1931 to 1949, since the unprovoked Japanese attack against Manchuria in September, 1931, since the republic was established by the Chinese people, the women of China shouldered immense responsibilities. There was a national campaign organizing women. Women acted as nurses, served in the army, conducted night-classes, and worked in the aerial resistance. Of course, women did not actually fight, but they did all kinds of military duties.

When the Chinese people's army wished to cross the river Yangtse-kiang in 1949, fishwives living on both banks of the river offered their boats to the troops to help them to ford that great river. Now, such services, rendered voluntarily, had to be recognized when the People's Republic of China was established. In October, 1949, one of the first things that was incorporated in the Chinese Constitution was the common programme, because of the different political parties and different organizations in China. The Chinese government at once recognized the part played by women in the war of liberation, and Article 6 of the common programme says that People's

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Republic will abolish the feudal system that keeps women in bondage and that it will also establish the equal rights of women with men in political, economic, educational, cultural, and social life. Article 32 of the same common programme safeguards specifically the interest of juvenile workers and women workers in factories. Article 48 of the Constitution, or of the common programme, protects the health of mothers, infants, and children in factories and workshops.

NEW MARRIAGE LAW

There has been a concerted campaign since 1949 to recognize the services rendered by women in the war of liberation. At present, there is a great organization, the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, a national body with branches in every village. It looks after the interests of women throughout China.

During my visit to China last year, I saw that women now enjoy equal rights with men in all walks of life—in the field of literature, in workshops, in factories, in the villages, and in government organizations. The rights of women required further protection, and so on the 1st May, 1950, the People's Government of China enacted an important law, the New Marriage Law in China, which may be regarded as a great charter for women. It was promulgated after a great deal of inquiry and deliberation. It took the authors of the marriage law 17 months to enact this important legislative measure. This law abolishes the old feudal system that kept women in bondage. It declares that the object of the new legislation is to provide for happy marriage, to bring into existence a better society in China, and to establish love and harmony between husband and wife. The law specifically lays down that marriage must depend upon the willing consent of both parties. There must be no more bigamy, polygamy, concubinage, or child-betrothal. As willing consent loses its meaning in child-marriage, the law, by another clause, provides that a man must not marry before the age of 20, and a woman not before the age of 18. Furthermore, the law specifically prohibits exaction of money or other presents in marriage. And, finally, the law provides for divorce. Of course, it is not the object of the authors of the marriage law to make divorce easy; far from it. Divorce has been made difficult, but if it can be proved that divorce is necessary, and if it can be proved that the divorce has the willing consent of both husband and wife, then divorce becomes easy. Otherwise, the village registrar or the town registrar will take every possible step to bring about a reconciliation between husband and wife. Even after divorce, parents must support and educate their children. Another important feature in this marriage law is that just as it is the duty of parents to support and educate their children, similarly, it is the duty of all children to support and maintain their old

parents. Old parents have got a legal claim now on their sons and daughters.

WOMEN UNDER THE NEW REGIME

The new marriage law is not a dead letter. All its provisions are being enforced, and it seems reasonable to say that it has immensely improved the status of women in China. It has given them a new inspiration and a new confidence, and the result is visible in the different walks of life in which women are engaged.

I had a long discussion with Madame Sun Yet-sen on this legislation. She emphasized that the new marriage law must be carefully distinguished from the Civil Code promulgated by the Kuomintang in 1930. That was a half-hearted measure, which was not enforced in China. Madame Sun Yet-sen said that it would be a mistake to think that this law was promulgated by the supreme parliament of China; it was the result of the universal demand of the awakened womanhood of China. At present, the women of China are working shoulder to shoulder with men and are discharging with confidence, with enthusiasm, and with all seriousness their duties and responsibilities. How far the new marriage law has led to the establishment of happy homes or domestic peace, I cannot say. But I know that there was not, or there is not, a voice of protest against this new legislative measure. The standard of sexual morality also has risen, and I have not noticed any sex consciousness, or sex shyness, on the part of girls and women in China.

I began by saying that all unconscious process of evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. The leaders of the Chinese revolution made a deliberate experiment, a conscious attack on the old system. They are making experiments with their social organizations. And as the result of their experiments, they have succeeded in bringing about a better and purer Chinese society.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mahatma Gandhi's Views on Machines and Technology

Nichel Beaupuy writes in one of the *Unesco Bulletins*:

The sudden introduction of industrial civilization in a traditional society not only gives rise to a problem of technical adjustment; it also calls for a new balance in motivation and thus necessitates a very real psychological and cultural "conversion" in the individual. It involves profound changes in a value-system many hundreds of years old.

Mahatma Gandhi was deeply and primarily concerned with value-systems. His opposition to Western civilization was not merely on the limited ground of the political and economic subjection of India, but on the much wider issue of the conflict between the values of different civilizations. The steadily increasing pace nowadays of the so-called "modernization" of India makes particularly timely, therefore, Gandhi's views on the danger which machines and technology present for Indian values. The latest number of the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Unesco's quarterly periodical, contains a fully-documented study on this subject by Mr. D. P. Mukerji, of the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

The first unequivocal statement of Gandhi's position occurs in "Hind Swaraj" (Indian Home Rule), written in 1908, in which he considered for the first time the existence of deep conflict between Indian values and Western values. Many historians and sociologists would be more cautious about India's ancestry, about her deliberate wisdom in rejecting machinery, city-life and the evils thereof. They would attribute them mostly to lack of opportunities and the incurable human habit of making a virtue of necessity.

For Gandhi on the other hand, Indian civilization was the result of a deliberate and repeated condemnation of material values. The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions in the performance of which we know ourselves, that is, knowledge accrues. The performance implied proper use of hands and feet; and the process led to the limitation of indulgences, reduction of wants, and simplification of life. All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought, beliefs, attitude and action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he sometimes called the Western. At other times the European, but what was really modern civilization centred on material values.

In October 1924, soon after he had broken one of his famous fasts, Gandhi gave an interview to a student from Santiniketan, Sri Ramchandran, who questioned him on his views on the place of art in national regeneration and on machinery.

"Are you against all machinery?" the student asked.

Gandhi answered: "How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the streets to die of starvation. Today machinery help a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed."

The student asked: "Then you are fighting not against machinery as such, but against its abuses?"

Gandhi said: "I would unhesitatingly say yes; but I would add that scientific truths and discoveries should first cease to be mere instruments of greed. Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery, instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help. I am not aiming at eradication of all machinery, but limitation."

"Where would you stop?" the student asked. "Just where machines cease to help the individual and encroach on his individuality," Gandhi replied. "The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man . . . Ideally, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul."

Mr. Mukerji believes that the views expressed in 1924 mark a departure from those of 1908. Gandhi had come to realize that the people of India were not yet ripe for the supreme renunciation his values demanded. Non-violence and truth could not be the bread of the masses. It was clear to him that the labourer must get a living wage and a secure daily task and his labour should not be drudgery; above all man, that is, the labourer was the supreme consideration.

In 1925 Gandhi wrote: "Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to

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displace the necessary human labour. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes."

But although Gandhi had moved away from the uncompromising attitude taken in "Hind Swaraj," he had by no means changed his basic position, since he continued to affirm that "ideally," he would rule out all machines, including "this very body," in order to seek the liberation of the soul. He declared: "I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal. I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites, and to go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it satanic."

Then in anger which would remind one of the wrath of prophets, he said: "I would destroy the present system of government, if I had the power. I would use the most deadly weapons, if I believed that they would destroy it. I refrain because the use of such weapons could only perpetuate the system, though it may destroy its present administration. Those, who seek to destroy men rather than their manners, adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with them, they do not know the root of the evil."

Mr. Mukerji asserts that the Gandhian conclusion in regard to machines and technology is logical if one

accepts the postulates that India has a separate norm of values and a separate principle of social organization which would be disturbed and even destroyed by large-scale use of machinery for greed and profit; and that a proper use would pre-suppose certain attitudes, some traditional and others not, but all working in alliance, and also a type of State that would own and control large machineries, if they were indispensable for defined purposes. Otherwise, the machineries to be used would be used would be of a special type suitable for removing the drudgery of handicraft and improving its quality, if possible. They would operate in the general context of de-centralized economy, in close alliance with agriculture.

"Gandhi's minimal idea," says Mr. Mukerji, "was to establish co-existence of different social systems, on the basis of equality, though the prophetic strain that came to him in the course of his experiments with Truth led him to think that the values he propagated would also be good for the Western World. We will leave it also to the Western sociologist to ponder over this issue. An Indian sociologist can only mention that Gandhi's protagonism of Indian values was not a manifestation of the romantic agony of nationalist historians, nor was it a reactionary, obscurantist throw-back. He was a revolutionary, an Indian revolutionary, that is, one who would first be steeped in Indian realities and then evaluate the nature of chances in social realities in order to create fresh norms."

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Human Relations in Industry Necessary

Addressing students of Delhi University at Shri Ram College of Commerce on 22nd October, 1954, Mr. V. K. R. Menon, Director of the International Labour Office, New Delhi, expressed the hope that human relations in industry might lead generally to an age of prosperity:

Human relations, he explained, was a psychological movement in contrast to material revolution. It had received a fillip from the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the Indian National movement and from the two world wars.

Mr. Menon considered the term "management" more appropriate than the word "employer" because, with the growth of industrial organisations, capital had become more and more impersonal. He said that labour-management relations were as complex as human nature and that they had social, political, psychological as well as economic aspects.

Industrial relations proper were normally dealt with in three tiers, at the level of the undertaking, at the level of the industry and at the national level. Problems of human relations were, however, most effectively dealt with at the level of the undertaking because human relations were far more personal in character.

PURPOSE OF LABOUR-MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATION

Mr. Menon said that labour-management co-operation served to promote two main purposes. One of these was economic, to ensure increased production; the other was moral and social to secure full recognition of the importance of the human element and, accordingly, to give staff a greater interest in the general operation of their undertaking. Co-operation between management and labour could be built on a solid foundation if the needs of the workers and the requirements of the management were taken into account. "As far as the management is concerned, it wants to put it crudely—maximum production with the minimum wage-bill," he added.

If management recognised a sense of dignity, the desire for security and social instincts, as enunciated by American business leaders, there would be fewer difficulties in securing the co-operation of workers for higher productivity. Two of the conditions for successful labour management co-operation were that both sides "must want to be co-operative without any mental reservation and that co-operation should not serve as a substitute for fair wages."

CONSULTATION AGENCIES

Mr. Menon felt that such agencies for consultation as joint advisory committees, joint production committees and management councils could be evolved to work out labour-management co-operation. He referred to British Work Councils which had made suggestions for improved methods of work and promoted general efficiency. Mr. Menon pointed out that after World

War II, the worker is not satisfied with merely good wages, employment security and other measures of social security. He is equally emphatic that human dignity should be recognised so that he should have a feeling that he is an active partner in the successful working of the undertaking where he is employed. A sense of purpose in work was necessary to satisfy this sentiment.

Referring to conditions in India, Mr. Menon observed: "The development of trade unionism in India is relatively of recent origin and there is still a long way to go. In the absence of strong and healthy trade unions, all that workers could attempt was to secure the best wages and living conditions which the employers would grant. There were and there are a number of good employers who treated their workers generously but in several cases, it was more a case of paternalistic interest. When large-scale industrial development had not taken place, such an interest and direct intimate touch between the employer and the employed were proper and good. But with the greater awakening in the minds of the workers, something more is needed. In any case, the progressive development of large-scale industry has, by itself, been responsible for breaking the former bond between the worker and his job. In the past I came across quite a few cases where there was friction and unrest even in establishments where workers enjoyed good wages, good housing and other amenities. Some expressed the view that this was because the more the workers got from an individual employer the greater they expected to extract still more from him. Also, that irresponsible persons posing as labour leaders accounted for this attitude of mind. This was true in some cases but it was equally true in others that in spite of all the good conditions of service offered, there were minor causes for friction which could have been easily rectified had there been a proper machinery for bettering human relations in the particular undertaking concerned. Very often, the trouble started on a trivial issue which, if a properly working machinery had existed, would have been nipped in the bud. But when matters had proceeded too far, the importance which each side attached to face-saving, totally eclipsed the subject-matter of the dispute itself."

There was still a lot to be done, Mr. Menon stated, in the direction of bettering conditions of workers in India, the limiting factor being a recognition that these would have to be related to economic progress in general. He was equally convinced that the importance of development of human relations in industry deserved far greater attention than it had received so far. The more this was recognised and acted upon, the greater were the chances of India's industrial development reaching the goal which all would like—the building up of a Co-operative Commonwealth.—ILO News Service.



Nuclear Research in Israel

Uranium has already been produced in Israel from phosphate ores on a pilot-plant scale, which is the second stage in the three leading to full production. This startling news was given to Israel listeners in a broadcast address by Dr. Ernst D. Bergmann, Chairman of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr. Bergmann's radio address followed that of the Chief Israel Delegate, Ambassador Abba Eban, who told the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 15, that "the number of physicists and chemists in Israel engaged in theoretical and applied research is, in relative terms, probably as high as in any other country of the world." The heavy tasks of economic and social progress faced by Israel "with a notable lack of any cheap source of fuel or electric power" may result, he stated, in an economically viable use of atomic energy for Israel earlier than in countries more lavishly endowed with conventional forms of power.

"These two factors, intellectual and scientific interest and practical need" had determined Israel's pre-occupation with this problem from the earliest days of the atomic decade. Recalling that Israel's first President, the late Dr. Chaim Weizmann, was a scientist concerned with new materials and new power developed through advanced research, Ambassador Eban turned to the laying of the foundations of nuclear research in Israel which took place within a year of the establishment of the State in 1948.

The Department of Isotope Research in the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot has assiduously and successfully, for five years, worked both in the theoretical and applied fields of (1) radioactive isotopes of low activity; (2) the enrichment of heavy water by fractional distillation and other related projects; (3) cosmic rays; (4) the exploitation of low grade uranium ores (phosphates); (5) the study of the mechanism of chemical reactions by means of isotopic training; (6) natural radioactivity, the determination of the sources and average age of underground water by measuring the tritium concentration; (7) the prospecting of possible underground deposits of radioactive solid materials.

Research in the enrichment of heavy water by fractional distillation has led, under the leadership of Dr. Dostrovsky of the Institute, to the construction of a pilot plant already producing heavy water and its method of production has been adopted and applied in Europe. The exploitation of low grade uranium ores such as phosphates is significant for Israel owing to the presence of large phosphate deposits uncovered in recent years.

Encouraged by the results in the Department of Isotopes, the Weizmann Institute is now about to cover a wider field through the establishment of the Department of Nuclear Research.

In Jerusalem, research in these fields has also been undertaken by the Hebrew University's Physics Department and the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre. The Physics Department of the Hebrew University has worked in the fields of molecular structure (nuclear spectroscopy), micro-wave research, energy radiation and semi-conductors. In the Medical Centre isotopes have been applied for diagnosis and treatment in blood disease, cancer, and thyroid conditions and the results of traced research are being used in Israel's leading medical institutions.

In 1953, the Israel Atomic Energy Commission was established with wide powers to supervise, co-ordinate and encourage work in this field.

Though the record of achievement and of effort out-

The Ambassador said that the two countries are co-operating with each other in many ways, but it is not always possible for them to see eye to eye in every respect. Differences in approach and method for the achievement of world peace and the democratic system of government for all nations, which exist between India and the United States, are gradually narrowing down.

India is grateful to the United States for the American economic aid she has received, Mr. Mehta said. He praised the work of American technicians in India, who number about 200 in his country working on various development projects. About an equal number of Indian experts have also availed themselves of the opportunity of getting advanced training in the United States under the technical aid program.

Although India welcome co-operation and aid from other countries in her development program, she does not like to get anything by way of charity as that form of aid lowers the morale of the people, Mr. Mehta said. He added that ultimately Indians will have to develop their country with their own blood and toil.

The Mary Keating Das Memorial Lecture is given annually at Columbia University for the promotion of Indian studies and for the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States. The lecture series was created eight years ago in memory of Mary Keating Das, wife of Professor Taraknath Das, through a fund established at Columbia University by the Taraknath Das Foundation.

The Way Ahead

MESSAGE OF LT.-COL. GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

Those who think that the Revolution of the Egyptian Army on July 23rd had for its object the overthrow of a corrupt monarch and a change in the regime, are mistaken. The main object of the revolution was to raise the standard of living of the bulk of the Egyptian people.

The regime had to be changed because those who had been in power for so many years had always thought more of themselves and their Party than of the interests of the people.

To give only one example: in 1897 the cultivated land of Egypt was 5,047,000 acres: the population numbered 9,715,000. Fifty years later the population had doubled (19,022,000) whereas the cultivated area had increased by only 14 per cent. The consequences of such irresponsible policy are not hard to imagine.

Much the same can be said about industry, commerce and indeed all other sources of national income, not to speak of the lack of planning or of scientific study with which national projects were improved.



Let me speak very briefly about what the Revolution has done in economic, social and political fields.

I

Two months after the Revolution the Land Reform Law was passed: many other projects too were by then on the way to being carried out. Twenty acres of desert are now reclaimed every day! Produce from the new Province of El-Tahrir, created in the heart of the desert, can now be seen in the streets of Cairo. Plans have been prepared for the cultivation of some 2 million acres in the next 20 years. The necessary water will not be lacking. The project of the new High Dam above Asswan is now being carried out, and we hope that this will be completed within less than ten years. At the same many important industries are in course of creation.

We know that we cannot live in a state of isolation: we must co-operate with all friendly nations. Already, a new Companies Law has been passed (No. 26 of 1954), and another on Investments was promulgated in 1953 (Law No. 156). Moreover, several measures have been taken to improve Commerce and Exchange. In every phase of life there has been reform, or at least study in view of reform. Missions have been sent to explore for petroleum and metals in the desert regions. In a few years we hope to produce our own steel and to have for the first time an Egyptian heavy industry.

II

In the social field the Permanent Council of Social Services has made a thorough study of all Public Services. Plans have been drawn up, and Collective Units will be equipped to deal with groups of 15,000 inhabitants. They will act at the same time as rural industrial schools. Before long each unit will be self-contained: the first one is now being built and expects to begin work in a few weeks.

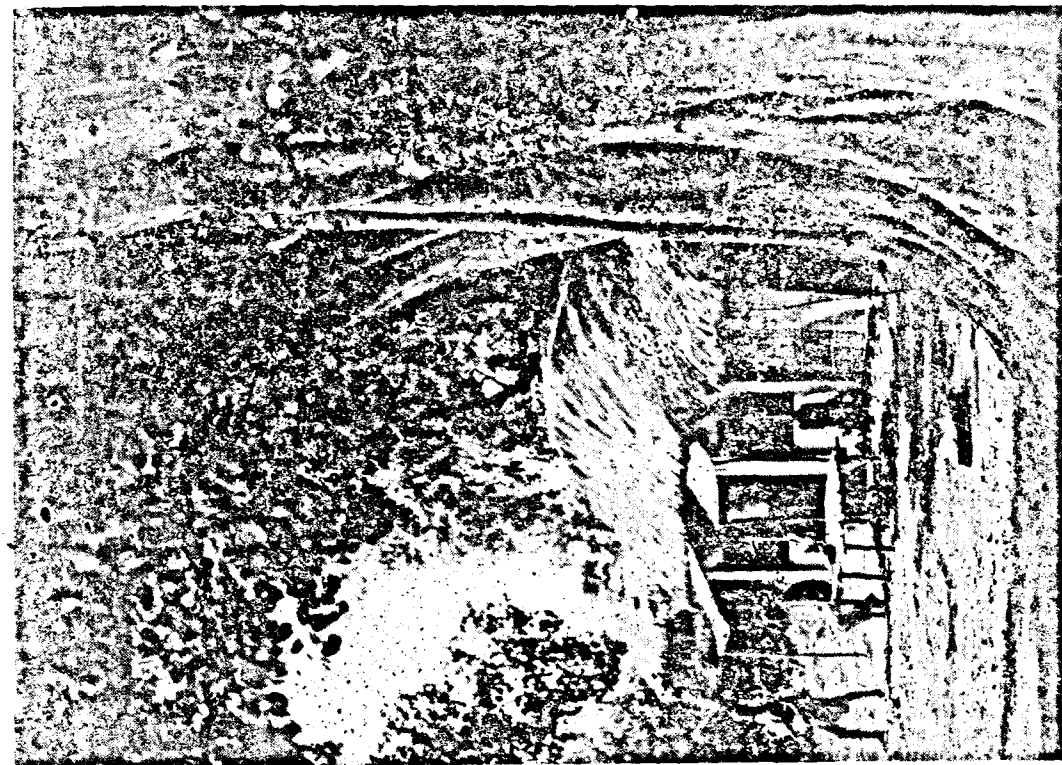
III

Within a month or two a National Assembly will meet, and by the end of the Transitional Period we shall have a sound democratic life.

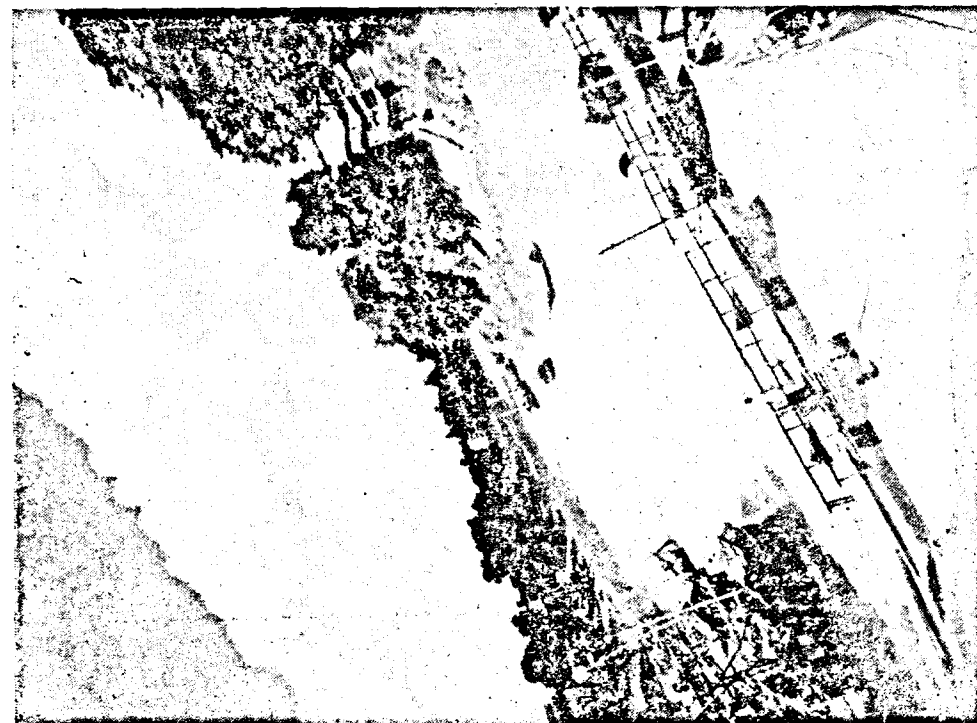
Everybody now can see that the country is enjoying a state of stability, consolidated by the ever-increasing inflow of foreign capital.

We were determined to resolve the Suez Canal problem. Egypt being a free State, we felt that no foreign troops should remain in her territory against her will.

I am glad that Britain and Egypt came to the agreement announced on July 27th.—*Egyptian Bulletin*, January 1955.



A village shop
Photo by Benoy Bhushan Das



Across the bridge
Photo by Kanak Datta



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

SPRING
By Bires Chandra Ganguly

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NOTES

The Moral Balance Sheet

This year, as in previous years, there has been a presentation of the annual Budget. And as usual there has been a considerable amount of debate and discussion over the budget proposals, some cogent, some irrelevant and some quite incoherent. What we have been remarking is that each succeeding year of independence, the proposals have been getting more and more soulless, bloodless and lifeless in character. It is just as if a mechanical process for the extraction of a useful distillate was being perfected, the human elements being regarded just as being the basic raw material, inanimate, and unworthy of any other consideration besides the yield of cash.

Mental and moral values are no longer any consideration. We say no longer but we should say since the Budget of 1948-49. We have lectures and exhortations galore no doubt but that is primarily stage-play. Moral values are going down as a consequence.

This is inevitable where by nation-building is meant the construction of titanic structures of concrete and steel and progress is measured in the terms of long-tons and kilowatts and in millions of yards and millions of rupees.

This is no jeremiad we are composing. The undeniable facts are, that all that has been accomplished in the seven years and more of freedom, does not amount to a jot where the standards and measures of real uplift are concerned. Material progress may be shown by figures and statistics, both of which are challengeable if compared with the standards that obtained before the War, and reduced to terms of absolute basic values.

The standard of living, as a whole, has gone down amongst the classes that were at par with the minimum normal scale. It may have risen in the strata where they were below the subsistence line, but that has been accomplished by lowering standards. This fact is unchallengeable.

Educational levels have sunk everywhere, ranging

from the highest post-graduate studies down to the primary group. "Literacy," which is an illusive term, may have increased. Discipline and moral values amongst the students and teachers everywhere is at the lowest level known to most of us. This is a calamitous state of affairs when we consider that these very students are the standard-bearers of the future of our nation.

Indeed, there is no philosophy of life in our youth. Cynicism and an utter materialistic view of life preponderate everywhere. There are no beacons, no guiding posts, only building, structures, machines and figures. If a balance-sheet were drawn up of the imponderables that are of the essence in nation-building, we shall be faced with sheer bankruptcy.

Shibboleths there are in plenty. 'The Socialistic Pattern of Society,' 'Sarvodaya,' 'No distribution of Poverty,' 'Equality of opportunity for all' and so on and so forth. But in reality the top of the social structure is becoming heavier and heavier, in the terms of bureaucracy, party-caucus and bag-nobility, while the very foundations, the progressive middle classes, are being sapped out of existence. The super-Brahmins of Sarvodaya utter *mantrams* and the mouth-pieces of the ruling group utter insincere exhortations, but the lights are dying out everywhere. Where is the enthusiasm of 1947?

Professor M. L. Oliphant, the Director of Physical Laboratories, National University of Australia, said, at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on March 28 that the survival of man and *mental and spiritual values* were far more important than the survival of any "creed of the moment." And the scientist cannot solve the problem of survival, he said.

We, the "keepers of the moral heritage of the East," are imposing excise on education—for paper means books—and are bleeding white that very group that provides *all the human resources* of nation-building. For material prosperity we must have, though the entire nation be morally bankrupt.

Union Budget Reconsidered

The Union Budget for 1955-56 makes a gloomy reading in view of its all-round taxation proposals which will be devastating in effect. Creation of employment opportunities is now one of the important objectives of the Government of India and the Budget is mainly directed towards that end. It may be recalled here that in his speech on the Government's economic policy delivered in Parliament on December 20, 1954, the Union Finance Minister stated: "The central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions within a measurable period, say, 10 years from now. This is by no means an over-ambitious goal. It is perhaps the minimum we ought to strive for. In achieving this, there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and the private sectors. This means, in the first place, that we have to create at least two million new jobs, if not more, every year, in order to provide for the annual increase of 1.8 million in the employable labour force. Secondly, it means that we must make some impression on the unemployment and under-employment already existing. These jobs must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." The implication is obvious in that the employment objective relates to the new Budget and the attainment of full employment objective must be linked up with the first Five-Year Plan and to be continued in the second Five-Year Plan. The new taxation proposals raise doubts whether they will be conducive towards creating employment opportunities.

In a free economy heavy taxation results in falling employment. The recent rise in the unemployment situation in the USA induced the Government of that country to reduce taxation in order to provide incentive for large-scale development that will provide employment to the unemployed. Of course, ours is an under-developed economy and a mixed economy too. The problem cannot be handled so easily simply by tax reductions. But it is time that the authorities realise that divided responsibility is nobody's responsibility. If the Government is to depend upon the private sector for the creation of employment opportunities, then tax reductions must be regarded as the *sine qua non*. If high taxation is to persist, then the Government should take upon themselves the sole responsibility for creating employment, and the role of the private sector in that connection will be merely supplementary. The authorities aim at creating two million new jobs every year, but they have not stated who will create them—whether the private sector or the public sector or both. How the responsibility is to be divided between the two sectors of our economy? The budget proposals indicate that the creation of full employment is merely wishful thinking on the part of the authorities and its realisation is still a far away-objective. The Finance Bill has however provided some redeeming features. A development rebate of 25 per cent of the cost of all new plant and machinery installed for business purposes would

be allowed instead of the existing initial depreciation allowance of 20 per cent. Losses of business would also be allowed to be carried forward indefinitely instead of only for six years as at present. A flat rate of super-tax of four annas in the rupee was being imposed on the undistributed profits of a company if sixty per cent of the profits of a company had not been distributed. It is, however, not known whether the provisions for the Development Rebate will be of a permanent character and whether they will continue up to such time as the full relief is availed of. It may be that this relief may be withdrawn at a later stage before any advantage is actually crystallised and cashed either fully or partly. The nature of the Development Rebate will therefore be not a gift pure and simple in the first year, but it will be in the nature of an interest-free loan for a number of years. It will turn into a free gift only if the provisions for the Development Rebate continue and in that case the benefit stands spread over a number of years, the allowance for each year being reduced and being for a fraction of an amount only.

The Finance Bill provides for the exclusion of the capitalised reserves from the paid-up capital and this will discourage ploughing back of profits. For the application of the 100 per cent distribution formula, the capital represented by the issue of bonus shares will henceforth be not treated as paid-up capital. The result will be that the fundamental concept of the ploughing back of profits and the creation of bonus shares stands overruled.

The spate of excise duties, particularly on cloth and sugar, will lead to fall in consumption. Falling consumption will result in accumulation of stocks and decline in production. The classical theory of Public Finance assumed that society had a choice between consuming more and investing more. A progressive diminution in the volume of consumption meant a more rapid accumulation of capital, and that consuming more meant a fall in the rate of investment. Under classical assumptions investment and consumption were notions of opposites and increasing expenditure on consumption implied a decreasing expenditure on investment. But modern theory holds the opposite view. It does no longer say: "What we do not consume, the business man uses for investment." Now it is said: "Unless we consume the businessman refuses to invest." One man's expenditure is another man's income and abstention from consumption does not lead to an accumulation of capital. A falling consumption may lead to unemployment, a fall in the national income, idle capacity and thus to retardation of capital accumulation.

The increase of excise on sugar has baffled the supporters of the Government in finding out a motive behind it. It is the Government's declared policy to cheapen the price of sugar and to encourage consumption and domestic production. The new budget proposals seem to run counter to this policy. Mr. Deshmukh says that he does not want sugar consumption to go up and

he perhaps means that consumption should be restricted to domestic production. But this is just a piece of unrealistic thinking. We are unable to comprehend how in a free economy people could adjust their demands against falling productions of sugar. If they really mean to curtail consumption, then why do the Government talk about setting up new sugar mills and increasing consumption? The encouragement for increasing the output of sugarcane is therefore misleading in the changed context. Domestic production of sugar is short of consumption and the maximum selling price of sugar is laid down by the Government by fixing a price for imported sugar. Although the excise duty has been raised, the selling price of sugar has not been raised to that extent and as a result the margin in case of domestic sugar has been reduced in effect by a rupee per bag. Moreover, the price of sugarcane has been fixed by the Government and as such the price for sugar cannot be lowered to an appreciable degree.

The rise in excise on cotton cloth will seriously affect its production as well as consumption. Mills are nowadays finding it difficult to dispose of their productions and as a result a downward revision of selling prices was resorted to. In view of the consumer resistance, the mills may not find it desirable to shift the incidence of new burden on to the consumers. Instead they will try to pass on a part of the increased excise to the cotton growers who have already been affected by a sharp fall in prices.

In the new budget, the middle class in the middle and upper income groups has been subjected to taxation at a progressive rate. The main objective behind this is to bring about a reduction in large measure of inequality that exists as between income-tax payers in general and the mass of the population. This is the view of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. The Commission desires that equality of incomes is to be achieved by levelling down. But the result may be disastrous for the country. Taxation, both by direct and indirect methods, will make a distribution of poverty among the middle class and will contribute to their ultimate penury, if not liquidation. Entrepreneurs of industry and the intelligentsia of the society have come mostly from the middle class and their existence checks the spread of communism. The market for various goods, both utility and luxury, depends on the consumption by the middle class. Any reduction in their purchasing power will largely affect the market for various goods and ultimately the production. The provision of an allowance for married persons is a welcome feature long overdue, but the relief sought to be meted out is much too insignificant, especially in view of the indirect taxes. The existing tax exemption slab of Rs. 1,500 is being raised to Rs. 2,000 for married persons and reduced to Rs. 1,000 for unmarried persons as first step towards a scheme of family allowances. The net loss of revenue is estimated at Rs. 90 lakhs. The existing slab of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 has been broken into two, the tax on the slab of Rs. 7,500 to Rs. 10,000 has been raised

by six pies from one anna nine pies to two annas three pies. This is expected to yield a revenue of Rs. 1.35 crores. The super-tax slabs has been re-adjusted and the level at which super-tax is attracted has been reduced from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 20,000. The changes are estimated to yield an additional revenue of Rs. 5.75 crores. The existing limit of one-sixth of income subject to a ceiling of Rs. 6,000 for rebate allowed for payment of premia on life insurance policies and subscriptions to provident funds has been raised to one-fifth of income with a ceiling of Rs. 8,000, corresponding increases being given to Hindu Undivided Families. This concession would cost the Government Rs. 25 lakhs.

As regards the new excises in the coming year, there will be a levy of a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem on woollen fabrics, sewing machines, electric fans, electric lighting bulbs, electric dry and storage batteries, paper (excluding newsprint) and paper board, and paints and varnishes. The total estimated revenue from these excises would be Rs. 4 crores. The existing duty of Rs. 3½/- per cwt., on sugar has been raised to Rs. 5½/- per cwt. Cotton cloth has been classified into two categories, superfine and others. There has been prescribed a rate of duty on superfine cloth at 2½ annas per square yard and on other cloth at 1 anna per square yard. This involves an increase equivalent to about three pies a linear yard on superfine cloth and six pies a linear yard on medium and coarse cloth.

Indian taxation system follows the pattern laid down by our erstwhile foreign rulers. The recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission have not improved the matter. Government accounting calls for recasting in the form of integrated social accounting which has been adopted in various foreign countries. Further, a committee should be appointed to go into the working of public enterprises. The balance-sheets of industries like the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Hindusthan Steel Factory, the Hindusthan Shipyard at Vizag, the Machine Tool Factory, Nahan Foundry, etc., should be thoroughly examined by this committee to find out if any irregularity in expenditure is taking place. Another public committee should also be appointed by the Government of India to examine the manner in which the State Governments had spent the loans and grants given by the Union during the last few years. A huge sum of money has been spent in this way and their accounting is essential. To meet these top-heavy and unregulated expenditure, the country is now being made to pay through the nose.

Taxation Enquiry Commission

The Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report has endeavoured to define what should be the taxation policy of India and the taxation structure of India will continue to be governed at least for some years to come by the policy laid down by the Committee. The terms of reference of the Commission required it to examine the tax system in respect of the four features:

countries where the rates of taxation on higher incomes are, in fact, lower.

The Commission has given much thought to the fixing of a ceiling on personal incomes on the basis of a reasonable multiple of the per capita or per family national income. In the opinion of the Commission there should be a ceiling on net personal incomes after tax which, generally speaking, should not exceed approximately 30 times the prevailing average per family income in the country. Although it may not be capable of immediate implementation, the Commission thinks that it is important to strive by stages for its implementation over a period of time. The accomplishment of this objective cannot merely be the result of tax changes, but must be related to an integrated approach along several directions. The most important phase of this approach would be an acceleration of the tempo of economic development and a widening of employment and production opportunities. The Commission, however, warns that the approach must be realistic in the sense that the tax system should not be strained to a limit which will endanger the productive system of the country or impair the possibilities of its expansion by affecting savings and investment in the private sector.

Explaining the anti-inflationary potentialities of the Indian tax system, the Commission observes that the Indian tax system already contains in its income-tax and commodity taxes important means of countering inflationary situations. The income-tax is a highly progressive levy. Under conditions of boom or inflation it automatically yields larger revenues and restricts the growth of disposable incomes left after tax. Export duties constitute another important means of preventing a strong foreign demand from exerting an inflationary influence on the internal economy.

Yalta Records Published

The United States Government published on March 16 what purported to be a report of discussions held amongst the Big Three—Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill—at Yalta early in the beginning of 1945.

The release of the Yalta papers revealed several instances of great divergence between the British and American points of view on certain important matters during the Second World War. It was now seen that President Roosevelt had made several approaches to Marshal Stalin of Russia without the knowledge of the British Prime Minister Sir (then Mr.) Winston Churchill.

The U.S. President, without the knowledge of the British, had proposed that Hong Kong should be handed back to China and made a free port. He also had proposed to place Korea under a trusteeship for 20 to 30 years—without British representation—with China, U.S.A. and the USSR as members.

Mr. Roosevelt had also favoured the idea of a trusteeship for Indo-China, then under Japanese occupation; but he had referred to British objections to

the proposal for the reason, among others, of their fear of the implications of a trusteeship for Burma.

M. Stalin reportedly expressed the view that Britain should not be excluded from the arrangements since otherwise Britain would most certainly be wounded. He had wanted the period of trusteeship to be as short as possible.

It also appeared now that there had been some disagreement between the British Prime Minister and the British Foreign Secretary over the voting procedure (right of veto) in the U. N. Security Council. Mr. Churchill had supported the veto on the ground that 'everything depended on the unity of the free powers' and that without that the world would be subjected to inestimable catastrophe and that anything that preserved that unity would have his vote. On the other hand, Mr. Eden had strongly objected his Prime Minister pointing out the fact that there would then be no attraction or reason for the small nations to join an organization based on such organizational principles.

The British Prime Minister had apparently taken strong objection to a proposal put forward by Mr. Stettinius, that the planned UN should have machinery to maintain trusteeship over colonial areas.

Reuter adds: "Most of the facts contained in the papers now published have been disclosed by Sir Winston Churchill and other writers of war memoirs."

"But the reports of the statements, made by the three leaders at the meetings and at accompanying social functions contained some languages which might explain reluctance hitherto to publish the documents."

There was some heated controversy over the publication of the Yalta records by the U.S.A. The British Government had earlier signified their disapproval to the proposal for publication of the records. Sir Winston Churchill told the British House of Commons on March 17 that the releases were "in no sense an agreed official record of the Powers concerned." They were merely the American version. Pointing to the undesirability of the publication of records of international discussions so soon after the event he said: "If this became an established practice it might hamper the free exchange of views at future conferences. In any case, it would seem a good thing to consult together on the text of any publication during the lifetime of the individuals concerned." In reply to a question Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on March 22 that he considered the publication of the records as "untimely." Referring to the earlier American suggestions for publication of the records, Sir Winston said that Mr. Dulles had told them on January 12, 1955, that he did not consider publication desirable then. On March 11, the U.S. Government had informed the British Government that it had decided not to publish the documents but on March 15 the British Govern-

ment had been told that publication could no longer be withheld and twenty-four hours later that had occurred.

In the United States itself also there were angry exchanges over the publication of the records. The Democratic Senators reportedly were insisting that the Senate should determine how the documents came to be issued to one or two chosen newspapers. Mr. Dulles had refused to answer that question.

Yalta. The Moral

The *New York Times* which was the first newspaper to obtain, by "leakage," the full text of about half-million words, thus writes in its International edition of March 20, as a retrospect:

"What happened at Yalta ten years ago this month is less important than what is going to happen this year and next year and ten years from now. The Yalta conference, concerning which readers of this newspaper have had the opportunity to read several hundred thousand words, was the result of forces then in operation. Likewise it released new forces. We may argue as long as we like about the effect of personalities on history and the importance of isolated events. Yalta was not and could not be isolated. It touches all our lives today."

The forces acting in the world during that historic week were already visibly crushing Germany. Japan was as surely defeated as was Germany. The trouble was, as far as the United States and Britain were concerned, that this truth was not fully realized. American troops were locked in the bloody battle on Iwo Jima, which was to cost us more than 4,500 dead. They still had to take Okinawa at a loss of more than 12,500 dead or missing. Manila fell on the eve of the Yalta conference. Wise military men estimated casualties in landings on the main island of Japan by the hundreds of thousands. The A-bomb was known to the President and his advisers to be "reasonably certain" to "produce the equivalent of a 10,000-ton T. N. T. explosion."

Still, it was thought necessary to persuade and cajole the Russians to stay in the war in the West and to go into the war in the Far East. The Western Powers accepted a Government in Poland which could not be, and was not, free. They accepted unfair Polish boundaries. They gave concessions to Russia in the Far East at Chinese expense—and felt so unhappy about this that the facts were not made public for some two years.

As one reads or skims these tragic documents one gets two impressions: first, that the chief participants did not know all the factors with which they were dealing; second, that they were, so far as the Western Powers were concerned, caught in a struggle between two moralities—the morality of the democratic process vs. the morality involved in saving lives.

The Russians suffered from no such handicap. Human life literally meant nothing to Premier Stalin if it came in the way of any purpose of his. Respect for promises or respect for truth did not stand in his way, either. There is something sadly naive in the hopes and intentions expressed at Yalta that the future of Europe and of the liberated Axis satellite nations be settled 'by democratic means'."

The same issue contains a summary of some of the Yalta discussions in which we find the following:

"On Poland, the negotiations generated more heat at Yalta than on any other issue. Roosevelt and Churchill made plain their suspicions that Stalin was bent upon foisting a Communist regime on Poland regardless of what was done at Yalta. Roosevelt emphasized that he was worried about political reactions among Poles in the U.S. Churchill said he was worried about Parliament: 'I do not care much about Poles myself.' But both insisted upon the principle of democratic elections. This was an exchange:

Roosevelt: I want this election in Poland to be the first one beyond question. It should be like Caesar's wife. I did not know her, but they said she was pure.

Stalin: They said that about her but in fact she had her sins."

The Nature of Nuclear Weapons

The following extract of an article by Eugene Rabinowitch, the Editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, published in the *New Leader* of New York, gives a vivid picture of the threat of nuclear weapons:

Not quite ten years ago, the first atomic-fission bomb killed 70,000 people and destroyed two square miles of the city of Hiroshima. To use such a bomb to detonate a thermonuclear bomb ("H-bomb"), its power had to be increased 30-fold, from an equivalent of 15,000 tons (15 kilotons) of TNT to that of 500,000 tons. The thermonuclear explosions themselves, engineered by Americans in the Pacific and by Russians in Siberia, developed a power of up to 15 million tons (15 megatons) of TNT. Such a bomb can destroy 200 square miles of a city and kill several million citydwellers. New York, London, Moscow or Peking can be effectively destroyed by a single H-bomb.

After Hiroshima, public opinion was more alarmed by the radiation threat of the new weapon than by the more familiar menace of blast and heat. The fear at that time seemed exaggerated, since the fine radioactive dust engendered by the explosion of an A-bomb high in the air was carried up into the stratosphere and scattered there by winds until it ceased to be dangerous. But, in the second of the Bikini tests in 1946, radioactivity revealed itself as a serious menace in an under-water explosion; the target fleet was drenched with radioactive spray, making the surviving ships unfit for manning for months afterward.

In the recent thermonuclear tests, a much more

(1) the incidence of the tax system and its suitability for reducing inequalities of income and wealth; (2) the suitability of the tax system with reference to the development programme of the country and the resources required for it, including fresh avenues of taxation; (3) the effects of taxation on income, on capital formation and maintenance and development of productive enterprise, and (4) the use of taxation in dealing with inflationary situations. The Commission's main task was therefore to lay down the policy for improvement in distribution, for furthering the development in the public sector, for ensuring improvement in production in the private sector and for maintaining the stability in our economic structure. Better distribution, greater production in the public and private sectors and a higher degree of stability in the economic system are, in fact, important ingredients of national economic policy.

Discussing the question of equity, the Commission observes that an elementary application of the concept of equity requires the equal treatment of persons in similar economic circumstances. Now the most commonly accepted application of the criterion of equity is found in the principle of levying taxes according to relative ability-to-pay. Ability-to-pay in turn points to some degree of progression, if fairness in relative treatment of persons of unequal resources is to be achieved. No principle or formula, however, yields even approximately the pattern of progression which would be appropriate in the conditions of any country. Equity is an elusive concept; it is also a highly relative one, particularly in the assessment of a tax system as a whole. Taxation by itself can only reduce incomes and therefore must reduce private consumption and investment. The Commission points out that the proceeds of taxation are, however, available to the public sector; and it is the public expenditure that determines whether, taking the public and private sectors together, the net effect of fiscal operations is to reduce or to increase the use of the current income of the community for the two purposes of consumption and investment. The Commission seems to be in favour of raising savings in the public sector through higher taxation. In discussing the role of taxation in investment, the Commission says that if taxation goes to increase the volume of public investment, and not to swell administrative and non-development expenditure, total investment will be larger to the extent that additional public investment made possible by taxation takes place at the expense not of private investment, but of consumption. In fact, taxation may be a most effective means of increasing the total volume of savings and investment in any economy where the propensity to consume is normally high. And probably the only really effective way to step up capital formation in such an economy is for the State to assume a major responsibility for securing a diversion of resources from private consumption to public investment. It follows that the structure of taxation, which will be most suitable and efficacious for the purpose, is a properly diversified

scheme of taxation—direct and indirect—which seeks to secure the diversion of physical as well as financial resources from consumption to public investment, in forms and on a scale appropriate to the development programme. In other words, the tax system must have an adequacy of both depth and range, if it is to promote an accelerated pace of development.

The Commission then goes on to indicate additional taxation of a wide range of luxury or semi-luxury products, at fairly substantial rate, accompanied by broad-based taxation of articles of mass consumption at comparatively low rates. In the field of direct taxation, higher rates in respect of personal income-tax should be accompanied by some relief for income which is saved or invested. On the whole, the kind of tax system which would be best adapted to meet the requirements of the Indian economy, having regard to the development programme and the resources required for it, appears to be one which would increase the resources for investment available to the public sector with as small a diminution as practicable of investment in the private sector, and which therefore is accompanied by the largest practicable restraint on consumption by all classes. Restraint on the consumption of higher income groups must, of course, be greater than in respect of low income groups.

The above views of the Commission will be received with dismay as they fail to diagnose the hidden defect of Indian economy. In a poor underdeveloped country like India, with a very low per capita income, it is really surprising to hear that the propensity to consume is high in this country. The statement of the Commission must be taken with a grain of salt and not as it is. Indian standard of living is admittedly very low and to assume a higher consumption, with the exception of a negligible minority, on the general body of the people is unsupported by fact. The views of the Commission seem to be vitiated by a conservative attitude to economic values. The high economic progress of the USA may be attributed to the high domestic consumption of the national products. The USA exports only 8 to 10 per cent of her total output and the rest is consumed within the country. This high degree of domestic consumption is responsible for her high standard of living which remains unsurpassed by any other country. We fail to comprehend how a low consumption will stimulate higher production and employment. The budget proposals for the coming year will affect all classes of Indian people without any discrimination between those who are placed in the higher income groups and those in the low income groups. The excise duties have been so widely distributed over a range of commodities that they are bound to affect the general price-level as well as the standard of living of the people. Curtailment of consumption to encourage national savings is something like killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The higher the consumption, the higher the production and employment as well. Of course, excise duties must be there, but their incidence

and distribution should have been more equitable. Another thing that is being overlooked in this connection by the Commission in its zeal to discourage consumption is that the same commodity of consumption is subject to double taxation—firstly, by the Central excise and then by the State sales tax. The cumulative burden becomes much higher than is envisaged originally either in the Union or the State budget proposals. Central excise and the State sales tax doubly tax the same commodity often and this is neither equitable nor judicious. These two taxes should be so reconstructed that a simpler system evolves without the possibility of double taxation.

As regards the limits of taxable capacity, the Commission observes that the question of the resources that can be raised for the development programme and, therefore of the limits of taxation is commonly put in terms of the taxable capacity (a) of the economy as a whole, (b) of particular sections of the population, and (c) sometimes, in the sense of scope for optimum utilisation with reference to particular tax heads. The last aspect will have to be considered in relation to individual taxes. Taxable capacity like equity is a relative concept. In the most significant economic sense, taxable capacity of different sections of the community may be said to refer to the degree of taxation, broadly speaking, beyond which productive effort and efficiency as a whole begin to suffer. The economic limits are qualified by political limits and these are usually reached earlier, especially in communities which function on a democratic basis with the widest franchise. In certain circumstances both these limits get qualified by administrative considerations relating to the problem of enforcement.

In considering the question in relation to the tax system as a whole, the Commission suggests that the proportion of the total tax revenue to national income is important. Indian tax revenues only amount to between seven and eight per cent of the national income; and this proportion is lower than in many other countries, including some in South East Asia. It has been suggested that this indicates the great potentialities that exist for additional taxation before the limits of taxable capacity has been exhausted and there is little scope for additional taxation. The issues raised are not merely academic but have practical implications and the Commission therefore seek to provide an explanation of this low proportion of tax revenues to national income in this country.

A basic explanation for the very low ratio of total taxation to national income is, of course, to be found in the living standards of the people reflected in low per capita income levels. The Commission admits that this sets rigorous limits to taxation for most people in the Community, if the existing frugal consumption levels are not to be lowered. The existence on a large scale of a non-monetised sector in the economy also makes it difficult to increase tax receipts through the usual forms

of taxation. Over and above this, the low ratio of international trade to national income, which is another aspect of the characteristic of the economy, restricts the area of the large-scale commercial sector, from which it is easier to raise taxation. It follows, any direct conclusions regarding the scope for further taxation in the country based on comparisons with similar proportions in more advanced countries are inappropriate.

The question remains, however, whether this proportion is indicative of the limit of taxable capacity having been reached or whether it is possible to raise it. This leads to a consideration of taxable capacity with reference to the whole system. If taxes were levied to enable the community to do things collectively that the tax-payers did individually before, and if there were a large degree of correspondence between taxes and beneficent expenditure which they makes possible, the limit of taxable capacity would be higher. The Commission therefore observes that the limit of taxable capacity is relative to the purposes for which proceeds of additional taxes are expended. Since psychological and political considerations mingle with the economic in the determination of such a limit, it depends to that extent on popular understanding and appreciation of the plans of development formulated by Government. Efficiency in administration and economy in public expenditure—which make for more effective use of public funds and secure a better return on investment of tax proceeds—should at least diminish people's unwillingness to suffer an increase in tax burden.

Discussing its general approach to the need for incentives for savings and investment, the Commission remarks that increase in commodity taxation undoubtedly affects consumption; increase in the progression of the direct taxes may affect savings and investment. The Commission is definitely in favour of taxation that would reduce the consumption levels especially of the upper income groups in India. The disparity in consumption levels prevalent at present in this country is a matter of common observation and there can be no doubt about its demoralising effect on the large masses of workers in the country as regards their willingness to accept higher tax burdens and yet work harder. The disincentive effect of higher taxation on the will to work on the part of the higher groups is generally exaggerated, so the Commission holds. There is need for the upper income groups to adjust themselves to the reduction in money rewards that the changing social and economic conditions of the country necessitate. It is unrealistic to stress the disincentive effect of income-tax progression on the upper income groups, while the tax system calls upon the lower income groups, who constitute the masses of the country, to contribute an increasing portion of their meagre incomes. The Commission points out that even with the present comparatively high rates of tax, the range of inequality between the disposable incomes of the few and the many is wider than in many

ominous threat of radioactivity became apparent. These giant bombs, exploded close to the ground, pulverized enormous amounts of rock converting them into a relatively heavy radioactive dust, which "fell out" downwind from the explosion site, injuring islanders and Navy personnel on the surrounding atolls and Japanese fishermen on a ship 80 miles away. The radio operator of this ship has since died, after months of lingering radiation sickness. If large A- or H-bombs were exploded close to the ground in a future war, their radioactive fall-out would endanger people 50 or 100 miles away from "ground zero"—far beyond the reach of direct bomb damage.

The weak radioactivity which remains in the atmosphere or the ocean long after an atomic explosion cannot damage organisms directly exposed to it, but it increases slightly the frequency of mutations in their genes. This can cause no concern so long as only individuals or relatively small population groups are exposed; but in a future war, when thousands of A- and H-bombs might be exploded almost simultaneously, whole countries or whole continents are likely to be affected, and the genetic consequences of such mass exposure may well prove disastrous. A widespread increase in the rate of mutations, however slight, could throw out of gear the mechanism of evolution by which species are evolved and maintained in nature. It is a delayed, insidious damage, and it may take hundreds of generations for its fatal results to become apparent. Experimental study of such slow, cumulative effects is practically impossible, except on short-lived lower organisms, which are often less sensitive to radiation than higher animals. That is why geneticists cannot predict exactly what a certain radioactive contamination of air or water will do to humans or to other higher animals, but the best qualified among them take a very sombre view. In fact, some geneticists are worried about the genetic consequences of even the slight, transient increase in radioactivity which has been noted over wide areas after A- or H-bomb tests.

Thus, within ten years from their discovery, nuclear weapons have developed into an immediate threat to hundreds of millions of human lives and to our whole material civilization and they have become a potential menace to the biological future of the human race.

Military and civil defense against atomic warfare includes (1) the threat of retaliation, (2) early warning, and interception of bomb carriers, (3) evacuation of cities in the path of the attack, and (4) reduction of vulnerability by peacetime dispersal of population and industry.

The H-Bomb as a Shield

The hydrogen bomb as an incentive for peace has become the theme even for the higher clergy in Britain. The same argument obtains currency on the other side too, as will be seen in the extracts given below:

Writing on the subject of atomic warfare, the *Yorkshire Post* (March 17) says: "Possession of the hydrogen bomb was yesterday acknowledged by the Archbishop of York, speaking in the House of Lords, as the one possible way of preserving peace in the years ahead. He was answering the many people who have written to him asking for the prohibition of the bomb. Wisely, he pointed out that for Britain alone to give up nuclear weapons would be no solution to the question of world peace; it would merely be inviting aggression and letting down the other nations which rely on us."

"The Archbishop's speech should set the seal on the nation's determination to go ahead with nuclear deterrents. While we are fearful of the effects of nuclear warfare, we are all the more likely to make greater efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement. The solution can only be world disarmament—as the Archbishop said, the production of the hydrogen bomb must be a shield for the work of peacemaking."

"But the shield is vital. Russia will not commit aggression unless she can be sure that retribution will not follow. Armed as we are, we stand the risk of annihilation in a worldwide struggle. But if we were unarmed and neutral, occupation would be much more of a risk. We must do everything in our power to bring home to the Russians what horrors might follow from war; and to assure them of our ardent desire to avoid such horrors."

The *Manchester Guardian* (March 17) draws attention to the difference between what the Russian Government is saying to its people at home on the subject of disarmament and atomic warfare, and what it says to foreign audiences.

"Thus *Pravda* said last week: 'Imperialists may attempt to blackmail peace-loving peoples with atomic bombs, but they cannot alter the course of history. Peoples have been, and are, the main force in history. It is they who have decided in the past, and will decide in the future, the fate of progress, the fate of civilisation. Assertions about the possibility of the destruction of the world, of civilisation, if the imperialists unleash a third world war are theoretically erroneous and politically harmful. . . . If the imperialists succeed in unleashing a third world war then the result will be the destruction not of world civilisation but of the capitalist system.'

"This stand is in contrast with a broadcast from Russia in the foreign language services last week by the Minister of Culture, who addressed herself to 'mothers and grandmothers everywhere'.

"Not a single country, not a single town, not a single island can be called safe in a future war. If war starts, every part of the world will be vulnerable, every life in danger. Those who want to let war loose are those who want to atom-bomb Moscow. But even if the first bomb does fall on the capital of our country, who can say where the second bomb will fall, and the third and fifth?"

Formosa and U.S.A.

The *Worldover Press* commentators, Devere and Marie Allen, gave the following summary about the reactions in U.S.A. and abroad to President Eisenhower's message on Formosa, on the 24th of January. Now that the acuteness of the crisis is somewhat slackened, the reactions noted can be considered as they gave a good indication of the temper of the people involved:

"Senator Knowland was at first elated; later he grew angry. In epitome, this symbolized the transition of events from President Eisenhower's January 24th message on Formosa to United Nations efforts for a cease-fire."

The overwhelming support received by the President in Congress was hailed in some quarters as proof of popular unity. The truth is that the House voted so precipitately, like panicky sheep, that few Members comprehended the resolution they were backing. In the Senate, most who voted Aye did so with troubled minds. The American people were anxious and bewildered, but wistfully inclined to trust the Great White Father in Washington. The rest of the world's peoples—as shown by innumerable sources—were apprehensive if not downright hostile. It was realized by many that crucial questions remained to be asked and answered. Some, but not all, had been put courageously on the Senate floor.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

The President emphasized "our readiness to fight if necessary," but he also said, "Our purpose is peace." If it was a peace message, it got the strangest reception in history. At once, every full-throated jingo in the land began boasting of America's mission to set the world straight by force, and the power of the U.S. to win a war anywhere on the planet. Every weapon in the arsenal was trotted out for verbal display, from poison gases to a new device with three times the destructiveness of the H-bomb. Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles did little to counteract this spate of bellicosity except, respectively to drive for the golf green and go fish.

Peace moves had actually been made, however, but behind the scenes. To the superficial eye it looked as if Sir Anthony Eden, with assistance from Prime Minister Nehru and Commonwealth spokesmen, was taking the initiative. He was moving with Washington's approval, but there was more to it than that. The State Department, off the record, had outlined specific proposals for Eden to transmit to Peking. The gist of them was this: the U.S. to evacuate the Nationalist-held coastal islands, except Quemoy and the Matsus, over which there was strong disagreement, and restrain Chiang Kai-shek from attacks on the mainland or islands; Red China to forgo any attack on Formosa or the Pescadores, and refrain from building up offensive bases on the islands it gained.

But why the sudden crisis? Communist China, true, had done little to encourage a peaceful solution. Its virulence on the radio and in its newspapers—all tightly controlled—had outdone the wildest U.S. ex-

cesses, and gone far beyond those of Moscow. But this was old stuff, after all. It had shelled Quemoy; but Quemoy, on its doorstep, was a Nationalist base for constant air raids and naval action against Communist shipping. It had captured tiny Yikiang, but this was 240 miles off in the Tachens, which the U.S. was willing to abandon. In May, 1950, Chiang yielded the Chusan Islands near Yikiang, located strategically at the mouth of the Yangtze, without a ripple of excitement anywhere. Peking continually threatened to take Formosa, but it had never ceased such threats since 1949. Its air force had become more powerful, but not once had it bombed Formosa, though it could have damaged the island heavily with a minimum loss of planes. The attitude of Red China has been annoying and at times inexcusable, but that alone provides no answer to the question, "Why the sudden crisis?"

The crisis arose in the United States itself. It had three main sources:

1. There exists in the U.S. a pro-war minority, determined and powerful, which some Democrats follow but which is in the President's own party and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (General Ridgway excepted). The President wanted peace, but could work for it, he thought, only by methods which would appease this trigger-happy group.

2. Often stirred by idealism, the President reverted to his long military experience when pressures get hot enough. This time the argument that a great show of armed might would impress Red China and Asia in general came directly and vigorously from Secretary Dulles.

3. The military had one long-range influential view. If the status quo went on too long, with Chiang's soldiers growing old and Formosan morale weakening, American troops on Formosa might be a necessity. Such an outcome would prejudice American chances of avoiding charges by its allies of "open military imperialism."

Is it safe to leave the key decision to Mr. Eisenhower? Congress has so voted; but it may come to have regrets. The President has made a pledge that he alone will ever give the signal for attacking Quemoy or bombing the mainland. This is supposed to mean he will not let the nation become embroiled in a major war through the rashness of a Commander on the scene. The President's integrity is beyond dispute. In the midst of a crisis, nevertheless, he often wavers. He almost agreed not to issue his message when appealed to by important Congressional leaders fearful of its results; but he allowed Admiral Radford to over-rule them and even made the message tougher.

The President can hardly arrive at such a decision "alone." If and when he makes it, he will have at his elbow, and will have to consult, both Admiral Radford as Chairman, J.C.S., and the National Security Council. They will carry tremendous weight. In November, Admirals Radford and Carney all but had the U.S.

committed to a blockade of Red China, an outright act of war; Dulles and Eisenhower at the eleventh hour pulled back. The previous September, the Joint Chiefs of Staff all but got the country into war over naval action against Quemoy, but General Ridgway finally persuaded the President to drop it. Earlier, in April, Vice President Nixon, Senator Knowland and Admiral Radford all but had the U.S. sending carrier-based bombers over Indo-China, but Ridgway was opposed and Britain stepped in to say flatly, No. Each time the President belatedly stood for peace, but each time he wavered, and almost did not.

Is the United States on solid legal ground? As it stands after the Congressional resolution, it is not. Chapter I, Article 4 of the U.N. Charter says that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity...of any state." The *New York Times* was quick to point out in January, 1950, when Formosa was a grave problem, "By the Charter of the United Nations...the United States is committed against investing and defending unilaterally the territory of any other people where factional strife exists, as in China...." More recently, the *London Observer* echoed this warning. We have lost our caution about that, and rather astonishingly about something else. For on January 5, 1950, the *Times'* Arthur Krock declared: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that, lying one hundred miles of the mainland of China, Formosa in unfriendly Chinese hands is not vital to our strategic line from the Philippines to Japan."

Formosa was wrested away from Japan in war, and if it were not for two events, the U.S. would hold it legally as war booty. First, by the wartime Cairo Declaration it was ceded to "the Republic of China." What is "the Republic of China" now? Is it Chiang's regime, or that of the Communists? When the U.S. handed it to Chiang, its status was "frozen" pending a Japanese Peace Treaty. But, second, when that treaty was signed, the issue was evaded, the pact stating it "merely takes Japan formally out of the Formosa picture, leaving the position otherwise unchanged." The powers signing did so not as Members of the U.N.; the U.N. has given no authorization for U.S. actions regarding Formosa.

WILL THERE BE WAR?

This query, tossed at us constantly since January 24th, can be answered only by prophecy, and resolutely we never predict. Given all the circumstances, peace is a long shot. It is a fair guess that Peking will yield neither gracefully nor at once to appeals couched in the language of an ultimatum, even if urged by Moscow. There may be some sharp fighting in Formosa Straits. It will not lead to World War III, however, if the American people and President keep their heads. Russian troops are a thousand miles away, and we doubt if Russia will send substantial naval support should the combat be restricted to clashes in coastal

waters. If American forces attack the mainland by sea or air, however, whatever the reason, Russia will have difficulty in finding a plausible excuse for ignoring its mutual defense treaty with the Communist Chinese People's Republic.

Whether there is limited fighting depends chiefly, now, on the Red Chinese leaders. Whether there is a major war depends chiefly, now, on the degree of influence wielded at Washington by the war party and its central figure, Admiral Arthur William Radford.

Have the Red Chinese an Alternative to War or Loss of Face? They are wedded to a philosophy of dictatorship and force, and they yearn to play a role in the world commensurate with their enormous population. Yet they have shown some minimal signs of compromise internally, and at Geneva in negotiations over the Indo-China War. If they had the vision, they could gain immense prestige, win admission to the U.N., and speed the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek. They would first have to accept the Tachens without a display of arms. They would have to let Formosa's status continue until they had won more influence in the U.N.

They could drop a pacific bombshell in the U.N., especially, by coming to it under Chapter VI, Article 35, Section 2 of the Charter:

"A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the Security Council or to the General Assembly any dispute to which it is party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter."

What can the United Nations do in the crisis? Tactfully, the New Zealand bid for an invitation to Red China sought to avoid a veto. It kept the question of Red China's coming for discussions on the procedural level. A cease-fire wasn't even mentioned. It spoke of talking over "hostilities in the area of certain islands off the coast of the mainland of China." Should the Chinese come, there might very well be fruitful negotiations, backstage, as there were at Geneva. The open debates would follow the conventional patterns, and for a time, disguise anything hopeful going on behind them."

East Germany Defence Pact

After the ratification by France of the pact for the West German rearmament pact Moscow's reaction is indicated by the following news-item:

Berlin, March 28.—The West Berlin radio "Free Berlin" said today eight Communist nations including East Germany would sign a formal military aid pact immediately after Easter.

The pact would be concluded at an 8-Power conference in Moscow at that time, it said.

The official East German Communist Press said the weekend vote for West German rearmament in the French Council of the Republic has made the immediate execution of "security measures" necessary.

An article in *Neues Deutschland*, the chief Communist Party paper yesterday on "the new situation and

what it demands of us" was reprinted in full today in other East German papers.

Its salient points were

(1) A reunion of Germany is possible only if the Paris agreements are cancelled.

(2) There must be an unremitting campaign of propaganda and active resistance against West German rearmament.

(3) The campaign for all-German talks at all levels and in all spheres must be continued with emphasis.

(4) Recruiting for the armed forces and voluntary military training of workers and youths must be intensified.

(5) The East German economy and political stability must be strengthened.

Western Allied officials here believed this meant no attempt would be made to build up a permanent military force rivalling the half million Army envisaged for West Germany because of the disastrous effect this would have on the already severe labour shortage in agriculture and industry.

U.S. Far-Eastern Policy

Recently in connection with the Bangkok Conference of SEADO powers, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles undertook an extensive tour of South-Eastern Asian countries. Mr. Dulles and his party visited Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Southern Vietnam, the Philippines and Formosa, in addition to participating in the Bangkok conference. Besides, he attended a conference in Manila of U.S. diplomats stationed in 15 countries of the Far East.

After his return to the U.S.A. at the conclusion of his South-Asian tour, Mr. Dulles gave a report of his trip over the radio on March 8 outlining the policy, the U.S. Government proposed to follow in that region.

Referring to the Manila Pact, Mr. Dulles said that the Pact had three main purposes: "first, defence against armed aggression; second, defence against subversion; and third, the improvement of economic and social conditions."

For military defence the U.S.A. would "rely largely upon mobile allied power which can strike an aggressor wherever the occasion may demand." The U.S. contributions would be primarily in terms of sea and air power. The allied nations possessed together plenty of power in the area. The United States in particular had sea and air forces "now equipped with new and powerful weapons of precision, which can utterly destroy military targets without endangering unrelated civilian centres." The SEADO Council had concluded that "the available military power offered solid hope of deterring open armed aggression against the treaty area." The military advisers of the SEADO powers in Bangkok had started their work together in order to "bring our power to a concerted pitch;" and

out of those meetings might come plans for combined military exercises.

The SEADO Council did not intend to build up vast new military establishments. Nevertheless there was need of modest national forces which were well-equipped and loyal, capable of supporting the authority of the government throughout its territory. But some of the countries were not in a position to shoulder the economic burden of even these limited forces. So defence assistance would be necessary. The U.S.A. would accord special recognition to the needs of those countries which assumed military obligations with her, Mr. Dulles said.

The problem of economic development in general went beyond the immediate treaty area which could in no way be regarded as a self-sufficient economic unit. The great bulk of its trade was with outside areas. "There is need for programmes to develop broadly the economic possibilities of all the free Asian countries. The treaty nations will study their problems from this viewpoint," Mr. Dulles added.

He proceeded on to refer to his visit to Taiwan (Formosa) where he had exchanged the instruments of ratification which officially had brought into force the mutual defence treaty between the Government of Chiang Kai-shek and that of the U.S.A. covering Formosa and the Pescadores. The first meeting of consultation under Article IV of the treaty had been held in the presence of Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval operations and Admiral Stump, U. S. Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific.

He said that politically it had been decided to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. "However, the law permits a defence which will be flexible and not necessarily confined to a static defence of Formosa and the Pescadores themselves." The implementation of the flexible defence, Mr. Dulles continued, would be decided by the U.S. President having due regard to the consultations provided for by the mutual defence treaty.

U.S. Economic Aid Policy in Asia

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration of the Government of the United States of America, announced on March 17 that the administration, in complete agreement with the Executive branch of the Government, would propose to the Congress a \$2140,500,000 aid program for Asia in April next. The ultimate quantity of the proposed aid would however be decided by the Congress. The aid would be distributed in the following manner:

\$675,500,000 for military items and training;
\$550 million for direct forces support; and
\$915 million for all other programmes.

The following countries would be eligible to receive aid under the proposed programme: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Thai-

land, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, the Philippines, Formosa, South Korea and Japan.

Mr. Stassen said that the proposed Asian aid programme would constitute substantially more than half of the total mutual security programme outlined in President Eisenhower's budget message in January last. At that time the President had proposed a total programme of 3,530,000,000 dollars, to be divided as follows:

\$1,400 million for military items and training;
\$630 million for direct forces support; and
\$1,500 million for all other programmes.

The proposed programme, Mr. Stassen added, was in line with the findings of the group of U. S. officials—himself included—who had made a recent trip to Asia to discuss aid plans with Asian leaders.

The Asian countries likely to benefit from the programme now had a gross output of 65,000 million to 70,000 million U.S. dollars. According to Mr. Stassen, that gross output could be advanced to between \$85,000 million and \$90,000 million in about eight years—assuming an adequate food supply and the existence of peace.

The aid would, to quote him, be "related to the situation in each country." Japan would have an "important part to play" in the proposed Asian aid programmes. Emphasis would be given a technical assistance and loans rather than on outright grants. Industrialisation of the Asian countries should be helped by private capital from the United States and other countries.

It may be pointed out in this connection that U.S. net private investment in South and South-East Asia had averaged only \$12 million a year in the nine post-war years.

The United States expenditure on foreign aid since World War II totalled about 50,000 million U.S. dollars.

The U. S. Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Robert D. Murphy, said in course of a speech at the opening of the Fourth International Trade Fair in the Pacific Coast City on March 11, that the United States Government was giving intensive study of the principles of an economic aid programme for the non-Communist countries of Asia.

Mr. Murphy listed the types of economic aid under three main headings. First, there was the broad problem of economic development common to all countries of the area. Co-operation in this problem might well be considered within the framework of the Colombo Plan or other plans which might be worked out in the future. Secondly, there were technical assistance programmes, which the U.S. Government wanted to be expanded and continued. Thirdly, there were the special economic needs arising from collective defence which the U.S. Government readily recognized. The U.S. Congress had classified

aid under defence heading into three categories: (a) mutual defence assistance programmes; (b) direct forces support; and (c) defence support. "The degree to which we would grant direct support for military forces and for general defence purposes would depend on the circumstances prevailing in the individual country," Mr. Murphy added.

\$45 Million U.S. Loan to India

A simultaneous announcement was made in New Delhi and Washington on March 22 about the grant of 45 million dollar loan to India by the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration. The loan was part of the \$60.5 million assistance programme for India for the U.S. fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and was the largest negotiated so far under provisions of the U.S. Mutual Security Act.

According to a FOA note, a total of \$260,100,000 in U.S. aid had been made available in support of India's own development programme.

U.S. Foreign Aid

There is another side to U.S. aid, as the *World-over Press* commentator points out. We quote:

"The woman was grumbling amiably about high taxes as she served up the hamburger and coffee. 'I'll tell you what we've got to do,' she remarked, absently pushing the sugar away from me instead of nearer, 'we've got to stop sending all our money abroad to help the foreign countries.' 'Hey, take it easy,' I advised her: 'do you want to have us go broke?' It was an exaggeration, but it startled her into a new look at the basis of foreign aid. Before I left, I filled her up with facts and figures, which next day I found were far too conservative."

The foreign operations administration, right on the heels of the lunch-counter discussion, came out with statistics even more startling than any I would dare have used. I see no reason to question them. The F.O.A. points out that three-quarters of all the money spent on foreign aid goes directly into orders for American goods and farm products, or into ocean freight paid to vessels flying the U.S. flag. Take the fiscal year 1954. Out of \$4,900,000,000 spent on foreign aid, 76 per cent of it, or \$3,700,000,000 was spent directly in the United States.

That is not the whole story. A fourth of all U.S. exports were financed by foreign aid expenditures, and the F.O.A. financed 17 per cent of American agricultural exports. Critics of the U.S. will now be able to chuckle and say that behind American foreign aid is nothing but self-interest. It's hardly that, but any idea that Washington is just pouring money out to "them foreigners" without any return for itself belongs with all the other myths."

Pakistan Government Wins

Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, the Speaker of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had challenged the

Governor-General of Pakistan's order, dissolving the Constituent Assembly. He has lost in the final appeal, as the sub-joined news shows:

Lahore, March 21.—The Federal Court of Pakistan, by a majority of four to one, today accepted the appeal filed by the Government of Pakistan against the decision of the Sind Chief Court on the petition of Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, challenging the Governor-General's proclamation of October 24 last dissolving the Constituent Assembly.

The court set aside the judgment of the Sind Chief Court and recalled the writs of mandamus and quo warranto issued by that court. The Federal Court ordered the parties to the appeal to bear their own costs.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Mohammad Munir, and three other judges, Mr. Justice Akram, Mr. Justice Shaif, and Mr. Justice Rehman gave a concurring judgment. Mr. Justice Cornelius held to the contrary.

The Chief Justice, delivering judgment at the conclusion of arguments by Mr. Chundrigar, Senior Counsel for Maulvi Tamizuddin, said: "The Court holds that when the Constituent Assembly functions under Section 8, Sub-Section 1 of the Independence Act, it acts as the Legislature of the Dominion within the meaning of Section 6, and that Section 6 Sub-Section 3 makes the Governor-General the constituent part of the Legislature. Therefore, because Assent in Section 223 (A) of the Government of India Act was not given by the Governor-General, it is not law and the Section had no jurisdiction to issue writs. The appeal is accepted."

Continuing, the Chief Justice said that authentication was not assent. If it were to be held that the Governor-General was the constituent part of the Constituent Assembly, then his consent would be necessary. The point was whether Section 6 Sub-Section 3 made the Governor-General a component part of the Constituent Assembly. If that was so, it would make his assent necessary.

"Emergency" in Pakistan

The decision of the Federal Court of Pakistan, for the Governor-General's order, has resulted in the proclamation detailed in the news subjoined below. It is likely to have far-reaching repercussions we believe:

Karachi, March 27.—The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, to-night proclaimed a state of emergency throughout the country.

Under an Ordinance issued by him, the Governor-General has assumed powers to constitute different provinces in West Pakistan into one unit and rename East Bengal as province of East Pakistan.

The Ordinance also vested the Governor-General with powers to take all necessary steps for the purpose of framing a constitution for Pakistan.

The Governor-General also validated by the Ordinance 35 Acts including the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case

Tribunal Act passed by the Constituent Assembly which had been rendered infructuous for lack of Governor-General's assent following the Federal Court's judgment of March 21.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammed recently survived a court challenge to his action last October in dissolving the Constituent Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. Last Monday the Pakistan Federal Court upheld his right to do this reversing the decision of a lower court.

The Ordinance authorised the Governor-General to authenticate the Federal Budget for 1955-56 in the absence of Parliament which was dissolved by him through a proclamation on October 24 last.

The new province of West Pakistan shall formally come into being as early as possible and in any case by the end of May this year, an official communique said.

An order has been issued by the Governor-General under the Ordinance amending Government of India Act 1955 investing the Council for the Administration of West Pakistan with powers to take whatever steps it considers necessary to set up the administration of the new province within that time.

The communique said that the Central Government had also examined and approved in principle the recommendations relevant to the creation of the new province (West Pakistan), contained in the report which the Council submitted last month.

Salient decisions of the Council approved by the Central Government are:

(1) The capital of the new province should be located at Lahore and that a suitable site in the Abbottabad area in N.W.F.P. should be developed as its summer capital as soon as possible.

(2) At the headquarters of the new Governor will be located the Governor, the Cabinet, the Legislature, and a single Secretariat in replacement of the present several Governors, Cabinets, Legislatures and separate Secretariats.

The new Secretariat will be a compact organisation. Its function will be to help Ministers in enunciating and formulating policies.

(3) The administration of all areas in West Pakistan at present directly administered by the Central Government including the Tribal areas and Karachi, with the exception of the Federal area in which the Centre's writ will run supreme, will vest in the new Provincial Government. No change, however, is contemplated in the present system of administration in the tribal areas.

The Province of West Pakistan shall consist of areas of the provinces of Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan, Karachi, States of Bahawalpur and Khairpur, Bahawalpur States Union and Tribal areas.

(4) The new province will have 50 districts grouped into 11 Divisions. The Divisions are Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan,

Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Quetta, Kalat and Karachi.

(5) The Commissioner will be the administrative head of each Division. He will be given more extensive powers than the Commissioner now exercises. He will be the final appellate authority in revenue appeals except when on a point of law in a case where the original order has been passed by a Collector, the appeal will lie to the Board of Revenue which will replace the present Financial Commissioners.

The Commissioner will also be invested with powers of revision in all revenue cases decided by officers subordinate to him. He will exercise general supervision and control over the business of all departments serving in his Division and will co-ordinate their work with a view to maintaining a high level of administration.

(6) There will be one High Court for West Pakistan. The seat of this court will be at Lahore with two benches functioning throughout the year at Peshawar and Karachi. Apart from this, Circuits will also function at different times of the year at centres other than Peshawar and Karachi to deal with arrears, special cases or civil or criminal appeals.

The Circuit Judge or Judges will sit at Divisional or District Headquarters.

As regards District Courts subordinate to the High Court, they will continue to function as at present.

The communique said that the intention of Government was to replace the existing separate cumbersome administration which today functioned in West Pakistan by one administration so fashioned as to meet the needs of the people not only more economically but also more effectively than was the case at present.

The work so far done in connection with the setting up of one provincial Government for West Pakistan had not only been "very heavy but also quite unprecedented," it said.

The communique said: "In a vast change such as this, there are bound to be initial difficulties but the Central Government have confidence that public leaders, Government officials and public themselves will do everything possible to ensure that the foundations of the new province are well and truly laid so that West Pakistan is firmly set on the road to rapid progress and the evils of provincialism are banished for ever to the lasting benefit of the nation as a whole."

Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan

Considerable progress is reported to have been made in the excavation of the Buddhist monastery at Mainamati, near Comilla in East Pakistan, which had been in progress for over two and a half months.

Dr. Fazal Ahmad Khan, who was directing the operations, is reported to have told the Dacca representative of Radio Pakistan that excavations carried out so far showed the monastery was a very big one and it would take them another two winter seasons to uncover the whole of the monastery and the stupa.

According to Dr. Khan, so far they had uncovered the 174-feet long brick-paved 'approach road' leading to the monastery and the stupa, the main gateway to the stupa with a 74-feet wide frontage, a small chamber in the entrance hall of the stupa, the top plan of the stupa and fourteen cells of monks. It had also been possible to uncover 350 feet of the outer wall of the monastery on the western side. The northern wall had been uncovered in places. The work of uncovering the entrance hall of the stupa was now in progress. The hall, when completely uncovered, would measure 33 feet by 33 feet. The brick masonry of the gateway was found to be in a very good state of preservation with visible traces of later repairs.

Dr. Khan reported the yield of valuable finds in the shape of terracotta plaques—excellent specimens of folk art depicting subjects like a lotus flower, a fish, a well-built horse, a wild boar, a seated buffalo with twisted horses, a lion in a hunting posture and female dancers. Those plaques had confirmed their earlier estimate that the remains related to the period between 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D. inasmuch as they depicted animal and plant forms which the early Buddhists did not accept. They represented a later period when the Buddhist and the Hindu elements had got mixed up together.

World's First Transocean Telephone

USIS reports that early this summer, when the Atlantic Ocean was at its calmest, work would begin for laying the world's first trans-ocean telephone cable in the history of world communications. The work of laying the 2300-mile cable linking Europe (Great Britain) and North America (Newfoundland), to be completed by mid-1956, would be done by the largest cable ship in the world, the British Post Office ship H.M.T.S. *Monarch*.

There were already a number of cables across the Atlantic Ocean carrying telegraphic communications. The first successful telegraph cable was laid in 1866. The largest deep-sea telephone line in existence was only about 120 miles long stretching on the ocean-floor from the south-easternmost tip of the United States at Key West, Florida, to Havana, Cuba.

The new trans-Atlantic cable would be jointly owned by the British Post Office, the Canadian Overseas Telecommunication Corporation, and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, a private U. S. Company. The total cost would be about thirty-five million U.S. dollars.

The technical obstacles to the proposed trans-oceanic cable, the dream of engineers for 25 years, were solved only in 1953. The chief problem was the development of repeater vacuum tubes that could withstand heavy stress and pressure, endure many years, and fit into a 1½ inch cable. Another problem,

now successfully overcome was the construction of a light-weight cable strong enough to endure for years.

Photosynthesis as Food Source

Scientists have at last been successful in achieving complete photo-synthesis outside of living plant cells, i.e., in making food the way plants do. Photo-synthesis, characterised by scientists as the most important chemical action in the world and the basis of all life, is the process by which plants use sunlight to make carbohydrates from carbon dioxide, water and soil minerals.

The achievement of artificial photo-synthesis was recently announced by Dr. Daniel I. Arnon on behalf of a group of plant physiologists of California University before a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, reports the *USIS*.

Dr. Arnon said that the achievement though a preliminary, "brings nearer the day when man, after mastering the secrets of the processes in green cells, will reduce his age-long dependence on crop plants for food and energy."

"Socialistic Pattern of Society"

We append the following from the *Harijan* for the benefit of our readers. Personally we do not think that the clarification attempted therein has improved matters in any way:

Ever since the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress adopted the important resolution on the Socialistic Pattern of Society, Congress workers as well as others interested in economic planning are, naturally, asking the question: "What is exactly meant by the 'Socialistic Pattern'?"

The study of the Avadi resolutions, the objectives of the Congress Constitution, and the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution enables us to form a fairly comprehensive idea of what is exactly meant by a Socialistic Pattern of Society. I would summarize the contents of a socialistic pattern in the following terms:

(a) The basic objective of a Socialistic Pattern of Society would be the establishment of social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and political justice;

(b) Such a society would do away with all distinctions of caste, creed, sex or social and economic status and would ensure the right to work and a living wage to all able-bodied citizens. In other words, a Socialistic Pattern of Society would create conditions for full employment;

(c) The State shall own or effectively control the principal means of production and material resources of the community in the best interests of the nation;

(d) The society shall organize economic system in such a manner that it does not result in the concen-

tration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(e) Systematic attempts are made to increase and speed up the total production of wealth in the country;

(f) It is also necessary that there should be equitable distribution of the national wealth and the existing economic disparities are reduced to the minimum;

(g) Such a transformation of the social and economic order must be brought about through peaceful and democratic methods;

(h) A socialistic pattern of society would necessitate a bold decentralization of economic and political power in the form of Village Panchayats and the organization of small-scale and cottage industries on a very wide scale.

It will not, however, be right to interpret Congress economic policy in a very rigid and dogmatic fashion. Our approach is basically a pragmatic and not a doctrinaire one. The broad objective of our policy is, indeed, quite clear and unmistakable. But it is dynamic and not a fixed and a static policy.

The basic objectives of full employment, maximum production and social and economic justice can be achieved in our country in a certain manner under the existing circumstances. A change in the economic conditions would necessarily mean certain changes in our methods and programmes. This policy is, more or less, based on the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. The Socialistic Pattern of Society is broadly based on Sarvodaya. The Congress has, however, not used the word 'Sarvodaya,' because it has no desire to exploit this noble word for political purposes. But it is quite clear that the Congress sincerely desires to pursue the ideal of Sarvodaya as best as it can under the existing circumstances.

The "Socialistic Pattern" does not in any way imply the establishment of a highly centralized and regimented society. Socialism, as it is generally understood in the West, is, therefore, not our cherished goal. A centralized economic order based on large-scale production necessarily generates forces of violence and class conflict. The Congress is wedded to the methods of peace, democracy and non-violence and would firmly resist all attempts to create a totalitarian or authoritarian society in this country.

Andhra Elections

The Congress Party has secured an absolute majority in the first-general elections held in Andhra after the inauguration of the State on October 1, 1953. The new Government headed by the Congress leader, Shri B. Gopala Reddi will take office on or about March 28. The first government of Andhra which was headed by Shri T. Prakasham, it may be remembered, fell on November 6, 1954, the State Legislature having passed a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry on the prohibition issue.

The strength of the new Assembly would be 196 while the previous one was constituted by 140 members. The relative strength of the various parties in the new legislature was: United Congress Front (consisting of the Congress, the Krishikar Lok Party headed by Prof. N. G. Ranga, and the Praja Party headed by Shri Tenneti Vishwanathan) 146, Communists 15, P.S.P. 13, Independent 22. The composition of the old (140-member) Assembly was: Congress 53, Communists 46, Krishikar Lok Party 16, Praja Socialists 12 and Independent 13.

There were 573 candidates in all for the 193 contested seats in the new Andhra State Assembly. Three Congress candidates were returned unopposed. The United Congress Front contested 185 seats (Congress 134, Krishikar Lok Party 37, Praja Party 14); the Communists 169, Praja Socialists 45 and the Jan Sangh 6. There were 175 independent contestants.

According to PTI, the result was as follows:

Seats—196				
Electorate—11,568,659				
Votes polled—8,630,311.				
Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Deposits lost	Total votes polled
United Congress Front	188	146	5	4265814
Communists	169	15	18	2695562
P.S.P.	25	13	16	482825
Independents	162	22	102	1173745
Jan Sangh	6	Nil	6	8164
Invalid votes	—	—	—	4201

Analysing the results of the elections in Andhra the *Statesman's* special representative in Delhi points out that the small number of seats won by the Communist Party did not show the real picture of the relative strength of the party. Significantly the Communist Party recorded an increase of nearly 100 per cent in its vote since 1952 when their total had not exceeded 1.4 million.

"On the other hand, against the 3.9 million votes in 1952 cast in favour of the three competing non-Communist parties, now coalesced into the United Congress Front, only 4.3 million votes fell to their share in the recent election, showing that a much smaller proportion of the voters have veered round to the Congress coalition point of view during the last three years."

Though the Praja Socialist Party somewhat increased its numerical strength in the Assembly the total number of votes cast in its favour had remained unchanged at 0.5 million, unlike other parties which had increased their totals—thus indicating a possible tendency at stagnation of the party.

The Independents, though gaining in number of seats, showed a decline in votes cast in their favour. Their total number of votes declined from 1.5 million in 1952 to 1.2 million.

The utter defeat of the Jan Sangh candidates and the small number of votes cast in their favour would seem to indicate a rejection by Andhra voters of the parties of the extreme right.

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the results of the elections in Andhra writes on March 12 that the results of the elections were more sensationalized than they are really sensational. Thanks to the Communists anti-Communists and the Press, an impression had been created that a deliverance or a disaster—according to taste—depended on the issue of the elections. Referring to the repeated and confident prophesies of win made by the Communist Party before the elections the newspaper notes that perhaps such over-confidence, especially the unwise parading of it, had cost it some seats at least in so much as that had spurred their opponents to that extra bit of effort that tipped the scales.

The newspaper is of the opinion that the results did not indicate any great change in the state of popular mind despite undisputed control of the legislature by the Congress.

Commenting on the outcome of the elections, the *New York Times* writes: "The result, of course, is extremely satisfactory to Western observers, who would like to see the difference between Nehru's Socialism and Moscow's Communism more sharply emphasised. Mr. Nehru has seemed to be expecting more from Moscow than common sense would justify. Here, at least, we find that the humblest voters in overcrowded and impoverished areas are able to tell the difference between a foreign conspiracy and what we take to be an honest attempt to improve the lot of the Indian people."

Popular Ministry in Andhra

Kurnool, March 28.—A popular Ministry assumed reins of Government in Andhra this morning ending four and half months' old President's rule in the State.

The eight-member Ministry of the United Congress Party, which swept the February elections winning 146 seats in the 196-member Assembly, is headed by the 48-year old Sri Bezwada Gopala Reddi.

The Ministry was sworn in two hours after President Dr. Rajendra Prasad had signed an order at 9 this morning in New Delhi revoking the proclamation of November 15 last enforcing President's rule in Andhra. The Governor of the State assumed administration of the State after the Prakasam Ministry fell on the issue of prohibition.

The Governor Sri C. M. Trivedi invited Sri Gopala Reddi to assist him in the formation of a Council of Ministers after he had been informed from New Delhi over the telephone the President's signing the order of revocation.

The seven other Ministers sworn in this morning are Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddi, Sri Kala Venkata Rao, Sri Gouthy Latchanna, Sri Kalluri Chandramouli, Sri D. Sanjiviah, Sri N. V. Rama Rao and Dr. A. B. Nageswara Rao.

India's Defence Policy

Pandit Nehru, the Premier, intervened in the debate on the Defence demands in the Lok Sabha on March 25 to announce certain measures of policy and organisation of India's defence.

Three basic considerations governed the Government of India's defence policy, said Shri Nehru:

"(i) Since it was purely defensive she was not concerned with long distance striking power, but only with regional defence;

"(ii) She had neither the capacity nor the intention to develop atomic weapons, but would rely on the conventional type; and

"(iii) She would prefer slightly inferior indigenously produced weapons to others for which she would have to depend on foreign countries."

The Prime Minister also announced a change in the designation of the heads of the three armed services. The designation of Commander-in-Chief would no longer be used by the heads of armed services. Instead they would henceforth continue to be known only by their alternate designations of Chief of the Army Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff and Chief of Air Staff. It was however made clear that the change of designation did not imply any reduction in the authority or status of the Chiefs of Staffs. The Prime Minister clearly indicated the intention of the Government gradually to develop defence councils for each service on the model of those in such other countries as Britain. He referred to the history of the use of the designation of Commander-in-Chief in India and said that it was no longer compatible with the democratic set-up. The designation was now used only for operational purposes.

It was also disclosed in the Prime Minister's speech that the present Indian Naval Chief would shortly be succeeded by another officer of the Royal Navy after which an Indian officer would be appointed to that post.

During the discussion on the budget demand for grants on defence totalling Rs. 224.9 crores, members criticized the paucity of information regarding India's defence organizations. Mr. Joachim Alva drew pointed attention to the contrast between the information given in the British White Papers on Defence and the statement of activities of the Defence Ministry provided to M.P.s. While the British Government provided detailed information regarding the strength, organisation and equipments of the British Army, the Indian Government kept the activities veiled under thick secrecy. Shri S. S. More said that the secrecy was pointless in view of the fact that most of the equipment was ordered from abroad. Ignorance con-

cerning the strength of India's Armed forces could only contribute to panic in case of emergency, he said.

A Congress member, Shri G. H. Deshpande complained that 26,000 acres of land near Deolali Cantonment, comprising 17 villages, had been requisitioned by the military authorities without paying compensation, reports the PTI. Pointing to the great hardship in which the villagers had been put, the member urged the Government to expediate payment of compensation to those affected.

Replying to the criticism about the purchase of outmoded ships for Indian navy he referred to the huge cost of new ships and said that the ships were being acquired for training purposes and not for warlike operations.

The Deputy Defence Minister, Shri Satish Chandra, said that Government was in full agreement with the views expressed by some members about the development of Defence industries in the country and assured them of the Government's serious efforts to make the country self-sufficient in Defence stores. Referring to the Indian Air Force, the Deputy Minister said that efforts were being made to "find a new type of aircraft." The Army was fairly modernized, he added.

Defence Policy Debate

We append the news-items containing the relevant debates below:

New Delhi, March 28.—Mr. Joachim Alva today brought out the main weakness of the Defence debate in the Lok Sabha when he drew attention to the lack of factual information on which members could base their speeches.

As a result, the debate could not but be uninformative. It was limited to vague suggestions concerning general policy and minor complaints, but there was none of the detailed analysis of Defence programme and their implementation expected on demands, which make up nearly half of the Central budget.

Attendance thinned steadily until it was necessary to ring the quorum bell early in the afternoon. Even after it had been rung, there were only 55 members in the House.

Mr. Alva contrasted the difference between the information given in the British White Papers on Defence and the statement on the activities of the Defence Ministry provided to M.P.s. The bulky White Papers gave a detailed picture of the strength of Britain's Armed Forces and their equipment, but the Defence Ministry's activities were surrounded by secrecy. Whereas, for instance, the I.A.F. had been dismissed in a little over two pages the British estimates devoted 250 pages to the R.A.F. Faults in their latest fighters were confessed and the subject debated frankly.

MINISTER'S DISCLOSURE

A speech by the Deputy Defence Minister, Mr. Satish Chandra, helped to prove Mr. Alva's point. His only disclosure about the I.A.F. was that "efforts are

being made to find a new type of aircraft." About the Army, "it will not be incorrect to say that the Army is fairly modernized." When a member tried to provoke him to say something about anti-aircraft gun policy, he avoided a discussion.

Mr. S. S. More said that secrecy about defence equipment and strength was pointless when most of the equipment was ordered from abroad. Ignorance concerning the strength of India's Armed Forces could only contribute to panic in case of an emergency.

The debate left a general impression of satisfaction with the quality of the Armed Forces with the accent on strengthening them by recruiting extensive reserves and developing industrial potential rather than on economy.

The ignorance, betrayed in some speeches, could not be excused by the plea of inadequate information. A member, for instance, climaxed his praise for the policy of nationalizing the Armed Forces by prophesying that the I.A.F. would soon have an India C-in-C.

New Delhi, March 28.—Not much progress has been made so far with the official plan, announced in Parliament by the Prime Minister last week, to set up Army, Navy and Air Force Councils, but the proposal has aroused much interest.

It is understood that the suggestion will not be implemented for some time, especially as a number of details remain to be settled before the British model can be adapted successfully to Indian conditions.

One conspicuous difference between the conditions prevailing in Britain and those in India is that this country does not have separate Ministers for the three Services, but only a single Defence Minister for all three.

While, the two Deputy Defence Ministers in India specialize in some departmental work concerning the Navy and the Air Force, they would not be regarded as senior enough to preside over separate Councils.

This difficulty will probably be surmounted by having the Defence Minister as President of all the three Councils, though a suggestion has been made that the Prime Minister should fill that role.

In Britain, the Army Council comprises the Minister of War, five military members—the C.I.G.S., his deputy, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General and the Director-General of Army Requirements—a finance member and a civil member.

India's nearest parallel to Service Councils is the Defence Minister's Committee, consisting of the Defence Minister, the three Service Chiefs, the Financial Adviser and the Defence Secretary.

Apparently the Defence Minister's Committee will be abolished when the three Service Councils are set up. Hitherto, this Committee has been valuable largely as a co-ordinating body without being very effective.

Again, the practice in the Defence Ministry so far has been for the Civil Secretariat to have overriding powers over Service matters, without necessarily bringing in the Defence Minister except at the stage of decision.

Thus the principal advantage of the proposed Service Council will be that consultation between the Minister and his senior officials will be direct and decisions speedier, with all concerned participating.

Although authority would be decentralized and business will be transacted more quickly, the Minister will still retain control, thereby taking away a great deal of responsibility both from the Secretariat and the Services.

As the Prime Minister said in Parliament, the new proposed system will lead to greater democratization to suit the country's changed conditions. Seen in terms of power distribution, the system will act both ways.

It is true that the C-in-C., will lose his title and, therefore, some of the conventional prestige that goes with it, especially in the eyes of the rank and file in the Services, who have always looked upon him as the highest executive head.

On the other hand, the Service Chiefs will gain some effective authority by being able to avoid delays over their proposals, which have been found inevitable in the existing Secretariat set-up.

Administrative Costs in Bombay

In course of reply to the debate in the Bombay Assembly on the General Administration demand for Rs. 54,414,200, the Chief Minister of the State, Shri Morarji Desai said on March 16 that maximum salaries of newly appointed higher officers would soon be brought down. In case of new appointments, the maximum would no more exceed Rs. 2,300 per month. The Chief Secretary of the State Government now drew the highest salary of Rs. 3,750 per month.

Under the proposed arrangement the highest paid officer, that is, the Chief Secretary would get Rs. 2,300 and other Secretaries Rs. 2,000 each. The maximum salary for other officers, including Collectors, would be Rs. 1,800 per month.

The disparity existing now between the highest and the lowest paid was about thirty-fold after deduction of income taxes from the salary of highly paid officers.

The Government had a mind to raise the salaries of lower servants. But success depended on the State's prosperity.

Madhya Pradesh P.W.D.

The *Hitavada* reports: "The Estimates Committee of the Vidhan Sabha, which presented its second report in regard to the working of the Public Works Department during 1953-54, has brought to light the sorry state of affairs prevailing in that Department, and has recommended a thorough probe into some of the works included in the budget of that year."

"The report, which deals with four grants to the Department, viz., Irrigation, Embankment, Drainage Works, Public Works Establishment and Tool and Plant and Civil Works, sounds a note of warning that, like the Agriculture Department, this Department has

also grown out of proportion and the pace of its expansion is so rapid that if it continued longer in the present haphazard manner, it would result in a crash."

The Committee noted that the Administration and Accounts of the Public Works Department were in a chaotic state. There was acute inadequacy of trained personnel as a result of which a number of persons had to be recruited from other States and unduly rapid promotions had been given some new and relatively inexperienced officers seriously impairing the efficiency of the Department. The practice of the same men being the Personal Assistant to the Chief Engineer and at the same time Under Secretary to the Government was condemned by the Committee because in its opinion, "This double capacity cannot be effective in the matter of administration, for either they will not be able to bring their mind to bear independently on the proposals or they will be criticising the decisions in the making of which they had a part." It was suggested that of the two Personal Assistants, the Chief Engineer should retain one as his wholtime Assistant and the other should be released to devote exclusively to Secretarial functions.

The Committee found that "the Sub-divisional headquarters of certain Sub-divisions are located outside such Sub-divisions."

Relating the "hopeless mess" in which the accounts had been found by the Committee, it gave an example when out of the total grant of Rs. 48,484,000 originally sanctioned there had been a saving of Rs. 19 lakhs and yet supplementary grants amounting to 48 lakhs had unnecessarily been obtained." The Committee held such a practice highly undesirable and said that if such supplementary grants had at all been "necessary on grounds of new service, token demand could have been obtained. The obtaining of supplementary grants in this way is most undesirable from a budgetary point of view."

The Committee further stated that while re-appropriation of funds had to be made in certain cases, "there must be some restrictions on re-appropriations so as to prevent re-appropriations taking the form of replacements."

There had been no accounting of the storage of tools and plants. The expenditure on tools and plants, as quoted by the Committee, had been as follows:

Year	Amount (in Rs.)
1948-49	2,636,400
1949-50	1,534,450
1950-51	1,417,966
1951-52	932,682
1952-53	1,377,990
1953-54	2,216,000 (estimated)

"All these figures," the Committee continued, "show that the expenditure on tools and plant is considerable and it is surprising that in spite of provision for check of tools and plant in the Manual,

there seems to be no supervision and check of the tools and plant in stock. This situation was bound to result in loss and wastage; and the department must take steps to institute proper check of tools and plant periodically."

The Committee further reported the fact that machinery worth lakhs of rupees had been purchased and also was being purchased practically every year by the department, though there was "no departmental work worth the name which is being carried out by these machines with the result that these machines are given on rent to the contractors. It is also understood that they lie idle for a major part of the year."

Despite the rules tenders had often been called without preparing an estimate. The Committee held the practice "highly undesirable as it is bound to result in giving unnecessary discretion to the officials concerned." The Committee therefore suggested a rigid conformity to the Rules.

The Committee also referred to a relatively new practice developed in the Public Works Department of giving works by negotiations and avoiding the calling of tenders. While feeling that the practice might be useful in certain special cases the Committee discouraged such a practice and said that it "should only remain as an exception and not as a rule."

The Committee also noticed that various departments had given contracts without the knowledge of the Public Works Department. "This practice becomes extremely objectionable especially when one particular firm is given several works by one particular department." The Committee suggested a strict check and supervision on such works.

"Atoms-for-Peace" Exhibition

The "Atoms-for-Peace" exhibition illustrating the peaceful uses of atomic energy was inaugurated in New Delhi on the 10th March by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Director of the National Physical Laboratory of India and member of Indian Atomic Energy Commission.

The exhibit had its premiere at the UN Headquarters in New York City on November 29, 1954, and had been shipped to India for showings under the auspices of the United States Information Service. The exhibition, after its showings in New Delhi, would tour over 50 Indian cities, towns and universities for continuous showings during the next two years.

A message from President Eisenhower, read at the inaugural ceremonies, described the exhibition as a symbol of mutual efforts made by India and the U.S.A. to advance human welfare and seek enduring peace. He added: "History will record unlocking of atom's boundless energy as one of man's greatest accomplishments. This achievement demands from men of goodwill determination that this new knowledge be used to serve ends of human progress, peace and freedom."

Inaugurating the exhibition Dr. K. S. Krishnan

referred to the change in the ideal of the scientists. Formerly scientists were least concerned with practical application of their theories. Today the picture was almost reversed. One was rather tempted almost to forget now-a-days the fundamental side of science, impressed by the remarkable usefulness of the applications and their contribution to a better way of life. However, one wished that at least in one branch of knowledge—concerning the release of enormous energies by fission of atomic nuclei—the scientist had better refrained from applying his knowledge. Owing to the tragic circumstances accompanying the first application of that knowledge, the subject evoked in people's minds "almost the same feelings which witchcraft might have evoked in an earlier age. The great secrecy incidental to such knowledge does not naturally conduce to a mitigation of those feelings."

Under such circumstances, continued Dr. Krishnan, the atomic scientists had some difficulty in rehabilitating themselves in the people's minds. Fortunately, there were immense potentialities for peacetime uses of atomic energy and it was very refreshing that great efforts were being made, "if not towards diverting all the energies of the atomic scientists to peacetime uses, at least towards shifting the emphasis in that direction." The current peaceful applications of atomic energy were already quite impressive "though the use of atomic power may not be round the corner, as many of us believe, it is definitely near it," Dr. Krishnan said.

The Indian Museum

Scholars of archaeology, art, ancient history, etc., would be relieved by the confirmation of the following news:

March, 28.—The proposal for shifting the Indian Museum from Calcutta to Delhi is being dropped, it is learnt.

The West Bengal Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy who met the Union Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on Monday conveyed to him the concern of the people of West Bengal over the reported move on the part of the Central Government to shift the museum which is one of the pride possessions of the State, it is understood.

Education in Bombay

The Bombay Government had completed investigations and prepared a plan to introduce free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years by 1960, in accordance with the directive of the constitution, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Making a statement to that effect in the Legislative Assembly, Shri Dinkarrao Desai said on March 15 that the Government intended to introduce compulsory free primary education in all villages with a population of 500 and more by June next. The scheme would then be extended to other villages.

The implementation of the constitutional directive regarding the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all children of schoolgoing age would require 15 to 20 crores of rupees. Shri Desai was confident of finding some way to get the money.

Turning to the question of the medium of instruction Shri Desai said that Government had no intention to interfere with the autonomous working of the universities in that regard.

The State Government aimed at starting at least one multi-purpose school in each district as soon as the plans for such schools were sanctioned by the Union Government.

Endeavours would be made by the Government to bring down the prices of text-books, Shri Desai went on, but parents who did not mind spending on luxuries like smoking should not grudge the cost of text-books.

Work of the State Enforcement

An unofficial account of the work done by the West Bengal State Enforcement Branch during the month of January, 1955, states that 3226 cases involving 4881 persons had been detected by the police during that period. 2337 of the cases related to the districts and 889 to Calcutta. The cases covered a wide range including contravention of various control orders, adulteration of foodstuff, short weights, violation of Vagrancy Act, rowdies, evasion of sales tax, sale and manufacture of spurious drugs and other miscellaneous matters.

In the districts 1161 shops, storage places and vehicles had been inspected in the course of which 492 samples of suspected stuff had been taken and sent for chemical analysis. 414 cases of possession of false weights or measures had been detected as a result of 1009 drives in that direction. In Calcutta, two such cases had been detected.

Enquiries undertaken into cases of evasion of sales tax and income tax numbered 134 and 24 instances had been reported to the Departments concerned. In Calcutta three arrests had been made in connection with evasion of sales tax.

A large quantity of mustard oil had been seized in Calcutta from a tank wagon at Railway siding and it was found adulterated on chemical analysis. A Depot Manager had been arrested. Two Directors of a firm in Calcutta had been put under arrest for having had attempted to cheat the Iron and Steel Directorate by false and fraudulent representation in respect of an export permit for scrap iron.

Out of 1986 cases disposed of in the districts, 1852 had ended in conviction. An amount of Rs. 19,626 had been realised as fines and the value of commodities confiscated had amounted to Rs. 12,892.

In Calcutta, 4154 persons had been convicted and an amount of Rs. 11,060 realised by way of fines.

INDIA TO AMERICA *

By G. L. MEHTA.
Ambassador of India to U.S.A.

THE object of this Foundation † is really something that is nearest to my heart. Not merely as an official representative of the Government of India to this country, but also as an ordinary citizen I feel strongly that a correct understanding between our two countries is a vital necessity of the day.

Dr. Das ‡ is not unknown to you any means, but long before I came to this country I had heard his name, having read in my younger days some of his articles in a well-known Indian journal, *The Modern Review*. I do not mean to imply that he is very much older than myself! Nevertheless, it was a great pleasure to meet him personally when I came to this country two years ago and I am sure all of you here, as we in India, appreciate the praiseworthy object for which he has established this Foundation.

The title of this talk, is "India to America." I hope you will not consider me facetious if I say that you should not expect me to start on a travelogue nor does the title signify a long distance call from India to America! It is, however, a call—a call from the largest democracy in the East to the largest democracy in the West, from one of the most ancient countries in the world to one of the most modern, from one of the undeveloped and poor areas to the richest and most powerful land. I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that on the relationship of these two countries depends the future of democracy. Economic development in Asia, and also peace in the world, hinge on this relationship.

"India to America" involves a greater knowledge of each other, more contacts, more understanding and more tolerance. It involves not merely better communications in the sense of frequent air services or a quicker means of information, although these are all necessary, but also a mind-to-mind link across the vast chasm of space. Nothing travels faster than thought, and great distances today are narrowed by free intercourse between the minds of men. It would be a tragedy, indeed, if with all the technical equipment available to us for intercommunication to-day, misunderstandings between nations should be greater than they were when it took long to travel from one country to the other and when it was difficult to communicate our views and feelings.

* Text of speech delivered at the Seventh Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture, McMillin Theatre, Columbia University, New York, on Monday, 13th December, 1955.

† Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture.

‡ Dr. Tarak Nath Das.

In a sense, India "created" America; for it was in seeking the spices and wealth of an old country that Columbus stumbled upon a new continent. Mark Twain, I think, said it was surprising that America was discovered by Columbus, but it would have been still more surprising if he had not done so. If, therefore, America was discovered in searching for India, I hope this compliment would be reciprocated by America discovering and rediscovering India. India is a land which is old and yet new; a land in the process of regeneration and revival. Only by continuously discovering each other shall we build a better world.

I do not desire to speak to-day, much as I would like to, about the cultural contacts between our two countries during the last one hundred years. I would only mention in passing that last May, when I went to Emerson's House in Concord and saw Emerson's library, I was surprised to see four books there: one of them was our scripture, the *Bhagawat Geeta*, the Song Celestial, the other was *Vishnupurana*, an old mythological book, another a book on Sankhya, a school of Hindu philosophy and the fourth a book on Hindu Law. And in Thoreau's room there was on his table near his bedside the *Bhagawat Geeta*, the Song Celestial, and I thought to myself that when there were no means of transportation as to-day—no planes, no radio communication, no television, no press services in the modern sense between India and the United States—even then minds traversed over all this vast distance and these philosophers knew something of the thoughts and philosophies of other lands.

So, too, perhaps as many of you are aware, the Indian intelligentsia during the last 50 or 60 years, read the writings of many American thinkers and men of letters and have been in many ways influenced by them. Thoreau's remark: "In an unjust state the proper place for a just man is the prison," was a favourite expression of Mahatma Gandhi. Nor do I want to speak to-day about the sympathy and moral support we had from this country during our national struggle.

Closer relations between us have developed since the last World War and, particularly, after the attainment of Indian independence. There are far more Americans to-day in India than ever before. There are about 1800 to 1900 Indian students in this country as compared to hardly 100 students 10 years ago and very few 25 years ago. Technical co-operation programmes, whether they be under Point Four or

F.O.A. as well as Community Development Projects and National Extension Services have led to continuous close co-operation between Indian and American specialists, experts, and technicians during the last five years. Nearly 200 Indians have been trained here for various technical purposes under such programmes. And an equally larger number of Americans have been working in India. Various exchange programmes and studies by Foundations like Ford and Rockefeller and Carnegie have also widened the intellectual co-operation and technical collaboration in many services, such as health, education, agriculture, etc., between our two countries.

Trade relations have been closer during recent years. Our trade with U.S.A., which was hardly seven per cent of our total foreign trade before the war increased to as much as 25 per cent about three or four years ago and now is about 19 per cent of our total trade.

And there has been more of private American investment in India during the last few years than before independence. About ten years ago, there was about 30,000,000 dollars of private American capital investment in India. To-day, there would be, with the establishment of the two oil refineries, one in Bombay and another in an eastern port of India, nearly 100 million dollars of private American capital!

India's independence has enabled her to play a more active part in world affairs. This, too, has brought India and the United States closer in various international organizations. When we speak of Indo-United States relationship we should think not merely of agreements or disagreements in international affairs but also view the picture as a whole. We should remember the variety of spheres—educational, technical and scientific, commercial and industrial—in all of which co-operation between India and America to-day is more continuous and fruitful than ever before. It has been well said, however, that 90 per cent of the difficulties between individuals as well as nations are psychological. There are, indeed, many similarities between Indians and Americans. They are both friendly, informal, hospitable and sensitive.

But while the Americans are forceful, somewhat impatient and quick of movement, Indians are by temperament and tradition, slower, rather cautious and, having borne the burden of centuries, inclined to be patient. The American mind is experimental and empirical. It puts faith in innovation, investigation and action. India, during the ages, has been more inclined to contemplation than action, more interested in theory than in practice. But it is as yet too early to say as to what would be the national psychological characteristics of a free India.

In the social sphere, too, there are wide dissimilarities between the two countries, whether it be in the family system or the relationship between the sexes. A sense

of social equality despite differences in wealth and position is a striking feature of American democracy.

India has of her free volition chosen political democracy as the basis of her social and economic structures. This involves complete elimination of caste inequalities. It is only a question of time before untouchability is abolished in practice in India; it has already been abolished.

I need hardly point out the radical difference between our two countries in economic conditions and standards of living. While the per capita income of an Indian is \$54 per annum, in the United States it is \$1500. Consumption of cotton textiles, of cloth, is 65 square yards per year per head in this country as compared to 12 to 14 yards in my country. While production of steel is about 1.3 million tons per annum in India, in the United States it is 120 million tons. One person in about 1400 has a car in India compared to one in three in this country. As someone remarked, there are three persons to every car in this country, but these three are in front of this one car at every street crossing! The consumption of oil is 2.8 gallons per head in India as compared to 550 gallons in this country.

I could go on multiplying these examples but it is hardly necessary. No one who has seen the dire poverty in Asian countries need be persuaded that we are not only two nations, we seem to be living in two different worlds! It is evident that the wide differences between the economic and social conditions of the two countries make difficult the wholesale adoption and indiscriminate application of methods and techniques of production and distribution of one country to another.

We have a large and growing population, low capital resources, a lack of purchasing power, a crushing pressure of numbers on land, and an undiversified economy. We cannot have the same social dynamics or economic tools which you have—thanks to the vastness of your country and a relatively small population exploring and exploiting its tremendous resources. Not having the initial capital resources and with a foreign government in control of the country for over a century and a half, private enterprise did not have the necessary resources and opportunity for developing the country.

Methods of mass production which demand mass consumption are not necessarily suitable in a land where there is still a vicious circle between low purchasing power, a limited demand and high costs of production. We are, no doubt, endeavouring to break this circle by seeking to create demand through better distribution as well as by augmenting production in various economic spheres.

We have to fight on many fronts and yet maintain a certain order of priorities because the available resources have to be used for more important and urgent needs. So, too, mechanization which has advanced so much in this country has too taken place in a selective manner in my country. In the absence of full economic development, much larger in scope and speedier in pace,

technological unemployment would only accentuate the existing economic difficulties and hardships. We are, therefore, seeking to achieve a balance between the use of machinery and the employment of men.

I turn to a sphere which always somehow attracts people more than anything else; namely, the political aspects of Indo-U.S. relationship. So far as the domestic aspects are concerned, there are similarities in the fundamental conceptions of the two countries. We believe, as you do, in government by the consent of the governed, the rule of law and respect for personal freedom. Our Constitution, which is democratic and federal in nature, embodies these Fundamental Rights, many of them having been adapted from your Bill of Rights. We have an independent judiciary. We have a parliamentary form of government modelled somewhat on the British system. We have no censorship of the press. There is an opposition functioning in the federal parliament—in both the Houses—and in all the States. and we believe that democratic processes, even if at times slower, are the surer means for ensuring the progress of a country.

Take then the international aspect. In regard to international matters our objectives are also the same as those of the United States—peace, self-determination of nations, international co-operation through appropriate organizations for removing tensions and for promoting social welfare, health, education, and culture (through such bodies as the UNESCO and WHO), technical assistance through the United Nations and the United States; financial aid and co-operation by the International Bank; suitable currency and exchange relationship through the International Monetary Fund; co-operation for trade through the GATT—General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade—as well as private capital investment.

Only the other day a scheme was formulated which is now likely to come into operation early next year. It is a scheme for the establishment of an Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation with the assistance of FOA and International Bank and also comprising private capital in India, the United Kingdom and the United States. This is a unique example of partnership between three countries for private investment and also a partnership between government and private enterprise: between private enterprise in India and the government there as well as with institutions like the International Bank and FOA.

Nevertheless, somehow we are always struck more by difference and dissimilarities than by similarities.

I think the press would be in a very difficult position if this did not happen. When I was a journalist I was told that when a dog bites a man it is not news but when a man bites a dog it is news. You don't see headlines in newspaper saying that a man in Bronx is on very good terms with his wife; but when he hits her, it is a piece of news. Therefore, I think we are

all apt to exaggerate and magnify the points of difference and disagreement.

Another difficulty is that we are all apt to oversimplify the attitudes of other countries. We are also prone to exaggerate and magnify the points on which we do not agree.

Even the fact that countries are called by certain names—we have no such name for India as yet—for example, the United States is described in other countries as Uncle Sam, England as John Bull, and so on, makes us think of a whole nation in terms of a particular stereotype. This is not helpful for a better understanding between countries.

So, too, it is true of individuals as well as of nations. We are all more anxious and more keen and eager to be understood rather than to understand and we are all apt to assume that understanding is the same thing as agreement. We can disagree and yet try to understand. We can understand and yet disagree. And this, I think, is very important in discussing any question of relationship between two countries. It is, therefore, necessary to mention the area of agreement in international outlook and policies. It is also necessary to emphasize that during recent months our two countries have been coming closer on various matters on which apparently they seem to hold different opinions and views from time to time: not in regard to objectives but in regard to methods and approach.

Take, for example, the question of opposition to war and the desirability of some kind of "peaceful co-existence." But if you don't like that word, let us have the Latin phrase *modus vivendi*. President Eisenhower has been explicit and emphatic on this subject in recent months. I shall only cite one quotation. The President said:

"There is no alternative to peace. There would not be much left of the world unless war was prevented in this atomic age."

This observation is akin to statements made by our own Prime Minister and other statesmen. It is realized by responsible persons in all countries that negotiations and compromise do not necessarily mean appeasement and surrender. They are the essentials of diplomacy and international co-operation.

The fundamental objective of diplomacy in the past and of the United Nations to-day has been maintenance of peace. But I suggest to you that this term "co-existence" should not merely mean an armed truce. It should in course of time mean better understanding; freer communication and active co-operation in economic, technical, and cultural spheres for human progress. For this purpose, fear and suspicion have to be removed and confidence inspired.

The five principles which are the basis of Indo-China and India-Burma Agreements include mutual respect for each other's territory, integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence. No doubt, it is easier to lay

down principles than to implement them. But I think that if our face is turned in the right direction, if we believe and have enough confidence in ourselves, then we shall be in a better position to implement these principles than otherwise.

Another point to which I should like to refer is the importance of Asia. But before I do so let me mention this matter to which I was just referring: namely, the question of a *modus vivendi*. Let me quote what some of the leaders in this country and elsewhere have said about this. President Eisenhower has said that there is no alternative to peace. He said that war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat any longer, but only an alternative in degree of destruction.

The Secretary of Defence, Mr. Wilson, said:

"The alternative to co-existence is to look forward to war."

Mr. Adlai Stevenson said:

"Armed co-existence is certainly a bleak prospect, but it is better than no existence."

Winston Churchill said:

"We are on the brink of hell. Victory in an atomic war would be victory on a heap of ruins."

Mr. Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, said:

"The alternative to co-existence is non-existence."

Mr. Nehru said:

"The alternative to co-existence is co-destruction."

And Mr. Lester Pearson, the Canadian Foreign Secretary, said:

"If we are to accept the view that co-existence can be nothing but a snare and delusion to be spurned at all cost, then we are driven logically to the thesis of the inevitability of an atomic war."

Now this proves the point I wanted to make that to-day there is a widespread recognition and realization of the futility of war. What is it then that constitutes a fundamental difference between us? Does any responsible body of people in this country want to commit aggression or want to have a "preventive war"? The eyes of all responsible leaders—the minds of all responsible leaders—are turned towards ensuring peace.

Then, as I said, there is the importance of Asia and the need for recognizing the implications of the awakening of Asia. Problems arising from the awakening of Asian nations have to be solved with mutual goodwill, patience, and tolerance.

As you know, many of these countries in Asia have been under foreign domination for years. Several of them attained independence only after the second World War. It is a striking fact that the countries which have won independence recently, like India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia are keen to resist aggression because having suffered from alien domination before they do not want to be dominated by any other power again. They do not want to march under any other flag, having once got their own national flag.

And it should be realized that the roots of govern-

ment being in the people there can never be any strengthening of a nation through the requisition of foreign arms or military aid. What is essential is not only the national independence of the countries concerned but an equality of status for all of them. The voice of these countries will have to be heard even if they do not have the necessary economic strength or military prowess. In the new world, their wishes and desires, their pride and even prejudices cannot be ignored and their voice will have to be predominant in settling their own affairs.

The third point on which I do not think there is any fundamental divergence between the American view and the Indian view is the problem of what is commonly known as "colonialism." The people of the United States have an instinctive sympathy for those struggling for national independence and freedom. It is true that on certain matters there has been a difference of opinion because of an order of priorities which the United States has worked out for combating Communist movements. But despite this difference in approach, the fact remains that you are anxious as the people in India to see that dependent countries achieve their freedom and are not dominated by any foreign power. I think it is possible to work together for such an objective.

Then, again, there is one matter on which despite all this emphasis on peace and on anti-colonialism there has been some divergence in approach because of the highest priority being given in this country to fight Communism. The question I refer to relates to the priority as between economic and military approaches *vis-a-vis* Asia. No one can deny the necessity of taking measures for national security. The question is whether peace in an area would be promoted more by negotiation or by forming rival blocs and entering into a competitive race of armaments.

I do not wish to be dogmatic in this matter, but I am only trying to tell you what this point of difference exactly is. And let me on this point quote what a highly experienced diplomat and able writer who believes in "realistic" foreign policies, I am referring to George Kennan, says in his book *Realities of American Foreign Policy*. He says—(I am quoting):

"There are a few considerations with regard to the general problem of Communism in Asia which might be worth noting at this point. It is here, above all, that we must avoid the fallacy that we are dealing with some threat of military aggression comparable to that which faced the world when Hitler put his demands on the Poles in 1939. Military aggression can never be ruled out entirely as a possibility, but it is not the most urgent and likely of the possibilities with which we have to reckon. We are dealing here in large measure with tendencies and states of mind which, however misguided and however befuddled by deceptions practised from outside are nevertheless—"

And I wish you to note this:

"—are nevertheless basically the reflections of wholly real and profound indigenous conditions, and would not be cause to disappear even in the unthinkable event that Moscow could be threatened or bludgeoned into telling them to do so."

As I have said repeatedly in this country, the problems of poverty and illiteracy, unemployment, malnutrition, ill-health, disease and so forth would have been there in Asia even if Karl Marx had not gone to London and written *Das Kapital*; even if there had been no revolution in Russia and China. We have, therefore, to face the fact that these problems will confront us irrespective of any ideologies or isms. The more we try to think of certain countries in terms of certain ideologies, the less prepared we would be to face these grave and urgent problems in a realistic manner.

This is the test of statesmanship. And on this, I shall quote Mr. Kennan again:

"For with the Russians and ourselves in the coming period is going to be the skill with which we are able to adjust to this new situation, and the vision and imagination with which we succeed in shaping new and advantageous relations with the in-between countries, to replace those that have rested, since the recent war, under abnormal conditions of political subjection in the Russian case, and economic dependence in our own."

Here, in application to this new task, he says:

"A strictly military approach, which attempts to subordinate all other considerations to the balancing of the military equation, will be not only inadequate but downright harmful. For the demands placed on our policy by the rise of these in-between countries to positions of new vitality and importance will often be in direct conflict with the requirements of the perfect and total military posture; so that by a rigid military approach we will be in danger of losing on the political level more than we gain on the military one."

I believe many persons in this country realize that if the world is now to settle down to a long period of co-existence or competitive co-existence or armed truce or *modus vivendi*, or whatever you may call it, then the conditions in underdeveloped countries will demand measures for economic amelioration, for raising the standards of living so as to prevent any internal movements which are subversive, destructive and violent rather than measures of military aid which can result in only temporary and flimsy gains.

And on this point greater realization has been apparent during the last two or three months: the realization that providing bread and jobs is more important than providing guns and bombs.

Responsible leaders have said that the "cold war" is becoming economic rather than military in its nature. And this I venture to suggest is only commonsense. Without a firm basis of national economy and a contented population, the mere military bases and armaments are not likely to ensure stability and security. We saw this in the last war. We know that in a total war the morale of the civilian population is of vital importance. It was Napoleon who said that in war the moral to the military is as ten to one; and this is far more so in poor and underdeveloped countries, in countries under the head of a make-shift military junta or a reactionary

government where it is very easy to create feelings of discontent against that rule. But if the government is rooted in the people and is responsible to them and responsive to their needs, then it is far more difficult for any outside agency to try to subvert it. This is a crucial point, and its importance is now being recognized all over the world. It means that in the next few years, our main task should be to see that this ideal of one world is steadily realised so that those who can help others to help themselves should do so.

But I would like to add in this connection that such programmes should not be worked out merely on a philanthropic basis. There should be no semblance of charity. Of course, I don't refer to humanitarian help in regard to say famine, flood, epidemic or earthquake. That is quite different. Even poor countries help one another at that time. But the programmes of economic assistance should be programmes of economic co-operation. They should be programmes so worked out as to enable that aid to be properly utilized and absorbed, else all the money spent would be worse than wasted. The object of such aid should be to make the recipient country more and more independent and not more and more dependent on others.

This is also now widely recognized. On this issue again, so far as I know, between my country's leaders and yours there is no fundamental divergence. While we are grateful for such generous assistance as has been rendered to us by this country and others through the Colombo Plan and the United Nations, we believe that eventually our future depends on ourselves. Eventually, we have to build up on our own resources.

No doubt, foreign aid can, for a time, supplement national efforts. But indefinite and indiscriminate aid would tend to sap initiative and the spirit of self-reliance. So, too, in this country there is a realization that money should not be wasted for assistance to countries which are not able to utilize it properly and absorb it adequately. In the last analysis, it is the countries themselves which can make or mar their future.

Before I conclude, I should like to say that one of your great leaders has himself put this point much better than I can.

In his book *Call to Greatness*, Mr. Adlai Stevenson has said:

"I have tried to point out that much of the world in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, is on the way somewhere. They are trying to telescope centuries into decades, trying to catch up with Western industrial and technological revolutions overnight and under much more difficult circumstances, and they are trying to accomplish this mighty transformation by the methods of consent not coercion. The challenge is to identify ourselves with this social and human revolution, to encourage, aid and inspire the aspirations of half of mankind for a better life, to guide these aspirations into paths that lead to freedom. The default would be disastrous."

AGRARIAN FINANCE IN INDIA

By PROF. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.,
Patna University

III

INSTITUTIONAL AGENCIES FOR RURAL CREDIT

THE question of the supply of finance, to the rural areas and the provision of a suitable machinery for this purpose has received a good deal of attention during recent years. The whole subject has been comprehensively discussed in several reports, the more important of these being the reports of the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee (Gadgil Committee) of 1945, and the Co-operative Planning (Saraiya) Committee of 1946, the report of Dr. B. V. Narayana-swamy Naidu on Rural Indebtedness in Madras Presidency (1946), the report of the Bombay Agricultural Credit Organisation (Nanavati) Committee (1947), the Planning Commission Final Report (First Five-Year Plan) and All-India Rural Credit Survey, 1954. Any such scheme of reorganisation of institutional rural finance is closely related with the problem of the reduction of indebtedness which we shall discuss later on.

SINGLE OR MULTIPLE CREDIT AGENCY

The Gadgil Committee thought that on theoretical grounds a single financial agency which covered the entire field of all credit to the agriculturist-producer, would be the most logical solution of the problem, but in view of the practical limitation to which such a project would be subject in the existing conditions, they did not consider its establishment feasible, and decided to adapt their recommendations "as largely as possible, to the existing structure and work along the lines of present development." In view of the vast extent of the country and the large variety of conditions within it, they felt the need to develop "as varied a system of institutional finance as possible for financing agriculture." The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee also considered this line as practical and necessary under the present conditions.

Although the Co-operative Societies were found by the Committee to constitute the ideal agency for rural credit, in practice their working was defective, and as such their extension all over the country is impracticable on the following grounds:

- (1) Despite their phenomenal growth, the co-operative societies cover a very small proportion of the rural people and meet only a fraction of their requirements;
- (2) Except in a few regions, their working has not been very satisfactory;
- (3) The extension of co-operative credit to meet all the requirements of creditworthy agriculturists all over the country within a short period of time is considered impracticable without a very large degree of assistance and control;
- (4) It would be difficult to link the co-operative organisations for non-members.

As a machinery for short-term and medium-term credit, the Gadgil Committee recommended the establishment of an Agricultural Credit Corporation for each province, except where the co-operative agencies are strong and have such wide scope that they could undertake all the works expected from the Agricultural Credit Corporation.

COMPOSITION, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF A.C.C.

The proposed Agricultural Credit Corporation would be autonomous institutions. Half of their capital is to be provided by the State and the rest by jointstock banks, co-operative institutions, marketing organisations, etc., there being no individual shareholders. As regards their functions, (a) they would establish agencies and branches all over their regions wherever needed, (b) they would supply all types of credit and be managed by executive officers, (c) they would provide finance to co-operative societies where central financing agencies do not exist, and (d) they would supply mortgage credit directly to individual agriculturists. But intermediate and short-term credit based generally on personal security, or statutory first charge on the crop, could only be provided through co-operative societies or other "Borrowers' groups." The activities of the corporations would be co-ordinated with those of co-operatives and other institutions, competition being avoided.

The rates of interest charged by the corporation would not exceed 4 per cent for mortgage and 6½ per cent for other types of credit. The State should have to subsidise the corporation to enable them to supply credit at these rates, and to establish 'un-economic' agencies in certain areas.

It is clear from the above arrangements that agricultural credit corporations do not provide agricultural finance on personal security, which is most needed by the majority of Indian farmers. This task has been left to the co-operative credit societies whose working, in practice, has been found defective by the Committee itself.

It is said that (a) Provincial or Central Co-operative Banks having additional advantage of their being already in the field and having some organisational momentum, would equally achieve the same ends if the financial resources and assistance contemplated for the corporation are also made available to them; that (b) the ways of raising funds by the A.C.C. are not better than those by the co-operative banks and that (c) the co-operative societies still have to operate as primary credit organisational units in dealing with individuals of small means. Thus the scope of the provision of agrarian finance even by the A.C.C. is also very limited as it does not include the most urgent needs of the most needy sections of the agriculturists in India.

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In view of these facts, the Saraiya Committee expressed the opinion that

"Not only in some provinces where the co-operative movement has attained a high degree of development, but also in other provinces and States the Provincial Co-operative Bank and the central co-operative financing organisation, can provide the agriculturist with all the facilities which are intended to be given by agricultural credit corporations. The same measure and type of aids as those recommended to be given to the A.C.C. should be given to the provincial co-operative banks and there should then be no need to start a separate organisation for this purpose."

The Bombay Government have moved on the same lines in the organisation of its co-operative movement.

Thus on account of these reasons, there is a greater preference for the reorganisation of existing co-operative banks, where necessary, and their expansion and development, than for the establishment of new agricultural credit corporations. It has come to be accepted as a cardinal principle in a large number of States, viz., Bombay, Bihar, and Assam, in the reorganisation of their co-operative movement. It is none the less recognised that the proposals of the Gadgil Committee deserve serious thinking at least in certain selected areas, for instance, in the former Indian States where co-operative credit system is non-existent or cannot be developed easily. But even in these areas it would be better if an already existing institution like the State-owned bank can be reorganised.

The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) have made the following suggestions:

(1) No universally applicable pattern or machinery can be laid down for all regions, and that in each region, an adequate machinery should be developed in conformity with local circumstances, traditions and ideas. The Committee has agreed with the Gadgil Committee in having 'as varied a system of institutional finance as possible, for financing agriculture';

(2) The machinery to be developed should be such that it would be able to raise adequate funds by way of share capital and deposits or debentures from the public, not from the State which does not command unlimited financial resources;

(3) In order to tackle properly the problem of rural credit, the machinery to be established for the purpose must keep in view the necessity for tapping rural savings, to obtain funds necessary for its operations;

(4) In any scheme for the setting up of a sound and efficient system of agricultural finance, sufficient emphasis must be laid on the building up of a sound structure of primary institutions whether co-operative credit societies or multi-purpose societies, on the basis of limited liability or unlimited liability, as the case may be;

(5) Provincial Government should arrange and support the establishment of strong multi-purpose societies for each group of contiguous villages by providing the needed staff for inspection and supervision;

(6) As regards the super-structure, while the establishment of new organisations, such as agricultural credit corporations or banks, may be necessary in some regions, full use should be made, as far as possible, of the existing institutions;

(7) Qualified subsidies should be granted to the co-operative institutions to a limited extent in the initial years, in view of the risky character of rural finance, the low rates of interest they are attempting to establish.

The Planning Commission (in the First Five-Year Plan) have suggested:

(a) The establishment, development and extension of co-operative credit societies, as the most effective agency for providing agrarian finance all over India, even to potentially creditworthy cultivators with facilities in regard to the terms of payment or to the rates of interest which would go a long way to improve their productive capacity;

(b) Compensation to be paid by the State to the co-operative societies for the losses they would incur on account of the additional risk;

(c) Eligibility for loans to be determined by the character of the borrowers also who receive and repay loans from the societies.

The Commission also endorsed the recommendations of the Co-operative Planning Committee (1946) to bring in the ambit of primary societies within ten years 50 per cent of villages and 30 per cent of the rural population. They have also realised the necessity of charting three more regional co-operative colleges immediately for the training of personnel of the co-operative department. They have agreed with the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee on the point that co-operatives will have to initiate a drive for tapping local resources and for inculcating the habit of thrift in the local people. As regards the establishment of Apex State Banks in various Part 'B' and 'C' States, the Commission have suggested that the State Government should be able to provide even larger assistance than what they do.

All these suggestions verge only on one point, i.e., the accumulation of funds by tapping local savings by the co-operative societies, for which these societies will have to attract a sufficient amount of deposits or share capital. In other words, the societies will have to attract the villagers to invest in their shares. Obviously those people who have some surplus or savings may do so. But why will they do so is a pertinent question and deserves our attention. In the first place, in the rural areas there are only a few people who have savings to invest anywhere. In the second place, such people who have savings to invest are not, nor do they feel the necessity of becoming the members of the Co-operative Societies which can mobilise their savings for agricultural or

rural purposes. It is a known fact that the funds of such people are either invested in urban enterprises, trades and commerce, or are lent to farmers on higher rate of interest. So long as there is the prospect of getting higher marginal rate of interest on investment of their funds elsewhere, to my mind, there is not even the least chance for the co-operative societies to attract such funds. Even legislations to regulate money-lending have, to a very great extent, dried up the only fount of rural credit or have sent money-lending business underground mostly to evade the various restrictions these legislations have sought to impose on it. The diversion of rural savings into the shares, deposits and debentures of the co-operative societies is possible in two ways alone, i.e., either private money-lending business should completely be made illegal or co-operative societies must pay higher rates of interest to the depositors or higher dividends to the shareholders. The first measure is neither desirable nor practicable in view of its baneful effects on the source of rural credit and of the difficulties in practice. Payment of higher rates of interest or dividends to the depositors and shareholders, etc., is not possible because it will prevent the motto of the co-operative credit—provision of cheap, elastic and prompt agrarian finance—from realisation. Security of repayment of loans will have to be guaranteed by the Government or by the Central or Provincial Co-operative Banks. Thus the scope for the mobilisation of rural savings for the supply of rural credit through the co-operative credit societies at cheaper rates of interest to the rural people is very much limited in the present socio-economic structure of our rural areas.

ALL-INDIA RURAL CREDIT SURVEY

In view of the inadequacy of existing data on rural credit, the Reserve Bank of India appointed in 1951 a small 'Committee of Direction' to plan and organise a Rural Credit Survey for the purpose of examining its role in the sphere of rural finance. The field of enquiry covered 127,343 families in 600 villages selected in 75 villages. The report of the Committee has just been published in the month of December, 1954.

CHIEF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The chief recommendations of the Committee are, (a) the major reorganisation of Co-operative Credit, (b) of agricultural marketing, and (c) of a sector of Commercial Banking for the benefit of the rural areas, especially of the smaller cultivators and handicraftsmen.

THE MAJOR REORGANISATION OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

While conscious of the shortcomings of the co-operative movement at present and its insignificant role in the provision of rural finance,³ the Committee believes that there is no alternative to the co-opera-

tive form of association in the village for the proper promotion of agricultural credit and development, and as such, the co-operation must be enabled to succeed. The Committee have, therefore, suggested an integrated scheme of rural credit designed to create the conditions necessary for such success.

One of the features of this integrated scheme is the Major State Partnership in co-operative institutions at different levels of the organisation. Along with such partnership by State Governments is envisaged greater collaboration between those Governments and the Reserve Bank, and very considerable financial assistance from the Reserve Bank. The share capital of State Co-operative Banks and Land-Mortgage Banks would be expanded on the basis of 51 per cent of the shares being held by the State. Similar partnership through the apex institutions is provided for in the central banks and even larger sized primary institutions. Wherever necessary, funds for such participation are to be provided by long-term loans made by the Reserve Bank to State Governments out of a National Agricultural Credit (long-term operations) Fund to which the Bank would make an initial allocation of Rs. 5 crores and further annual allocations of Rs. 5 crores. The fund would be utilised also for making medium-term loans to the State Co-operative Banks and long-term loans to the Land-Mortgage Banks, as also for purchasing 'special development debentures' connected with specific projects of irrigation.

REORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

The Committee has also suggested the establishment of a National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board by the Government of India for the planned development of co-operative marketing, processing, storage and warehousing. To it the Government of India will make an annual allocation of Rs. 5 crores which will be divided into two funds: (a) the National Co-operative Development Fund and (b) the National Warehousing Development Fund. From these funds, long-term loans would be advanced or subsidies given to the State Government and to certain institutions. The State Governments would be concerned with the extension of co-operative marketing, co-operative processing, etc. The development of storage and warehousing will be the special function of a statutory body called the All-India Warehousing Corporation. It will be supplemented by State Warehousing Companies, in all of which the Central and State Governments will have the predominant interest.

3. "Out of a total amount of Rs. 750 crores calculated at the current level of borrowing per annum, the Government supplied as little as 3.3 per cent and co-operatives the equally insignificant proportion of 3.1 per cent, whereas the private creditor—the professional moneylender, the agriculturist moneylender and the trader—supplied 70 per cent or more to the total requirements."—'All India Rural Credit Survey' published in the *Statesman* of December 22, 1954, p. 6.

REORGANISATION OF A SECTOR OF COMMERCIAL BANKING

The Committee recommended for the establishment of a State Bank which would have a country-wide network of branches provided by the amalgamation of different 'State associated' banks including the Imperial Bank. As a strong integrated, State-sponsored institution, it would be able to provide vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative and other banks, and thus stimulate the further development of those banks. Moreover, in its loan operations, in so far as these have a bearing on rural credit, the State Bank of India would follow a policy which, while not deviating from the canons of sound business, would be in effective consonance with national policies. The amalgamating banks are to be: The Imperial Bank, the State Bank of Saurashtra, the Bank of Patiala, the Hyderabad State Bank, the Bank of Bikaner, the Bank of Jaipur, the Bank of Rajasthan, the Bank of Baroda, the Bank of Indore, the Bank of Mysore and the Travancore Bank. The share capital of the new bank would be expanded; the additional shares, which would be non-transferable and eligible only for restricted dividends, would be allotted exclusively to the Reserve Bank and the Government of India. These two together would then hold 52 per cent of the total share capital. The State Banks would be expected to follow a programme of rapid expansion of branches to district headquarters and to even smaller centres, but any losses arising from such expansion are to be met from an 'Integration and Development Fund,' created within the institution out of the dividend payable to the Central Government and Reserve Bank and of further contributions made by both these as and when necessary. There is, therefore, to be no reduction in the scope of earning the profits normally available for distribution among private shareholders.

CRITICAL SURVEY OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS

As I have analysed in my last two articles on 'Agrarian Finance in India,' the chief problems of the co-operatives in India have been those of (a) cheap, prompt and elastic supply of finance, (b) of paucity of funds and narrow base, (c) of attracting the well-to-do farmers, Mahajans, etc., to become the members of these co-operatives and to invest their funds in them, at cheaper rates of interest, (d) of reorienting the definition and concept of 'security' and 'creditworthiness' of the borrowers. The provision of finance to the needy farmers is not only a function of the availability of cheap and sufficient supply of funds, but also and more so, of the willingness and the requisite economic capacity of the borrowers. The All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee has calculated that at the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase in agricultural production, the All-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivator from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum, of

which only 3.3 per cent are supplied by the State and 3.1 per cent by the co-operatives. It is doubtful whether the scheme of 'major State-partnered co-operatives' alone would provide so much funds to the rural farmers. The problem will be made much more difficult in view of the 'proposed sterilization' in the field of agricultural finance, of the moneylenders who play so vital a role as to supply 70 per cent or more of the total rural credit requirements. Assuming that concentration of landed property in the hands of a few, particularly of the absentee landlords is prevented by means of state measures of fixing the maximum ceiling of land, if the funds of these moneylenders tend to flow to the chests of the Postal Savings Banks, Commercial Banks, etc., certainly the 'proposed sterilization' of the moneylenders' funds for agricultural finance would be beneficial to the society in so far as they increase the amount of investable funds both in the private and public sectors which will be expanded very much in the Second Five-Year Plan of India. The integrated scheme of rural credit will set in motion economic forces which will cause circular flow of funds from the farmers in the rural area via the banking institutions to either the Postal Savings Department or to the major State-partnered Bank which will be effectively controlled by the State in the interest of the nation as a whole. To my mind, the scheme of local investment of large funds in rural areas would be better than this circuitous flow of funds from the well-to-do farmers to the needy ones.⁴ The Committee should have suggested positive ways and means instead of negative ones of providing an effective institutional alternative and, therefore, a rival to the private moneylenders. Anyway the success of these State-partnered co-operatives will depend upon the degree in which they will provide facilities to the farmers in enabling them to borrow.

As regards the problem of the concept of security and creditworthiness, it remained unsolved. It is not clear whether loans would be advanced to those farmers who either have no lands at all to give as security or have only a few *kathas* which have already been mortgaged. Nor do we know anything about the solution of the problem of rural indebtedness. On the whole, the Report and the recommendations seem to be most opportune inasmuch as (a) it represents a very important development in the country's banking system, (b) it is a major step in reorganisation of the co-operative movement, and (c) it aims at a progressive organisation on a co-operative basis of as large a section of rural economic activity as possible.

(Concluded)

4. "The primary purpose of mobilising rural savings is to make them available for investment in rural development, either directly by the agriculturists themselves or indirectly through projects undertaken by the Government."—*Rural Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, 1950, p. 44.

THE ROLE OF COMMERCIAL BANKING In the Financing of Industries Abroad: and the Problem Before the Indian Banks

By PROF. J. L. DHOLAKIA, M.A.

THERE is a section of opinion in India which holds that, in view of the absence of a well-developed capital market in the real sense of the term, commercial banks should take an active part in the medium-term and long-term financing of industry, both by providing equity capital and long-term loan capital. In other words what is advocated is a mixed banking system which combines investment banking with the usual business of deposit-banking. The problem of financing industries in an economically under-developed country like India is of vital importance and no startling remedies can be provided without the comparative study of mixed banking system in other countries. The comparative study of the role played by commercial banks in financing the industries abroad is of real significance because loose thinking on this subject of the industrial finance has been responsible for unsound banking policies and unhealthy banking functions. The study of ideal organs of finance abroad will be immensely interesting for India, where overriding requirements of a desirable rate of economic development point to the need for increase in the credit facilities provided by the commercial banks while over-all considerations of solvency and liquidity of the banking system entail a cautious credit policy. It is proposed to study several features of commercial banking and industrial finance abroad with a view to draw valuable lessons therefrom. Then it is attempted to evolve a technique of banks' participation in industrial finance in India.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE AND THE BANKING SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

The industrial life of England is decidedly longer and more varied than that of any other country in the world. There is a striking similarity between commercial banking and provision of industrial finance in India and that in England because English models have been more or less copied in India. The first thing that strikes an observer in England is that the relations between the British financial world and British industry, as distinguished from British commerce, have "never been very close." The proprietors of British banks have invested a small proportion of their funds in the British industry and the requirements of the industry have been met more by the "extremely varied facilities and unrivalled financial machinery of the English capital market" than by the direct participations of banks in the industrial venture.¹ The Report of the Committee on Finance and

Industry gives reasons for this peculiarity. Industry, while making full use of banking facilities, retained its independence because the financial organization of England was adapted to the needs of her unique economy.

"The exceptional merits of the city of London lay in facilities given by the short-term money market for the employment of home or foreign funds, in the financing of trade and commerce, also both home and foreign, and in the issue of foreign bonds, as distinguished from the financing of British industry; on the other hand, when the British industry began its great growth in the nineteenth century, there was no particular reason why it should look to the London market for the financial requirements. Industry in those days was, so far as each unit was concerned, on a comparatively small scale; the capital was provided privately and was built up and extended out of profits; in so far as it required assistance from banks it found it from independent banks, often family banks, which in general had their headquarters in the provinces, particularly in the Midlands and the North, where the new industries flourished. Moreover, there had existed for many years a large class of investors with means to invest, and who exercised an independent judgment as to how to invest, and who did not rely, as in some countries, entirely on their bankers. Industry, therefore, though making full use of the banking facilities offered by the jointstock banks, maintained its independence of any financial control."²

Generally speaking, industrial investment in England has not been guided by the commercial banking system. The real issuer is the company itself, if it is a strong and good one, or a finance company or a syndicate—a few large, many small, some good, some indifferent, some bad—and sometimes it is a company or a syndicate got together for the sole purpose of making a particular issue.³

In a striking contrast to the continental system of mixed banking is the English deposit banking which supplies only the current requirements of the industry. Jointstock banks in England collect lodgements from the public and compound these lodgements with their own capital and reserves. Owing to a continuous redistribution of this capital among the points of highest yield they maximise its earning capacity.⁴ The continuous redistribution of available

funds is performed in the city of London by the short-term money market which supplies day to day needs of industry with an elasticity that is unknown in any other system of the world. This market does not supply credit ranging from one or two up to five years. Also, the long-dated capital is not adequately supplied by this market, this being 'due in part to the historical organization of British industry and to the fact that industry, having grown up on strongly individualistic lines, has been anxious to steer clear of anything which might savour of banking control or even of interference.'

"Though the connection between the British industry and commercial bank has never been very close, banks were making advances for circulating capital to industry for the production and marketing of goods, and secondly, though more rarely, to provide temporary funds pending the issue of long-term capital. In the second case, the proceeds of the capital issue were used to repay the bank."

A change of some significance had occurred in the banking practices of England during the inter-war period. Some banks had become permanent creditors of certain sections of British industry. In most of the heavy industries which had been more or less continuously depressed since 1920, the banks had larger amounts of "frozen advances." Big banks in England had considerable investments in industrial shares and debentures.⁵ Post-First World War slump made the English banks investors by necessity, though not by choice. Although the English banks were unwilling to be drawn into a too intimate relationship with the industry, there was still some connection and the historic isolation of banks was fast disappearing. The Macmillan Committee of Finance and Industry had put forth a powerful plea for closer co-operation between industry and finance and, considered that the most beneficial kind of relationship between finance and industry would be one where bankers are able by their continuous relationship with industrialists not only to supplement the information at the disposal of the industrialists themselves but also give aid of very great value in all financial problems.⁶

Even after the end of the Second World War, there were significant changes in the relation between the banks and the industry. Though the industry emerged from the war in a highly liquid condition, its gilt-edged reserves have rapidly depleted by the finance of reconversion to force production at the price level roughly double that of pre-war. Demands on the banks inevitably increased and in spite of the scrupulous avoidance of loans for speculative and other purposes as requested by the Chancellor, the total ad-

vances in July, 1950, were roughly double the lowest figure touched during the war and about 50 per cent higher than in 1938.⁷

This rather too short an account of the relationship between the English banks and industry makes it clear that the banking mechanism cannot isolate itself for long from the requirements of the industry within a dynamic economy that needs credit and capital for growth and its forward movement. Owing to sheer necessity, even conservative traditions of sticking to deposit banking only have, in the interest of growth and extension, to be scrapped. That the intimate contact and co-operation between the banker and the industry is of immense value to both is being realised in England today. But it should not be overlooked that England has a net-work of other financial institutions and a well-developed commercial banking mechanism capable of withstanding any storm. The industry has also well-established traditions, so there is little difficulty in getting accommodation from any source that the industry deems it worthwhile to tap. The problem before the nascent developing economies like India is altogether different. Under-developed economies have yet to develop sound banking practices and to establish new industries by making use of their vast economic potential. The urgent need for rapid industrialisation in India had led many to believe that the banks in India should adopt a forward policy with regard to requirements of the industry. Opinion in India has long favoured the starting of industrial banks on the lines of the German Gross Banken with a view to providing industry with initial capital apparently in the belief that the great German banks are industrial banks whose main concern is the permanent provision of fixed capital to the industry. The misconception about the German banking system had persisted for too long a period. Even the Industrial Commission and witnesses before the Central Banking Inquiry Committee were not wholly free from the misconceived notion of the nature and functions of German banks. Most of the witnesses who advocated the establishment of industrial banks in India before the Industrial Commission and the Central Banking Inquiry Committee Report had the idea in mind that the banks should permanently hold the shares and securities of industrial concerns and in addition grant short-term and long-term advances on the security of goods and of the fixed assets of the company. Thus in India the view has been held that German industry depends upon the banks for a part of its block capital, without realizing the fact that the German banks are only intermediaries between the investing public and industrial companies, and that they do not and cannot furnish to the industrial company what the investing public is not prepared to offer.

German banks do not permanently hold the
10. W. Manning Dacey: *The British Banking Mechanism*, p. 188.

1. N. Das: *Industrial Enterprise in India*, Chapt. II, p. 29.
2. S. E. Thomas: *British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, London, 1931, p. 138.

3. Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry, London, 1931, pp. 161-62.

4. Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry, London, 1931, p. 137.

5. S. F. Lavington: *The English Capital Market*, London 1929, p. 178.

6. Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry, pp. 169-71.

7. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*, George Allen and Unwin, V-D, p. 248.

8. Committee on Finance and Industry, Vol. I, Question 2251.

9. Committee on Finance and Industry, Report, p. 165.

shares of the industrial concerns. The German bankers have never usurped the function of the industrialist. There is no English equivalent for the German Aufsichtsrat, which is not identical with the British Board of Directors. It is a board of supervision, and not of Directors.

The practice of jointstock banks in India in regard to industrial finance is largely based on the British tradition of commercial banking, 'under which banks as a rule provide only the working capital requirements of industries principally on the security of floating assets and eschew long-term advances against fixed assets'.¹¹ The following table gives an analysis of bank advances as on June 30, 1953 according to the purpose:

	TABLE I (Amount in crores of rupees)			Per cent to total advances
	Scheduled Banks	Non-scheduled Banks	Total	
Industry	188.98	6.52	195.50	33.4
Commerce	262.65	18.08	280.73	47.9
Agriculture	22.99	2.12	25.11	4.3
Personal and Professional	41.00	11.28	52.28	8.9
All others	29.25	2.95	32.20	5.5
	544.87	40.95	585.82	100

(Source: Report of the Committee on Finance for the Private Sector, Reserve Bank of India, 1954).

Of the total advances of banks amounting to Rs. 582.82 crores, about one-third or Rs. 195.50 crores have been lent to industries. It is very interesting to observe from the distribution of bank advances over various industries that the largest proportion of advances had been made to the cotton industry, aggregating Rs. 51.79 crores, followed by sugar with Rs. 33.17 crores, and engineering with Rs. 14.99 crores. The Table II gives the distribution of these advances over various types of industries:

Type of industries	TABLE II (Amount in crores of rupees)			Total
	Scheduled Banks	Non-Sch. Banks		
Cotton (ginning, pressing, weaving)	50.76	1.03		51.79
Jute	11.92	0.37		12.29
Other textiles	12.47	0.22		12.69
Iron and steel	6.04	0.28		6.32
Coal, other mining and quarrying	4.44	0.22		4.66
Engineering	14.58	0.41		14.99
Sugar	32.74	0.43		33.17
Cement	1.74	—		1.74
Public Utilities	3.75	0.67		4.42
Vegetable oil crushing and refining	8.65	0.60		9.25
Chemicals, dyes and paints	8.44	0.11		8.55
Others	33.45	2.18		35.63
Total	188.98	6.52		195.50

(Source: The Report of the Commission on Finance for the Private Sector, p. 45).

A few banks in India do make advances to industries against fixed assets, "but no details are available regarding the total volume of such advances, in any case, we presume that the aggregate amount of such advances is inconsiderable."¹² Although the advances of commercial banks in India are ostensibly for a short-term, a part of these advances is allowed to be released for long-term expenditure. Though this part of finance rolls over, in actual effect it does serve the financial requirements of the industry for a long period to a certain extent. The commercial banks in India also indirectly participate in long-term industrial finance through (a) purchase of shares and debentures of industrial concerns, (b) making advances against shares and debentures, (c) investments in the shares and bonds of the Industries Finance Corporation and the State Financial Corporation.¹³ The following table gives the extent of banks' indirect participation in industrial finance:

TABLE III (Amount in crores of rupees)	
1. Investments of scheduled and non-scheduled banks in shares and debentures of Jointstock Company	Rs. 12.23
2. Advances of scheduled banks and non-scheduled banks against such shares and debentures	Rs. 43.34
3. Investments of scheduled banks in the shares and bonds of industrial finance corporation	Rs. 2.71

From the above study it would appear that the share of the commercial banks in long-term lending in India is relatively small. This is due to the nature of their liabilities, which are repayable on demand. There is also a certain degree of risk inherent in the long-term advances to or investments in industry.

The trend of evidence on the subject of the participation by banks in long-term finance has been of a mixed character. The Report of the Committee for the Finance of the Private Sector observes:

"While representatives of industries, in general, have asked that banks should make greater finance available to meet the long-term requirements of industry, the bankers have, as a rule, been more circumspect and emphasised that their primary function is to restrict themselves to short-term financing, some representatives of banks, however, have expressed their readiness to provide long-term finance against fixed assets, provided such advances can be made eligible for borrowing from the Reserve Bank of India."¹⁴

Thus, a certain important section of the public opinion in India favours the participation of banks in long-term financing. There has also been a

11. Report of the Committee on Finance for the Private Sector, Reserve Bank of India, 1954.

12. Ibid, p. 45.

13. Ibid, p. 46.

14. Ibid, p. 46.

demand that the Reserve Bank of India should grant additional credit facilities to commercial banks making medium-term advances against the security of fixed assets. To illustrate, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in their memorandum presented to the Committee on the Finance for the Private Sector (Shroff Committee), stated as follows:

"The first business of the commercial banks is to maintain a liquid position so as to meet all liabilities in time, and this can be ensured only if it would be possible for the scheduled banks to borrow from the Reserve Bank of India against their medium-term or long-term advances. . . . The Reserve Bank has agreed to grant financial facilities to co-operative banks to the extent of Rs. 5 crores against intermediate finance ranging from 3 to 5 years of the co-operative banks. A procedure along similar lines should be adopted so as to enable the banks to meet the intermediate-term requirements of industry. The Reserve Bank should also consider the possibilities of lending to the banks against shares and debentures and fixed assets of industries which are pledged with them as security for loans."

A somewhat similar view has been expressed by the Indian Banks Association who have observed in their memorandum as follows:

"The Reserve Bank should lend readily against the documents created in connection with medium-term and long-term advances made by banks to industrial concerns against the latter's fixed assets. . . . The R.B. should lend readily against the investments of banks in debentures of industrial concerns."

On the other hand, some banks have expressed themselves strongly against any form of direct participation in long-term industrial finance. There is one reason for this, namely, the experience of banks in the past. Although banks in India have generally confined themselves to the provision of working capital, there have been at least three distinct periods in the history of banking when they seem to have made appreciable amounts of long-term finance to Indian industries. Shroff Committee report on the Finance for the Private Sector notes that the first period was during the Swadeshi movement of 1906-13 when a number of banks, especially in the Punjab, participated to a considerable extent in long-term industrial finance. After the First World War certain industrial banks were floated for the specific purpose of promoting and making long-term industrial advances. More recently, during World War II, the failure of a large number of banks in West Bengal has been attributed among other reasons to their long-term advances to industrial concerns.¹⁵

In general, banks appear to be of the opinion that, with their present resources, they cannot parti-

cipate in long-term industrial financing. There is also the consideration of liquidity and it does not appear to be desirable to encourage a tendency on the part of banks to lean on the Reserve Bank for providing liquidity against these advances which they make on their own judgment and initiative. The trend of opinion in India appears to be that even with their present limited resources banks should endeavour to undertake in an indirect manner to provide finance to industries by:

"(a) Adding to their investments in shares and debentures of first class industrial concerns where they are satisfied regarding their transferability and marketability;

"(b) Making larger advances to approved parties against such shares and debentures;

"(c) Subscribing to a greater extent to the shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and State financial corporations."¹⁶

These are sound recommendations but in India there is a great desideratum in the financial mechanism in the sense of an adequately developed market which would increase the marketability and transferability of shares and debentures of first class industrial concerns. This becomes a condition precedent to any form of indirect participation of banks in long-term industrial financing. There is another factor which inhibits the investment in shares and bonds of financial corporations by commercial banks. It has been reported that the Reserve Bank accepts the shares of the financial corporations as security for advances to scheduled banks only when they have no Government securities to offer as cover. This practice needs to be modified in the interest of financing the private sector. Shroff Committee Report on the Finance for the Private Sector recommends that the Reserve Bank should treat these trustee securities carrying a guarantee by the Central and State Governments as on par with Government securities for advance under Section (17)(4)(a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act or such-terms regarding margins, etc., as the Reserve Bank deems appropriate.¹⁷ The Committee also feels the statutory restrictions placed on the amount of these shares that could be held by different classes of investors are not calculated to ensure the marketability of these shares. The committee is of the opinion that in order to encourage banks to subscribe to or hold larger amounts of these corporations, it is very essential that the liquidity of these investments should be facilitated by removing such restrictions.¹⁸

A cautious approach for utilizing the resources of commercial banks for industrial development should be the part and parcel of any policy of long-

16. Ibid, p. 48.

17. Ibid, pp. 49-50.

18. Op. cit, p. 50.

15. Ibid, pp. 47-48.

term industrial financing by banks. The overriding requirement is to provide absolute security for the depositors. If industrial financing by banks should raise doubts as to "the solvency of the banking system, deposits would decline, resulting in smaller volume of savings available for developmental activities."¹⁹ Government can ensure the safety of deposits by providing a guarantee to the medium and long-term loans extended by banks. Government could establish a maximum limit for the proprietor of long-term commitments to the total assets of the banks in order to provide for the safety of deposits. But this would not solve the problem of financing the economic development. It is also suggested by some that when a commercial bank undertook medium- and long-term credit operations, the depositor might be protected by handling these operations, in a separate department of the bank, with separate accounts, management and banking regulations.²⁰ This is indeed a novel suggestion but it does not go very far towards the main problem of reconciling the conflicting claims of liquidity of the banking mechanism and the pressing needs of industrial finance in an economically undeveloped country. The public is the best judge so far as the safety of deposit is concerned; to them it is a question of evolving healthy deposit banking practices. The confidence of the people in the commercial banking mechanism is the sheet-anchor of a sound banking structure. In India, given the vigorous leadership by the Reserve Bank and a continuous initiative by banks to reform their conduct of business, the ideal of a sound banking structure is not an unrealisable distant goal: The sound banking

19. *Domestic Financing of Economic Development*, United Nations Publications, p. 60.

20. *Ibid.* p. 61.

practices will increase the flow of available savings of the people to the banks. These savings can be properly utilized in long-term financing of the industries without endangering the liquidity and safety of deposits. The development of a market in shares and debentures of the first class industrial concerns and corporations would increase the scope of investment in such shares and debentures by commercial banks in India. The well-developed market in bonds and debentures of the industrial finance corporations is a *sine qua non* of any participation by banks in industrial finance.

The principle of co-operation can also be applied to this sphere also. If lending banks in India co-operate to form a consortium or syndicate for underwriting or investing in new issue of shares and debentures of industrial companies, they can render valuable assistance. Such a consortium could appropriately function under the leadership of the largest jointstock banks in the country, viz., the Imperial Bank of India. At present, the Imperial Bank is prohibited from investing in the shares and debentures of jointstock companies, though it is authorised to accept fully paid up shares as collateral securities for advances. The Report on the Committee of the Finance for the Private Sector notes:

"It is presumed that the present statutory restrictions are relics of the times when the Imperial Bank functioned as a bank to the Government of India. We recommend that in presentday conditions such restrictions are out of date."²¹

The leadership of the Imperial Bank and co-operation of jointstock banks in India could result in a considerable gain to the private sector. The industries would not languish because of the lack of finance.

21. *C. J. Cit.*

THE AVADI SESSION

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Sixtieth Session of the Congress at Avadi was, indeed, a very significant and momentous session. Apart from the simple but highly artistic arrangements in Satyamurtinagar, the Presidential Address as well as the resolutions passed by the Session created a new enthusiasm among Congressmen in particular and the people in general. It was clearly laid down that "planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society." In moving the resolution on the subject in the Open Session, Shri Nehru made it very clear that India did not desire to follow the socialistic pattern of other countries in a doctrinaire fashion. India has to evolve her own pattern of a Socialistic State where there will be fuller employment, more production and equitable distribution of the

national wealth. Resolutions on International Affairs, Economic Policy, Unity and Integration, Purity and Strengthening of Organisation, Constructive and Developmental work, Bhoodan and Sampattidan, Agrarian Reforms and Rural Credit and Basic Education were important from several points of view. These resolutions indicated that the Congress was vitally interested in all the internal as well as international problems of the day and was determined to bring about a new social and economic order with a sense of urgency. The Avadi Session solemnly resolved to liquidate unemployment and to reconstruct the educational system on the basic pattern within a period of ten years. This is not an ordinary pledge or determination. To bring about a socio-economic revolution in the country through

peaceful and democratic means would require hard and honest work with a goodwill and co-operation of the people.

There has been some controversy about the contents of the socialistic pattern envisaged by the Congress. Various resolutions recently passed by the Congress in regard to its economic policy make it abundantly clear that the basic aims of economic reconstruction in India are full employment, greater production and social and economic equality. In order to achieve these objectives, it is necessary to build up basic or key industries under social ownership or control. But so far as consumer goods industries are concerned every attempt has to be made to develop them on decentralised and co-operative basis in order to increase production as well as provide better facilities for unemployment. Shri U. N. Dhebar in his Presidential Address at Avadi observed that India cannot keep a Communist or a socialist pattern of the Western type.

"We would now go ahead and mobilise our strength and our resources to the fullest extent in the channel of development of cottage and small-scale industries."

Shri Dhebar also laid emphasis on the reservation of spheres for small-scale and cottage industries in relation to large-scale industries. This unambiguous stand on the part of the Congress, he hoped, would clear "all misapprehensions in the minds of our colleagues working under the guidance of Shri Vinobaji and other constructive workers." Shri Nehru in the course of his report to the A.I.C.C. at Avadi observed:

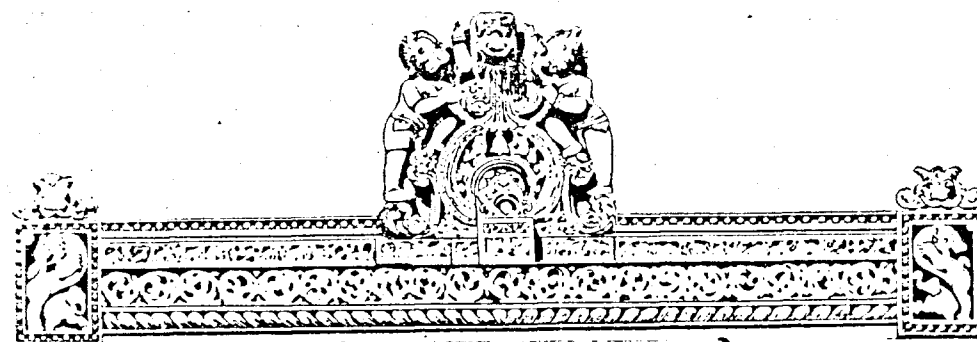
"However fast we may develop our big industries, it is inevitable that great emphasis should be laid on the widespread development of small-scale and cottage industries. The Congress has always stood for cottage industries. Today the need for their growth is even more important as in no other way can we absorb the unemployed and add substantially to our production."

While speaking on the resolution on the Socialistic Pattern in the Subjects Committee, Shri Nehru thought that the word Sarvodaya was the best and most expressive term for the kind of society envisaged by the Congress. He did not, however, like to "exploit" the term Sarvodaya for political purposes. Apart from its economic aspect Sarvodaya was a way of life embodying the high ideals

preached by Mahatma Gandhi. It was, therefore, not fair to use this word in a cheap manner. But it is as clear as day-light that in an under-developed country like India, socialism can only mean the Sarvodaya pattern of society where there is ample opportunity for the growth and development of the individual as well as society through widespread decentralisation of political and economic power.

The resolution on basic education also deserved special attention. The Congress has now made it amply clear that the basic system of education is "eminently suitable for the needs and conditions of India." The Congress has also called upon all the State Governments "to further, as early as possible, this policy so as to implement it fully in both rural and urban areas in a systematic and well-planned manner within a period of ten years." Today we have to face the paradox of large-scale unemployment among the educated youngmen on the one hand and the dearth of trained personnel for the execution of our developmental schemes on the other. This paradox can be resolved only by introducing the principles of basic education in our existing educational institutions. It is hoped that all the State Governments would take up this matter in all seriousness so that our educational system may be suitably integrated with the actual requirements of national development. Without such co-ordination and integration it will be difficult to achieve speedy social and economic development of the country.

The Avadi Session of the Congress did not indulge in platitudes and pious hopes. It asked Congressmen to set their own house in order and resolve to work ceaselessly for bringing about a Welfare or a Sarvodaya society as speedily as possible. This solemn resolve throws a great responsibility on all of us. We have to work for the achievement of our ideal in a "do or die" spirit. Shri Nehru gave us a new slogan at the Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C.: "*Aram Haram Hai*"—it is sin to rest. There can be no rest for any one of us so long as the social and economic conditions of India do not register a definite change for the better. All of us, therefore, must move forward towards our goal with courage of conviction and unshakable faith in the nobility of our mission.



WELFARE EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

By M. S. BHATIA, M.A.,
Lucknow University

THE idea of a Welfare State is embodied in the Indian Constitution under the directive principles of State policy. Though these principles cannot be enforced by any court of law, the State will always regard them fundamental to the governance of the country. The recent declaration of the Prime Minister of India regarding the achievement of socialistic ideals is a testimony to the fact that practical solutions are being sought to be achieved in the spirit of the directive principles. The main functions of a Welfare State are to ensure a living wage, free and compulsory education, a proper level of nutrition and public health, a proper standard of living, just and humane conditions of work for all citizens, so that each individual should have full opportunities to lead a complete life. In fact, the five great evils, namely, ignorance, squalor, idleness, want and disease should have no place in a State where welfare ideals have been accepted. These five giants cannot be eliminated overnight and to eliminate them the State has to put in constant and continuous efforts. It may be pointed out that in India, for the attainment of free and compulsory education, a period of ten years is laid down.

The chief features of economic and social conditions in India are a low per capita income, unemployment, illiteracy, poor health and backwardness, and to remove these or to curb them down, we require material and human resources. So far as human resources are concerned, India is rich enough and can afford to lend millions to any other country on reasonable terms but with regard to material resources, like other under-developed countries, India suffers a lot. There are financial stringencies and to undertake welfare services a sufficient amount of expenditure is needed. To finance such expenditure, particularly when expenditure on security services, defence services, foreign relations and civil administration is very high, is a difficult task. India's first Five-Year Plan provides expenditure for welfare services amounting to Rs. 599.81 crores out of the total expenditure of Rs. 2244 crores. The welfare expenditure includes, expenditure on education, health, housing, labour and labour welfare, amelioration of backward classes and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, rehabilitation and unemployment and accounts for 26.7 per cent of the total plan outlay. The original Five-Year Plan embodied Rs. 2069 crores as capital outlay for socio-economic development of the country but the magnitude of unemployment necessitated that Rs. 175 crores should be made available to decrease unemployment. The second Five-Year Plan is to start from the next year. As stated by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh it is likely to undertake an expenditure of Rs. 5000 crores, both in the public and private sectors. The main

emphasis in the next Plan period will be to provide suitable employment for the unemployed and under-employed persons. Thus gradually the foundations of a Welfare State are being laid down. Though importance which ought to have been given to welfare services has not been given, the tendency of incurring more and more expenditure on these services may be witnessed. For the development of the rural sector of Indian economy, rural extension service and Community Projects schemes have been set up which are covering one out of every eight villages in India.

We shall make a detailed study of advances made during the last seven years on the problems of education, health, labour, welfare, uplift of the backward classes, rehabilitation of displaced persons, famine relief and protection of the infirm and destitute. During the last few years in the extension and advancement of welfare services our Central and State Governments have taken lead upon other social agencies. Local bodies, which are in direct contact with the public, both in urban and rural areas have also shown keen interest in the problem of social welfare. There are more than 10,000 voluntary and private organisations engaged in the social and economic development of the country. These voluntary organisations collect funds from charitable endowments and trusts, contributions, donations and gifts to the tune of Rs. 50 crores every year and more than Rs. 25 crores are spent on welfare services in the same year. We are also receiving foreign aid from various foreign governments, international organisations such as Unesco, WHO, Unicef, FAO and foreign private institutions like Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation, for specific welfare programmes. In the years 1951-53 such kinds of foreign aid amounted to Rs. 155.3 crores. In this article the expenditure of Central and State Governments on welfare services will be studied.

RURAL WELFARE

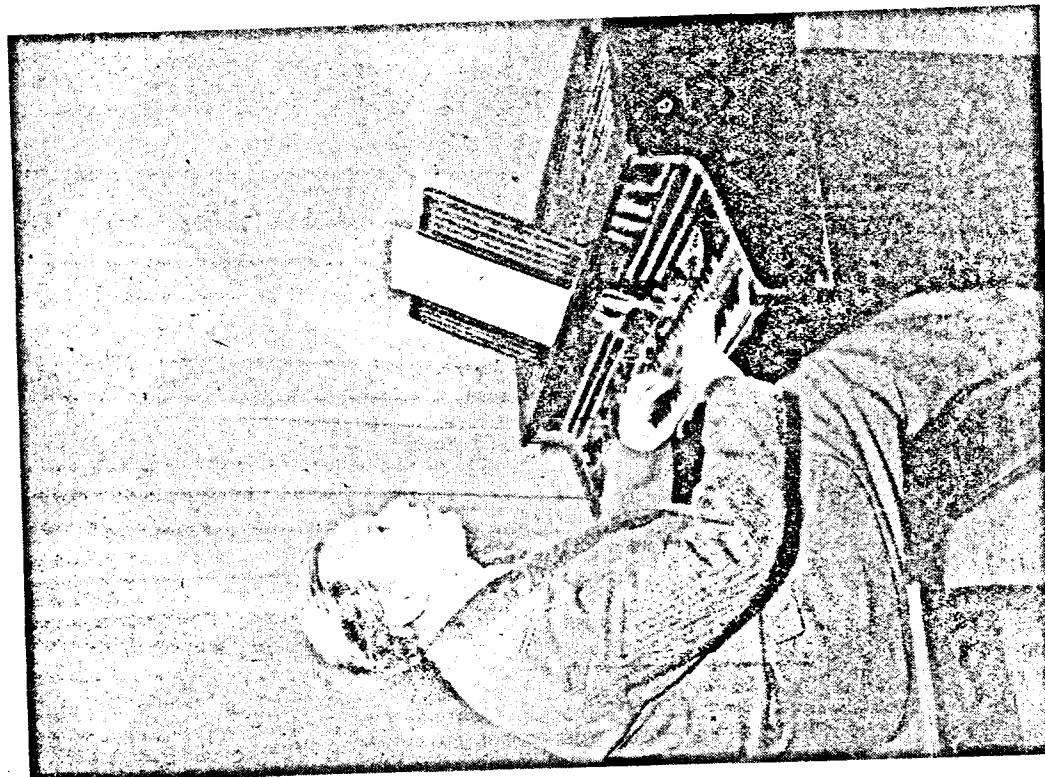
The problem of rural welfare has got great importance because 84.6 per cent of India's population are living in villages. The Father of the Nation said, "India's soul lies in villages." Because of these facts the Planning Commission gave priority to the development of the rural sector. It may be mentioned that agriculture and community development and irrigation cover 25.6 per cent of the total plan outlay. To improve agricultural production, Community Projects and National Extension Services (NES) have been introduced. Community Projects schemes were started on October 2, 1952, the birthday of Gandhiji. Inauguration was made with 55 projects, each covering 300 villages. Each project is divided into three blocks and covers a population of 2 lakhs. The expenditure on each project in five years will amount to Rs. 45



A blind person operating a machine



Dr. Helen Keller and her Secretary Miss Polly Thomson (right)



I. Varovich playing the new electric musical instrument "V-S"
Photo by Evzerikhin



Tzu Pai-shi, the people's artist of China (water colour)
By Victor Klimashin
The USSR Art Exhibition

lakhs. Main functions of the Community Projects are to popularise the scientific means of cultivation, to increase agricultural production, to provide supplementary occupations to the surplus labour force and to bring improvements in village structure by voluntary labour and by the application of co-operative principle. Though the State will assist the villagers by organising research, supplies and services and credit, projects should be self-sufficient in other aspects. The Prime Minister of India said that "it is the dynamo providing the motive force behind the Five-Year Plan." The N.E.S. was inaugurated in April, 1953, in order to carry modern methods of agriculture to the doors of the farmers, besides reorienting their outlook in other walks of life. During the Plan period 25 per cent of the total rural population will be covered by the extension service and the entire country in 10 years. Under the Five-Year Plan during the first three years Rs. 107.6 crores have been spent on agriculture and community development out of Rs. 373.7 crores provided in the Plan. It may be pointed out that development of agriculture is a states-subject. Therefore, apart from the expenditure undertaken under the Plan, State Governments have made provisions in their budgets for rural development. Though expenditure made by the State Governments deals with the economic aspect of village life, yet to detach it from a broader social aspect will be a mistake. The expenditure made in the rural sector by the States from 1948-49 is as follows:

TABLE I
Rural Services Expenditure* and Total
Expenditure (in Crores of Rupees)

	Part A States		Part B States	
	Rural services expenditure	Total expenditure	Rural services expenditure	Total expenditure
1948-49	17.04	250.52	—	—
1949-50	20.90	287.29	—	—
1950-51	21.74	293.08	5.37	91.93
1951-52	23.47	309.11	4.59	100.53
1952-53	23.72	329.37	6.06	104.88
1953-54	20.74	343.21	6.26	116.21
1954-55	22.89	400.89	6.68	127.64

It may be observed from Table I that expenditure on rural welfare is increasing from the last six years. In Part A States in the year 1948-49, total expenditure made available for rural development amounted to Rs. 17.04 crores whereas in 1953-54 and 1954-55 it amounted to Rs. 20.74 crores and Rs. 22.89 crores respectively. Since the dawn of independence, in the year 1952-53, expenditure for the rural welfare was highest. The increase in expenditure in Assam is approximately fourfold from the year 1948-49 to the current year. As regards Part A States, except for Bombay, Punjab and U.P. all other States showed a

significant increase. In spite of the increase, per capita aggregate expenditure in Part A States in the current year is very low. In terms of percentage it is 5.75 per cent of the total expenditure. In case of Part B States the increase in expenditure is not very great. In the year 1950-51, it was Rs. 5.37 crores and in the current year it is Rs. 6.68 crores. As regards Part B States, except for Mysore all other States provided every year, more and more for rural development. In the year 1954-55, Part B States, budgeted 5 per cent of Rs. 127.64 crores (total expenditure) for rural development. If the expenditure on irrigation be included in the rural welfare expenditure, the percentage for rural welfare will go to approximately 10 per cent in case of Part A States and 9 per cent in case of Part B States. It may be pointed out that the estimate of expenditure for the industrial development during the current year is Rs. 8.59 crores and Rs. 8.16 crores in Part A States and Part B States respectively. The combined expenditure for rural welfare in Part A States amounts to Rs. 48.99 crores in the year 1954-55, which is 12 per cent of the total expenditure. In the same year, 16 per cent of the total expenditure has been set aside for rural development, in case of Part B States. The expenditure being made for rural development is much lower than the necessary outlay. In order to accelerate the work of development in the rural sector the expenditure must be increased. This will decrease the inequality of income prevalent between urban and rural sectors which may attract our educated youth towards the countryside.

EDUCATION

Since the dawn of independence the role of education has increased. It is not in the interest of democracy to allow 90 per cent of population to remain illiterate. The Directive Principles of State Policy say that

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years."

India is a poor country and the per capita income is just sufficient to maintain a person at a subsistence level. Children from an early age are asked to help parents in the task of making both ends meet. Education not only proves a liability for small pockets but also turns small pockets smaller. Therefore it is one of the duties of the State to see that its citizens are well-equipped to shoulder future responsibilities. Prime Minister Nehru rightly said that

"I do not care what happens to you grown-ups, but I do care what happens to children, for they are the India of tomorrow."

It is roughly estimated that half of the total income of the State Governments might be required to put into practice the Article 45 of the Indian

* Rural services expenditure includes expenditure on agriculture, rural development, veterinary and co-operation.

Constitution concerning free and compulsory education for all children under 14 years.

Out of the total Plan outlay Rs. 155.66 crores have been provided for education to be spent in the course of 5 years of which Rs. 116.37 crores will be financed by the State Governments and Rs. 39.02 crores by the Central Government. During the first three years of the Plan (1951-54) Rs. 73.00 crores could be spent on education. Apart from the provision provided in the Plan State Governments have budgeted in their budgets, expenditure on education, which during the last few years was as follows:

TABLE II

Expenditure on Education (in crores of Rs.)

	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Part A States	43.55	45.46	49.61	48.33	61.54
Part B States	14.36	15.81	17.42	18.74	20.60
Total expenditure	57.91	61.27	67.03	67.07	82.14

In Part A States total expenditure on education in 1950-51 amounted to Rs. 43.55 crores and in the current year Rs. 61.54 crores have been budgeted. Practically, all States have shown increase in expenditure on education except Madras. Per capita education expenditure in Bombay is the highest and in Orissa lowest, among the Part A States. Bombay is spending double the aggregate expenditure being spent in other Part A States. Expenditure in the current year in Part A States on education is 15 per cent of the total expenditure, whereas in 1948-49 it was 12.5 per cent of the total expenditure.

In Part B States total expenditure budgeted during the current year is Rs. 20.60 crores, whereas in 1950-51 it was Rs. 14.36 crores. In the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 expenditure on education amounted to Rs. 15.81 crores and Rs. 17.42 crores respectively and in the subsequent year it was Rs. 18.74 crores. There has been a gradual increase in expenditure in all the States from 1950-51. Part B States are spending more than Part A States on education. It may be pointed out that in Part B States per capita education expenditure in 1952-53 was Rs. 2.57 and in Part A States Rs. 1.78. In Mysore and Travancore-Cochin, 57 per cent and 98.8 per cent respectively, of children in age group 6-11 were attending school, and these two States are spending the highest per capita expenditure on education among Part B States whereas Rajasthan is at the bottom. In Part B States the increase in expenditure on education is more than the proportionate increase in total expenditure. (Ref. Table I).

Every year the Central and State Governments and other agencies are spending Rs. 115 crores on education. It has been estimated by the Committee on Ways and Means of Educational Development that India requires Rs. 400 crores every year for education to achieve one of the Directive Principles of

State Policy. When will this huge expenditure be made available, depends on the speed of progress of the Five-Year Plan.

HEALTH

Social and economic planning involves improvement in the health programmes. To increase the capacity to work it is necessary that the adjustment of the individual should be brought about to physical and social environments. Not only the diseases which are responsible for high infant and maternal mortality are to be cured but preventive measures are also to be adopted to uproot them. The average expectation of life in India is very low and the death rate is very high. The respiratory diseases and epidemic diseases show a sorry plight. Bhole Committee found in 1946 that the main causes for the poor health of Indians were unhygienic environments, bad housing conditions, inadequate sanitary arrangements, poor nutrition and insufficient medical facilities. The Committee recommended an outlay of Rs. 300 crores per annum in order to raise the standard of public health in India. The actual expenditure undertaken by the State Governments may be seen below:-

TABLE III

Expenditure on Medical and Public Health (in crores of rupees)

	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Part A States	19.83	22.48	23.38	22.50	27.45
Part B States	6.28	7.22	7.85	8.64	9.24
Total expenditure	16.11	29.70	31.23	31.14	36.69

The expenditure on health has increased from Rs. 19.83 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 27.45 crores in 1954-55, in Part A States. In the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 total expenditure on public health amounted to Rs. 22.48 crores and Rs. 23.38 crores. The expenditure on medical service is curative and the expenditure on health is preventive. In 1952-53, Part A States set aside 7 per cent of their total expenditure for public health but in the current year the percentage is slightly lower. Per capita expenditure on public health in industrially advanced States, Bombay and West Bengal, is higher than the per capita aggregate expenditure in Part A States. In the year 1952-53, West Bengal spent Rs. 1.97 on each individual.

In Part B States total expenditure on public health increased from Rs. 6.28 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 9.24 crores in 1954-55. Among Part B States, Mysore is spending highest and Hyderabad lowest, on public health. In 1952-53, public health expenditure of Part B States accounted for 7.1 per cent of the total expenditure. In comparison to Part A States, Part B States are spending more, per capita, on public health. The former had Rs. 0.84 and the latter Rs. 1.16 in 1952-53 (per capita).

In addition to the expenditure made available from Revenue Account for public health some States

have undertaken capital outlay and have incurred expenditure on drainage schemes, improvement of water supply, water works, pumping station and pipe lines. Including all such kinds of expenditure, 1.55 annas and 1.12 annas, was a per capita, per month expenditure in Part B States and Part A States, respectively, in 1952-53. The sad plight of medical facilities in rural areas in 1951-52 was that for every 120 villages there was one dispensary. Under the Five-Year Plan steps are being taken to provide medical facilities to the rural population with the help of mobile dispensaries. In order to provide medical facilities within the reach of each individual, Yunani and Ayurvedic forms of medicines are being subsidised. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 99.55 crores provided in the Five-Year Plan, the Centre's share is Rs. 17.87 crores and the share of States is Rs. 82.24 crores. The expenditure actually made during the first three years of the Plan is Rs. 43.19 crores. The increasing expenditure on health, it is feared, may increase the rate of growth of population and may set aside the targets of the Plan. Therefore, it is suggested that family planning programme should be given extensive propaganda.

DISPLACED PERSONS

The problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons, though different from other social problems, has got an equally great importance. The number of displaced persons rehabilitated during the last seven years is 75 lakhs. More are pouring in from East Pakistan. The Government of India took the responsibility of rehabilitation of displaced persons and have spent more than Rs. 200 crores since independence. The main problems of displaced persons were accommodation and gainful employment. The expenditure incurred by the Government of India and State Governments is as follows:

TABLE IV

Expenditure on Displaced Persons (in crores of rupees)

	Central Government	Part A States	Part B States	Total expenditure
1947-48	2.72	4.24	—	6.96
1948-49	15.20	4.04	—	19.24
1949-50	12.23	2.65	—	14.93
1950-51	8.73	3.50	.08	12.31
1951-52	13.34	1.06	.53	14.93
1952-53	7.70	.67	.43	8.80
1953-54	12.68	—	—	12.68
1954-55	10.24	—	—	10.24

The expenditure of the Government of India on rehabilitation of displaced persons in the year 1948-49 was Rs. 15.20 crores, and the total expenditure incurred by the Central and State Governments amounted to Rs. 19.24 crores. Due to the decreased influx of refugees from Pakistan, expenditure in the subsequent years also decreased. The first Five-Year Plan has

provided Rs. 85 crores for rehabilitation of displaced persons and the expenditure undertaken during the first three years of the Plan amounted to Rs. 77.74 crores. The scheme of compensation was sanctioned by the Government of India in the end of 1953. The compensation to displaced persons will be a percentage of total loss of immovable properties in West Pakistan. The amount sanctioned in the current year to be paid as compensation is Rs. 4 crores which will be charged to capital account and will ultimately be transferred to Revenue Account. The evacuee property left by Muslim emigrants amount to Rs. 200 crores and the expenditure incurred by the Government of India in the form of construction of houses and loan advances amount to Rs. 85 crores. Both these items will form part of the compensation to be paid to displaced persons in order to make good, losses accrued to them for no fault of their own.

LABOUR WELFARE

Article 32 of the Constitution says that "the State shall within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of undeserved want." The Labour Ministries are functioning, both at the Centre and in the States. The problem of labour welfare has been recognised and accepted. The schemes of Employees State Insurance have been started, and are to be financed by the State, the employer and the employees and will provide medical benefit, sickness benefit, maternity benefit, disablement benefit and dependants' benefit. Under the Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 6.91 crores has been provided. During the first three years of the Plan Rs. 3.09 crores have been spent on labour welfare.

WELFARE OF DEPRESSED CLASSES

In the Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 28.87 crore has been provided for the upliftment of backward classes and scheduled castes and tribes. These backward classes are the victim of historical causes. Due to social, economic and political disabilities they have not been able to develop their faculties and have been suppressed to a position of lower class citizens. The total population of these degraded citizen according to the 1951 Census is 7.04 crores which is roughly 20 per cent of the total population. In order to find out measures for the upliftment of backward classes a 'Backward Classes Commission' under the Chairmanship of Sri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar has been appointed. The Commission is to investigate a composite plan for the uplift of depressed classes. At present these backward classes are being provided educational concessions, vocational training scheme and reservation in services. In order to provide them proper representation in the Parliament and Legis-

lative Assemblies, seats for them have been reserved. For the upliftment of Tribal People, under the Government of India a North-East Frontier Agency has been set up. Out of the total Rs. 28.87 crores provided in the Five-Year Plan for the welfare of backward classes, Rs. 14.61 crores were spent in the first three years of the Plan. It is hoped that more emphasis will be given to uplift these down-trodden citizens of India.

FOOD SUBSIDY

In order to provide relief to poor classes and middle classes who were hit hard by the increasing prices the Union Government and the State Governments provided food subsidy. From the year 1948-49 the money made available to subsidise food may be seen below:

TABLE V

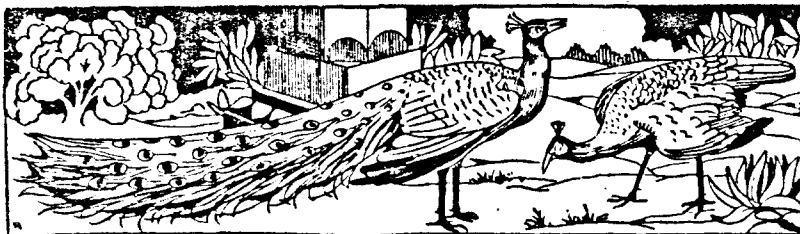
<i>Expenditure on Food Subsidy (in crores of Rs.)</i>				
	Union Government	Part A States	Part B States	Total expenditure
1948-49	31.64	0.69	—	32.33
1949-50	27.54	0.76	—	28.30
1950-51	28.61	3.17	2.18	33.96
1951-52	50.78	4.19	2.46	57.43
1952-53	25.54	4.69	2.31	32.54
1953-54	2.61	4.68	2.32	9.61
1954-55	.52	3.41	2.05	5.98

The total expenditure made available by the Union and State Governments as food subsidy in 1948-49 amount to Rs. 32.33 crores. In the year 1951-52, the expenditure was higher and amounted to Rs. 57.43 crores. In the subsequent years food subsidy was gradually withdrawn, therefore, expenditure decreased and amounted to Rs. 5.98 crores in 1954-55. India's past history shows that she had been haunted by famines and the measures provided to help the people of famine-stricken areas were inadequate. The inadequacy of measures resulted in a loss of millions of human beings and cattle. In order to provide famine relief in time a consolidated fund by the Union and State Governments has been set up. The fund will provide an emergency social service.

Some start has been made in the fields discussed

above. There are explored but untouched fields where start is yet to be made for social upliftment. The untouched fields may result in lop-sided development of individuals and groups in a Welfare State. For the rehabilitation of vagrants, criminals and delinquents no adequate measures have been taken and to protect the infirm and destitute no legislative code has come forward. Because of the Prime Minister's initiative welfare of children and youth have been undertaken but a lot remains to be done for women's welfare, including immoral traffic in women and removal of prostitution. The housing condition practically remains the same as it was seven years back. The factory workers continue to live in slums where it is injurious for a sane person to live in. The *aahatas* of Kanpur continue to accommodate workers and in certain places a single room is accommodating as many as seven members of a family. No such scheme has been taken up where the non-voluntary unemployed could be provided relief. Though the Prime Minister's Fund has been raised in order to provide relief to victims of natural calamities, no regular steps have been undertaken to eliminate these calamities. There is no guarantee that the State will protect these unfortunate victims next year. The Welfare State should not allow such a state of affairs to continue.

We require huge capital to raise the economic standard of the masses and to remove certain social evils of the society. The expenditure can be financed by tapping new tax resources and by increasing intensively and extensively the existing resources. Mr. Deshmukh said that if any Finance Minister was to say that the limit on assessment of land revenue had been reached in his State he would dismiss that statement as unworthy of consideration. There are untapped fields which are to be brought into the tax structure. Like the State of Uttar Pradesh, every State should also create a ministry of social welfare which should present the welfare budget separately on the lines of other ministries' budgets. Anyway, the aims of a Welfare State must be achieved as early as possible so that social security and social justice may be made available to the citizens as a civic right.



THE WORLD'S NEWS AGENCIES

A Comparative Study

(Contributed)

THE Soviet Government's news and information agency, *Tass*, reaches almost 40 per cent of the world's population, according to a study of world and telegraphic news agencies, issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (*Unesco*) in 1954.

The coverage estimated for *Tass*, says *Unesco*, is less than that of the three United States News agencies combined—the Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service—which supply news to approximately 65 per cent of the world's people. The news service range of *Tass* is also less than that of *Reuter's* (British), which reaches 55 per cent of the world's people and the French *AFP* which is read by 54 per cent of the world's people.

A further comparative study of regular commercial news agencies, official government information services, and *Tass* (whose organization is unique among the world's news gathering and disseminating agencies) is of interest.

ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA

The Associated Press of America is the world's oldest and largest news gathering organization. It is a mutual, non-profit co-operative enterprise maintained and controlled by the newspapers and radio and television stations which share in the collection and dissemination of news. The Associated Press had its beginning in 1848, about the time Samuel F. B. Morse introduced his "electrical telegraph." At that time six New York City newspapers, each struggling to gather its own news at burdensome expense, agreed to co-operate on the project and share the costs.

Because of the diverse editorial viewpoints of the six newspapers, it was agreed that the news gathered by the Associated Press should be impartial, factual, objective—a novelty to news-handling practices of those days. Lawrence A. Gobreight, an AP reporter in Washington during Abraham Lincoln's time, was the first to summarize an AP man's creed, which still stands. Gobreight said: "My business is to communicate facts. My instructions do not allow me to make any comment upon the facts. My dispatches are sent to papers of all manner of politics. I, therefore, confine myself to what I consider legitimate news, try to be truthful and impartial."

By 1900, the year of incorporation of the present-day AP, the number of participating newspapers had grown from 6 to 612. Because it is owned by its members on a co-operative basis, the AP has no stock, makes no profits and declares no dividends. Its annual news service budget exceeds \$28,000,000. More than 7,000 newspapers and radio and television stations throughout the world share its news. Of this total, 1,744 newspapers and 1,376 radio and television stations are in the United States.

The AP has about 3,000 fulltime employees throughout the world, with about 900 of these in the foreign service. There are nearly 100 bureaus in the United States and 50 more overseas, all manned by AP staffers. In addition, thousands of "string" correspondents funnel into the bureaus news from outlying territories. AP members also contribute their local news to the news report. All told, approximately 100,000 persons are mobilized into the AP news coverage organization.

The communications system includes 350,000 miles of leased teleprinter circuits in the United States, the only leased news wire cable across the Atlantic, a teleprinter circuit connecting the principal European capitals and radiotype circuits to the Latin American countries and the Far East. Approximately 1,000,000 words of news—equal to seven or eight average-length novels—are produced by the Associated Press every 24 hours.

Included in its picture service is AP wirephoto, a system of transmitting news pictures by means of electrical impulses over the wires simultaneously to a farflung network of receiving points. News pictures can be sent on the network from virtually every part of the country by means of portable wirephoto transmitters. This high fidelity network is in addition to the news wire circuits and amounts to 25,000 more wire miles.

The Associated Press inaugurated this picture service on the New Year's eve, 1934. More than 300 newspapers receive spot pictures on the direct wire network, plus hundreds more who subscribe to the service through expedited airmail and train delivery. AP is also the largest distributor of news pictures in Europe.

AP members are also eligible for AP newsfeatures, a department that specializes in featured articles, columns, feature picture displays and comics. AP newsfeatures for the past several years has published 17 highly successful supplements averaging 16 pages each that have been expanded by subscribing newspapers to 64 pages through local advertising.

The Associated Press also provides a picture library service through Wide World Photos, Inc. Its files contain an estimated 60,000,000 news and feature pictures.

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Founded in 1849 as a small news sheet published in Paris under the editorship and management of the German-born Baron Paul Julius de Reuter, Reuters news agency was gradually expanded and finally passed into the ownership of British newspapers in the early thirties. Principal news agencies in many countries are now affiliated with Reuters.

In the mid-forties Reuters decided to support the move in the United States for freedom of international news and for the abolition of the system of government controlled news agencies throughout

the world. A declaration to this effect was eventually written into Reuters' new contracts with other news agencies. Like other international news agencies throughout the free world, Reuters has expanded its scope and services in different countries since World War II as a natural result of the healthy competition that has been evident in the world news coverage in the postwar period.

In addition to its services of imperial and foreign political news, Reuters has increased considerably, especially in Europe and the Far East, its special services of commercial and financial prices. The agency has also built up, since 1944, a very large picture service in the United Kingdom as a subsidiary enterprise.

In 1946, Reuters entered a new phase in its history by extending its ownership to newspapers outside of the United Kingdom and by the end of 1950 it was owned and operated in partnership with the press in Australia, New Zealand and India and had a member from each of these three countries on its Board of Trustees.

INDIAN NEWS AGENCIES

Associated Press of India—Press Trust of India: The Associated Press of India was founded in Madras in 1910 by the late K. C. Roy who became a trusted confidant of every political party in India because of his burning desire for Indian nationalism. In 1913, Roy accepted an offer for amalgamation with Reuters. At this time the Indian Government also felt the need for a telegraphic news service and Roy started a small two-page news bulletin known as the "Indian News Agency" which was distributed to leading civil and military officers as well as to small newspapers in India. This service was, however, discontinued in 1948.

In 1919, the Associated Press of India became a full-fledged subsidiary of Reuters and K. C. Roy worked for Reuters until his death in 1931. During his lifetime Roy dreamed of making the Associated Press of India a great national news agency of India to be owned by the Indian press. This dream was fulfilled when in 1948 the Indian newspapers joined hands and formed the Press Trust of India with the object of establishing a co-operatively owned internal news agency. The same year PTI signed a three-year contract with Reuters by which it took over the Associated Press of India and joined Reuters as an equal partner in the collection and dissemination of world news. This agreement was, however, terminated in 1952. PTI now purchases Reuters services in bulk and distributes it to its subscribers throughout India.

Like the Associated Press of America, PTI also is a non-profit enterprise. Its daily output of national and international news was estimated by the Indian Press Commission (1954) to be around 46,000 words.

United Press of India: Founded in 1933 as a public limited company, the United Press of India is the second most important independent news agency with a very large clientele in India. During World War II

the agency had a hard time as it had to compete, through normal telegraphic channels, with the API which had teletype facilities. In spite of these difficulties UPI's service was quite extensive.

In May, 1948, UPI opened its teletype circuits between Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay and now the agency has 25 bureaus throughout India, most of which are linked by teletype.

By an agreement with the Agence France Presse, UPI has also been providing foreign news to the Indian press since April, 1951. According to the Indian Press Commission, its daily service of national and international news is around 17,000 words.

None of these agencies tolerates any pressures from the government of their respective countries, because, as the Indian Press Commission said, "The fact that the Government is our own does not make the slightest difference to the basic objection to any sort of Government control or interference" in the matter of factual reporting of news.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT INFORMATION AGENCIES

In this age of dynamic international relationships official government information agencies also have a distinct role to play. Governments of many of the major countries have, accordingly, launched their own information programs since World War II. Defining the role of his own Government's information program in July, 1953, President Eisenhower said:

"It is not enough for us to have sound policies, dedicated to goals of universal peace, freedom and progress. These policies must be made known to and understood by all peoples throughout the world. That is the responsibility of the new United States Information Agency."

The President's directive also contained the following statement of purpose for the agency:

"The purpose of the United States Information Agency shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communications techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace."

The U.S. Information Agency known abroad as the U.S. Information Service is now carrying on this mission in 77 countries through various media of which a daily press service is only one.

Similarly, the British Information Services, as part of the British diplomatic missions, also carry out a considerable press information program throughout the world as does the Government of India which, on a smaller scale and through their diplomatic missions abroad, also maintains a foreign information program.

However, Tass an official agency discharges obligations to the Soviet Government which are not incumbent on a press service operated under private enterprise nor official government information services, such as those maintained by India, the United States, and United Kingdom.

Unlike the other international news agencies, Tass is a "department of the Soviet State," according to a

deposition by the Soviet Ambassador to the United Kingdom, made in 1949. However, unlike the official government information services, such as those supported by the United States, the United Kingdom and India, Tass also attempts to maintain the fiction that it is a bona-fide news agency. Its claim to the latter status seems somewhat dubious however.

Called in defence of a libel suit against Tass in England, the Soviet Ambassador certified:

"The telegraph agency of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, commonly known as the Tass agency, constitutes a department of the Soviet State, i.e., the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exercising the rights of a legal entity."

By this definition Tass enjoys the privileges and immunities conferred on any arm of a sovereign State. So ruled the British Court of Appeals in finding for the defendant.

Under its privileged status, Tass serves the Soviet Government in various capacities. In addition to its news function, it provides the opportunity for favoured officials to serve abroad; it supplies observation posts in foreign countries and lends a journalistic cover to special missions.

There has been a frequent interchange of jobs between the Soviet Foreign Office and Tass. Likewise, a few of the Soviet personnel attached to the United Nations Secretariat were originally listed as Tass correspondents.

"The staff of Tass are civil servants," says the UNESCO report. "The director-general and his deputy are appointed direct by the USSR Council of Ministers. They stand very high in the State hierarchy. One of them was ambassador to the United States and another the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before becoming head of the agency."

Y. M. Lomakin, who served in the American division of Tass in Moscow and later in the Tass office in New York, was appointed Soviet Consul General in New York in 1946. Two years later, he was expelled by the United States for his part in the Kasenkina case. Mrs. Oksana Kasenkina, a Soviet Consulate employee, jumped out of a third-floor window of the Consulate rather than submit to enforced return to the U.S.S.R. In demanding Lomakin's recall, the U.S. Government charged him with "abuse of the prerogatives of his position and a gross violation of diplomatic standards."

One indication of the importance attached to the dual operations of Tass is the relative density of the agency's offices by major regions.

The North American continent is serviced by Tass offices in New York and Ottawa and a sub-office in Washington, D.C. There is only one office for South America, in Montevideo, Uruguay.

By contrast, western Europe, which is contiguous to the USSR and its satellites, has 11 offices: London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, Helsinki, Vienna, and Athens.

Although it is known that Tass has offices in all the satellite countries and East Germany, there is little

information regarding them. The UNESCO study notes that in 1950 the national agencies of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Red China and North Korea "formed under the aegis of Tass a co-ordination group which has linked them very closely together in the field of news."

Four Tass posts are located in the Near East-African area and another four in the Middle East. Aside from the major stations, however, Tass posts are sometimes shifted or discontinued. Since 1952 there has been no office in Japan, the Far East being covered by offices at Peiping, China and Djakarta, Indonesia. There is one office in Sydney, Australia and another in New Delhi.

By joint decrees of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of Ministers in 1925 and 1935, Tass was given exclusive rights as a monopoly to distribute news and information of a national or foreign character to the press of the constituent republics of the USSR. It also gathers news of official importance from these regional sources to be sent abroad.

The administrative control of Tass is embedded in a maze of criss-crossing lines of authority. Officially, it is responsible to the Council of Ministers.

A wartime government news agency, *Sovinform*, which still functions in a limited field, broadcasts commentaries six days a week in five languages. Also leading newspapers, such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on occasions send correspondents abroad.

From its home radio centre in Moscow Tass transmits short-wave broadcasts in code—Morse of Hellschreiber, a form of teletype. Seventeen of these transmitters are beamed to foreign receivers and seven to newspapers with the USSR. The agency does not use voice transmission, relying on Radio Moscow for this type of broadcast.

Despite its pre-eminence in the Soviet news field, Tass has not escaped criticism from other organs of the Government.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, through its official publication, *Culture and Life*, in November 1946 upbraided Tass for "unsatisfactory domestic and foreign report." The complaint stressed that it was "hard to understand what really took place at the Paris peace conference."

Between 1946 and 1954, four instances involving Soviet intelligence officers masquerading as Tass representatives made sensational news. The incidents occurred in Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Australia.

The first case was revealed by Igor Gouzenko, defecting cipher clerk of the Soviet Military Attache's office in Ottawa, Canada. In his statement to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Gouzenko named Nikolai Zheveinov, Tass correspondent in Canada from 1942 to 1945, as supervisor of a spy ring.

The second instance of this kind occurred in Sweden. In 1951 and again in 1952 cases of espionage by

Swedish citizens on behalf of the Soviet Government were exposed.

The first of these plots involved Ernest Hilding Anderson, a petty officer in the Swedish Navy. On October 30, 1951, after Anderson's arrest it was brought out in the Stockholm Magistrate's Court that the accused had been a Communist since 1929. In 1946 he was approached by members of the Soviet Embassy staff in Stockholm.

Anderson's initial contact was with the Soviet Embassy Secretary, Constantine Vinogradov. Later, Tass representative Viktor Anisimov arranged for the Swedish officer to supply information on the Swedish Navy, coastal defence installations, secret water lanes and suitable invasion areas along the coast of northern Sweden.

Anderson was convicted of espionage on November 14, 1951. The Swedish Government took no action against Tass itself, but on September 21 it demanded the recall of Orlov.

A second spy case broke in February 1952, with the arrest of Fritj Enbom, a Communist newspaperman. On July 31, 1952, Enbom and six other Swedish citizens were convicted of espionage. During their trial, testimony in court again implicated Anisimov and Orlov. The Soviet assistant military attache, Major Yegorov, likewise figured in the espionage activities, according to the testimony. All three had left the country before the trials took place.

In another instance involving a Tass employee, the alertness of Dutch police unmasked a Soviet agent.

Late in 1952, a minor official in the Netherlands Government reported to the police that the Tass

representative at The Hague, L.K. Pissarev, had tried to obtain classified papers from him under threat of blackmail. The police advised the official to maintain contact with the Soviet agent. Meanwhile, they prepared a set of bogus documents marked "classified," which were to be delivered to Pissarev.

On December 23, 1952, the police arrested Pissarev in the act of receiving the pseudo secret papers from the Dutch official.

The Soviet Government immediately denounced the whole operation as a trumped-up conspiracy, demanded the release of Pissarev, and called for the punishment of the security officers who had arrested him.

The Soviet demands were rejected by the Netherlands Government, which announced on February 24, 1953, that Pissarev would be deported on the grounds of "illegal activities as an alien." On the following day the Soviet agent was placed aboard a Soviet vessel at Amsterdam.

A more recent case involving Tass occurred in Australia, where a defecting Soviet official, Vladimir Mikhailovich Petrov, spelled out in detail the functions and activities of his former associate in the MVD, Tass representative Antonov.

Shortly after the dramatic rescue from Soviet Officers of Mrs. Evdokia Petrov, another fugitive from the Embassy, the Soviet Government demanded the return of Petrov and his wife. When this demand was rejected, the Soviet Government on April 23, abruptly suspended diplomatic relations with the Australian Government and withdrew its staff from Canberra, including Tass representative Antonov.

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ROLE OF THE NAGA FIGHTING MONKS IN BENGAL

WIDELY divergent views have been held as to the role of the Naga Sannyasi raiders in Bengal. One school of thought, evidently inspired by Bankimchandra's writings in the *Anandamath*, has taken them to be patterns of selfless patriotism, while the other school has looked down upon them as a body of marauders whose sole object was to make their own gains, by ruthless spoliation of the inoffensive people.

In a paper the early inroads of the Naga Sannyasis in Bengal read at the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore, Mr. N. B. Roy, Head of the Department of Islamic History, Visva-Bharati University, refuted the prevalent views. He has shown by an array of facts that the transference of ruling power

into the hands of a foreign company in 1757 and the oppression caused by their commercial agents throughout the country caused great dissatisfaction among the trading classes as well as among the landowning aristocracy. The Sannyasis took advantage of this discontent and made the Company's civil stations and factories, and occasionally the Zamindar's *kutcheries*, the financial prop of the alien ruler, the main target of their attack. The Sannyasis' main object, Mr. Roy opines, was to weaken slowly the bases of the British power in order to sweep it off. The general indictment of them as *freebooters* is unsupported by any evidence attesting systematic pillage of the peasantry and commercial elements of the population.

THIS HAPPENED IN HISTORY: JALIANWALLAH BAGH

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

the place where a martyr sheds his blood for the otherland is sacred. It is a tragedy however that all such spots are not remembered. Some however escape oblivion. Jalianwallah Bagh at Amritsar on India-Pakistan border belongs to the latter category and is place of national pilgrimage.



Entrance into Jalianwallah Bagh today. It was through this passage that Dyer entered the Bagh. The gate was built after the massacre

The massacre at Jalianwallah Bagh on April 13, 1919, one of the many never-to-be-forgotten black deeds of England in India. Tagore renounced his Knighthood in protest against the massacre. His letter to Governor-General Lord Chelmsford conveying his cision is one of the great letters of history. He wrote:

"The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab in quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India . . .

"Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. . .

"Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror . . .

"The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I, for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions by the side of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are made to suffer degradation not fit for human beings."

Tagore, by the way, was the first to protest openly against the Jalianwallah Bagh tragedy and the excesses of the Martial Law regime which followed.

It was February, 1919. The curtains had been just rung down upon the Great War in November, 1918. India had made no mean contribution to the Allied victory. Even Lord Birkenhead, no friend or admirer of India, admitted:

"Without India the war would have been immensely prolonged, if indeed without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion."

The Secretary of State for India Mr. Montagu's announcement in the Commons was still fresh in the memory of political India. That dignitary had observed in course of a statement of policy on August 20, 1917:



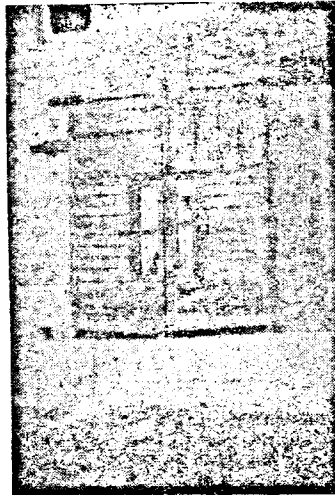
Passage in the west

" . . . the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

High hopes had been roused.

Immediately after the armistice in November, 1918, Lord Chelmsford's Government in India passed a set of coercive measures. These are known as the Rowlatt Acts from the name of the chairman of the committee on whose report they were based. They

sought to perpetuate the extraordinary powers enjoyed by the Government during the War. The Acts, passed on March 3, 1919, empowered the executive to do away with the ordinary legal procedure and authorised imprisonment without trial.



Passage in the east

Mahatma Gandhi had appeared on the Indian political scene not long ago. He organised a passive resistance movement in protest and a "mighty wave of mass demonstrations, strikes, unrest and rioting spread over many parts" of the Indian sub-continent. The Government, however, rose equal to the occasion and put down the movement with a heavy hand. April 6, 1919 is a Red-letter Day in India's struggle for independence. She registered her protest against the Rowlatt Acts by *hartal*, prayer, fast and mass meetings. Hindus and Muslims joined hands. India from the snow-capped Himalayas to the farthest South felt a new life surging within. The Congress broke the fetters of constitutionalism and took its first steps on the path of revolution. The nationalist movement was converted into a revolutionary movement. Gone were the days of arm-chair politics. Politics had become dangerous.

In common with the other parts of the country, the Punjab too felt the pulsation of the new life. Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Iron Man of the Punjab, was worried. He wanted to keep the Punjab immune from the virus (1) of nationalism.

A mammoth procession of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs paraded the streets of Amritsar on the Ram Navami day, which, in 1919, fell on the 9th of April. The procession was perfectly peaceful. It betrayed no anti-Government sentiments. On the contrary, the processionists sang the British national anthem as a mark of loyalty to His Britannic Majesty. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar summoned the two

most popular local leaders, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal to his house on the 10th. Both were arrested and sent to an unknown destination. A profound gloom enveloped Amritsar. The people were agitated. A large mob set out from the old city to the Deputy Commissioner's residence in the civil lines to ascertain the whereabouts of their beloved leaders. The railway line separates the old city from the new where the Deputy Commissioner lives. There is a wooden bridge over the rail line about a furlong to the east of Amritsar Railway Station. It is locally known as the *paunriwalla pool*, i.e., the bridge with flights of steps. The mob was orderly and non-violent and marched bareheaded as a mark of mourning. It was stopped at the *paunriwalla pool* by military pickets. Brickbats and stones are alleged to have been thrown at the pickets from among the crowd. Some rounds were fired by the military. One or two were killed. A few more were injured. The old, old story—the police or military obstructing the passage of the mob stoned and firing resorted to by the former in self-defence!



Railway Bridge where fire was opened by the military on April 10, 1919

The mob made its way back to the city taking the dead and wounded with it. As it was passing by the National Bank of India in the heart of the old city, the British Manager of the Bank fired on it. The beloved leaders had been spirited away. Comrades had been killed and wounded. Access to the authorities had been denied. The unprovoked attack by the Bank Manager was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. The mob became violent and set fire to the building of the Bank. The Manager was roasted alive. The infuriated mob killed four more Englishmen, plundered the railway goods shed and set fire to several Government buildings. The local authorities grew panicky and handed over the

town to the military (10th April) in anticipation of the approval of higher authorities.

April 13 was the 1st Vaisakh, the Indian New Year's Day, and the day of the Vaisakhi fair. A public meeting was called at Jalianwallah Bagh on the occasion. Who the conveners were is not clear. The precincts of the Golden Temple were the usual venue for the Vaisakhi fair. Not far from the Golden Temple in the centre of the old city lies Katra Jalianwalla. An open space in this area surrounded by houses is known as Jalianwallah Bagh. None of the houses opens on the Bagh, which is thus in reality a large back yard—12 bighas in area—of the rows of houses around. There were two narrow outlets in the east and in the west. Babu Kanhyalal of the local bar was to preside over the meeting of the 13th April. He however did not. It is not clear who actually guided the deliberations of that fateful meeting. About 20 000 people—mostly men with a sprinkling of women.



Lewis guns were mounted in a semi-circle in the place marked x x x x. The platform was built after the massacre

It was the afternoon of April 13. The meeting had begun. One Mr. Hansraj was speaking. Brigadier General Dyer, Commander of Amritsar area, entered Jalianwallah Bagh from the north. A wall of planks stood on that side. Dyer's soldiers removed the planks and made a passage through the wall. They were 150 in number—100 Gurkhas and 50 tommies. Lewis guns were mounted in a semi-circle completely barring the passage through the opening noted above. Dyer had also brought machine guns and an armoured car. But these could not be brought in through the narrow entrance to Jalianwallah Bagh.

Dyer ordered the assembly to disperse. Hardly had the order been given when the Lewis guns began to belch fiery death upon the unarmed gathering. The way out to the north was blocked. Jalianwallah Bagh was a veritable rat-trap. The crowd rushed helter-skelter to the two outlets in the east and the west. Many escaped through them. Others crossed the walls of the houses around and made good their

escape. Many again jumped into the well in the eastern part of Jalianwallah Bagh. About 150 dead bodies were later on recovered from the well. It is known today as the Martyrs' Well.



Martyrs' Well

Firing continued for five minutes. Dyer made his way to the Golden Temple from the field of his victory (1). The hero (1) of Jalianwallah Bagh was honoured with *shiropa* (robe of honour) by Sardar Arur Singh, the Government-nominated 'Mohunt' of the Temple.

What a gruesome spectacle Jalianwallah Bagh must have presented in the meanwhile! "Dyer's Feast of Blood" had been over. The cries of agony of the wounded—not a few, mortally,—filled the air. Sixteen hundred rounds had been fired. The ammunition having run short, Dyer had to stop in spite of himself. This we have on Dyer's own admission. 379 were killed. 1200 were injured. A mother with her baby was standing at the window of one of the houses around the Bagh while the firing was on. A bullet

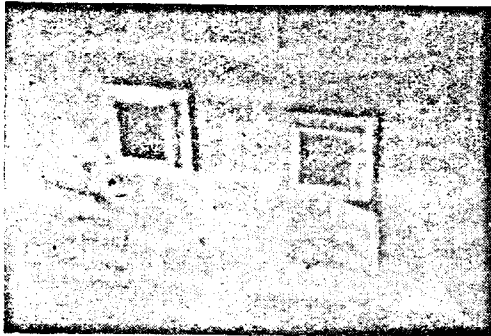


Blood of the mother and the child trickled down this wall. Bullet-marks on the right

killed both. Blood trickled down the wall. The wall stands today as a mute witness of that tragic event. Holes made by bullets in the walls of some of the surrounding houses are still extant.

Dyer went away after the blood-bath. There was none to burn or bury the dead, none to nurse the

injured. A thick pall of gloomy terror had descended on the city of the Golden Temple. Streets were deserted. Few stirred out of doors. Life seemed to have been stilled. Only Ratan Bai, the wife of one



Bullet-marks in walls

of the injured, spent the whole night in the shambles that Jalianwallah Bagh had become. She tended her dying husband and others as best as she could. She could not save her husband's life. The Government later on offered Ratan Bai a compensation of one lakh of rupees. The spirited widow scornfully rejected the offer. She demanded that General Dyer should be shot dead and offered to give one lakh of rupees to the man who would shoot down Dyer. Ratan Bai is still alive. She is 60 or thereabouts today. The present Government of India gives her a monthly pension of Rs. 50.



The site of the President's dais of the meeting of 13.4.19

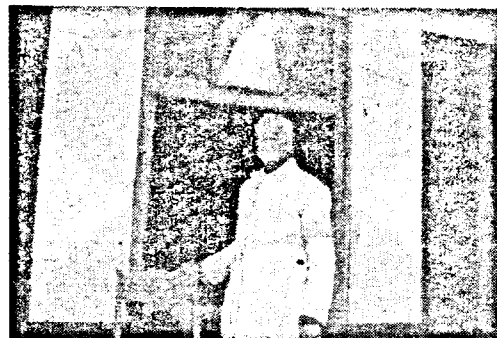
Amritsar was placed under Martial Law on April 15. The press was gagged. The issue of third class railway tickets was stopped. Crawling was compulsory for all Indians in a particular lane where an English woman Missionary Doctor had been roughly handled by an infuriated mob. She had been saved, it should be noted, by some residents of the same locality. Shooting, public flogging and long terms of imprisonment became the order of the day. The reign of terror unleashed in Amritsar by the Martial

Law regime in 1919 almost puts to shame the atrocities of Tamerlane, Nadir Shah and the whole gamut of them. That however is a different story.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved General Dyer's action in shooting down the unarmed mob at Jalianwallah Bagh and the following telegram was sent to him on behalf of the former immediately after the massacre:

"Your action correct. The Lieutenant-Governor approves."

A Committee was appointed by the Government to enquire into the happenings. Lord Hunter was the chairman of the Committee. General Dyer, who was examined by the Committee, was not sorry for what he had done. He said in reply to a question by the Hon'ble Justice Rankin of Calcutta High Court, a member of the Committee:



Sri S. C. Mookherji, Honorary Secretary of the Jalianwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust

"It was a horrible duty I had to perform. I think it was a merciful thing. I thought that I should shoot well and shoot strong, so that I or anybody else should not have to shoot again. I think it is quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back and laughed, and I should have made what I consider a fool of myself."

The Committee's finding was that Dyer was guilty of nothing more serious than an "error of judgment." It reports *inter alia*:

"... the city having passed under the Military, he (Dyer) had tom-tommed in the morning that no gatherings would be permitted and the people openly defied him, he wanted to teach them a lesson so that they might not laugh at him. He would have fired and fired longer, he said, if he had had the required ammunition. He had fired only 1,600 rounds because his ammunition had run short."

The Congress also appointed an enquiry committee after the Jalianwallah Bagh massacre. Its report is not available anywhere today. It could have thrown much new light on the tragedy and on what happened before and after it.

The Jalianwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust formed in 1920 purchased the Bagh for about five and a half lakhs of rupees. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is the Chairman of the Trust. It has converted the arid, abandoned, backyard into a pleasant park. A Martyrs' Memorial will soon be constructed here.

The first of Vaisakh is observed every year in the Bagh as the Martyrs' Day when wreaths are placed on the Martyrs' Well. It is a pity that many who

assemble on the occasion do not behave in a manner befitting the solemn occasion.

Shri Shasthi Charan Mookherji has been working as the Honorary Secretary of the Jalianwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust since its formation in 1920. Not a little of the Bagh's improvement is due to the selfless labour of Shri Mookherji.*

* The photographs in the article are by Sardar Rabinder Singh and Sardar Paramjit Singh.

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BOMBAY: THE CITY OF TRADITIONS AND ROMANCE

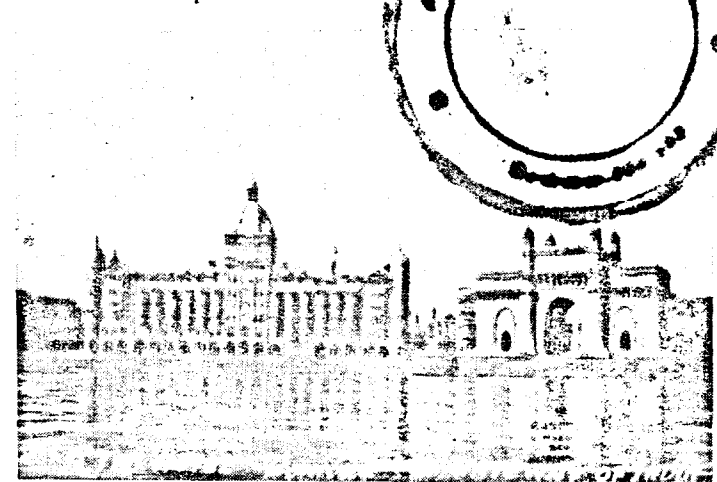
By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

PERHAPS no other city of India is so charming and is haunted by the tourists and connoisseurs of beauty as Bombay. With its lovable climate and palm-fringed coasts, institutions and industries, palatial structures and ever-green parks, it is a "Dream City" in the strictest sense of the romantic term. Perched in the middle of the Western coast of the country, facing the majestic Arabian Sea, Bombay has been hailed as the "Gateway of India."

A brief survey of the history and growth of the city will be of no little interest to us. Lying obscure for centuries as a fishing hamlet, it was ceded to the Portuguese in 1534 by the Sultan of Gujarat. Charles II got Bombay from the Portuguese king as a part of his dowry when he married Catherine of Braganza in 1661. Charles, who was least interested in this new Indian possession, leased it to the East India Company for a paltry sum of £10 a year. The occupation of Bombay by the British was auspicious since they gradually built factories, flocked here in larger numbers and developed their trade by finding out new land and sea routes. With the advance of time and successive generations, Bombay saw a rise in population and a spectacular growth of industries. By steady reclamation and the enterprise of the inhabitants, it has today become one of the greatest cities of the world.

The city is essentially cosmopolitan and has a population of over four million. The large majority of the people, however, are Maharastrians, Gujaratis and Parsees. A recent economic survey of the city reveals that the people spend more for their luxuries and clothing than those of other cities which is a sign of their fair earnings and general prosperity. Wheat is their staple food but the majority of the inhabitants are non-vegetarians and

depend largely on sea for fish for which they seem to have a special liking. An average citizen is fair-complexioned, educated and intelligent enough to know what he needs and how to achieve his ends. The women of Bombay are fine connoisseurs of dress and ornaments and are susceptible to the ever-changing fashions. Graceful in their simplicity and manners, they have developed fine traits of culture and have a passion for education.

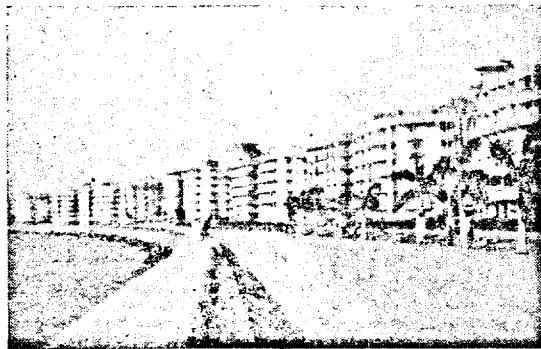


The Taj Mahal Hotel and Gateway of India, Bombay

Rocked for centuries in ever-new cradles of different cultures and civilizations, inspired by everything that is novel and glorious, the people of Bombay have developed altogether different and peculiar customs. As in Paris, the fashions are ever-changing and the younger generation is led by the film stars who themselves mostly copy from the West. The growing urge for recognition and fame is a natural virtue and every individual is conscious of it.

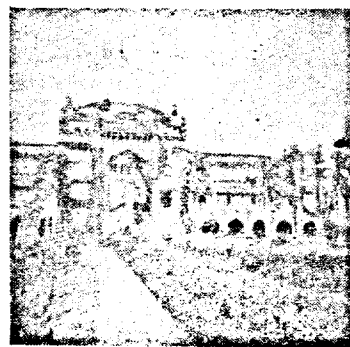
However, life for all is not a bed of roses and there are no longer "fields fresh and pastures new" for every individual who enters this city to make a living. The

enormous growth of competition and hurdles in all walks of life have handicapped the people since World War II. New undertakings by the present-day Government and a variety of nation-building lofty plans have come to the rescue of the common man who has some means of earning his livelihood while working for the country's progress.



Marine Drive, Bombay

The climatic condition and soil of Bombay favour the growth of plenty of wheat, cotton and oil seeds in this region. Bombay has several large cotton textile industries which serve one of the most fundamental needs of the nation. It has many large and small scale factories producing commodities like glass, paper, silk, leather, drugs and electrical goods. A number of cottage industries flourish in the precincts of the city and the deft fingers of the people produce many lovely toys, decorated plates, jewels and embroidered textiles which are proudly purchased by foreign tourists who come here for business transactions, holidaying and fun. Bombay's sea-side is ever-busy and the Indian steamers carry a number of raw materials, oil seeds, hides and skin, and finished products to various countries of the world.



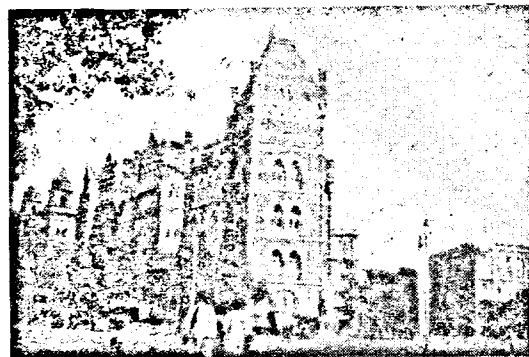
Prince of Wales Museum

Bombay is one of the world's finest and safest harbours and covers about 75 square miles, thus providing ample shelter for ships at all seasons. The affairs and general administration are looked after by the Bombay

Port Trust consisting of a chairman and twenty-one members.

The University of Bombay came into existence in 1857 and has since maintained a fairly good record of the growth of higher education in the state as a whole. There are several standard colleges specializing in various faculties and providing a worthy staff. Bombay has become a great centre of learning and is one of the most cherished spots of the students and scholars. Besides the University and its affiliated colleges, schools and technical institutions, there are several learned societies, libraries and private organizations which contribute to the general cause of education.

Served with a network of roadways, suburban railways and highways, Bombay presents a spectacle of being extremely busy and always in a hurry. The Fort area and the streets running round the Crawford Market are the busiest centres where one can see buyers and sellers from practically all corners of the world. There are separate localities for different kinds of traders like the cloth-merchants, jewellers, chemists and drug-

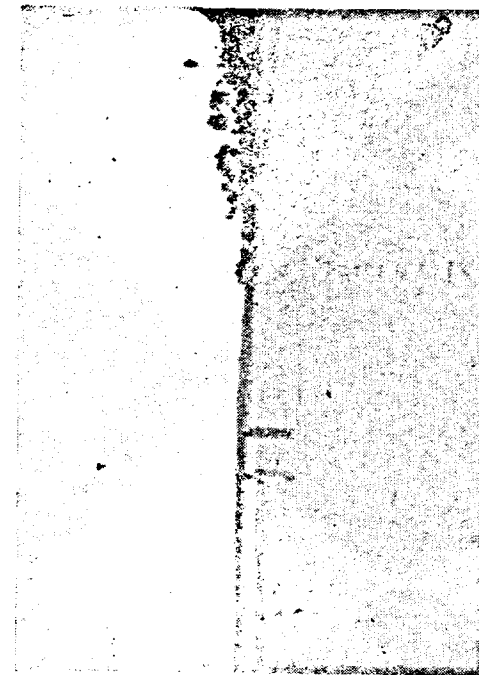


A grand building in the Fort area at Bombay

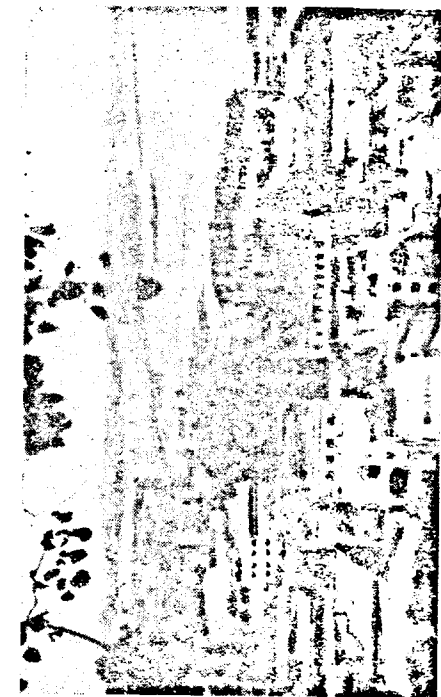
gists and dealers in leather goods. The charming many-storeyed buildings, luxurious picture-houses, hotels and restaurants, add glamour to the beautiful highways flooded with trams, cars and buses, and well-dressed men and women moving all the while. Running gracefully parallel to the sea, the Marine Drive is city's loveliest street where men and women elegantly dressed come for evening strolls.

Being the capital of the State, Bombay is the official headquarters of the Chief Minister, who, with the help of his ministers, looks after the general administration of the city. The Chairman of the Corporation of Bombay and its elected members, working in co-operation with the State Government, look after the needs of the masses in regard to sanitation and primary education, etc.

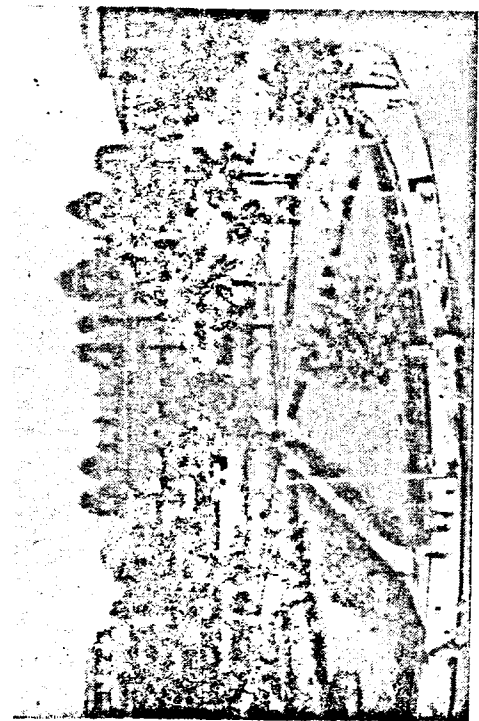
Often referred to as the Hollywood of India, Bombay is the centre of film-industry. There are quite a few well-equipped studios and the city's surroundings favourably suit out-door shootings of the pictures. The leading technicians, musicians, actors and



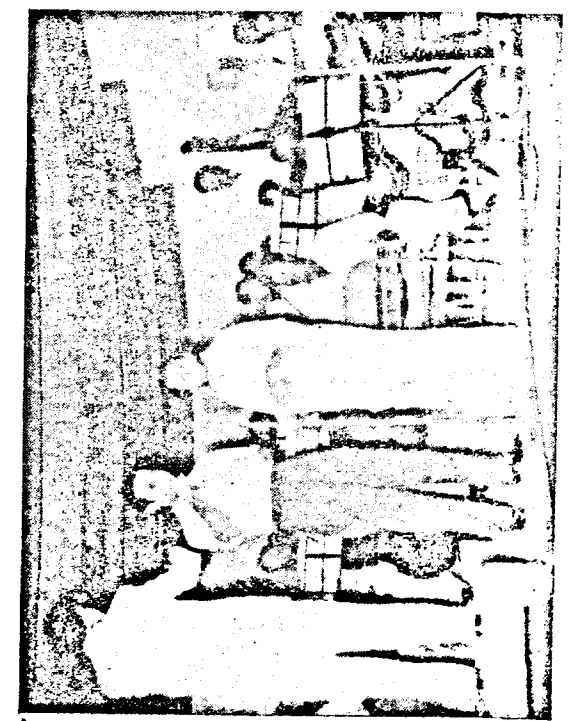
Juhu, Bombay



The most charming view of Bombay from the Malabar Hill. At a distance are the Chowpatty Beach and the Marine Drive



The General Post Office, Bombay



Play-back singer Lata Mangeskar with her party on the sets of a studio in Bombay

producers have made Bombay their home, and have several organizations for protecting their rights and privileges. Though the standard of the pictures produced in recent years have gone down, it must be admitted that some efforts are being made to improve the quality of the pictures by the Indian Motion Picture Academy. Bombay is the Headquarters of the Films Division of the Government of India which brings out weekly news-reels and documentaries which are exhibited all over the country and abroad.

The chief attractions of the city, among many others, are the Victoria Gardens and Hanging Garden on the top of the Malabar Hill, hot springs of Vajreshwari, the Prince of Wales Museum and the Parsee Tower of Silence. The Brabourne Stadium, located near the Flora Fountain, is the happy hunting ground of those people who are fond of games and sports. One of the finest stadiums of the east, it can accommodate over 30 thousand people and has a beautiful swimming pool within it.



A view of the palm-fringed coast of Bombay

Bombay's Mahalakshmi Race Course is the finest in the country and attracts the adventure-loving aristocrats from everywhere. The race course is an awful place where one believes either in plundering everything or losing one's all. Many of these sportive gentlemen and ladies are known to have lost their last coins and returned barefooted all the way to their homes!

The Malabar Hill is one of the most lovable spots in the whole of Bombay. It is a feast for eyes for one to see from here the Chowpaty Beach, the distant

Marine Drive and the magnificent roads and structures surrounded by the sea. Even more colourful is the view at moonlit nights when the gentle rays of the moon play with a million pearly drops of the ocean.

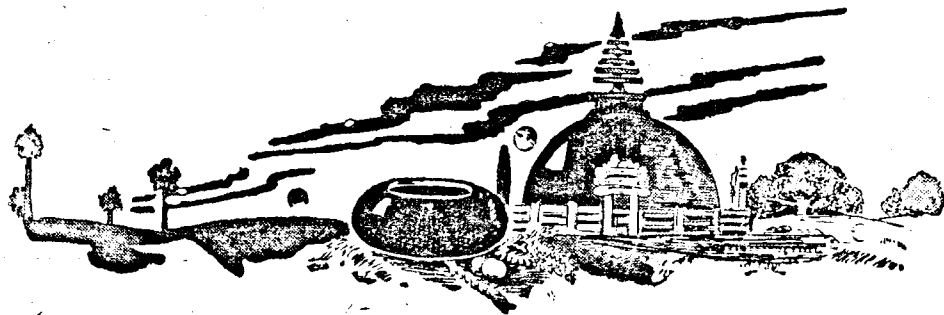
The much-busy and exhausted citizens badly need a pleasant change after hard work in the evening hours and a walk by the sea-shore makes them forget their worries and problems. As the day wanes, thousands of men and women, dressed in their multicoloured pleasing clothes, flock at the beaches. At the "Gateway of India" small boat-trips can be arranged at a nominal cost. Similarly the Chowpaty Beach, with its heavenly breeze and romantic surroundings, welcomes the people from different localities.

But the most sought-after sea-side resort of the inhabitants is the Juhu beach. This lovely palm-fringed coast, with its sand softer than powdered wheat, swallowing millions of tiny drops produced by the tides of the sea, delights the holiday crowds with its gentle breeze and lovable sights of Nature. The youngsters gather here for fun and play, lovers meet here late in the nights and a thousand others assemble to feast their eyes with the charming display of the crowds and nature.

The Elephanta Island, lying only 12 miles away from the city, unfolds irresistible charms which none can afford to miss. Special arrangements are made at Bombay's harbour where the people can purchase return-tickets for Elephanta. This small island is studded with rocky mountains and tropical vegetation and is noted for having "Trimurti" in one of the ancient rock-cut temples here. On all Sundays the motor-boats and ships carry the gay and fun-loving people and reach the island in two hours. The people enjoy gazing at the roaring sea which seems to embrace the sky at a great distance. The colourful costumes of the crowds, their merry laughter and the "life" brought about by them produce an atmosphere of fun, enchantment and romance.

In Free India the prospects of the city and its people are brighter as many ambitious schemes are coming to the fore-front every moment. With such a variety of attractions and opportunities, renewed charms and promises, Bombay is a dream city and welcomes the people from all corners of the breathing world.*

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KAVADI—A WAY OF WORSHIP

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

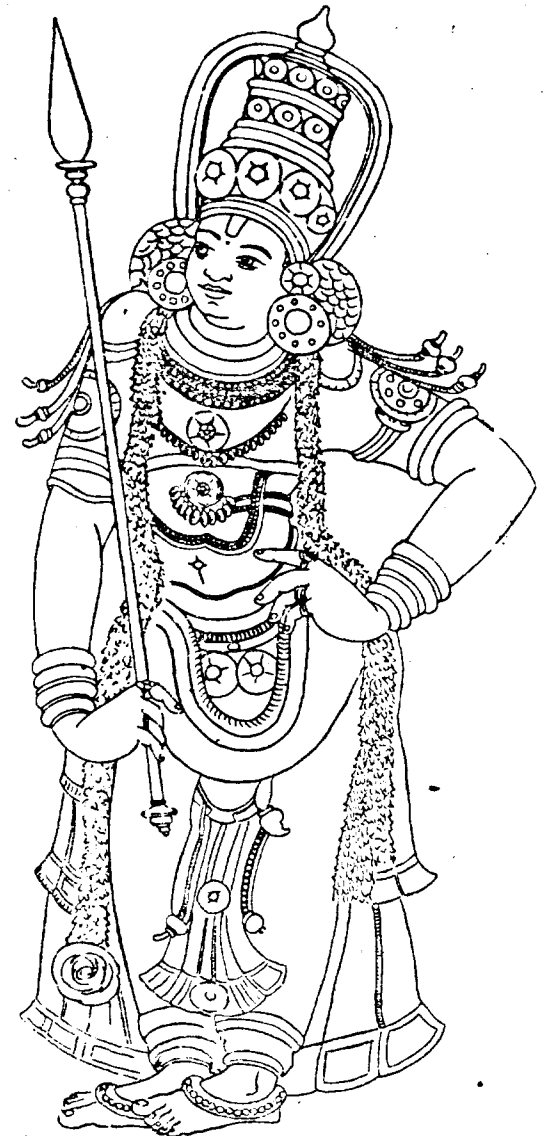
KAVADI, one of the picturesque ways in which the Hindu devotee worships the Deity and invokes His blessings, is a popular form of worship, common in South India where there are a large number of shrines consecrated to God Subramania, one of the many manifestations of the Hindu Deity. It is quite a common sight in South India to come across Pandarams, a section of the Saivites, going about from place to place with *Kavadis* on their shoulders and soliciting alms.

On Fridays, particularly, pilgrims from far and near flock to the shrines dedicated to God Subramania. The devotees worship the Lord by taking *Kavadis* and going in procession round the temple. The devotee who has sworn to take a *Kavadi* has to undergo certain austerities, such as fasting on the day preceding the ceremony. On the morning of the religious function of paying homage to the Lord by offering the *Kavadi*, the devotee bathes at the temple tank, besmears his forehead and body liberally with sacred ash and sandalpaste, clothes himself in saffron-coloured robes, puts on a scarlet conical cap and takes on his shoulder the *Kavadi*, an arch-like wooden structure covered with garlands of flowers, incense and peacock plumes and containing two tiny brass pots full of milk or rose water. The devotee puts on the dress of a Pandaram (mendicant). The *Kavadi* is consecrated by priests before they reverentially raise it and place it on the shoulders of the devotee.

Pandarams, a community among the Saivite Hindus, officiate as priests. They usually wear saffron-coloured robes and always carry with them a long thin cane with silver knobs at either end. They adorn their exposed chest with rows of garlands made of *rudrakshams* (sacred beads), both large and small. Their head-dress is a scarlet cap embellished with symbolic designs. They carry a small brass bell, and a brass plate for receiving alms. Legend avers that in days of yore Lord Siva walked the earth in the guise of a Pandaram. On the basis of this the Pandarams contend that they have a God-given right to solicit alms and officiate as priests when *Kavadis* are offered to God Subramania, whom the Puranas identify as the favourite son of God Siva.

The *Kavadi* is placed on the shoulders of the devotee by the priests amidst stentorian-toned music. Flutes play, trumpets blare, drums beat, conches sound, gongs boom, bells ring, cymbals clank, devotees chant prayers in loud tones and the *bhajanam* (worship to the accompaniment of songs) is in full swing. The air is thick with the fragrant smoke from varieties of incense burnt in honour of the Deity. The Pandarams and others who gather, clap their hands and sing *keertans* (devotional songs) in praise of God Subramania. The vocal and instrumental music of the *bhajanam* is of such a vigorous

and emotional type that the pious devotee becomes inspired by divine agency and in the pitch of religious fervour he dances in ecstasy. It is a thrilling sight to witness



God Subramania. He carries the *vel* (silver spear) in his hand. (After a mural painting in the Sri Padmanabhaswamy Temple). *Kavadi* is an offering to God Subramania, son of Lord Siva the devotee dancing with the *Kavadi* precariously perched on his shoulder.

A compact but colourful procession comprising the chief devotee who carries the *Kavadi*, the priests and

other worshippers, ascend the steps leading to *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. Here the *Kavadi* is lowered after offering prayers and performing special rites to the Lord. The God is then annointed with the contents of the two brass vessels in the *Kavadi*. After this the devotee returns to his residence in procession. The *Kavadi* is placed on the floor that has already been sanctified by the priests for the purpose. Again, special

pain, for they become oblivious to all pain having gained the psychological state of ecstasy. They thrust miniature silver *vels* (sharp tridents believed to be the weapon of God Subramania) right across their cheeks or the lips thus closing the mouth.

Subramania, who is also known as Kumara and Skanda, is a God who instils awe into the hearts of His worshippers. He is held in supreme fear and veneration



A Pandaram (mendicant) with the *kavadi* on his shoulders. He has pierced his lips with a silver trident and placed a lime fruit in between the hips

and elaborate religious rituals are conducted. During periods of illness or when persons want to achieve some wish they take a vow to offer to the Lord a *Kavadi* in the event of their recovery from disease or the fruition of their desire. The *Kavadi* is considered to be a remarkable offering to God which proves beneficial to the devotee.

Some of the worshippers go to the extent of inflicting upon themselves various kinds of self-torture to please the God and obtain from Him the remission of their sins. These ascetics who carry *Kavadis* move about with long sharp pins and awe-inspiring hooks embedded in their flesh. Skewers pierce their lips and close their mouths. They take a vow of silence. They do not experience any

and the keynote of worshipping Him is the undergoing of severe austerities. The devotees take food only once a day and they abstain from non-vegetarian food and intoxicants. They take a vow of strict celibacy. *Kavadi* is, indeed, a great ordeal for these ascetics. With long and unkempt hair, pointed nails, lustrous eyes, lean body and an unearthly halo about their faces, these ascetics evoke fear and veneration. They return to their normal life only after offering the *Kavadi* to the Lord.

The more enthusiastic and daring among devotees worship God Subramania by taking *Agni Kavadis*. This offering is regarded as supremely sacred to the God. It is performed by walking through blazing fire with the *Kavadi* over the shoulders. Religious fervour and overwhelming faith in the Lord enveloped in an element of mystery give the devotees courage to walk through the glowing fire. In a state of pure ecstasy, they do not burn their feet while striding across the red-hot embers with the *Kavadi*. Popular belief supplemented by experience is that if the *Kavadi* is offered to the God in a spirit of true and absolute faith and in strict conformity with the traditional rituals governing such a holy offering, the devotees emerge out of the flames triumphant without burning the feet, and return home with greater faith in the Lord.



The writer

THE STORY OF HELEN KELLER

By MOHAN SINGH SENGAR

SEVENTY-FOUR-YEAR old blind-deaf author, lecturer and social-worker, Dr. (Miss) Helen Keller's visit to this country brings home to our countrymen the invincibility of human spirit, an odyssey of a relentless fight against the cruel triple handicap of being blind, deaf and dumb. Dr. Keller has a dynamic personality measurably strengthened by her striking mastery over her baffling handicaps. She is a living example of the power of human will and spirit triumphing over insuperable physical handicaps. The unusualness of her achievements is no less interesting than any tale of high-hearted adventure or a perilous conquest.

In spite of the fact that she has attained lasting fame and has been honoured by almost every important country, she does not seem to have done so through any conscious effort at superiority but by trying with all her might "to be like everybody else," like any other normal being. The only conscious effort that we see on her part is her intense and indomitable desire to have a life of a normal person. This important fact has always trudged her ahead and helped her immeasurably to overcome her handicaps. Some of those who were very much impressed by her fine bearing, robust intelligence and keen sense of understanding used to call her a "Wonder Girl" or a "Mental Prodigy," which she always resented for she neither had nor has any wish to be set aside from the rest of mankind. She believes that the blind should live and work like their fellows, unremarked and with full responsibility.

Once she told Madame Maeterlinck in a conversation: "After all, what does it matter what we are? The important thing is what we are able to do." But what Dr. Keller has done, is quite uncommon. It is not uncommon to conceive of fine deeds. But how many are large enough to comprehend them and have the courage and perseverance to perform them! What Dr. Keller has achieved was possible only because of her rare courage, perseverance and self-mastery. This is why victory has been no less glorious than that of any other man of might and Mark Twain has rightly said of her: "The two most interesting characters of the nineteenth century are Napoleon and Helen Keller."

JOURNEY THROUGH DARK SILENCE

Helen Keller was not born blind, deaf or dumb. It was only when she was about eighteen months old that she was stricken with a fever of brain and stomach which left her blind, deaf and dumb. She was born on June 27th, 1880 in a loving and highly intelligent family on a southern plantation near Tuscumbia, Alabama, and



Helen Keller in her library of Braille-books

NOT A "WONDER GIRL"!

Though she is the only blind, deaf and dumb person on record to have received the so-called "Higher Education," it amazes one to find her saying:

"Why bless me? Thousands of people receive College Degrees every year. I did only what almost anyone could do."

was a healthy precocious baby, who talked at six months and walked on the day of her first birthday. But the fact that she has been a perfect child in all respects up to this time could not lessen the misery of her first five years. Deprived of the normal means of learning she grew up almost like a savage, making signs for what she



Helen Keller "talking" to a young visitor with the help of her fingers

wanted and flew into a rage if her indulgent parents did not comply with her whims. Besides a hospitable father, a captain in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War (1865-69), who later edited a newspaper, she had human companionship of her older step-brothers and a baby sister, but all of them felt rather helpless to do anything to help her in any way.

It was only on the third day of March 1887, three months before Helen was seven years old, that Miss Anne Mansfield Sullivan, a twenty-year old girl-teacher at the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston entered Helen's life sealed in dark silence and remade it. Describing the first meeting with her "Guardian Angel" as the most important event in her life, Helen Keller says :

"On the afternoon of that eventful day, I stood on the porch, dumb, expectant. I guessed vaguely from my mother's signs and from the hurrying to and fro that something unusual was about to happen. So I went to the door and waited on the steps. . . . I felt approaching footsteps. I stretched out my hand as I supposed to my mother. Someone took it and I was caught up and held close in the arms, all things else, to love me . . . 'Light; give me light!' was the wordless cry of my soul and the light of life shone on me in that very hour."

Miss Sullivan was pleasantly surprised to find that her charge was no pale, delicate, timid child but "large, strong and ruddy and as unrestrained in her movements as a young colt." She was impressed by the intelligent

and keen sense of understanding of the child; she found her to be a "little short of a miracle." Writing to one of her friends she said :

"The education of this child will be a distinguishing event of my life. She has remarkable powers and I shall be able to develop and mould them."

She took out a doll from her bag and gave it to Helen as a present. After Helen had played with it for a while, Miss Sullivan spelt into her hand the letters d-o-l-l, meaning thereby the object she was playing with. Helen was at once interested in this finger-play and tried to imitate it. Thus began her journey through the impenetrable dark silence. Helen worked so avidly that at times her fingers ached. Within a few months Helen had learnt 800 words and many idioms and was able to count and write in script and Braille. From then on the miraculous became her normal performance and it was impossible to conceal the fact that she had a remarkable mind and a still more remarkable will. From the state of utter helplessness she made increasingly intelligent contact both with the physical world as well as with the world of thought. She found to her amazement that the so-called immobility of her soul had gone.

THE MAGIC OF SMELL AND TOUCH

Without trying to minimise the credit due to Helen and her wonderful response to training, it must be admitted that she did not lack powerful aid and the best possible advantage of environment and education.

From time to time she was taken to different places for trips to gain whatever help science could render and to form impressions about objects, peoples and places. On all these expeditions Helen was accompanied by her Teacher Miss Sullivan. The hope and confidence the Kellers had in Sullivan were justified beyond their expectations. Miss Sullivan became a means of liberating Helen's spirit. For years Helen saw through her (Miss Sullivan's) eyes, heard through her ears and spoke through her voice. What this bond meant to Helen, she has expressed thus :

"My Teacher is so near to me that I scarcely think of myself apart from her. How much of my delight in all beautiful things is innate and how much is due to her influence, I can never tell. All the best of me belongs to her. There is not a talent or an inspiration or a joy in me that has not been awakened by her loving touch."

Nothing could so surely give to character poise and inner harmony as close contact with Nature. Realising fully this value of education which Nature offers, Miss Sullivan early opened the mind of her pupil to Nature's influences. In leading Helen to love Nature and understand her laws, Miss Sullivan laid foundations for her pupil's future knowledge. Helen not only spent almost every waking hour with Miss Sullivan in the large busy household of adults, children, guests and servants, but also accompanied her to the farm and orchards. The animals, flowers, streams, woods, etc., provided an abundant teaching material for Helen's awakening mind. At her southern home Helen's spirit was able to absorb the fragrance of fruit, flower and wood and to learn through a touch the wonder of the earth and the sun on all growing things. Some of the early letters written by Helen reflect the delight the child derived from her dumb comrades and surroundings. A bird, a dog, a donkey and a pony (and later an elephant) held special place in her affection. And this love for birds and animals did not pass with her childhood but has continued up to the present times.

Up to the age of ten, most of Helen's knowledge had come through her hands. She learned the texture and beauty of a butterfly by touching its delicate wings. She learned the shape and size of an elephant by walking around it for an hour feeling its immensity and strangeness. She has moulded her mind like a sculptor fashioning a living breathing work of art. It is with her hands that she perceives the personality and quality of her visitors and listens to their speech by placing her fingers lightly over the mouth of the speaker.

Next to this sense of touch is her sense of smell. She can tell about her surroundings by smelling leaves and grass. She can distinguish a known locality from the humbler areas by the odours issuing from the doors as she walks past.

"I AM NOT DUMB!"

Though she had learnt to read and write by manual aid, Helen was not articulate. When she heard that a certain blind, deaf and dumb Norwegian girl had learned

to talk, she became restless and almost cried, "Why shouldn't I be able to talk also? I must speak." She was taken to Miss Sarah Fuller's Horace Mann School for the deaf and dumb in Boston. By working day and night and practising each word for hours at a time she mastered it. One day on her way back home from the school, Helen turned to Miss Sullivan and told in quite clear tones : "I am not dumb now." This startled Miss Sullivan. She cried with joy : She had actually



Miss Helen Keller

Taken from a Bengali book *Mook-Siksha* (1903), by the late Mohini Mohan Majumdar, one of the Founders of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

spoken! Yes, but not very distinctly and so Helen continued her efforts to gain control of her voice for the succeeding 60 years. During the first few years sometimes she spoke in such undertones that she was audible not even to the few persons around her and at other times it mounted to a falsetto and people around her were rather taken aback. Admitting this she herself wrote :

"I have only partially conquered to hostile silence. My voice is not a pleasant one, I am afraid, but I have clothed its broken wings in the unfailing hues of my dreams and my struggle for it has strengthened every fibre of my being and deepened my understanding of all human strivings and disappointed ambitions."

Her voice continues to be unmanageable up to this day. It was perhaps because of this that when she first appeared in public in 1913, it was rather an ordeal for her. In her embarrassment she remarked : "My mind froze."

HIGHER EDUCATION

Before the age of 15, Helen had been to Baltimore

to see a great Oculist Dr. Chisholm; to Washington to consult Dr. Alexander Graham Bell; to Boston, where she attended the Perkins Institution for the Blind and the Horace Mann School for the Dumb; to Hulton (Pennsylvania) where she studied under a tutor; to Chautanqua to attend a Meeting of the American Association to promote the teaching of speech to the deaf; to Cincinnati, for a consultation of physicians and to the Wright Humason School for the Deaf in New York City. Apart from these she was taken for a pleasure trip to the Niagara Falls, the World Fair at Chicago and the sea-coast of New England.



Helen Keller typing replies to her correspondents

In her sixteenth year Helen embarked upon the most ambitious adventure of her life. She entered a school for women at Cambridge (Massachusetts) to prepare herself for Radcliffe College, the Women's Section of Harvard University. It meant eight years of gruelling work for her and for her teacher Miss Sullivan, who attended classes with her, spelling the lectures into her hand, reading the assignments and transmitting them to her. Helen graduated from the Radcliffe College in 1904 winning special honours in English.

At 18 she had learned much of Geometry, Algebra, Physics with Botany, Zoology and Philosophy. She learned French, German, and Latin too. She had a passion for literature and devoured whatever she could find in most of the modern European languages. Later she developed a taste for poetry, fine arts, "seeing" theatrical performances and movies. She even enjoys Mark Twain's best jokes by vibrations and the golden voice of Enrico Caruso by the touch of her fingers. Her fingers on the piano detects tiny quavers, returns of melody and the rush that follows.

NOTHING UNKNOWN

As a child Helen, by the nature of her handicaps, was spared certain kinds of ugliness as well as all that is coarse and debasing in literature. But as she grew to womanhood she learned at first hand some of the sordid and pitiful aspects of life. About this Miss Sullivan (then Mrs. Macy) once said to Madame Maeternick:

"There is nothing Helen does not know. I have never hidden anything from her. Besides she is too clear-sighted for it to have been possible."

Helen herself said:

"There is nothing that I do not know of the sufferings of the world."

With her to know of them was only the first step. One of the great shocks of her childhood was learning that everybody did not love everybody else!

Helen's handicaps and limitations are to her means of releasing energies of a different kind. A person who can neither see nor hear is not troubled by the distractions of the world. This opportunity for intensive concentration has been a great help to Helen in her studies. Later it helped her with the human problems she came across. In a very real sense the deaf-blind person may possess her soul. For her there is no separation between objects of sense and immaterial reality. The things of the spirit are neither less nor more distant than the things of sound and sight. So she lives with a detachment that enables her to see more deeply into life and thus to make the best of both the material and immaterial realms.

Although to live enclosed within one's self must bring seriousness and boredom at times, but such a state of recollectedness does not necessarily mean sadness. What strikes one most while reading Helen's autobiography is not the difference but the likeness between her and the so-called normal people. Those missing faculties, the lack of which would have dwarfed a less valiant life, in her case have been largely compensated. She has more than the usual share of humour, and the whimsical or ridiculous aspect of a situation rarely escaped her. She views tolerantly the failings and foibles of others even as she allows opinions which differ from her own. Her joy is contagious. As a child her wish was to live 1600 years! As a young woman she must have had her moods of sadness, but these were perhaps only shadows of her ambitions. Even as an old lady now her forward-looking courage seems to cry, "Speed, fight on, forever there as ever."

A DEDICATED LIFE

Once when Helen Keller was very young, she had said: "Sometimes a sense of isolation enfolds me like a

cold mist as I sit alone and wait at life's shut gate." But she put an end to this waiting long ago. She has not only opened for herself the gate of life and found her object, but has also kindled new hope and inspiration in the dark lives of millions of fellow brethren of the stricken humanity. She has cut in the rock of her own life a channel for a blessing to others. Hers is a dedicated life exemplifying service—service, not as a pious sentiment but as a living practice. By helping others to overcome their difficulties and untiringly advocating for a square deal for the handicapped, she has grown into a figure known and loved the world over. To quote the American philosopher William James, the sum of Helen Keller's life is that *she is a blessing!*

It is quite natural that her sympathies should have been turned especially towards those who, afflicted like herself, looked at the compensations she enjoyed with a source of hope and inspiration. She also felt for them and the seriousness and earnestness which comes from the feeling of responsibility towards those less fortunate than herself, forms the undercurrent of Helen's life and her mission. By using her powers in the service of the stricken fellow-beings she has richly rewarded the many people who helped her.

Her humanitarian impulses spring in part from her naturally loving nature. When twelve years old she planned a tea-party and raised 2000 dollars in aid of a Kindergarten for the Blind. Even earlier, she had interested herself and her friends on behalf of individual cases of need among the deaf and the blind. While still in College she spoke in support of a bill before the Massachusetts Legislature to provide the blind with manual training which will make them wholly or partially self-supporting. Shortly after this, she made a speech on the occasion of the dedication of a new building of the Eye and Ear Infirmary in New York. In her mature years she has been associated almost with every movement in aid of the blind. She is a trustee of the New England Home for the Blind. She has interested herself with the supply of more Braille books to the blind and a universal system of standard braille (which is now being evolved through the good offices of the UNESCO). She has already undertaken the five globe-circling trips and several tours in the United States of America in her efforts to increase public understanding of the problem of the blind. She toured Europe giving lectures to raise 2,000,000 dollars fund for the American Foundation for the Blind. Public recognition of her selfless service to the well-being of the blind is evidenced by the fact that she has been honoured by almost every country in the world. She can count in the ranks of her friends many of the world's great men such as Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Winston Churchill, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharalal Nehru, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sculptor Jo Davidson and all the Presidents of the United States of America since Grover Cleveland (1893-97). She has received many awards and decorations and "achievement prizes" as well.

Some day the story will be told of the miracles she has performed and the transformation she has wrought in the lives of hundreds of thousands of the blind and the deaf all the world over, for whom she has become a symbol of hope and inspiration. In spite of her growing age, the flame of character, purpose and hard work for the fellow-afflicted not only brings her joy and contentment but also fresh wisdom, new strength and additional force to be spent on the stricken humanity. On an average she spends 8 to 10 hours a day at her work. She is at her desk every morning at nine, writing her books (she has written 10), articles for newspapers and magazines (she has written more than 200), composing her speeches and answering correspondence which comes from all over the world. She writes herself on the ordinary or the braille-typewriter. She gets six magazines printed in Braille every month plus a *World Digest* from England and one in French from Paris. Besides, she is always on the look-out for any new writing, book or article in Braille.



Helen Keller going through a book (in Braille)

Friends have described Helen Keller as a "gracious compassionate woman of singular intellectual attainments and compelling personal charm." Her well-known optimism and idealistic outlook on life are best expressed in her own words:

"My life has been happy because I have had wonderful friends and plenty of interesting work to do. I seldom think about my limitations and they never make me sad. Perhaps there is just a touch of yearning at times, but it is vague, like a breeze among flowers. The wind passes and the flowers are content."

And today Helen Keller lives in a graceful rambling house set in the woods of America's eastern state of

Connecticut. A Japanese stone-lantern, eight feet high, this, she often stands before it in pensive mood, and stands symbolically in one corner of the lawn with a perhaps feels its flame in her soul. This will not go constantly burning light. Though Helen Keller can't see out while she lives.

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NAI TALIM IN THE CRUCIBLE

By DHIRENDRA MAZUMDER

Nai Talim is Basic Education that Gandhiji presented to India. It was hailed here and abroad as a great and timely contribution. That was sixteen years ago. Even seven or eight years back it was in great demand. It looked as though Nai Talim would replace the system of education introduced here by the British. Hope belied. Tide turned about. Even in Bihar where love and faithful devotion was bestowed upon this work by the State Government the masses have not much liking left for it.

And this though the heads of our State, the Rastrapati and the Prime Minister, denounce in no uncertain language, whenever an occasion arises, the present system of education as worthless and stress the need of an overall change. Yet the old system merrily goes on and the new system languishes. Desire for change and yet indifference to the only substitute available make the question intriguing. It is worthwhile to examine the cause or causes. And I would do that as a Nai Talim worker myself.

Nai Talim has two aspects—(1) its social aim and content, (2) its teaching technique. Of these two the second that is the technique of teaching the child has evoked the most widespread appreciation. The reason is that this technique is the latest and so far the best in the field of education. Cramming, books, mock life situations, use of pictures, projects and works have all in turn been tried as media of education and found to have failed in educating the child properly.

Even when people thought of actual work and life situation as medium, they were not prepared to accept and give the actual struggle for existence a place in education. It was left to Gandhiji to explode the fallacy. He pointed out that if reality was meant and desired, it ought to be real. Mock reality would not do. Reality could not be divorced from actual life struggle.

Education except in its highest elevated sense is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Fulfilment of a social aim is and should be the end of education. And so has the design of society wanted ever determined the character of education imparted.

So too was Nai Talim conceived of by Gandhiji. He wanted it to be the conveyer of a new culture—the

nurse of a non-violent social order he had been working for. You cannot build anew on old foundations. So too a new social order cannot be erected on old values. The society we live in or they in other countries live in, rest on two pillars—(1) the ever-tightening grip of administration and (2) exploitation given rise to by centralization of industries. Violence is inherent in centralization. So the more centralized the administration and industries are the more concentrated violence is. Now violence produces counter-violence. And that is the vicious circle in which the world is caught to-day. Yet they, all talk of peace, talk of co-existence. The talk is the talk of peace and the piling is the piling of arms. And that makes talk of peace, talk of co-existence all bunkum. To get rid of violence you must strike at the root of centralization both in the sphere of government and industries. That calls for a change of values. And here Nai Talim comes in. It has to create a new set of values and a new race of men.

Government is another name for coercion as centralized production is implied exploitation. So long as there is exploitation there is violence and so long as there are classes there will be exploitation. It is therefore not for nothing that a classless society has become the cry of the age.

Neutralizing government coercion to the practicable minimum by decentralization of power and authority on the one hand and liquidating the classes by decentralization of production on the other hand, are, therefore the prerequisites of a non-violent social order.

In economic plane this means getting rid of the slavery to capital. You cannot do that without deposing Money and installing Labour, body labour in its place. Bhoodan Yajna now called by its initiator Bhumi-Viplav seeks to do that and is preparing the ground for it.

Nai Talim has in it the seed of a new social order. And Bhumi-Viplav (land-revolution) is preparing and can provide a seed-bed for Nai Talim. So Nai Talim and Bhumi-Viplav are the complement and fulfilment of each other. This the protagonists of Nai Talim and others who want to bring about a new social order free from violence have to recognize and align them-

selves with the land-revolution that is taking shape and gaining momentum as days pass on.

It is necessary here to examine the cause or causes that was or were responsible for the loss of interest Nai Talim at first evoked.

(1) Gandhiji expected that the post-revolution Congress would walk his way and give shape to his dream of a new social order based on decentralization of administration and industries. The post-independent Congress walked the other way about. It went whole hog (at least they wanted to) for centralization of industries, and therefore of administration too. If they have given recognition to Nai Talim it is more or less as a sop to Cerberus—here Cerberus being that section of public opinion which regards Nai Talim as a great bequest to them by Gandhiji. So theirs was an effort to unite oil and water. And as happens in such a case Nai Talim has been steadily languishing in spite of government recognition.

The reason is patent enough. The Government is at once placing two philosophies of life before the people, (1) the one of Moghul lavishness promised by centralized economy to a few, and (2) the other of Spartan simplicity, promised by decentralized self-sufficient economy. When people find the other education turning out nabobs (no matter how few) how can you then expect them to go in for Nai Talim! No nation can thrive on a set of contradictory values.

An examination of Nai Talim as it is imparted by various State Governments will show where the contradiction lies. Craft is one of the principal media of Nai Talim. Now look at the basis of our national economy. It is not crafts but centralized industries. One fails to see what good it is then to train our children up to the age of fourteen or fifteen in handicrafts. Centralized economy and craft-centred education cannot go together. Nor should they. If the craft-centred education imparted to the child be of no use to him in life, it is idle to expect students, their guardians and teachers to feel enthused over it.

Nai Talim teaches through realities. And therein consists its uniqueness. But look at the tragedy. In our search for reality we have lost sight of the reality itself. We forget that a craft-centred production is not a reality in our country. The nation does not today recognize crafts as the basis of production. In the absence of such recognition our insistence on reality being made the medium of education means that we should make mill production the medium rather than crafts. But can mill production processes be the media at all! Repetitive labour kills initiative, kills joy. Then again can different subjects be co-related to it?

This analysis shows, if anything, that acceptance of Nai Talim as a mere teaching technique, leads us nowhere. Divorced from reality and standing aloof from social revolution as it does, the variety of Nai Talim provided by State Governments is bound to fail. And failed it has. The Avadi resolution on basic education

will not help. Nor would the utterances of the heads of States save this variety of Nai Talim from its inevitable doom—death. And there is nothing to lament. The sooner this unreal show goes the better. For you cannot ever hope to reach Delhi with your face turned to Bombay. We may not forget that Nai Talim cannot exist apart from the life-current, the social revolution of which it is the seed.

Now turn to the non-official counterpart of it. Has it fared any the better? 'Failed as miserably to impress the people'—is again the reading of the barometer of public opinion. Cause the same, and effect the same. Non-official endeavour has been as mechanical as the government one. It has also stood apart from the life-current—the social revolution.

That Nai Talim is but a means to an end—the establishment of a classless society free from exploitation and violence has here too been lost sight of. To expect to achieve a classless social order by perpetuating the functional divisions of the present-day social structure is as absurd as absurd can be. To-day the society presents a sorry spectacle—that of the head severed from the trunk. The head arrogates to itself all the thinking, all the managing, relegating to the trunk all the toiling, all the mulling. This is offending against Nature's law. And though long-suffering she be, she has now recoiled sharply. There is class conflict all around. In doing away with this unnatural division lies the way to peace, progress and happiness. And that is just the end and function of Nai Talim. The head must toil as it will think and the trunk must think as it will toil. This happy state is attainable only by uniting the head and the trunk.

Here an objection is raised by some people. They say that if every one has to perform both types of labour, mental as well as manual, ability and efficiency will suffer and the society will be the loser for it. This objection amounts to sacrificing equality at the altar of efficiency. And ironically enough these are the very people who condemn ancient *Varna-Vyabastha* in the name of science. If efficiency is all that matters, will it not be far more scientific to make the fullest use of hereditary qualities which it was the endeavour of *Varna-Vyabastha* ever to develop and perfect? They know not that they do unconsciously vote for the very thing they condemn when they thus put in a plea for efficiency.

Lop-sided development does not make for efficiency. Efficiency comes from the harmonious development of both sides of the man. To-day a vast section of the people are being suppressed in the name of efficiency. And this craze for efficiency has ever given rise, as it is still doing, to new classes and therefore to newer and more complex conflicts.

If, therefore, it is felt that a non-violent classless society is the way to escape from the intolerable situation the world has created for itself, then we have to strive for and create a one-class society, every member

of which will at once be a mental as well as a productive labourer. The ideal will be: earn your living by productive body labour and dedicate your faculties to the service of the society.

If the above be acceptable to a Nai Talim worker the question of class conversion assumes an importance all its own. The way of violent class conflicts is not his. Believer in a one-class society he must begin the experiment with himself, he must convert himself into an actual producer. It is at once his task and privilege to be the pioneer in this class conversion experiment.

And here is a programme that invites him. Here is a revolution that beckons him. Bhoodan Yajna is that programme. And Bhumi-Viplav is that revolution. For Bhumi-Viplav seeks to depose money, the begetter of exploiting classes, and to instal labour the leveller. Land will no longer belong to non-agriculturists and that too not in excess of what a family of tillers can by their own labour cultivate. Here we need remember that India is preponderately a land of agriculture and about 77 per cent of her annual income is derived from agricultural industries. If you have successfully assaulted this major sector of national income, you have successfully done away with inequality.

So to be a pioneer in the field of class transformation and class conversion is the role of a Nai Talim worker. He has to be a limb of the social revolution. His is not a tinker's job. It is not a little sacrifice here and a little sacrifice there. Revolution demands more—a thorough change of outlook, a thorough change of the way of life. So long and so far Nai Talim workers (and I am proud to call myself one) have forgone some of their conveniences for the sake of the society. But sacrifice is not revolution. Lowering the standard of living may be a good enough sacrifice. But we may not forget that lowering or raising the standard of living by itself means nothing or very little. A labourer's standard of living may be higher than that of a Babu. All the same the Babu is an exploiter while the labourer is a producer.

A new social order being the objective Nai Talim cannot ignore social environment as a medium of education. Just as it utilizes processes of production for teaching the children, so too has it to utilize the whole field of social environment, namely, organization and management as one of the principal media of education. Surely, the new social order envisaged will not be a social chaos. Organization and management there must be, only grabbing there should not be. Rights would accrue from duties well performed and in no other way. And that is the social environment Nai Talim has to bring about.

Nai Talim is a life-long process. Nai Talim begins as the life begins and ends only as the life ends. So it covers the whole field of social activities.

These social activities may roughly be divided into three categories—(1) production for basic needs, (2) social organization and management; (3) quest of

natural resources. So production, social environment and natural environment—all these form parts of and go to make what Nai Talim is. Nai Talim, therefore, has to integrate all the three into one whole.

In decentralised economy industrial production will comprise of home industries, village industries and national industries. In our educational scheme we may have home industries for the basic stage, village industries for the post-basic and the national industries for the university stage. As for agriculture, it is so wide and comprehensive that it will cover all the three stages.

Wherever I go and whenever I talk about self-sufficient economy, I have always been confronted with questions as to how will the necessary centralized industries be managed when the State itself is decentralized. The question is natural but the doubt arises from an inadequate understanding of Nai Talim. Why should national industries be the responsibility of the capitalists or of the Government? In fact, Nai Talim must come forward to take them over. In the Sarvodaya Samaj of our dreams, Tatanagar, Chittaranjan, Dahnianagar, Burnpur and the rest will no more be industrial centres; they will become educational centres in different subjects for our Uttam Buniady, that is University students. Then there will not be the familiar engineers and *majdoors*, but only teachers and students instead. They will at once be producers and managers of the centre to which they belong. In the same manner Nai Talim centres shall cover the whole field of social life. And just as we have three classes of industries, similarly social organization will have three stages. The basic stage will be 'Gram-raj,' the next higher stage will be the province, and the highest stage the nation. How will Nai Talim cover these is well worth considering.

In the Buniady stage, there are eight classes. Out of fifty-two weeks in a year, we can take forty to be working weeks. Thus three hundred and twenty working weeks constitute Buniady stage. Now the Buniady school pupils shall have to be trained in the art of the village management. They must become the first servants of 'Gram-raj.' That can very well be started with the pupils of the first grade. They may and should be asked to count the members of their family, note their age, their mutual relationship and the size of the house they live in. They can collect a lot of other information too. They will do it with interest. Our curriculum will be so arranged that the pupils come in contact and intimate touch with the village life and its problems. Similarly senior pupils will concern themselves with the village land, its produce and the various problems connected with land and agriculture. They should also undertake specific responsibilities in the scheme of village management. Easily, therefore, Nai Talim can have for its pupils three hundred and twenty home assignments. In the scheme here suggested the village

elders of the panchayat will not be petty rulers of villages but teachers of village management. And such problems as are found to be beyond the capacity of the Buniady school will be left over for the Uttam Buniady and the still higher ones for the Uttam Buniady. Thus will Nai Talim have to tackle all the problems at all the stages of social life, making the problems a medium of education itself.

Item 3 *i.e.*, natural resources, remains to be considered. Natural resources too will become a medium of education. In a decentralized society science will have no scope, and status, a criticism, such as this, is often levelled against Nai Talim by some people. The apprehension is groundless. Exigencies of an industrial civilization—elaborate labour-saving devices called machines and the nemesis of that civilization—A-bomb and H-bomb are not science. Nor do they exhaust the resources of science. To-day science's scope is restricted. It has to experiment and devise for a few grabbing capitalists and power-crazy bellicose militarists, scientists have not today the opportunity to serve the common man. A classless non-violent social order will offer to scientists a field of service as big as the

humanity. When a decentralized self-sufficient social order comes into existence, in which co-operation will take the place of direction and labour the place of capital, science will apply itself to the discovery and quest of resources suitable for decentralized economy and way of life.

Nai Talim is, therefore, all-comprehensive. Production, organization, knowledge or discovery, there is nothing that falls outside the range of Nai Talim. Nai Talim has to so blend education *cum* culture with life activities as not to leave any jar anywhere. And so as to eliminate the need of external coercion Nai Talim has to create a new set of values and a new race of men.

To conclude, Sarvodaya which stands for an enlightened society where the last receives consideration first and the self comes last is an ever-widening and watchful continuation of Nai Talim. Lovers of Nai Talim have to recognize this all-pervading character of Nai Talim. They may not confine their attention and devotion to its outward form—Buniady schools. To realize the great ideal they have to dedicate themselves to the spirit that informs it.

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THE LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF INDIA

BY PROF. T. DHANAKOTY, M.A.

THE movement for linguistic division has provoked a very keen controversy among its protagonists and antagonists. To the former, it is the panacea for all the ills we are suffering from; to the latter, it is tantamount to committing national suicide. One should resist the temptation of being betrayed into frothy emotionalism or cheap cynicism in considering the question. Here, as elsewhere, what is needed is an objective analysis. I shall, therefore, neither *swear* at the movement nor *swear* by it, but shall examine the pros and cons of it and show where the balance of advantage lies.

Before I take up this analysis, I would like to dwell briefly on the history of the movement. It is nearly half a century old. The infamous Partition of Bengal effected by that prancing proconsul, Lord Curzon, at the turn of this century was a deep stab in the body politic of India. That notorious settlement was unsettled in 1911 when Lord Hardinge issued a Despatch, envisaging a redistribution of the provinces on the linguistic basis in order to make the scheme of provincial autonomy effective. This was followed up by the creation of the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar in 1911. Orissa and Sind were constituted as separate provinces in 1936. But it was an irony of fate that the Andhras, the pioneers of this movement, were

treated like Tantalus of the Greek mythology. Many a time and oft the Andhra Province came within their grasp and eluded them, much to their despair and disappointment. It was in the year of grace 1953, after long waiting and much argument, that their dream came true and the Andhra State was born. This historic event has imparted a fresh momentum to the movement of linguistic division. Aikya Kerala, Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat, Samyukta Karnataka and Vishalandhra are its latest phases.

What is the rationale of this movement? Man is a social animal. He realises the best in him in and through society. There are various ties which bind him to his fellow-men. Race and religion are two such ties. Language is another link in the chain of unity. It lends homogeneity to a group and marks it off from other groups. It comes to have an art, a literature, peculiarly its own. Prof. Laski would say that England alone could have produced Shakespeare, France Votaire and Germany Goethe. Similarly, Tamil alone could have produced Valluvar, Telugu Pothana, Hindi Tulsi Das, Bengali Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath and Urdu Mahomed Iqbal. Opportunities for cultural and intellectual efflorescence are very great indeed in a linguistic State. Each linguistic area would be in a position to make its own distinctive contribution to the common

cultural heritage of India. Unity in diversity has been India's glory right through the ages. Indian culture is no Procrustes' bed, no straight-jacket; it is a mosaic of many colours, a garland of many flowers.

It might be asked whether such contributions cannot be made if provinces are not formed on the linguistic basis. One of the implications of a linguistic state is that the people of that area are, by and large, the moulders of the destiny of that state. We may say straightway that the glorious cultural epochs of the different regions of our country were at a time when the people concerned wielded political power.

The noon-day splendour of the Telugu literature was under the aegis of the Vizianagar kings; the Tamil (Chera, Chola and Pandya) kings presided over the halcyon days of Tamil literature. As long as French remained the court language of England, English was just a dialect of the market-place. On its becoming the court language it produced a glorious literature. The Golden Age of Elizabeth was the consummation of such a process. And when the English people acquired an empire over which the sun never set, English language acquired a world-wide status and is now the lingua franca of the world. Sanskrit, in spite of its hoary antiquity and copious literature, is a language confined to a microscopic minority as it has nothing to do with the political machinery and the popular forces. What I am driving at is this; there is an intimate connection between cultural advancement and political autonomy. Under British domination, our languages languished. They were even called vernaculars, that is, languages of slaves. Our languages will recapture their old vitality and recommence their contribution to our cultural inheritance, only under the stimulating auspices of linguistically autonomous states.

Another merit of linguistic states is this. The full implications of such a State are as follows. The language of the area concerned will be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Administration of justice in courts, transaction of business by the executive and the making of laws by the legislature would all be through the medium of that language. In such an atmosphere there will be no gulf between the governors and the governed and real democracy will flourish.

Yet another merit is this. There will be a full and proper utilisation of the resources of the State. I may take the Andhra State to illustrate my point. She has valuable deposits of manganese, mica, asbestos, iron, copper, gold, diamonds, refractories, limestone, sulphur, etc. There are then the two great river systems of Godavari and Krishna, which bid fair to become centres of great irrigation and hydro-electric projects. A systematic geological survey and prompt starting of the projects will make Andhra a land flowing with milk and honey. A very bright future really awaits her. In this connection, I may refer to the complaints made by the

Andhras that before the formation of the Andhra State, developmental projects in that area were not given the attention and priority they deserved. It is not a pleasant pastime to rake up the past. I may, however, permit myself one observation. In a composite state the balance is sometimes tilted in favour of the dominant group, human nature being what it is. Such lapses will simply not occur in a mono-lingual State. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. The people in that area are in a special position to find out the gaps and lacunae in their economy and take appropriate and timely steps to realise the ideal of a Welfare State.

The Linguistic movement has had the approval of Mahatma Gandhi and Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. In the epic fight which Gandhiji waged against the mighty British imperialism, he realised the inherent possibilities of homogeneous linguistic units and reorganised the Congress in 1920 on the linguistic basis. Thanks to this reorganisation the message of the Congress was carried to the remotest villages of this vast sub-continent. Tagore's stirring song, *Jana Gana Mana*, which has now become our national anthem, refers approvingly to the various linguistic units of Bharat Mata. What the Poet approved and the Prophet blessed cannot be wrong.

It is sometimes stated that the division of India on the linguistic basis will create a large number of states. The statement is not correct. At present there are 28 states under Parts A, B and C under the Indian Constitution. If India is reorganised on the linguistic basis, there will be ten regional languages worth the name and 10 units and the present Part B and C States will either be merged in the adjoining Part A States or form additional Part A States. Even if the statement that the number of states will increase were true, it is not a matter to be alarmed at, because the U.S.A. consists of 48 units.

Fear is often expressed that linguistic states will lead to fragmentation or Balkanisation of India. There is confusion of thought in this. When Pakistan was carved out of India, it meant the setting up of a separate state, all links with India being severed. The creation of a linguistic province implies the establishment of one more unit of the Indian Union. If the distinction between State and Government, Union and unit is kept in view, this confusion will not arise. Pakistan is a separate union; Andhra is merely a unit of the Indian Union. Such new units will function within the frame-work of the Indian Constitution. The question of Balkanisation of India is, therefore, a bogey.

In the opinion of some, another drawback is that linguistic provinces may encourage parochialism. There is some force in this contention. Real progress is possible only when the claims of local autonomy and national unity are carefully harmonised. But occasionally people think too much of the parts and too little of the whole, which tends to stultify political and economic progress. That is why our great leader

Prime Minister Nehru has been emphasising time and again that one of the primary tasks for us today is the real emotional integration of India. Luckily for us, the Hindu religious traditions fostered during the long vista of centuries will stand us in good stead in counteracting the fissiparous tendencies released by linguistic division. The great Sankaracharya established four *maths*, one at Badrinath in the Himalayas, a second at Dwaraka in the West, a third at Puri in the East and a fourth at Sringeri in the South to symbolise the all-pervasive cultural unity of our people. Moreover, our *sandhya* prayers take in their strides the rivers flowing in different parts of India. Here we have emotional integration *par excellence*. Our cultural traditions are too deep-rooted to be blown away by any political or administrative structural alterations.

It is sometimes pointed out that in our enthusiasm we clamour for the setting up of States which are not economically self-supporting. "Marry in haste and repent at leisure," chime in the critics. When Sind was formed as a separate province in 1936, it suffered from this drawback. Now the new Andhra State faces an annual deficit of four crores. This is but a passing phase. With financial assistance from the Union Government during the transitional period and with the quickening of the pace of irrigation and power projects, this financial drawback may not stare us in the face.

Another set of critics would say that the movement for linguistic division is ordinarily sponsored by politicians who are not sure of the loaves and fishes of office in composite states. This is, to say the least, a travesty of facts. This movement draws its sustenance from deeply cherished popular aspirations. The martyrdom of Amarajeevi Potti Sriramulu Chetti and the passionate demonstrations it provoked in the Andhra area should be an eye-opener to the critics who indulge in such malicious lies. As the American poet Lowell says, we should carefully distinguish between the "revolt of intelligence" and the "insurrection of ignorance."

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FOUNDATION OF INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM A Hundred Years Ago

By SURESHCHANDRA SHUKLA,
Research Fellow, Central Institute of Education, Delhi

NINETEENTH of July this year is in a real sense the centenary of India's educational system. For although the first decisive blows in favour of English education were struck by Bentinck and Macaulay in 1835, it was not till Wood's despatch of 19th July, 1854 that the policy was firmly accepted and implemented all over India. And then this was only one, even if the most important, component of the educational policy of the Indian empire. The authorship of the despatch is claimed by many for John Stuart Mill who was at that

Another missile hurled at the movement is that it reverses the centripetal process initiated by the British rulers. Common language, common administrative, educational and legal systems, by which they tried to unify India, were introduced by them, *a la* all imperialists, primarily in their interests and secondarily, if at all, in our interests. That unity, say the critics, is now being threatened. Is this criticism correct? Though regional languages will be used for internal purposes, the states will use Hindi in the place of English for inter-statal purposes. The unity of the land will not, therefore, be impaired. Of course, the replacement of English by the regional languages in courts of law bristles with difficulties. But it should not be beyond the wit of legal experts to think of some compromises whereby national interests and regional requirements could be properly dovetailed. Politics, as Lord Morley would have it, is the art of the possible.

I have tried to explain the merits and demerits of the scheme of linguistic division which, I submit, should apply only to those linguistic groups who are heirs to rich cultural traditions and live in territories respectable in size and abounding in material resources. I hope it will be apparent from the above analysis that the balance of advantage lies with the linguistic division of India. It enriches cultural traditions, ensures the functioning of real democracy and facilitates the proper utilisation of mineral resources. On the side of liabilities, it may provoke parochial tendencies and hamper the uniform administration of justice throughout India. Taken all in all, there is a case for the reorganisation of states, mainly if not solely, on the basis of oneness of language. An expert committee is at work. The question is not *whether* but *when* this reorganisation should take place. If the pace is slower, let us wait, keeping in view the troubled times through which we are passing. But our fanatical friends would say: *Now or never*. The situation calls for compromises and adjustments and not for hunger-strikes and self-immolations. The cock has begun to crow and the dawn is not far off.

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FOUNDATION OF INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM A Hundred Years Ago

By SURESHCHANDRA SHUKLA,
Research Fellow, Central Institute of Education, Delhi

time employed in the East India House and by others for the Scottish missionary Duff. However that may be, the document is remarkable for the clarity with which it foresaw the educational needs of Britain's Indian empire for the next fifty years. And even when, in Curzon's time, changes corresponding to the altered political and economic situation were effected, the framework laid down in 1854 was only further elaborated and in some respects modified.

The policy outlined in the despatch consisted,

essentially, of three basic elements: English education, elementary vernacular education and some engineering education. The organisation to be set up for implementing these schemes consisted of universities for examining and granting degrees, departments of education for organising and inspecting English and vernacular schools and a scheme of grants-in-aid for non-government institutions.

Almost immediately after acquiring a territory in Bengal, the Company were faced with the problem of finding people to man an administration for collecting revenue and for maintaining law and order. To start with, they relied on such men as were available. Castes of hereditary clerks and civil servants, such as the Kayasthas, etc., were pressed into service. But even the limited Magisterial and other duties that the English had to fulfil required the assistance of those who knew local laws, customs and language. It was to supply such assistants that the first institutions of learning were founded. These were the Calcutta Madrasa (1791), the Benares Sanskrit College (1792) and the Poona Sanskrit College (1821). These institutions served the additional political purpose of conciliating and attaching to the Company's rule Pundits and Moulvis who had lost the patronage that they used to receive at the hands of Muhammadan and Marhatta rulers. Their adherence to the Company's rule gave it added prestige and power in the eyes of the people. This policy of promoting 'Oriental learning' born out of political and administrative necessity, however, soon became a sacred principle particularly with those of the Company's officials who had cultivated Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. These were many and influential, centred round the Asiatic Society of Bengal founded by Sir William Jones in 1781. Their influence can be noticed in the Minute on Education by Governor-General Minto in 1811 and in the work of the General Committee of Public Instruction when it was founded in 1823.

Had the Company been just of India's many rulers collecting land revenue and administering law and justice, it is likely that this policy could have continued indefinitely. The Company's rule, however, was the instrument of important social changes in India as well as at home. Aided by the tribute from India, England's great manufacturing industry had its rise in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. This industry required access to cheap raw materials and markets in which to export its produce. The demand, therefore, arose that India be opened to private British trade and that it be ruled more and more in the interests of the entire British capitalist class. This change took almost the entire first half of the nineteenth century to be effected. 1813 saw the abolition of the Company's monopoly of Indian trade. In 1833, the Company ceased to have any commercial interests in India at all. Its economic functions were now confined to administering India so as to facilitate to the utmost the sale of British manufactures in India, to encourage the production of cotton, indigo, raw silk etc.,

and to help establish British planters in tea, jute and the like.

The ideological counterpart of this process was the urge for the cultural conquest of India. The first took a religious expression. Following Charles Grant's *Observations on the State of Society in the East Indies* a new wave of enthusiasm for missionary work in India was visible. Grant himself who rose to be the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company, Wilberforce in the Parliament and the group which gathered round him, advocated a vigorous policy of education and proselytisation in India. when, therefore, in 1813, the Charter of the Company came up for renewal before the Parliament, a clause was inserted providing for the expenditure of Rs. 1 lakh annually "to be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." This clearly was not yet the enunciation of a policy of a bold cultural transformation. It was more a response to administrative needs increasingly keenly felt—expressed by the successive Governors-General Minto and Moira in their Minutes of 1811 and 1815 respectively—than a concession to missionary pressure. But the responsibility for education was formally accepted and the door was now open for far-reaching cultural changes. In consequence of this enactment, the General Committee of Public Instruction was set up, in 1823. It set about spending the greater part of its resources in supporting Oriental instruction, although some institutions teaching English were also managed by it.

Over the next twenty years, the ideology of cultural conquest underwent a refinement and assumed a form more congenial to the empire. It shed its religious trappings and took its stand almost exclusively on the secular knowledge of the West. It sought to nurture a class of Indian intermediaries standing between the government and the people solely on English literature, political economy and ethics. Macaulay is the most outstanding representative of this school of thought though by no means its originator. This trend was strengthened by the emergence, particularly in Bengal, of a class of people who were more than eager to learn the English language and, in the bargain, to accept the cultural fare that it served out. The leisured Zemindars created by the Permanent Settlement could find nothing better to do than cultivate the society and the language of the Sahib. Employment under the Company and the private traders converted yet another lot, including the class of hereditary government servants who had so far cultivated Persian, to the side of English. We see, thus the foundation of numerous venture schools opened by Bengalis as well as Europeans who found nothing better to do. This culminated in the establishment of the Hindu College at Calcutta. The enterprise had the support of the most diverse sections. Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice, the rationalist English watch-maker,

philanthropist David Hare, private English merchants, India's first modern man Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the great majority of the not-so-modern, conservative Hindus who like Raja Radhakanta Deb had read the signs of the times—all combined to support it. Soon enough others, too, read these same signs and the Bishop's College at Calcutta, the Baptist Missionaries' College at Serampore and Duff's General Assembly's Institution were founded in quick succession—all this while the Company's official educational policy was not yet settled in favour of English.

What clinched the issue, in the immediate sense, was, perhaps, again, administrative necessity. What with continuous wars and a growing administration, the Company's finances were in a very bad state. When Lord William Bentinck succeeded to the office of Governor-General, he came with an express mandate for retrenchment. To this there was only one easy way, more extensive employment of Indians, a need which found expression in the Charter Act 1833 in the rather pompous promise withdrawing all discrimination in employment. The Directors had from 1824 onwards been pressing for devising educational measures so as to prepare Indians for more responsible appointments.

Ground was thus ready for Macaulay's rhetoric to break a rather long-drawn stalemate in the General Committee of Public Instruction. For quite a few years now the General Committee had also been supporting many government institutions teaching English and even with English as medium. But on all major questions of policy it was evenly divided between the supporters of English and Oriental learning. In 1835, it decided to refer the matter to the government. Macaulay now wrote his Minute in high-flown language and imperfect knowledge advocating the policy of forming "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Bentinck 'concurring entirely', the Committee set about organising zilla anglo-vernacular schools and developing the Hindu, Hooghly, Dacca and other colleges.

The question was, however, far from completely settled. The policy was assailed, futilely though, by those like Wilkinson of Bhopal who thought it possible to impart modern knowledge through Sanskrit. They succeeded only in persuading Bentinck's successor Auckland to restore stipends to the students of Sanskrit and Persian colleges. B. H. Hodgson, the Company's resident in Nepal, advocated education through the vernaculars. He demolished the main arguments against the vernaculars that there were too many of them, that they were not fit vehicles for higher learning, etc. He showed that in the entire Bengal presidency there were only three languages—Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. He recalled how English itself had developed from a crude lingo into a language of culture because it was used for those purposes. He also showed that if learning were

made a monopoly of a limited class by conveying it through English it could not but become an engine of oppression. But Hodgson's arguments were seriously considered.

There was yet another question: Does English education mean an advanced liberal education rearing up an intelligentsia cultivating learning or does it have only the more modest utilitarian objective of supplying the lower rungs of the Company's administration with incumbents? The question turned out to be an unreal one, because it aimed at both. Indians were being utilised more and more in higher situations and so a higher order of education was also necessary. And an intelligentsia is an essential requirement for reproduction in education, i.e., for turning out new generations of the educated. A high liberal education too, was, therefore, necessary. But the confusion existed and was only resolved by the despatch of 1854.

The fact that English administration had been longest established in Bengal, the extensive English trade and other enterprises in the presidency and the existence of the leisured class of zemindars—all contributed to a great quantitative spread of English education and to the development of higher education there. This even led the Council of Education to propose the establishment of a University at Calcutta as early as 1845. The Directors negatived the proposal and warned that "a high degree of scholastic knowledge" did not constitute "an essential qualification for the public service." But in Madras the situation was exactly the reverse. The employment demand for English education was comparatively low and a leisured zemindar class did not exist on the same scale as in Bengal. Besides missionary influence which was pretty strong with the Company in this presidency appears to have been exerted at first against any government in education and later against the development of higher education. Their policy, acquiesced in by a large section of the Madras administration appears to have been that purely utilitarian English education of a low standard should be administered, as far as possible, through missionary agency. For a while, certainly, during the Governorship of Elphinstone, the University Board pushed forward a policy of secular higher education in English under Government control but the higher classes of the Madras 'University' did not flourish. This was due both to the unsympathetic policy of the Government and to the fact that the demand for higher education did not exist to the same extent in Bengal. A prolonged dispute between the Government and the University Board was finally resolved only after the despatch of 1854 had laid down the policy of setting up universities and encouraging higher education.

Bombay, too, contributed its share towards controversies in regard to English education. Mont Stuart Elphinstone, Bombay's first Governor, had laid great emphasis on extensive vernacular education but the

residents of Bombay and the princes of the presidency raised him a memorial in the form of Elphinstone Professorships for English literature, political economy and natural philosophy and mathematics. Young Parsis and Maharashtrians studied English, served the Company and wrote addresses and pamphlets with as much facility as the Bengali *bhadralok*. But Bombay was the centre of a considerable merchant middle-class with ambitions and tendencies towards industry. This class had very much more use for its own language than had the Bengali Babu. An expression of this tendency is found in the controversy in the Bombay Board of Education between the supporters of vernacular and of English. Col. Jervis supported by all the Indian members of the Board was in favour of high education through the vernaculars and their view was, for a while, even upheld by the Government. But with English as the language of the administration of the country, its premier position was not very seriously challenged.

As noticed earlier, the despatch set all these questions at rest. It pronounced in favour of higher education as well as for a lower order of Anglo-vernacular schools. In this it only clarified and confirmed the fateful decision of 1835.

The need for elementary and vernacular education had been perceived later but was nonetheless urgent. For a while the Company's rule had spelt nothing but ruin for India's widespread system of village education which had been supported by the landowning and trading classes. But soon the Company itself felt the necessity of village education. Its own village functionaries should have learnt their three R's and should be able to perform their duties with at least reasonable efficiency and honesty. Also, both in order to support the State's demand for revenue and the demand of English industry for raw materials, agriculture had to be, in some measure, productive. While in the initial stages, a starving peasantry had endangered its savings as well as its small farming capital to pay land revenue, this was no longer possible. And in any case an unproductive agriculture could not yield cotton and indigo, etc. Thus administrative and economic necessity called for literacy of at least a part of the peasantry so that it could take care of and improve its agriculture. Vernacular education thus comes into its own only about the late thirties and the forties of the nineteenth century although early administrators Moira (1815), Elphinstone (1821) and Munro (1826) had all pointed to its necessity. James Thomason, Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, discovered that his recent land revenue settlements could not be maintained except on the basis of the literacy of at least a section of the peasantry. His scheme of gradually bringing the existing indigenous village schools under Government control and supervision at a very low cost and of setting up Government tahsildari schools to serve as models laid the foundation of a system of rural education which was

held up by the despatch as a model for the whole country. It would be interesting to note that a scheme of vernacular rural schools tried out in Bengal from 1844 onwards did not succeed mainly because the urge to read English and enter the ranks of Calcutta Babus had percolated down to the Bengal countryside.

One of two other features of the system of vernacular education are worth notice. It was predominantly rural and was separated from predominantly urban English education which produced the elite of Indian society by the language barrier. Thus a divided system of education was established in which the society's elite was selected from a very restricted periphery. Within the system of vernacular education itself, of the two objectives, educating the peasantry remained subsidiary and the aim of Government employment either directly or after securing English education became predominant. An interesting light on this situation is thrown by the discussions among Bengal civilians on the subject during 1870's. The Governor, Sir John Campbell, had in 1870 launched a scheme of supporting indigenous schools of a very inferior kind frequented by the "masses". Those upholding Sir John's scheme criticised the earlier schemes of vernacular education as not fulfilling the real intentions of the 1854 despatch. They said these schools had been captured by the 'service classes' and so the poorest quality of primary education should be organised in order that it may reach those who will stick to their rural vocations. Critics of Sir John Campbell's scheme saw no objection to the fact that elementary education became only the lowest rung of a system which through many obstacles led to English education and to State employment.

The despatch of 1854 also emphasised the development of engineering education. An earlier plan of technical education submitted by Julius Jeffreys in 1835 had never been taken serious note of. Even after the opening of the Godavari anicut in the South, the Directors negatived a proposal of the Madras University Board for engineering classes. They insisted that engineers trained in England should be used. It is only after the opening of extensive canal works on the Ganga and the Jumna that the Roorkee Civil Engineering College was opened at the modest cost of a few hundred rupees a month. James Thomason had convincingly showed both the important share of land revenues in the total revenues and the low cost at which an engineering college could supply the personnel required for the canal works which would enhance this revenue. That his advice fell on ready ears is attributable to the fact already noted that the Company was set upon a policy of encouraging production of agricultural raw produce in India.

Wood's despatch was thus the first clear and comprehensive enunciation of the educational policy suited to foreign rule retaining India as an agricultural colony of industrial England.



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

HOLY ABU (A tourist's guide to Mount Abu and its Jaina Shrines): By the late Muni Shri Jayanta Vijayaji. Translated from Gujarati by Dr. Umakant Premchand Shah. First edition, 1954. Shri Yashovijaya Jaina Granthamala, Bhavnagar (India). Pp. 215. Price Rs. 10 or 15sh.

As a great centre of Jaina pilgrimage and as a seat of some of the finest architectural monuments of the last phase of the Ancient Period of our history, Mount Abu has always occupied a distinguished place on the religious and cultural map of our country. The present work is a free English version (the third of its kind) of the Gujarati publication (third edition) called *Tirtharaja Abu* by the late Muni Shri Jayanta Vijayaji, which is the first of a series of five works on Mount Abu and its environs (1933-49) from the pen of the same indefatigable worker in the field of Jaina literature and antiquities. The original work, as the translator observes (Introduction, p. xxvii), is "primarily a guide-book for pilgrims and tourists and not a scientific textbook on the art and architecture of the shrines, etc., on Mount Abu," although the translator gives the author full credit for collecting in his five volumes almost all possible information upon his subject and for his attempted interpretation of the numerous relief sculptures in the temples and his exploitation of all known inscriptional evidence. The present work goes a long way to fill the lacunae noticed above by the translator. For not only is it introduced to us with a learned Foreword from the pen of Dr. V. S. Agrawala (with a description of the two most famous temples of Vimala Vasahi and Luniga Vasahi illustrated by ground plans) and a stimulating Introduction by the translator (with numerous and valuable suggestions for a scientific study of the sites of Mount Abu and its monuments), but it concludes with four Appendices (including an important glossary of technical terms and iconographical notes), a select Bibliography and lastly and above all a complete series of seventy-two well-executed plates. Other interesting additions are an obituary notice of the original author by Dr. Helen M. Johnson (Research scholar of the Oslo University, U.S.A.) and a full list of his works (twenty-five in all), a programme for visitors to Mount Abu and a list of select opinions on the art of its monuments. The translator has shown good sense by adding a chapter on the geology and early history of Mount Abu and a chapter on general information and while leaving intact most of the original descriptive matter, he has supplemented or corrected it in his footnotes.

Altogether this work is bound to be very useful

alike to tourists and students of Indian religion as well as art and architecture.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE FIRST TWO NAWABS OF AWADH: By Dr. Ashirbadilal Srivastava, Ph.D., D.Litt. Second edition. Published by Shivalal Agarwal and Co. Ltd., Hospital Road, Agra. Pp. xiv+307. Price Rs. 12-8.

The wide country comprised within the valley of the Ganges and the Jamuna has been the crucible in which the various races and peoples that streamed into India across the ages were melted and later on fused to form a common cultural pattern. This is also the region which has been at the van of the fight against foreign domination. Oudh bounded within the Ganges and the Ghogra is only a segment of this wide zone; but ever since the establishment of the Gahadwals and the immigration of other Rajput tribes by the pressure of Turkish invasions, it has been the home of sturdy fighters, whose manly vigour sustained by the wonderful fertility of the country and mythology, flashes casually in the pages of the Persian chronicles. Take for instance, the rising under Dalki and Malki, described by Minhaj, the insurrection of the Bachgoti tribe at the end of the 15th century and the stand made by a number of Rajput chiefs for feudal independence which were for the first time revealed by the researches of Dr. Ashirvadi Lal in 1933.

I drew pointed attention to this aspect of what I would call *Oudh Baron's War* in course of a review of this book in the *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona. This new edition published after the lapse of twenty years sustains the author's reputation as an indefatigable worker in the field of Indian history; for he has taken note of the new material that have come to light during the interval, such as a few *farmans* and *sanads*, a rare Persian MS. *Yadgar-i-Bahaduri*, and records in Marathi, such as the *Purandare Daftar*, *Holkar Sahichya Itihasanchi Sadhanena*, above all, the last fifteen volumes of *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar* and a Hindi work, *Baghwant Singh Ka Rasa* by Sadanand. These new materials have verified his old findings based on the secondary sources, enabled him to check others, e.g., Saadat Khan's age at the time of his death, and his policy towards the Oudh chiefs and incorporate fresh matter, e.g., on the life and career of Nawal Rai.

Dr. Ashirvadi Lal has done meritorious work on the history of Oudh and I would press into his notice the immediate need of printing at least in lithograph the Persian manuscripts of *Insha-i-Safdar Jang* and *Insha-i-Roshan Kalam*, which, I am afraid, would otherwise perish. I say this from my own experience of the way in which the Persian MS., e.g., *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, have been kept in the Aminuddaulah Public Library, Lucknow.

N. B. Roy

THE QUEST AND THE GOAL: By Nolini Kanta Gupta. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashrama, Pondicherry. Pp. 208. Price—Paper: Rs. 3-8, Cloth: Rs. 4-8.

Sri Nolini Kanta is a distinguished colleague and an immortal apostle of the great Rishi Aurobindo. He is a forceful writer and an original thinker and the reputed author of a good many books in English and Bengali. Seated in the spiritual atmosphere of Aurobindo Ashrama at Pondicherry on the south-east coast of India he has been devoted to study, meditation, thinking and writing ever since 1910 for about four decades and a half. Such devout and dedicated souls are indeed very few in religious institutions of modern India.

The present volume is a collection of 28 contributions written between 1944 and 1950. Of these articles the first seven are papers and the rest are notes and comments. The former were published in various journals, such as *Hindustan Quarterly*, *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress* and other magazines whereas the latter are selected from the editorials contributed to the *Advent Quarterly*. All these articles are clearly thought out and carefully written for those who aspire for a higher life. Thoughtfulness and originality are marked in each of them. These compositions may very well be regarded as elucidations and amplifications of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy and their style too is somewhat similar to that of Sri Aurobindo.

The last but one article is entitled the New World Ideal. It is asserted that the New Faith upheld by the Christian Berdeyaev and Neo-Brahmin Gerald Heard and the French Bio-physicist Lecomte du Nouy is fulfilled in the world ideal as envisaged by Sri Aurobindo. The author makes bold to say that the great secret discovered by the Sage of Pondicherry is the spiritualisation and divinisation of matter and material life. If that be the goal of the new world ideal then we must admit our inability to realise its newness, and to sound its significance. Do not the Gita and the Upanishads often declare unanimously that the Spirit is seen through all beings, even the grossest in the light of super-consciousness? It is nothing more or less than the Vedic ideal enunciated and experienced by the Rishis centuries ago. Sri Aurobindo is certainly a lineal descendant of our Rishis as well as a continuator and confirmer of the ancient ideal. It may be said that innovation is almost an impossibility in Indian Thought. We lag behind none to appreciate the uniqueness and profundity of his Philosophy which seems to be still unsurpassed in this century. But when he tells of divinising and spiritualising matter we are afraid it smacks of Hegelianism which is different from the Vedanta, the crest jewel of Indian Thought.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA.

SOCIAL CONTACTS OF FRENCH WOMEN IN CALCUTTA: By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A. Published by Messrs. Chakraverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 3.

During World War II the author, the only daughter of the late Prof. Benoy Sarkar, was engaged in social work and in that connection she came into contact with French women social workers who visited Calcutta. This brochure is a record of her happy experience of those abnormal days. It is pleasant reading.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: By C. S. Srinivasachari. Published by The National Information & Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Re. 1.

This booklet traces the intellectual and religious movements in India which were the fruits of the contact between the East and the West. There were reform movements in Hinduism, Islam and also among the Zoroastrians. Raja Ram Mohun Roy stands supreme as the pioneer. The missionaries of Serampore played a great part in Bengal by introducing the printing press, newspapers and modern education. The author gives proper place to the Brahmo Samaj and its leaders in his narrations. The Prarthana Samaj of Bombay played its part less vigorously in Southern India. Parsis and Muslims were also not idle. Various attempts were made for popularising the study and publication of the Avesta. The Parsis abandoned the *purdah* and attempted to raise their standard to the level of Europeans. Reform movements among Muslims took the form of the spread of English education, and the founding of a college at Aligarh marks a great beginning. Arya Samaj, Gourakshini Sabha, Ramakrishna Mission, Radha Swami Sastang, Deva Samaj and Theosophical Society, all played their part and contributed towards reforms and progress. Various laws were enacted as a result of these movements. The brochure deserves wide circulation.

FOR DEMOCRACY: By Amlan Datta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Re. 1-8.

This is the second edition of the book which was reviewed in June, 1954. Two new essays, viz., 'An Essay on Soviet Economic Development' and 'Industrialisation and Integral Humanism' have been added. The essay 'On Gandhism' has been replaced by 'Ends and Means'. The additions have enhanced the quality of the book, the printing and get-up have been improved and the number of pages increased from 116 to 140 but the price has not been increased.

AN ESSAY ON SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: By Amlan Datta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 12 Chauringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 38. Price Re. 1.

The writer of this essay has critically examined the industrial statistics published by USSR from time to time to prove the economic progress of the country and also the rise in the standard of living of the people and has shown that "the Soviet people have paid for industrialisation not only in the form of consumption foregone but also freedom sacrificed." Mr. Datta has further shown that the so-called 'marketable surplus' in agriculture was really 'forced surplus' and "the difference between the pay of qualified and unqualified labour is of such classical magnitude as does not exist in Western Europe." An essay of this nature ably written based on data published by authorities of USSR, will be an eye-opener to all students who find nothing wrong and everything good in Soviet totalitarian planning.

A. B. DUTTA

PURBACHAL RECONSIDERED: The Cachar States Reorganisation Committee, Silchar (Cachar). Price Rs. 2.

A movement for the formation of a separate Congress Province called the Purbachal Pradesh, comprising the Districts of Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and the Lushai Hills was started by the Cachar District Congress Committee in 1948 and a booklet named *A Plan for Purbachal* written by Sri J. K. Choudhury was published in the same year. The booklet was an eye-opener to those persons who were quite in the dark about the miserable plight of the non-Assamese population in the State of Assam. After the attainment of independence the Governmental machinery of Assam has left no stone unturned to impose Assamese culture and language on the tribal peoples and the Bengali-speaking population inhabiting this frontier province of India which was aptly called "A Museum of Nationalities" by Sir Bamfylde Fuller a few decades ago in his Preface to the *Garos* by A. Playfair. This aggressive policy of the Government of Assam created great discontent amongst the non-Assamese population whose instinct of self-preservation and the necessity of self-expression induced them to put up this legitimate claim for the creation of a new State. Owing to unavoidable circumstances the proposal for Purbachal was abandoned for the time being and things were worsening day by day. The movement led by the Cachar District Congress Committee did not, however, subside. It was rather gradually gaining ground and gathered momentum in April, 1954, when a Memorandum based on Sri Choudhury's original work was submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission at New Delhi. The book under review is "really a reprint of the original Memorandum shorn of the formal statements exclusively meant for the Commission." All the aspects of the Purbachal plan have more convincingly and elaborately been dealt with in the present work which is the outcome of painstaking studies on past events and current political and economic affairs of Assam.

The book contains a revised proposal for the formation of new States and it is divided into two parts. The first part will convince the reader why in spite of living together for eighty years there is no other alternative left to the non-Assamese population today than to get away from Assam. The pitiable condition of Cachar, the only Bengali-speaking District of Assam has been presented with ample documentary evidence. It is really shocking to learn that all non-Assamese inhabitants in the State of Assam are called "non-indigenous" and all the avenues of employment are closed to those "non-indigenous" inhabitants who cannot produce domicile certificates. Is their condition anyway better than those of our countrymen who have settled in South Africa?

Part II of the present book contains a constructive scheme for the creation of a composite State, which is conceived to be a centrally administered one. The main item of the revised proposal is the constitution of a Purbachal State by the merger of the District of Cachar with Tripura State.

The re-organisation of Indian States is the problem of problems of Free India and it is the duty of the States Reorganisation Commission, appointed by the Central Government to give special attention to the condition of the District of Cachar which wants to be separated from Assam for its security and prosperity. *Purbachal Reconsidered*, which is a timely publication proves beyond doubt that the creation of a new State in the North-Eastern part of India is essentially necessary not only for the integrity of our national life but also for the political, cultural and economic uplift of the country as a whole.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

BENGALI

BHARATIYA ARTHANITI: By Prof. Himanshu Roy. Published by Messrs. H. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 19 Shyama Charan De St., Calcutta-12. Pages 269+11+v. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a book on Indian economics in fourteen chapters. The subjects dealt with are Natural Environment, Population, Social Conditions and Economic Environment, Agriculture and Agricultural Credit, Co-operation, Revenue and Treasury, Industries—coitage and large-scale, Labour Laws and Trade Unions, and Communications. This is Part I of the book and the author contemplates to bring out Part II containing other subjects of Indian economy. Books in Bengali on Indian economics are not many and the book under review is a welcome addition to a subject to which the Indian public is showing an increasing interest. The book although written primarily for students of the University will be a good guide to a man of average education to understand economic problems of his country which confront him in everyday life. The subjects dealt with are presented to the reader in clear language based on facts chronologically arranged supported by current and authentic statistical figures and conclusions arrived at by commonsense logic, will not tire the patience as an ordinary text-book on economics is likely to do. The author's arguments and even his conclusion are stimulating and thought-provoking.

RUSSIA KI SAMAJTANTRI DESH: Translated by Amalendu Das Gupta. Pp. 72. Price As. 4.

This is another publication of Prachi Prakashan of Calcutta who are placing books in the Calcutta market at a very cheap price. The present booklet is a translation of speeches delivered by a Communist and an anti-Communist for and against Communism, as it is found in the Russia of Stalin. Although the reader is expected to draw his own conclusions, the booklet is published as a propaganda against Communism as is evident from the statement in the Preface.

A. B. DUTTA

MEGH-O-CHAND: By Ajit Kumar Bandyopadhyaya. Published by Santi Devi Bandyopadhyay at 10-B, College Row, Calcutta-9. Santi Library, 81, Hewett Road, Allahabad-3. Price 12 annas.

This small volume contains one single juvenile story picked up from the very common life of rural Bengal. A plaintive note permeated by literary flavour runs through the whole book. The story is interesting reading and will be very much entertaining to those for whom it is meant. The author has spared no pains to write in a simple and lucid style. The book will be appreciated by the young readers.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

HINDI

ACHAR AUR DHARMA: By Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma. Published by Rajpal and Sons, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 66. Price twelve annas.

This booklet is made up of Gandhiji's teaching on Satyagraha, the spinning-wheel, celibacy, punctuality, vows, conquest of anger and other constituents of human conduct, but co-related to incidents and situations in his own life. Hence its appeal to every reader, young or old.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KELAVANIVADE KRANTI: By *Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari*. Published by the *Gujarat Vidyapitha*, Ahmedabad. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 3.

The Gujarat Vidyapitha was founded by Gandhiji in 1920; since then it has developed and progressed. Credit is due for it, not only to the staff and workers but also to the presiding geniuses like the late Vallabhbhai Patel, and also Morarjibhai Desai. The basic principle of imparting education to youths of both sexes was that of making them good citizens and patriotic nationals. The history of the institution for the last thirty years is told in this book, which has been called "Change through Education" and indeed Gujarat has changed and the Vidyapitha has contributed largely to it. It has procured and spent 14 lakhs of rupees for its maintenance and survival, and today the Rajpramukh Dr. Rajendra Prasad is its Chancellor. The writer has utilised every piece of available material in the composition of the book, with a very useful index and has been able to publish one which will enure to the lasting credit of his labours, his pen and the Pitha.

PREM SAURABH: By *Mrs. Sarojini Mehta*, M.A. Published by *N. M. Tripathi & Co.*, Bombay-2. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 3.

Mrs. Prem-Lila Mehta, wife of Shri Kanti Chandra Manubhai Mehta, Director of Posts and Telegraphs, Shillong, Assam, the son of the late Sir Manubhai N. Mehta, Diwan of Baroda, died a short time ago, when she was contemplating a tour of America, to get acquainted with Social Welfare Work there. Connected on her mother's side with a well-known Social Reform family of Ahmedabad, she claimed as her maternal aunt, Lady Vidya Gavin Nilkanth, B.A., M.B.E., who along with her sister, Sharda, i.e., Mrs. Premila's mother, were the first lady graduates of Gujarat. It is lady Vidya Gavin's talented daughter who has arranged and ended the reminiscences and welfare activities of her aunt's—Sharda Behen's—daughter. All her life Shrimati Premila was active and the interesting incidents and letters written by her, illustrating her work and which have found a due place in this composition, are sure to make the reader rate high both her and Mrs. Sarojini's work as her biographer.

K.M.J.

Books Received

We have received a well-got-up and profusely illustrated magazine, entitled *Pictorial Japan*. It contains informative articles on and about Japan. The journal will be very useful for the would-be tourists of Japan and also those interested in Japanese affairs. It is published by Japan Overseas Publicity Association and issued from Kaizo Bldg, No. 3, 1-Chome, Kyobashi, Chuo Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Fisherman Koboyana

George Godwin writes with burning concern in *The Aryan Path* about the fate of defenceless humanity in the hands of the half-asleep architects of new methods of mass destruction:

From his fishing boat Koboyana cast his net into the Pacific, into an empty ocean under the vault of a clear, blue sky. Koboyana was done with war, and was once more pursuing the calling traditional to his people, that of a deep-sea fisherman.

Koboyana, then, had done with war; but had war done with Koboyana?

In a sense it had. He no longer wore a uniform or responded unquestioningly to the iron discipline of the national military machine. He was free to fish, and there beneath the keel of his craft was the whole, vast Pacific for a fishing ground.

Koboyana, no doubt, heard talk in port of new experiments to advance that western science which had manifested itself in the wiping out of the city of Hiroshima, with most of its men, women, children and unborn babes.

But all that, no doubt, did not disturb the fisher of the deep; for Bikini lay beyond his horizon, and what was being done there had no greater significance for the Japanese sea peasant than it may have for you who read these lines.

When Koboyana began to feel sick he reported to the doctor. A Geiger counter was brought to bear. "You have been contaminated by radio-active air," he was told. "You have breathed death from the vapours of Bikini."

But the American experiments at Bikini had taken place six months before that. Was it possible that those poisonous emanations were blowing about the vast Pacific still?

What did science say about it?

It was quite clear: once set free, the products of a great thermonuclear explosion remained as lifedestroying agents not for months, years or decades, but probably for a thousand years!

I do not know whether Koboyana, who died a painful and horrible death from radio-active contamination contracted while fishing in a great ocean in a world "at peace," had children. But a child begot of one thus doomed is also doomed; for this is the fundamental difference between the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, and the now old-fashioned high explosive bomb or shell: the explosion is not the end of the destruction wrought, but only its beginning.

Rain is falling in Birmingham, England. The Geiger counter chatters. It is radio-active rain. Where is it from? The far Pacific? Or from beyond the Urals, where the Russians are exploding atom and hydrogen bombs?

Nobody knows for certain. All that is known is that while the peoples of the world live with terror in their hearts, and a deep and passionate hatred of these scientific horrors, their governments pour out their treasure in unending stream to achieve bigger and more ghastly scientific instruments of mass destruction.

So it is that today this obscure Japanese fisherman, the ill-fated Koboyana, becomes for millions a symbolic figure, representing the simple people of the earth who may become immolated on this bloody altar of science, served, as it is, by the blind priests of political systems, of crazy nationalism.

How can the Koboyanas of the world, that is, all inarticulate, peace-loving people, implement their will to halt the work of the scientists who now labour to bring about the destruction of all human life on earth?

In the Dictator countries, they have no voice. Have they a voice in the great Democracies?

During the parliamentary election in England in 1950, twelve professors in Birmingham University issued a manifesto. They appealed to the electors to put party politics aside and to vote for those candidates who would give unqualified support to world government.

Here is their case, in part:—Civilized mankind has an all too brief breathing space in which to undertake the supreme moral and intellectual task of creating a new social institution, capable of controlling the limitless powers of destruction now at our disposal. If we fail to make this effort we may well follow the dinosaur and the dodo to extinction.

This was a magnificent gesture, but no more, for, whatever a parliamentary candidate might pledge himself to perform in the House of Commons, if elected, once in he is little better than a small boy in a big school. He must accept the Party Whip. He must do no political thinking of his own.

When the free electors send a candidate to represent them in Parliament, they surrender all political power: it passes at once to the elected Member, and he, in turn, becomes the creature of the Party caucus.

There is only one political device whereby the will of the people can be established beyond all conjecture: it is the Referendum. And, surely, a Referendum of the common people of all nations would be unanimous for the cessation of all atomic activity not directed to the service of man, but to his destruction.

It is being spread abroad that atomic energy will redeem man from much of the curse of toil, and make him master of such power that he will live on earth as a god. Who can believe that? It is one of the first mathematical brains of our time who repudiates that claim: Hoyle, of Cambridge, who states it as the fact that nuclear energy for industrial ends is far less economical than several alternatives, for example, hydro-electric power.

As I write the evening newspaper is brought to me. And I read this:

Mr. Noel-Baker added, "I think the Government, like lots of other people, regard disarmament as Utopian. They have come to think that immense armaments, long-term conscription, constant development of weapons, immense expenditure on military research, are part of the Almighty's ordering of the world—only to be ended when. He works new and universal miracles in the hearts and minds of men. We are now spending £160 millions a year on military research and development . . . Some people suggested that if we kept piling up these bombs no one would ever dare to use them. But the whole of history is against that view."

But this, it has to be borne in mind, is as a voice crying in the wilderness. It is overborne by other voices of military leaders, such as Field-Marshal Montgomery, who declared with apparent zest that Britain will most certainly use atomic weapons in any future war. It is overborne by the acts and utterance of scientists, some now on their defence, others sublimely unaware of the evil they are about.

Professor A. V. Hill, a past-president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in a newspaper article, repudiates on behalf of the scientists, any guilt for the development of atomic energy. He does that with sound sense. But what may be said of the scientists when they turn their new and terrible knowledge, at the behest of the politicians, to the creation of thunderbolts more terrible than any thrown by Jove?

For here is the point. Only the physicists who possess the technical knowledge for the production of nuclear energy can make an atom or hydrogen bomb. Their guilt begins when, at that point, they do not revolt. True, here and there, there have been those who refused to lend their brains to such evil ends. They have been more often denounced than hailed.

In our day-to-day affairs we judge others by their actions, and to do that when judging of the intentions of governments is as sensible and sound.

We would hold it suspicious of a neighbour if he had a fixed rifle aiming at our door, or threw up around his lot a barbed wire fence over which he grimaced at us.

Yet, while we pour out our treasure on armaments, and while we hurl our defiance at those whom we fear, and who, in their turn, fear us, we pay lip-service to peace, and declare our peaceable intentions.

If we mean peace, should we not prepare for it and not for war?

In his book *Armaments and History*, Major-General J.F.C. Fuller has this to say:

"It is possible to have all manner of societies—theocratic, atheistic, plutocratic, communistic, democratic, etc., but, so far it has not been found possible to have a warless society."

Implicit in that unpleasant statement of fact is the counsel of despair which the writer leaves unuttered. It would seem to be this: There will always be wars, for there always have been.

Here, I think, the military mind overlooks what is fundamental, i.e., what is meant by the word "WAR."

Writers like General Fuller do not appear to have paused to consider that the last war has been fought. There can never be a war again. For wars are fought by armies against armies, and upon fields of battle or upon the high seas by naval ships. The last war was fought between 1914 and 1918. That ordeal from which we have so recently emerged was the first conflict

of nations under arms, of organized mass destruction of civilian populations. Under the debris of the cities of Europe lie buried forever, what were once more or less honoured, the Rules of War.

Let us never for one moment forget that. For any future conflict between the nations some new word is necessary, for the word "war" will not do. Perhaps mass massacre, then? No, not that either. For a massacre ends when the last body is cast into the communal grave. And any future conflict between nations will be as a vast and irremediable suicide pact, a tremendous *hara-kiri*, in the process of which the combatants will disembowel one another. And worse: will poison for ever the germ plasm of all future generations.

The speed with which the world moves along this dark path to self-destruction has already rendered obsolete the terrible agent that destroyed Hiroshima. We have this on the authority of Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S., and of Professor E. S. Shute, Reader in Nuclear Physics at Cambridge University.

When it comes to turning his skills to the service of death the ingenuity of man knows no limit.

Atom bombs? Obsolete, my dear fellow. Hydrogen bombs, then? Those, too! Then what, please, in their place to defend us against our enemies?

Many most excellent devices. Dust, charged with radio-active particles to be loosed in the air. Then radio-active dust spread on the ground.

But here the bacteriologist protests. Should his science play Cinderella? Certainly not. And what could serve the end in view better than the scientific dissemination of death-dealing diseases among one's enemies?

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Not long since, Dr. Wansborough Jones told, in a lecture on "Present Science and Future Strategy," how science now knew of a substance seven ounces of which could wipe all life from the face of the earth.

It is a little difficult for the simple folk of the world to square that sort of thing with scientific freedom from moral guilt. Yet it is by such activities that men win honours and rewards.

In his book, *Power*, Bertrand Russell wrote:

"If I had to select four men who have had more power than any others, I should mention Buddha and Christ, Pythagoras and Galileo."

How curious is the thought that none of these had other than such power as flows from the fount of spiritual truth?

The religion of the West, at least, pays lip-service to the power of the spirit, but by the mouths of its high priests blesses the architects of a scientific hell.

The meanest, most cowardly and corrupt of arguments are advanced to justify the so-called defensive measures of atomic invention.

And, undisciplined by higher authority, perhaps even with its tacit approval, military commanders shout their defiance at their potential foes. . . . Yes, certainly, we shall use atomic bombs in the next war! Nor is that all, for these warlike ones are very free with the name of God.

We, who are the common people, the Koboyanas of the world, can do but little to brake the juggernaut that now rumbles upon the way which leads over the rim of hell.

But one thing we can do. We can voice our feelings and repudiate by word of mouth at least, those who now lead the world from the light and drag humanity towards the final catastrophe.

Woman's Place of Honour in Hindu Society

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

Contrary to what modern criticism may aver or present-day social conditions may warrant, women in the India of the past enjoyed considerable freedom and privileges in the spheres of activity specially suited to them. The idea of perfect equality existed, without the least trace of rivalry or dissatisfaction so very characteristic of our times. The ancient Hindus gave practical expression to the idea of perfect womanhood by associating it with perfect and legitimate independence. To them such freedom on the part of woman was not meant to be construed as unrestricted liberty to act in any manner detrimental to the well-established traditions of the community. Freedom and equality, as between man and woman, have their delicately poised norms and etiquette, circumscribed by the ideals and values for which the nation stands. For the sake of one man's or woman's exclusive pleasure, where such pleasure clashes with the larger interest of the community, no time-honoured principle of universal well-being can be sacrificed. In accordance with this wisdom of the ages, the ancient lawgivers of India laid down rules for the guidance of both men and women (and not woman alone, to their disadvantage). The inequalities and disqualifications to which women were seen to have been subjected at a later period of India's history, whatever the justification in their behalf, have temporarily reversed the process of original Indian tradition. Yet,

one cannot say without reservation that in all these later centuries, when the progressive emancipation of the Hindu woman became retarded, there was any deliberate desire on the part of the Hindu man to disrespect her or deprive her of her pristine place of honour in society.

The ideal woman in India is the mother. To the Hindu, within the family or without, the word 'woman' calls up to the mind motherhood first and foremost. This Hindu conception of woman as mother reaches its highest peak in the worship of God as Mother. From the hoary past to the modern times, the individual's religious consciousness, developing and deepening round this concept of the worship of the Divine Mother as the Goddess Almighty, has ingrained in the mind of every cultured (not necessarily literate) Indian a belief, stronger than reasoned conviction, that the woman as mother—either his own or another's or of his children—should be honoured. This tendency towards deification of any person or thing considered sacred or extraordinarily unique is conspicuous in the Indian nation. What greater veneration can characterize man's attitude to woman than to address her, young or old, as 'mother' and to look upon her as a human representation of the Mother Divine? The great lawgiver Manu, some of whose utterances regarding women are taken exception to by moderners, has extolled motherhood by saying, 'A spiritual preceptor is ten times superior (in glory) to a teacher. A father is a hundred times superior to the spiritual preceptor. But a mother is a hundred times superior (in glory) even to the father.'



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It is but natural that where motherhood is held supreme, the ideal of monogamous marriage is insisted upon as the highest and best. By contrast, the life of a woman who remained unmarried or was childless was considered incomplete. So, non-marriage or marriage without motherhood were held emotionally and socially undesirable and thus were not encouraged. The high ideal of married life, for which Hindu society is proverbially famous, has been nobly expressed in the marriage hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, as also in several Smritis and Tantras of later periods. Lifelong faith, devotion, and love between husband and wife were undoubtedly aimed at. The status of a wife is pictured clearly as one of dignity and importance, whereby she was assured of peace, joy, and prosperity. She is the mistress of the household and from that follows tremendous responsibility. Says Manu: 'Women are the light of their home and it is their glory that they are the mothers of the human race. Therefore they deserve worship from all. There is no difference between women and the Goddess of Fortune.' The woman, as wife, shares fully in all the joys and sorrows of her husband and becomes a real partner in all his activities. Her presence and active participation are obligatory in many religious sacrifices. The *Satapatha Brahmana* declares, 'One who is without a wife is not capable of worshipping God properly.'

From time immemorial life in India has centred round the family ideal, and the family is regarded as the proper and characteristic place for the full play of womanly virtues. Perverse thinking has interpreted this as an injustice to woman because she is encouraged to stay at home in preference to the rough and tumble of outdoor activity not befitting the physical and mental make-up natural to womanhood. Many specious untruths and half-truths about the so-called inferiority of the Hindu woman in society have been sedulously given currency by Western writers and some of their Indian apologists. In support of their views, these critics point out the status of woman during the period of foreign conquest when society grew rigid and reactionary and the stringency of man-made protective measures placed during centuries of national struggle against invasions and insecurity of life and honour had compelled many changes, desirable and undesirable, resulting in a gradual decline in the position and status of women in our society. Women's freedom of speech, movement and public appearance was curtailed, education and Vedic studies were somewhat restricted, proprietary right were lessened, and in many other ways they felt helpless and dependent on men. But such an unsatisfactory state

of affairs, whatever the causes of it, can never be justified, especially when we know for certain that ancient Hindu society had evolved and maintained highly satisfactory standards about the treatment of women. Though from the beginnings of the Smriti and Purana period women were deprived of their rights to Upanayana, performance of Vedic sacrifices jointly with their husbands, and even advanced secular knowledge, no actual hardship in practical life was ever placed on them. However, compared with the Vedic period, there has been a general deterioration in the status of woman. Modern Hindu society has had to contend with the remote consequences of this process of decline and also with the confusion in ideals and practices engendered by the unfamiliar but alluring influences exerted by Semitic and Christian civilizations.

It is surprising that not many Indians, not to speak of foreigners, are aware of the fact that the Hindu scriptures give as high a place of honour to woman as to man. Both man and woman are permitted equal right to the highest spiritual realization. No other scripture of the world has given to the woman such equality with man as the Vedas of the Hindus. The Old Testament depicts woman as an instrument in the hands of Satan for the tempting and causing the fall of man. The Biblical account of woman, far from giving her a high place of honour, expresses, on the whole, the view that she is created for man's pleasure and because of her frailty has brought sin, suffering, and death into the world. The Semitic religions have generally assigned to woman a place in the background, completely subordinate to that of man. With the spread of the ascetic and monastic views of life, overemphasized by Buddhism and the attitude of society towards woman was further adversely affected in Hindu society. It was no better in the countries of the West, if not worse, even at a time when Indian civilization was at its height. According to Socrates, 'Woman is the source of all evil.' Says Tertullin, 'Woman is the gate of hell and mother of all evils.' To a great extent Hindu society of medieval and post-medieval periods came under the stern laws of religio-social leaders who moulded public opinion through their authoritative writings and injunctions. Naturally, without any deliberation and imperceptibly during a long period of chequered existence, the gradual decline in the honour and freedom due to woman became an unfortunate reality.

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Scientific and Industrial Research in India

V. R. Natarajan writes in *The Mysore Economic Review*:

In the planned economy of a country science must necessarily play a specially important role. Improvements in techniques evolved as a result of scientific research bring about the greatest increases in production in the different sectors of the economy. National resources are augmented by the substitution of cheap and abundant materials for those in scarce supply and by finding uses for materials which have remained unutilised. A balanced programme of research covering every sector of the economy is essential for the development of the country. This aspect is considered under different heads in the Plan.

Since Independence, programmes of scientific research and survey have been greatly expanded. In the sphere of research proper, the most important development in recent years has been the establishment of a chain of laboratories and research institutions in different parts of the country. These institutions are: 1. National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi; 2. National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; 3. National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; 4. Fuel Research Institute, Jaalgora; 5. Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore; 6. Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow; 7. Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta; 8. Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; 9. Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee; 10. Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; 11. Central Electro-chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.

Although in most of these institutions, the process of establishment is complete, in some, like the Leather Research and Buildings Research Institute, for instance, only nucleus units have been functioned so far. The Electro-Chemical Research Institute has not yet begun to function.

The Plan provides for completion of buildings, installation of necessary equipment and completing the other arrangements to the extent that these remain to be done in the case of each Laboratory and Institute. In addition, the following three research institutes are proposed to be established during the period of the Plan:

1. Radio and Electronics Research Institute; 2. Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, with special emphasis on study of problems cottage and small-scale industries; and 3. The Central Salt Research Station.

Besides these laboratories and research institutes, the Government has made substantial contributions towards the establishment of the following three research institutions:

1. The Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association; 2. The South India Art Silk Mills Research

Association; and 3. The South India Textile Industry Research Association.

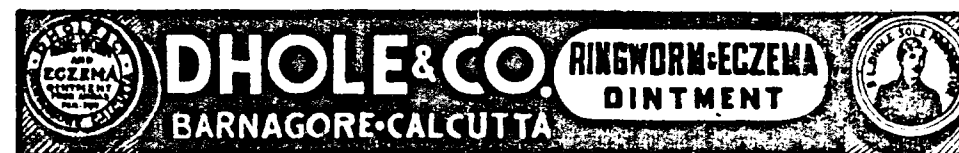
Fundamental and applied research at a number of institutions and universities is being aided by the Government. Surveys of particular resources, preparation of a dictionary of the economic products of India, arranging symposia and conferences and advice to industry on specific problems are other important items in the programme of scientific and industrial research.

The importance of research for the development of Indian industries can hardly be exaggerated. We have made some belated attempts in this direction. Each major industry has its separate research organisation. Research departments and laboratories have also been set up by the Departments of Industries in all States. As a result of the deliberations of the fifth Industries Conference, a central organization, the Industrial Research Bureau, was created in 1935 with an advisory body called the Industrial Research Council. It supplies industrial information, co-operates with the industries in research work and publishes a bulletin giving information useful to the industries.

In order to meet the requirements of the last war, a speedy development of all potential industrial resources of India was felt to be necessary. This led to the appointment of a new body, the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which were associated the representatives of the major Indian industries. It has already done much useful work and suggested several new lines of manufacture, e.g., chemical oils, etc. But our expenditure on industrial research is too little to meet adequately the requirements of industry. In the U.S.A., private industrialists alone spend 300,000,000 dollars on research. The total cost of research in the U.S.A. is said to amount to one-sixth of the total national income.

Our Government today is on a different path. It is no more the Police State. Law and Order—necessary as they are—do not fill the whole picture of governmental functions or even a large portion of its responsibility. As a Welfare State, Government today starts on a different career of usefulness, and it will require social scientists in an increasing degree to act as field workers, statisticians advisers and so on. The Universities alone can provide the training ground for a scientific temper, with a real constructive ideology. Teachers and students of Economics have a real responsibility in shaping the new India.

The students are the real contributors to the making of a successful Welfare State, and the preparation is long and the road is wearisome—but the future is full of promise. To the true seeker the promised land cannot be far off, and to the narrow path of discipline and work every seeker of the real truth in human affairs is welcome at the University to unravel the mystery of human life and misery, and to provide opportunity, courage and faith.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

President Tito Returns to Yugoslavia

President Tito and his associates landed at Rijeka on February 11, after their successful visit to India and Burma. They were away from Yugoslavia for two and half months. At Rijeka, Zagreb and Beograd, hundreds of thousands of people gathered to give him a tumultuous welcome. He delivered several speeches at these places about his trip and the general position of Yugoslav foreign policy.

Speaking to 300,000 people outside Beograd station, President Tito said : "We are not in favour of a division of the world into two blocs. According to our ideas the world is an indivisible whole. Ideological differences cannot be a reason for countries to shed each other's blood, unless someone has imperialistic motives, which is different matter. But ideological differences themselves cannot be a reason for dividing the world into blocs, which will sharpen their knives, forge their guns and stockpile of hydrogen and atomic bombs for their self-destruction."

It is obvious, President Tito said, from the declaration which he had signed with Prime Minister Nehru the kind of talks they had conducted. No pact was signed nor bloc created. What was considered was how all peaceful nations could work steadfastly towards preserving peace and saving mankind from new disaster. They were unanimous in their agreement about this, and would continue to be tireless in its pursuit.

"If perhaps someone wanted to ask in a tone of reproach why exactly we should engage so ardently in this matter," he went on, "I have to say that it is up to us, the small nations, to show ourselves as builders of peace and as consolidators of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. With the world today divided into two blocs, it is lucky that outside them there are vast numbers of people and whole states which believe that it is not right to follow the path of division, and to do nothing about the unification of the world. It is necessary to get together and to solve in a peaceful way problems which do not merit mankind wading into new bloodshed over them, because today the world is an indivisible whole and any major conflict would drag the whole world into a vortex in which the small nations would fare worst. For this reason, the small nations and all progressive people must be united in their aspirations, and must prevail over those ominous forces which preach the solution of problems by the sword if they cannot be solved by peaceful means. Today nothing can be solved by the sword, nor by the hydrogen or atom bomb. Mankind would indeed be mad if it believed that either bloc could defeat someone with the hydrogen or atom bomb without itself being defeated in the conflict and without all humanity becoming a victim of a terrible disaster."

"Now the question is whether this is a change of policy on our part? Is Yugoslavia, now that she had begun to normalise her relations with the Soviet Union, thinking of betraying the principles which she has expounded in her foreign policy? No. We are doing everything possible just because of our principles for preserving peaceful co-existence to normalise our relations with every country so desiring, and to make these relations the best possible. This was what guided us to normalise our relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries. There is no need to fear that we shall drop our good relations with the Western countries, if relations with the Soviet Union and her friends improve daily. We want good relations with the Western countries. Nothing has changed in our policy. It remains principled and consistent."

"The world situation is changing and tension is again mounting. We must not tire in our efforts to abate that tension; we must intensify them. This urges us more strongly not to join any of the existing blocs, because as long as there are blocs and as long as new methods of solving international problems are not sought, danger will always be lurking. This does not mean that Yugoslavia is neutral. We say, as openly as possible : 'Do not hurtle into new danger.' Unfortunately our voice is not always heeded where it should be. However, I think that with every day that passes the number of those who think as we do grows, not only in the countries which agree on the whole with our foreign policy, but also in countries belonging to the existing blocs."

President Tito added that no unsolved international problem was worth the bloodshed of the nations today, not even a local war.

"With regard to recent development," he went on, "I do not think we should make that worst forecasts about the results of certain changes in a country without realising that in so doing we are ourselves contributing to the worsening of the situation. This applies to both sides. If both sides are doing everything they can to sharpen relations, then, of course, they do become worse. It is wrong—but it is the rule in the foreign policy of many countries today—to regard peaceful moves by a country as an indication of weakness, and then, as a consequence to strain relations still more. When reaction sets in to such a policy, the observation is usually, 'There, you see, we were right when we said that nothing could be done about them.' This is the wrong course. What is needed is to welcome any voice raised in favour of relaxation to reckon with it and appreciate it, and not to regard everything as a manoeuvre. Of course, many things are done with an ulterior motive, but when that motive is the preservation of peace nothing is nobler."

President Tito then emphasised that Yugoslavia stood by her foreign policy. "We shall," he said, "consolidate our relations with the Western countries. But this does not depend only on us. We are an independent country, and any attempt at interference in our internal affairs, any pressure on us to change our course, is absolutely superfluous. Our people have proved that they are old enough to govern themselves, and old enough also to take part in events in the international arena."

Referring to his long absence from home, President Tito made some ironical remarks about those who were wont to refer to a 'dictatorship' in Yugoslavia. This, he said, had been rather a long period of absence for people with responsible positions, especially for the "dictator." "It is strange and also alarming for those who keep harping about dictatorship," he said, "that their 'dictator' should leave the country, and yet everything remained as firm as a rock. But our people realise the role that Yugoslavia plays today, and the role

she must play. They understand our policy and are with us. I am talking, of course, about the stories which are always being circulated with the idea of denying the democratic achievements of our country, and her steadfast, gradual but continual development towards real socialist democracy. It is just because our country is what it is that her internal system is what it is, that we were wholeheartedly received in those distant countries of Asia which we visited, both by the leaders and by the people."—*News from Yugoslavia.*

The Limits of Coexistence

In the *New Leader*, December 6, 1954, Michael Karpovich, author of *Imperial Russia 1801-1907* and Professor of History, Harvard University, writes as follows:

In the current discussions of "co-existence," the first question that arises is whether "coexistence" is really something new. Isn't the term essentially a statement of a self-evident and incontestable fact? For almost four decades, Soviet Communism and Western democracy have been forced to exist side by side—for the simple reason that neither has been able to put an end to the existence of its antagonist.

Because of this, some people go on to say that now we must have "not passive but active" coexistence—a concept signifying "trade, cultural relations, conferences and compromises." But again the question arises: Is there anything new here, either? In the first years after the Bolshevik Revolution, it is true, there was no "active" coexistence. There could hardly have been, at a time when Soviet foreign policy was based on the expectation of immediate social revolution in the West and the Western Allies were organizing their half-hearted (hence unsuccessful) military intervention. But didn't a new more "active" phase begin in the early 1920? There were conferences and compromises and trade, as well as cultural relations, to the extent permitted by the Soviet regime. The Western world was unquestionably more active in this coexistence than was the USSR. It might be said that the West eagerly sought coexistence, clutching at every opportunity in that direction and sometimes even imagining opportunities which were not really there. Recall the unjustified optimism aroused by so many temporary phases of Soviet policy: the NEP, "socialism in one country," the United Front against Fascism, the Stalin Constitution, even the purges of the 1930's (and, later, "Soviet nationalism," the "recognition" of the Church, and the dissolution of the Comintern). It

is hard to forget all this; it is even harder to forget what followed. Not conscious desire but force of circumstances brought about the wartime alliance between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Whereas in the West—and especially in America—this alliance stimulated faith in the possibility of postwar co-operation with Moscow, the Soviet regime saw in World War II an opportunity for revolutionary expansion which automatically precluded any sort of peaceful coexistence with the "capitalist countries." While the Western coalition partners were waging solely an armed struggle against the common foe, Stalin was also fighting another war: a political war against his own allies. Now, in historical perspective, it is perfectly clear that during the war the Soviet regime was already drawing up plans for subjecting Eastern Europe and the Far East to Communist dictatorship. And it is also clear that the Western Allies not only had little real awareness of this but failed to co-ordinate their military strategy with any sort of definite political goals for postwar world organization. This is amply clear in the last volume of Winston Churchill's war memoirs. Churchill—who himself only recognized what was happening after many positions had already been lost—describes with some irritation how American political and military leaders resisted the injection of "politics" into military strategy—especially his advice to "meet the Russians" as far to the east as possible.

The postwar policy of the West was also based on belief in the possibility of coexistence, as was the entire concept of the United Nations. "Active" coexistence was in full swing; conference followed conference, and there were compromises in abundance. It was not the fault of the West that this coexistence became progressively less peaceful and gradually gave way to a state of cold war. Even the cold-war policy of "containing" Soviet aggression was based on the idea of coexistence; it was not a question of destroying Soviet Communism, but of holding it within its present bounds—in the hope that it would one day lose its aggressive character either through evolutionary change or through revolutionary overthrow. From this point of view, neither the Korean nor the Indo-Chinese war conflicted with the concept of "containment," since both resulted from acts of Communist aggression. And, for all the differences in phraseology and tactics, I see nothing essentially new in American foreign policy under the present Republican administration.

Since I am convinced that no Western nation will take the initiative in launching a war with the Soviet Union, the contention that we face one clear choice, "coexistence or war," seems to me meaningless. I believe the question is, rather: What kind of coexistence?

Needless to say, the form of coexistence we are now experiencing—coexistence accompanied by constant tension—is profoundly abnormal and difficult to bear. In present circumstances, however, normal peaceful coexistence is impossible. It is excluded not only by specific Soviet actions but by the very nature of the totalitarian Communist regime.

If in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, someone had raised the question of whether countries with different political and socio-economic systems and different ideologies could coexist, people would simply not have understood what he was talking about. Wars were then waged for the attainment of concrete goals and did not aim at annihilating the enemy—or transforming him in one's own image. In peacetime, diplomacy dealt with the same concrete problems, not with ideology or the political and socio-economic reconstruction of other countries. Nations with the most divergent systems and

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ideologies (insofar as the nations of those days had ideologies) coexisted in the same world and consorted with one another without thereby posing any problems. This enabled diplomacy to remain ideologically and even morally neutral. Lloyd George was accused of cynicism for his remark that one could trade even with cannibals. In fact, however, he was well within the bounds of time-honored diplomatic tradition. I would go farther and say that one can even have diplomatic relations with cannibals—provided one takes all precautions against being eaten by them.

This is the essence of the matter. The problem of co-existence could not have arisen until a new and terrible force had appeared in the world—that of the totalitarian state, which received its most perfect and most dynamic expression in the Soviet Communist dictatorship. It was this regime which introduced "ideology" into politics and the spirit and methods of civil war into international relations. It also made the free nations of the world fear for the foundations not only of their material but of their spiritual existence, and forced them to adopt methods of international conflict which were completely alien to their nature. If this situation is to change, if coexistence is to cease being a problem and become once more simply a matter of course—in other words, if the present tension is to disappear from the world—then the pressure exerted by this totalitarian force must end. Until then, the task of the Western world must be to resist it as successfully as possible.

While categorically rejecting war as a way out of the present world situation and, in that sense, accepting the idea of coexistence, I want to stress that this does not mean the end of the struggle between democracy and Communism. The aims and even the principal methods of this struggle remain the same for the Western world. Coexistence is nothing but a continuation of the cold war. The only change required is one in the spirit and content of Western (particularly American) propaganda. The Communist bloc, which is aggressive by its very nature, must not be allowed to present itself as an exponent of peace. The initiative in the fight for peace must be torn from its hands by the democratic countries, for whom world peace is not a propaganda maneuver but the condition and goal of their existence.

I have no doubt that the Russian people, like all other peoples, yearns for lasting peace. I am even prepared to believe that, at the present moment, the Soviet Government does not want war—whether because it is not sure of victory and cannot risk defeat or because it must reckon with popular fear of war, or because it can gain substantial successes without war for the time being. But inasmuch as an aggressive policy stems from the very nature of the Soviet regime—irrespective of whether that policy is inspired by the idea of world revolution, by "Soviet nationalism" or simply by the inner logic of totalitarianism—its peace-loving professions are worth very little. So long as Soviet Russia, with its armed

forces and its international apparatus for the incitement of worldwide civil war, can seize new positions in Europe and Asia, the only possible policy for the free world is one of vigilance and strength.

There is nothing to support the contention that Stalin's successors are following a "new course" in foreign policy. Western skepticism in this regard is fully justified. Indeed, it is astonishing to see the tragicomic intensity—dictated by the same yearning for peaceful coexistence—with which the Western press has reported such "events" as the appearance of Soviet officials and their wives at a party in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the more courteous tone of Vishinsky at the UN and Molotov at the Geneva Conference, or the unwonted smiles on the faces of Soviet generals. But political calculations cannot be based on polite gestures and smiles alone; can anyone point to a single important political concession made by Soviet diplomacy since Stalin's death?

Any diplomatic agreement whose aim is to settle a conflict must be based on compromise. Compromise means mutual concessions—otherwise, what results is not compromise but capitulation by one side to the other. For a genuine and fruitful compromise, what is required, in addition to goodwill on the part of the participants, is a certain balance of power. Since the war, the Western countries have made a whole series of political concessions to the Soviet Union without receiving anything equivalent in return. This was the case, of course, because the correlation of forces in the world was favorable to the Soviet Union and unfavorable to the Western Allies; in such a situation, the politically "realistic" Soviet regime has no incentive to compromise.

But there is nothing fatal in this state of affairs. It can and must be altered by efforts of will and intelligence on the part of the free world. As a counterpoise to the Communist bloc, set up and administered by dictatorial means, not only the moral and political but also the organizational unity of the free nations must be expanded and strengthened. So long as the Communist bloc remains armed to the teeth, the free world will have to maintain adequate defenses. In the present worldwide struggle, the Communists make extensive and frequently successful use of propaganda; the free world must still master fully this essential weapon in the battle for the minds and hearts of men. From time to time, we hear it said that this course would provoke the Soviet Union to resort to arms. Past experience, as well as everything we know about the psychology of the Soviet rulers, indicates the direct opposite. What actually provokes aggression is Western disunity, defensive weakness, and ineffective propaganda. Not strength but weakness may involve the free world in war. And, conversely, only on the basis of a restored balance of power can a genuine compromise be achieved—a compromise which will clear the tense international atmosphere without requiring the free countries to sacrifice their vital interests or their

spiritual values. This is the only possible road to peaceful co-existence.

I am not oblivious to the many weaknesses of the free world in its present state or to the difficulty of the domestic and foreign-policy tasks which confront it. And yet, its position does not seem so lamentable to me. We know all about its "unstable equilibrium," because it is constantly discussed in the Western press. We can also conclude, from the incomplete and often unverified information reaching us from behind the Iron Curtain, that there is a state of "unstable equilibrium" within the Communist bloc. There is no reason to suppose, however, that a totalitarian government is capable of creating a healthier and more durable social order than is a democratic government. The Kremlin unquestionably enjoys the advantage of more ruthless exploitation of the human resources at its disposal, as well as the foreign-policy advantage of the enforced unity of action of all its satellites and allies. But these advantages, at times very telling, may well prove more than doubtful in the final analysis. It is much more difficult for the free world to mobilize its material and spiritual resources. But when they are fully mobilized—and I am firmly convinced that they can be—there will be no doubt of the final outcome of the struggle.

Our Cottage Industries

Our cottage industries have developed, unlike those in many countries, out of urban occupations. They were started about forty years ago by members of the Yemenite community, some of whom attempted to eke out a livelihood by selling the intricate jewellery, the colourful embroidery and the woven mats and baskets which they had been making for generations.

The distinctive character and beauty of these articles and the importance of ensuring their continued production was realized only some years later, and in the middle twenties the Association of Hebrew Women established the Shanj Store in Jerusalem, the first retail outlet in Palestine for Yemenite arts and crafts. The store aimed at affording constructive assistance to as many as possible of Yemenites who were then entering the country, at a time of acute unemployment. They were encouraged to work at home on articles which were likely to find buyers, and were carefully guided in adapting these to modern tastes while preserving their unique designs and technique.

For at least ten years Palestine's home industries continued to be based almost exclusively on Yemenite work. Then, towards the end of the thirties, a change took place. It was not Yemenites who were now pouring into the country, but refugees from Nazi-dominated Europe, men and women who overnight had to change their way of life and find a means of livelihood in a new and difficult land. In 1940, in an effort to help some of them secure an economic foothold, the Jewish Agency opened a Home Industries Section within its Economic Department. The section functioned until the establishment of the State, but in actual fact it achieved only limited success.

The organization which has probably done most to promote cottage industries in Israel is WIZO, (Women's International Zionist Organization). This is largely due to its gift stores, established in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, which offer a ready market for the finished products. As they developed into the highly successful organizations they are today, these stores could increasingly afford to take the risks that were necessary if their object—the economic absorption of an ever-

increasing number of immigrants and the fostering of high-quality arts and crafts—was to be achieved.

At the beginning, WIZO concentrated mainly on Yemenite work, but it was not long before it was compelled to expand its activities. Its offices were besieged daily by women for Nazi Europe seeking work, advice and assistance, and it soon began to develop a substantial home industries branch.

For many of these women, particularly the older ones, the WIZO shops proved a blessing. Questioned as to what they could do, they submitted samples of the knitting, sewing, embroidery and other work they had formerly done either as a hobby or to meet the family's needs. Much of it was clearly the work of amateurs who required a certain amount of training before their products could be put on the market. WIZO, therefore, opened courses in various branches of home industries, and within a short time an appreciable number of women were turning out a wide range of goods which afforded them an adequate, if modest, livelihood. Not all of them, however, were amateurs, and there were articles which bore the unmistakable stamp of the professional. They had, in fact, been made by women who were specialists in a particular sphere and who had in some cases even run workshops of their own in Europe. For them, the WIZO shops naturally provided an immediate market.

Steadily an increasing variety of goods made its way into WIZO shops, as well as into the other arts and crafts shops which had in the meantime come into existence. The oriental Yemenite pieces still occupied a prominent place in these establishments, but now there were also charming leather toy animals, cosy woollen gloves, knitted berets, *petit point* bags, embroidered cloths, hand-painted scarves, stream-lined jewellery, dolls of finished workmanship representing the various ethnic groups in the country, ceramic bowls and vases, modern Hanukkah lamps, ritual appurtenances such as tephillin bags, matzah covers, skull caps, etc., and many other items in which the European note predominated. Although these articles included the products of several small workshops established by immigrant craftsmen, the majority of them represented work done at home by individuals and families. WIZO encouraged the making of every type of article for which labour and material were available, and was tireless in experimenting with new suggestions and designs. When the need arose it opened additional training courses, with teachers who in many cases had themselves participated in earlier courses.

The establishment of the State and the mass immigration led to further efforts to develop home industries, particularly among the new arrivals. The weaving of rugs out of sheep's wool by Yemenites in several ma'abarot (transition camps) was initiated by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, but has now been taken over by private concerns. Yemenites of long standing in the country, who have learned how to adapt their work to modern requirements, have been sent by WIZO into ma'abarot inhabited by their fellow countrymen to teach the new-comers. In the ma'abara of Tirah, thirty Yugoslav women are making canvas shoes with rope soles, which are proving extremely popular. At Zuriel, in Northern Galilee, which has experienced great difficulties in maintaining itself owing to its isolated position, a group of settlers is now finding a new source of income in embroidery.

Cottage industries, in short, are giving men and women all over the country valuable economic assistance.



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But the number of those benefiting from them is still far from what it should be. The main drawback is the low rate of pay available for handiwork, which today seldom exceeds 450 prutot an hour. The demand for arts and crafts is not such as to have inflated the cost of labour nor to have made it possible for private enterprise based on home industries to afford a higher scale of wages. In its eagerness to encourage workers, WIZO has from time to time offered higher rates of pay for certain articles, in such cases reconciling itself to foregoing any profit. But it obviously cannot afford to do so very often without affecting the revenue which the shops yield for the vocational training of women or its efforts to earn dollars by building up foreign markets.

This reference to foreign markets calls for amplification. In 1950 WIZO was instrumental in setting up a New York Company—Israeli Arts and Crafts (WIZO Home Industries)—with a capital of over IL. 50,000, invested by two Israelis and a U.S. resident. Since then, WIZO's exports to America have been handled by this company, which is now in contact with 1,700 gift shops in the U.S. In the first year of operations the turnover was \$60,000, and this year it reached about \$300,000. Obviously these results would have been impossible had the goods not been offered at competitive prices, and the prices could not have been maintained at a competitive level had the cost of labour been any higher.

Despite the difficulties, efforts to further cottage industries in Israel are continuing.

If the practical achievements to date are not all they might be, these industries are at any rate serving as an effective information medium for the country. The Israel arts and crafts exhibitions held abroad have given many people the opportunity of seeing for the first time what Israel can accomplish in the field of artistic endeavour.

—News from Israel, Feb. 1, 1955.

"Leaves of Grass" Centennial Reaffirms Whitman as National Poet of America

This is the centennial year for one of the most important and influential pieces of American literature—*Leaves of Grass* by the "good, gray poet," Walt Whitman.

The book itself, a collection of poems in a thin volume bound in green and gold, created barely a critical ripple when it first appeared in 1855. But well before it had reached its eleventh edition—each succeeding one re-edited by the poet and containing more and more of his work—Whitman's stature as America's leading poet was secure in the minds of many.

Many others, however, were intense in their condemnation. For nothing quite like Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* had ever been seen before. Only a handful of perceptive critics, particularly the great writer-philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, were able to see any merit at all in these unconventionally formed verses with their flagrant celebration of sensual pleasures. And others, though unperturbed by such criticism, still objected to the book because they could not fathom Whitman's symbolism or some of his metaphysical themes.

But Whitman bothered little about these critical shafts. "My volume is a candidate for the future," he told a friend some time after the "Leaves" was printed. And this year's centennial commemoration is, in itself, a fulfilment of the poet's confidence in his own capacity to endure.

"Chant of personality, outlining what is yet to be,

I project the history of the future." So, prophetically, reads one of these moving verses.

Whitman's projection into the future is clearly traceable in the influence he has had on 20th-century American writing. Such exponents of the realist—or naturalist, if you prefer—school as Sherwood Anderson, William Faulkner, Theodore Dreiser, Thomas Wolfe and Ernest Hemingway stem directly from the Whitman heritage.

These modern Americans also have been tarred with the same critical brush for their "crudity" and "tastelessness," for their preoccupation with sex, for their unorthodoxy. Certainly Whitman's energy and action have been mirrored by Dreiser, Wolfe and Hemingway, to name just three.

Whitman's impact on his time was more than that of a controversial poet. He was deeply immersed in the politics of his day, and he delighted in the flamboyant oratory of the period. He was a great believer in individuality and personal freedom and became personally involved, for one example, in the struggle against slavery. Yet as editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, an outspokenly partisan Democratic Party organ, he could be viciously critical of any Democratic politician who deviated from party loyalties, no matter how high-principled his motives.

Every student of Whitman recognises these paradoxes in his personality. He was, for instance, essentially a solitary person (a new biography by Prof. G. W. Allen is called *The Solitary Singer*) but he honestly loved crowds and masses of people, and his poetry often glorified them. He was a pacifist, but he could rebel angrily to the point of force against injustice.

Whitman was a notorious egoist; not only did he publish *Leaves of Grass* at his own expense, but he had no qualms in writing anonymous reviews of it in which he acclaimed himself as "an American bard at last!" Yet he was also the completely selfless man who threw everything aside to devote many months to caring for the wounded in the Civil War of the 1860's. Further, he was little more than a hack as a journalist, but as a poet—as time has proved—he was a man of genius.

There are many other contradictions that could be cited in Whitman's life and personality, but the fact remains that his non-conformism and iconoclasm prodded him to write verses that charted new paths in world literature. His techniques have been widely imitated, but probably his greatest contribution has been his adulation of the common man and of individual liberty—the essence of real democracy.

There is hardly a student of American letters who will not accord *Leaves of Grass* the accolade of being the single most important contribution to American writing. Not only is this work so regarded by Whitman's compatriots; from the pens of Tennyson, Ruskin, Swinburne, Rossetti and other literary greats came letters of praise for the "Leaves."

The focus of the centennial celebration is, fittingly enough, at the U.S. Library of Congress, one of the world's great repositories of printed works. And universities, literary groups and other libraries throughout the land are devoting these weeks to a new study and evaluation of Whitman and his achievements.

On display at the Library of Congress are all the *Leaves of Grass* editions published during Whitman's lifetime—including the once-suppressed Boston printing and the famous "death-bed edition" he completed just before he died in 1892. There is a case full of Whitman's poetry manuscripts, trial lines, titles and notes that illustrate how he composed. A number of translations are also shown.—USIS.

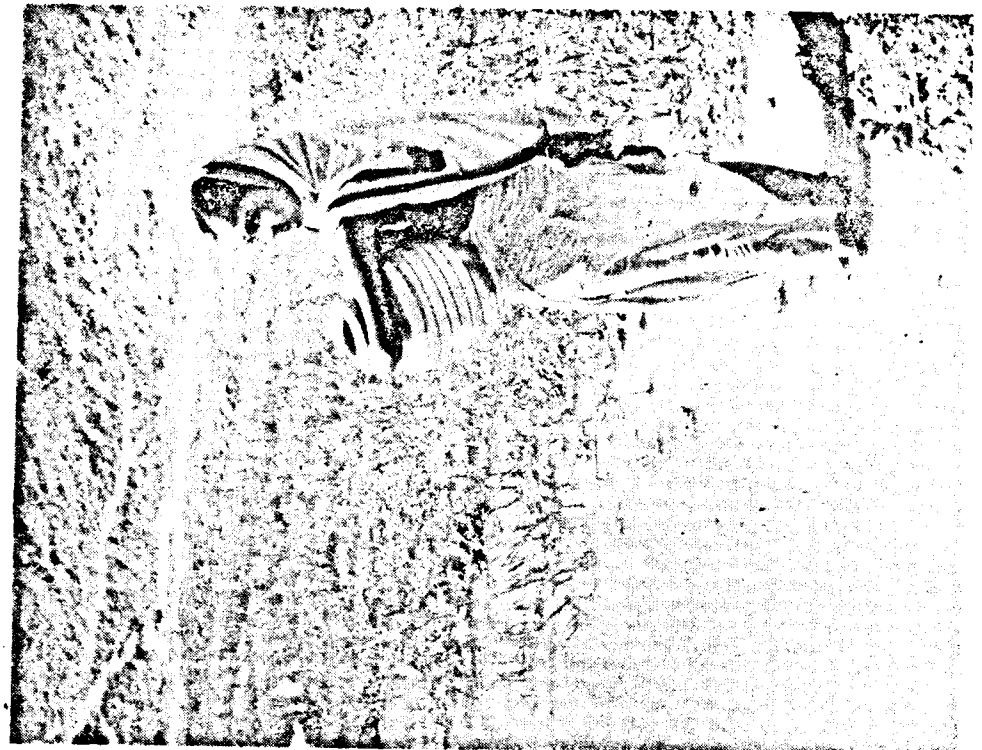


Photo: Ramkrishna Sinha

A village beauty



Photo: Ramkrishna Sinha

A fisherman

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY

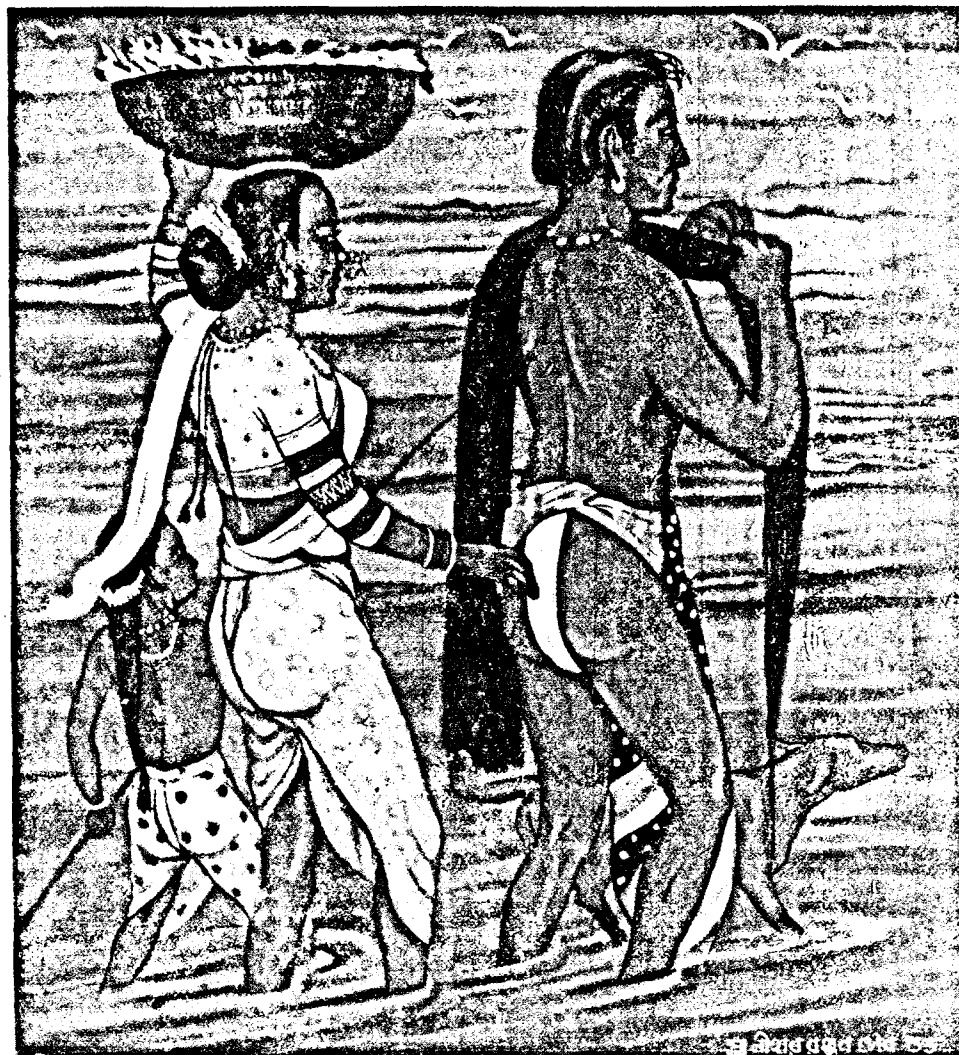


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A SEA-FARING COUPLE
By Niharmanjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

NOTES

Democracy and the Authoritarian

The Asian-African Conference at Bandung is over. A summary of the Conference and some other details are given elsewhere in these editorials. But in effect the achievements, as we judge them, might be summarised thus:

Firstly, the voiceless world has become vocal after a hiatus of some three centuries. Of course those of them as are enlisted members of the U.N. debating societies, could open their mouths, or even voice their opinions, in that august assemblage. But nothing can be heard over the scream of the eagle and the roar of the bear. Besides, there is the question of persuasion by the mighty, gentle and otherwise.

Secondly, for the first time in the history of mankind, the citizens of the voiceless half of the world have emerged out of the shadows and have seen, through the eyes of their Chief Executives, the face and form of their brothers, and have exchanged speech likewise through their own mouthpieces. Previous to this occasion they knew of each other only through the (mis) representations of the predatory powers of the West.

And lastly, to each has been given a fairly accurate estimate of the weight of the others. It would have been an infinitely greater boon if likewise to each there had been given self-realisation of their own measurements. But then, this is not an age of miracles.

Beyond the above there is very little to put on the credit side. But even so, the achievement is far in excess of what Africa and Asia has obtained in the United Nations assemblies.

Will this Conference affect in any way the future of the world, will it in any form exert any influence on the two embattled camps that threaten the ruin of the entire civilized world? Frankly we do not know. Indeed, we do not know where and how we stand. So much is being decided above the heads of the people, that it would tax the powers of a prophet

to predict our future. And we have no prophets in India, only loud-speakers.

On April 22, at the Bandung Conference, Pandit Nehru made some points during an intervention in the debate on World Peace, in the course of which he stated that "India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist." He should have completed the statement by adding that the Creator only knew what the Indians were and which way lay their future path of life and existence as a nation.

We are told that India is being shaped for a "Welfare State." If brick and mortar, cement and steel constitutes "Welfare," then there is justification for that pronouncement. We have seen "Welfare States" of that pattern, in the old days, in the deserts beyond Cairo, in the desolation of Babylon in Iraq, and likewise in the bleak uplands of Iran where stands Persepolis. And we have seen the misery, the despair and the abject poverty of the human denizens of those wastes of brick and stone and mortar.

We are told that ours would be a government built on the "Socialistic" pattern. A similar statement was made by a bricklayer's son, by the name of Adolf Hitler, whose government had a socialistic name, spelt with a "Z." He lifted the crushed and down-trodden peoples of Germany and Austria out of the miseries of defeat and destruction to a height of material progress, power and vigour undreamt of by any man before him. He was also intolerant of criticism, and, being likewise a torrential speaker, was too busy to think. And consider what happened to the Germany of his dreams.

He was a war-monger? Well, what happened to the China of the Great Wall, and what has happened to Tibet, with its Potala and other abodes of peace, with their Shangri-la atmosphere of isolation?

Those were Authoritarian States? Well, which way are we going with our lightly considered amendments, to the Constitution, Criminal Procedure Code, etc.? Between the democratic way of life and the authoritarian, there is only a shadowy line of demarcation.

Asian-African Conference

The Asian-African Conference, in which representatives from twenty-nine Asian and African countries participated, met in Bandung in Indonesia from April 18 to April 24. The proposal for such a conference of Asian and African countries was first put forward at the time of the first meeting of the "Colombo Powers" (India, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon) during April-May, 1954. Subsequently at a meeting of the above five countries at Bogor in Indonesia about the end of 1954, the details regarding the time, place and the list of invited countries were settled. Altogether twenty-five countries were invited to attend the conference besides the convening "Colombo Powers." Of these one—the Central African Federation—did not accept the invitation. Israel was excluded from the list of invitees as was the Union of South Africa.

The significance of the Bandung Conference would be evident as one recalled that this was the first time in history that the independent countries of Asia and Africa met together for a discussion of their common interests and if possible, to evolve a common policy based on those common interests. That the event was accorded so much prominence both here and abroad could be easily explained by the fact that the Conference nations represented more than half the people of the world and about one-fifth of the earth's area.

The Conference was inaugurated by President Soekarno of Indonesia. The Indonesian Premier, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo was unanimously elected Chairman of the week-long conference.

A preliminary meeting of the heads of the delegations was held in camera on April 17 and decided on a seven-point agenda. But on the following day the items on the agenda were brought down to five by dropping two specific items, one on nuclear weapons and atoms for peace, and the other on peaceful co-existence. The discussions of these items were facilitated by broadening of the scope of discussion on the remaining five points of the agenda which were as follows:

- (a) Economic co-operation,
- (b) Cultural co-operation,
- (c) Human rights and self-determination,
- (d) Problems of dependent peoples, and
- (e) Promotion of world peace.

By agreement there was no voting on any topic and an agreed communique was issued at the conclusion of the talks recording the results thereof.

The Conference went off apparently in a smooth way except for a split over the issue of colonialism. The alignment of the countries on that issue, broadly speaking, indicated the two trends of political opinion in the Conference. While discussions were going on about the issue of colonialism the Ceylon Prime

Minister, Sir John Kotelawala insisted upon the inclusion of the "Soviet satellites" among the cases of colonial exploitation. This started a dispute and Ceylon was supported in her stand by the Western bloc countries—Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The Ceylonese proposal was opposed by India, Burma, China, Syria and others. Later on the Ceylon Premier expressed his desire not to press his point, but others took up his lead with even a greater zeal. This controversy was ultimately resolved by a skilful drafting of the resolution opposing colonialism in all its manifestations.

President Soekarno, opening the Conference on April 18 urged upon the Conference of the necessity of the unity of the Asian and African countries "for the sake of the highest purposes of man—liberation of men from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have far too long stunted the development of humanity's majority."

He warned the delegates against any sense of complacency about the danger of colonialism. "I say to you, colonialism is not yet dead. Vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree. Colonialism is a skilful and determined enemy and appears in many guises. It must be eradicated from the earth."

If the Asian and African peoples could succeed in applying the "live-and-let-live principle to themselves, in harmony and peace," Dr. Soekarno continued, they would make a great impact on the world at large.

He paid a special tribute to India for her contribution to the attainment of Indonesian freedom.

The Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Sastroamidjojo, said that the foremost reason for calling the conference was the "agonizing tension" in the world. The participating countries could play a significant role in easing that tension. He said that peoples of Asia and Africa did not want to be dominated by any ideology "from whatever quarter it may come."

Referring to the peoples of the Asian and African countries who were still under foreign rule Dr. Sastroamidjojo said: "We, the independent countries of Asia and Africa have to do our utmost in supporting them in every peaceful effort, which may achieve their freedom."

Many colonial Powers had expressed good intentions of ending colonialism, he went on adding, "I regret to say that good intentions alone are not sufficient to abolish colonialism altogether from the world. More important for us are their deeds and policies which may give proof to the world of the sincerity of their good intentions."

Dr. Sastroamidjojo regretted the absence of the representatives of the peoples who were still under colonial rule but added that it could not help in view of the acceptance of the principle that only independent countries would be invited to participate in the conference.

The Indian Prime Minister played a very important role in the successful conclusion of the conference. In almost all the discussions his voice was heard with great respect and greatly helped in reconciling conflicting viewpoints.

Speaking on the issues of world peace and colonialism, Pandit Nehru declared that India did not belong to any power bloc and she would not allow any country to enter her territory. India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist and would not join any war. He said that the Soviet and American leaders had great responsibility to see that the world was not plunged into an atomic war. The Asian and African countries should consider who was to protect them and where was security in atomic war. But the Asian and African countries could tilt the balance in favour of peace, declared Sri Nehru.

He opposed the Pakistani proposal that countries should have the right to self-defence, singly or collectively, and said that such a principle was merely a cover of words to make military pacts acceptable.

It was intolerable humiliation for any Asian and African country to degrade itself as a camp-follower of one side or the other among the power blocs, said Sri Nehru.

Speaking about the Turkish praise of the NATO, he said that there was another very real side of the matter. The NATO was, he said, one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism. It was gross impertinence on the part of NATO Powers to speak to India about Goa. North Africa would be free today but for NATO. He criticized the stand taken by Turkey and said that the so-called realistic positions of the present day, like that of Turkey, had brought the world to the brink of war and destruction.

Sri Prem Bhatia reports in the *Statesman* that opposing the Ceylon motion on colonialism Pandit Nehru stated that colonialism as commonly understood, did not apply to countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland which were self-governing members of the UN. Subversion might be said to exist in other forms than Communism. For instance, how would they categorize the influence which forced certain Asian countries to tilt the balance against Indonesia during the voting on Western New Guinea in the UN?

Pandit Nehru put the Cominform in the same category as the SEADO and said that "both are dangerous" and were incompatible with the pattern of peace.

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai created a favourable impression by his amiable manners and conciliatory attitude. Even his avowed opponents said that. He declared China's willingness to enter into negotiations with the USA "to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the

Taiwan area." He repeatedly said that the Chinese delegation had come to the conference to seek unity and not to create divergence. He expressed his conviction that there was a good basis for seeking common ground among the Asian and African countries. He complained of the unfair treatment meted out to China by the UN.

He indicated China's willingness to discuss the question of dual nationality of the Chinese living in other Asian countries with any of the Governments concerned. (Accordingly, a treaty was signed on April 22 between China and Indonesia which would end in two years' time the dual nationality of two and a half million Chinese living in Indonesia).

"China," Mr. Chou said, "has no intention of subverting neighbouring countries, but, on the contrary, is suffering from subversive activities carried out by the USA." Refuting the allegation that there was any "bamboo curtain" around China, he invited all delegates to visit China at any time.

Mr. Chou invited the representatives of Thailand, Laos and Burma—China's southern neighbours to come and inspect the Chinese frontiers.

He referred to Ceylon's attacks on Cominform and said that the subject was not on the agenda. "There are a number of great international organizations, such as the Vatican and the U. S. Intelligence Service. We have suffered at their hands and have every reason to be against them, but we will not discuss them here."

He presented a seven-point peace plan to the conference.

Bandung Conference Results

The following communique was issued on April 24 at the conclusion of the Conference of 29 Asian and African countries at Bandung:

"The Asian-African Conference convened by the Government of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Bandung from the 18th to 24th of April, 1955.

"In addition to the sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the conference:

"Afghanistan, Cambodia, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, The Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, The Philippines, Saudi Arabia, The Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam, States of Vietnam and The Yemen.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

"The Asian-African Conference considered the position of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic cultural and political co-operation.

(a) Economic co-operation:

(1) The Asian-African conference recognised the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-

African region. There was general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty.

"The proposals with regard to economic co-operation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for co-operation with countries outside the region including the investment of foreign capital.

"It was further recognised that assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

(2) The participating countries agree to provide technical assistance to one another to the maximum extent.

(3) The Asian-African Conference recommended: "The early establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development;

"The allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries.

TRADE RELATIONS

(4) The Asian-African Conference recognised the vital need for stabilising commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However it was recognised that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade agreements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

(5) The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilising international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on international commodity trade and other international forums.

(6) The Asian-African Conference further recommended:

"Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials whenever economically feasible before export: intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement be given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for the transit trade of landlocked countries.

SHIPPING LINES

(7) The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates often to the detriment of participating countries.

(8) The Asian-African Conference felt that encouragement should be given to the establishment of

national and regional banks and insurance companies.

(9) The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might finally lead to the formulation of a common policy.

(10) The Asian-African Conference emphasised the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian-African countries.

(11) The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of liaison officers in participating countries to be nominated by their respective national Governments for the exchange of information and matters of mutual interest.

(12) The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view as far as possible to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is however not intended to form a regional bloc.

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

(1) The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations which have enriched other cultures and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process.

COLONIALISM

"The Asian-African Conference took note of the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa.

"Some colonial powers have denied their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples.

"This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed.

"Similar discrimination has been practised against African and coloured people in some parts of the continent of Africa.

"The conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural co-operation on the wider international plane.

"The conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

"In particular the conference condemned racialism as means of cultural suppression.

(3) It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilisations and cultures that the conference viewed the development of cultural co-operation among Asia and African countries.

"True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality the conference believed that Asian and

African cultural co-operation should be developed in the large context of world co-operation.

(4) There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institution.

"The conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions.

(5) The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural co-operation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

A. The acquisition of knowledge of each other country;

B. Mutual cultural exchange, and

C. Exchange of information.

(6) The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural co-operation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own wherever possible and feasible.

HUMAN RIGHTS

"Human rights and self-determination:

"A. The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the charter of the United Nations and took note of the universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

"The conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination which is prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights."

World Peace and India

On April 22, Pandit Nehru made some statements at Bandung, of which a summary is given below, which are of some significance in relation to the objects of the Conference.

In an important intervention during the Committee's debate on world peace and co-operation Sri Nehru made these points:

If Burma's proposal on peace was not accepted as the minimum the only alternative was solution of problems by war.

The situation in Formosa is grave and the threat of war ever present.

Sri Nehru spoke after Burma, Japan, Pakistan and Egypt had introduced draft resolutions on world peace and co-operation.

Earlier Turkey had explained why it had entered into a pact with the United States and declared that but for that pact she would not have been at the Asian-African Conference.

Sri Nehru said the Turkish delegate had described N.A.T.O. as a bulwark of peace. He had given one side of the case. If the other side were present to put forward its case that case would probably be just as good. The so-called realistic positions of the present day like that of Turkey had brought the world to the brink of war and destruction.

Sri Nehru said that he spoke with faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs. Whatever the great powers did he was convinced that India would rely on herself.

If India had to accept an ideology, then she would choose the Gandhian ideal. Gandhiji had taught India to rely on herself.

India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist, Sri Nehru declared.

Armaments were mounting up and any mistake committed by armed powers was fraught with the danger of war.

Greatness as understood today had brought about false standards and values. As a result of this an overwhelmingly powerful country might fully conquer the world. Today the position was that two mighty colossi could not defeat each other. They could only ruin each other. Of course, aggression must be resisted but war must be avoided at any cost. Whatever happened India would not join war. If India joined any bloc she would lose her independence.

Referring to the Pakistan proposal that countries should have the right of self-defence, singly or collectively, Sri Nehru said he did not accept this as one of the principles to be adopted. Such a proposal was merely a cover of words to make military pacts acceptable.

As regards Nato Sri Nehru said that it was one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism. It was gross impertinence on the part of Nato Powers to speak to India about Goa. North Africa would be free today but for Nato.

Speaking of atomic war Sri Nehru said a position had been reached where it did not matter whether one side or the other had more atomic or hydrogen bombs. World leaders such as President Eisenhower and the Soviet leaders bore tremendous burdens of responsibility. Asians and Africans must ask themselves who was to protect them and where was security in an atomic war.

Sri Nehru said he did not see what there was in the word "co-existence" to make it so unacceptable. He said Burma's proposal contained no reference to co-existence and if this minimum was not accepted the only alternative was solution of problems by war.

Sir John replied that he was one of the conveners of the meeting and nothing was further from his mind than to disrupt it. He said he merely wanted to bring certain facts to the notice of the conference and did not want to discuss political ideologies or disrupt unanimity.

The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai said that if

any of the delegates desired to discuss ideologies with him, he would be glad to do so outside the conference.

Mr. Chou said that so far the conference had agreed on the interpretation of the word Colonialism. Ceylon's was a new interpretation of the word.

The Eastern European countries—Sir John had yesterday referred to Czechoslovakia and others as forms of Soviet Colonialism—had selected their State systems according to their own will, Mr. Chou said. To argue about them would do no good to the conference, he said.

Mr. Chou then read out to the conference a proposal he would have introduced but which he had now decided not to place before the Committee. The proposal was to call on all Colonial Powers to grant freedom to Asian and African subject peoples within a stated (ten or fifteen years) period.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali said China was not an Imperialistic country and had no satellite States. Therefore, there should be no difficulty in discussing the subject of other types of dependent peoples.

The Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Khaled Elazm said that they should not discuss ideologies. If "Soviet Imperialism" came up for discussion they might have to discuss American and British Imperialisms.

There were all sorts of curtains "iron, steel, silk and atomic." It might also involve discussion of military pacts, economic pressures and so on, the Syrian delegate said.

Prime Minister Nehru said that technically speaking it was not proper to call countries of Eastern Europe colonies. They had not discussed all colonial territories—thus Goa had not been referred to and it was not India's intention to raise it. They were all meeting as Governments and they should function within the limitations of Governments.

NEHRU'S SPEECH

Sri Nehru said the East European countries like Czechoslovakia were represented at the United Nations. Poland was a member of the International Supervisory Commissions for Indo-China. Many of the Western and Asian-African countries had not only recognised these East European countries as sovereign States but also had entered into treaties with them. They were dealing with these nations as equal nations in the United Nations and other bodies.

Sri Nehru said that it would, therefore, be extraordinary to challenge the very basis of these States.

The Indian Prime Minister said if everything was discussed then all forms of pressures, coercions and subversions in the world would have to be discussed. Some might raise the question of Guatemala. They would also have to discuss various forms of coercions and pressures in African and Asian countries which, owing to their poverty and weakness were amenable to such pressures.

Sri Nehru said they should not also refer to Soviet Asian Republics as they had no right to do so.

subjects such as Tunisia were discussed not on their merits but in relation to power politics.

As examples of pressures, Sri Nehru said that in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, certain countries supported Indonesia's case in respect of West Irian but in the General Assembly later they changed their vote. Some of these countries had admitted that pressure had been exercised on them.

Sri Nehru said the world faced a dangerous situation and they must consider whether they were assisting the approach to peace or coming in its way.

He appealed to Ceylon, Turkey and other countries to consider the problem from this broader view point.

Sri Nehru said that he was glad that the question of colonialism was being discussed, he was happy that Ceylon had said that it had no desire to discuss ideologies and would not put a resolution.

He said that discussions at the conference had hitherto not mentioned many colonial territories like those of Britain and Portugal.

India had the "small problem" of Goa but India had no desire to raise it at the conference.

Speaking of Eastern Europe, Sri Nehru said that many countries of that area were members of the United Nations as Sovereign States and recognised as such by several nations at the Asian-African Conference.

These European countries had signed formal treaties with other nations with which they were dealing on a basis of equality.

Sri Nehru said that speaking in a technical sense there was no colonialism in Eastern Europe, though what was there might be objectionable.

Sri Nehru said that there was a tendency to consider problems of North Africa not on their merits but for reasons related to power politics.

The Chou En-lai Proposal

The following is the condensed text of the statement issued by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, regarding the Formosa tangle and allied subjects:

Bandung, April 23.—Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister, announced in a statement here today that he is willing to negotiate with the United States on Formosa.

Mr. Chou issued the statement after lunching with delegates from Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

He told the Asian-African Conference today that China would not transgress against the territorial integrity of any country—not by one inch.

He said he had invited representatives of Thailand, Laos and Burma—China's southern neighbours—to come and inspect the Chinese frontiers.

He said in the statement, "The Chinese people do not want to have war with the United States."

"The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and

ment to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area."

Mr. Chou said that China was led by the Communist Party. It was against all forms of military alliances like the Atlantic Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation.

The Conference sources said Mr. Chou's statement evidently had the support of the seven other Ministers at the luncheon.

Conference sources said Mr. Chou added that if "by mistake" Chinese people crossed the frontiers of China's neighbours his Government would bring them back.

He said that China was willing to have friendly relations with the United States, Japan and all other countries.

He was willing to accept the efforts of any party which might try to bring about such relations.

Mr. Chou addressing delegation leaders in the Political Committee said Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, himself had agreed to the "five principles of co-existence."

He was willing to take a stand with the British Prime Minister on these principles and would be prepared to issue a declaration on them.

The Conference sources said Mr. Chou criticised the Western military alliances and warned that if these continued to be created China might be compelled to think about having such alliance with nations friendly to her.

Mr. Chou En-lai made a 7-point declaration of his own.

The preamble to the declaration said: "Taking cognisance of the fact that present world tension is impairing international co-operation and harmony;

"Recognising the desire of the peoples of the world for a solid and lasting peace and for the development of friendly relations between nations;

"With a view to achieving and maintaining the independence and freedom of Asian and African countries, and

"With a view to safeguarding and strengthening world peace, it declared:

1. "We Asian and African countries are determined to promote mutual and common interests and live together in peace and friendly co-operation with one another on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity;

2. "Abstention from committing aggression and directing threats against each other;

3. "Abstention from interference or intervention in the internal affairs of one another;

4. "Recognition of equality of races.

5. "Recognition of the equality of all nations large

countries to choose freely their way of life as well as their political and economic system.

7. "Abstention from doing damage to one another."

Mr. Chou's proposed declaration advocated settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and said the Conference should support all measures "being taken or that may be taken to eliminate international tension and promote world peace."

It called for "an immediate armaments truce among all nations and first of all an agreement among the big Powers on the reduction of armed forces and armaments."

The proposed declaration maintained that atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes, demanded prohibition of the production, storage and use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and called for an end by mutual agreement to all tests of atomic weapons.

Sino-Indonesian Treaty

This treaty between the People's Republic of China and Indonesia was an outstanding event of the Conference. The news-report was as follows:

Bandung, April 22.—Mr. Chou En-lai, China's Prime Minister and Dr. Sunario, Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Minister, today signed a treaty which will end the dual nationality of two and half million Chinese living in Indonesia.

The treaty calls on the Chinese population to increase their sense of responsibility to whichever nation they chose as their motherland.

This is the first treaty with a non-Communist country that Mr. Chou En-lai has signed personally.

Under the treaty, citizens of Chinese origin in Indonesia will have to decide within two years whether they want Chinese or Indonesian nationality. It becomes effective when ratification instruments are exchanged at Peking.

At the signing ceremony Mr. Chou said: "It is of great significance that this question is solved during the Asian-African Conference. This is another good example of solving difficult questions between Asian and African countries in a spirit of friendly negotiations."

Diplomatic observers attached great importance to the signature of the treaty because of the fundamental principles involved. The treaty will now become the basis of any negotiations with other Asian countries on their Chinese population believed to total several millions.—Reuter.

Goa

Goa continued to be a festering sore in the body of India. It is evident that the Government of India is in a difficult position in so far a solution is concerned. Mere words are of no use in the face of what is happening. The Lok Sabha may have an occasion to discuss Goa soon, as the following news-item shows:

Mavlankar, today held over his decision on the admissibility of an adjournment motion tabled by some members in the Lok Sabha seeking to raise a discussion on the "deportation by Portuguese Authorities of 32 Goan satyagrahis, including Indian nationals arrested in August 1954 and sentenced to terms of imprisonment upto 28 years."

Mr. Mavlankar said the subject-matter of the adjournment motion appeared to be "pretty serious," and the sentence if true, was "shocking." He would keep the matter open till the return of the Prime Minister.

He would, like to know from members who had tabled the motion as to whether they had further information about the sentences.

Mr. Ashoka Mehta said all the satyagrahis were arrested on August 15, 1954, when satyagraha was launched and had been convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The highest being 28 years and the minimum being four years. Thirty-two persons had been deported from Goa and had been sent to some place in Africa. The deportation took place about two or three days back according to information received by him.

The Speaker said, he would keep the matter open till the return of the Prime Minister, and information, if available, might be given by Government earlier. "It is a matter which really cause tension throughout the country," he added.

Amendment of the Constitution

After prolonged discussions, the Indian Parliament has now passed the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. The amendment is remarkable in many respects. According to one school of thought it has removed the contradictions between fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy and has made the fundamental rights subservient to the directive principles. The amendment has, thus according to them, remedied a lacuna in the Constitution. Fundamental rights are rights of the people and they are justiciable; the directive principles are directions to the State in framing the laws of the land and in the administration of the country. The directive principles as such are non-justiciable, they hold, and cannot be invoked by the people for the enforcement of their rights. The directive principles aim at establishing a "Welfare State" and ultimately a "Socialistic State." Socialism therefore implies curtailment of the rights of the people or the individual's liberty. The doctrine of the rule of law or individual liberty as was expounded by Professor Dicey should not obtain now, they say, as it did in the days of Victorian liberalism. It is said that political democracy was boosted at the cost of economic democracy, under that principle, which gave people the right to cry hoarse in the Parliament without the corresponding right to live, to get employment.

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court have given a very wide meaning to clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution. Despite the difference in the wording of the two clauses, they are regarded as dealing with the same subject. The deprivation of property referred to in clause (1) is to be construed in the widest sense as including any curtailment of a right to property. Even where it is caused by a purely regulatory provision of law and is not accompanied by an acquisition or taking possession of that or any other property right by the State, the law, in order to be valid according to these decisions, has to provide for compensation under clause (2) of the Article. It is considered necessary therefore to re-state more precisely the State's power of compulsory acquisition and requisitioning of private property and distinguish it from cases where the operation of regulatory or prohibitory laws of the State results in "deprivation of property." This is sought to be done in new amendment to the Constitution.

In the case of the Solapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd., the Supreme Court held that the Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property. Article 31 gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. The Supreme Court held that acquisition necessarily means acquisition of title in whole or part of the property and cannot be accepted. The word acquisition has quite a wide concept, meaning the procuring of property or the taking of it permanently or temporarily. It does not necessarily imply acquisition of legal title by the State in the property taken possession of.

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision the Government of India had to return the Solapur Weaving Mill to the shareholders. It was taken over by the Government in pursuance of the Industries Development and Regulation Act temporarily for corrective purposes and the Supreme Court held that this taking over by the State although on a temporary basis amounted to acquisition without compensation and as such this was illegal. The fourth amendment to the Constitution seeks to do away with such legal quibbles by distinguishing acquisition proper from taking over temporarily for regulatory purposes. In the opinion of the Government of India it is often necessary to take over under State management for a temporary period a commercial or industrial undertaking or other property in the public interest or in order to secure the better management of the undertaking or property. Laws providing for such temporary transference to State management should be permissible under the Constitution.

The amendment includes within its scope acquisition of agricultural holdings, surplus land and vacant

land for redistribution, slum property and property intended for rehabilitation of displaced persons. Certain rights in industrial and commercial undertakings, which might amount to substantial right of property, managing agency rights and rights of other such persons in undertakings, shareholders' rights, etc., were also covered to the extent of deprivation of their rights, not by acquisition, but by the regulatory laws of the land. But in the main, while agricultural and such allied properties were denied the protection not only of the compensation clause but also of the provision dealing with the non-discriminatory and rights of property enjoyment, industrial and other properties are said to have been given full protection against any type of infringement. The distinction between agricultural and industrial property in the matter of acquisition has been done away with by the amendment and these have been placed on an equal footing. Although compensation cannot now be questioned on the ground of its inadequacy, any acquisition can still be questioned if the compensation provided for is illusory or amounts to a fraud on the Constitution. We are unable as yet to understand as to how that is to be established. The main result of the amendment is that the State can now take over certain types of property under the regulatory laws of the land and as this does not amount to acquisition, no compensation will be paid.

As we consider that the other side of the question has not been fully publicized. We append the following extracts from the *Statesman* of April 1, and April 12, which gives a summary by its special representative:

New Delhi, March 31.—A far-reaching change in the Constitution (4th Amendment) Bill made by the Joint Select Committee seeks to ensure that the quantum of compensation paid for acquisition or requisition of all types of property shall not be open to question in a court of law. As Chairman of the Joint Committee, Mr. Nehru presented its report to the Lok Sabha this evening.

The change has been effected by adding the proviso "and no such law shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate" to clause 2 of Article 31, which provides for payment of compensation for compulsory acquisition or requisition.

The changes made by the Joint Committee also remove the distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural property implicit in Article 31A of the original Bill. They empower the legislature to fix the quantum of compensation for acquisition of both agricultural and non-agricultural property, but make payment of compensation obligatory in both cases.

This has been done by deleting several sub-clauses pertaining to acquisition from Article 31A. The changes ensure that compensation is paid for land which might have been originally acquired under the

provisions of Article 31A without paying any compensation.

Similar protection has been given to immovable property acquired for purposes of relief and rehabilitation, slum property and waste land by deleting the clauses dealing with them from the scope of Article 31A. Laws providing for the transfer of any undertaking wholly or in part, from one company to another have also been removed from the scope of the Article.

The overall intention of the Joint Committee seems to be to treat all cases of acquisition equally under the newly-framed Article 31(2) and include only specific regulatory laws under Article 31A.

NEW CLAUSE

P.T.I. adds: In the opinion of the Committee, the clause (2A) sufficiently brings out the distinction between compulsory acquisition and requisitioning of property for public purposes and the deprivation of property or property rights by operation of regulatory or other laws. The Committee, however, considers that the clause should be expanded to cover transfer of ownership or right to possession of property to corporations owned or controlled by the State. Such corporations stand on the same footing as the Government, but are not covered by the definition of "State" in Article 12. The clause has been amended accordingly.

Another drafting change suggested by the Joint Committee is for the deletion of the words "by the State" in the clauses, as all cases of acquisition or requisitioning of property could only be by the State and the omitted words were unnecessary.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Hindu Mahasabha), in his minute of dissent, says that the amendments were far too drastic and would have a deleterious effect on small property holders who would be completely at the mercy not merely of the State legislatures but also of the executive who would work this kind of legislation in practice.

Bereft of the control of High Courts and of the Supreme Court, these extraordinary powers of expropriation and deprivation of property might act as "engines of oppression and tyranny on poor people."

The amendment, he says, might lead to arbitrary expropriation of property without payment of just or fair or any compensation and thus destroy the sanctity of private property and might pave the way for a totalitarian regime.

Mr. Chatterjee is strongly opposed to protection sought to be given for certain types of acquisition against Articles 14 and 19.

He considers that the protection of the President's assent, for extraordinary legislation under the powers conferred by the new Clause 3, was almost illusory. Such extraordinary legislation, when enacted by any State legislature, should be placed before both the Houses of Parliament and their considered opinion in the form of resolutions should be forwarded to the President before he gave his assent to such laws.

Pandit Nehru termed this amendment as a democratic measure when he supported it on April 11.

He welcomed the changes made by the Joint Committee because they embodied the original intention of the Constitution-makers. The Bill was shorter and simpler and made it clear that compensation would be paid, but the amount would be determined by the legislature.

In general, he expressed the view that if democratic government was to flourish, the legislature had to be a trustee with wide powers. The present Bill he reminded the House, gave powers to the legislature and not to the executive.

Pandit Pant followed up Pandit Nehru's advocacy of the Fourth Amendment on April 12. Considering the intellectual level of the majority of the Government's supporters, the passage of the bill was a foregone conclusion, but all the same we consider the evil potentialities of this amendment remain unaltered in the main. We are not impressed by Pandit Pant's pleas, in view of what we see happening in the shape of executive action all over the country. We append the following extract from the *Statesman* of April 13, which gives a summary of Pandit Pant's speech:

Pandit Pant had earlier dealt with the demand for explicit safeguards for small property owners in saying that this could be left to good sense of legislators who were elected mainly by this class of people.

After Pandit Pant's clear and unhurried analysis of the changes made by the Joint Committee, it was clear that the chances of the Bill being radically amended or failing to get the required two-third majority were remote.

Instead of being more radical than the original Bill, he said, the changes had further limited the scope of expropriation by reducing the number of excepted categories and insisting that compensation be paid in all other cases of acquisition.

For instance, it would no longer be possible to acquire agricultural holdings in excess of fixed ceiling or transfer undertakings without paying compensation as was possible in the original Bill.

The powers of acquisition provided in the Bill, he said, did not apply to small bits of land required for individual purposes, but only to such large-scale acquisition as would come within the scope of the term "social engineering."

Courts could still be approached if the compensation provided was regarded as illusory, but he felt that only the legislature would assess the importance of all the factors relevant in deciding the amount of compensation to be paid in cases of social reform.

It would be unfair to limit the powers of State legislatures, as it had been suggested, since they were directly responsible for law and order and development.

Cr. Procedure Code (Amendment)

This amendment is another weapon whose use might easily be malafide in the hands of an unscrupulous

executive or minister, who has a grudge against any newspaper. It means that all the resources of the Government will be harnessed against the so-called "accused," right up to the Supreme Court. If the "accused" is able to bear the terrific strain and costs, then he might win. But even so he can only expect a fraction of the actual costs to be repaid, for "costs" in legal practice never mean actuals, if the "defamed" party is below the rank of "Heads of State." Otherwise he can expect nothing. We were not impressed by the footling arguments used in favour of this amendment. But we append below the Rajya Sabha debate report in substance from the weekly *Hindu* of April 24:

When the House resumed consideration of clauses, Mr. J. S. Bisht (Congress—U.P.) strongly supported clause 25, laying down a special procedure for prosecution for defamation against the President, the Vice-President, Governor, Rajpramukh, Minister or a public servant.

Mr. S. Mahanty (Democratic—Orissa) opposed the whole clause. Referring to the arguments that the Press Commission's observations supported the proposed amendment, he said that the Commission was not appointed solely to go into the Press Laws of the country. It was only one of its terms of reference. But a Committee to go into the Press Laws was appointed in 1948. Did Government implement that Committee's recommendations? he asked.

Dr. P. V. Kane (nominated) referred to the provision in the clause stating that the Sessions Court might take cognisance of an offence of defamation "upon a complaint in writing made by the Public Prosecutor" and said that such a complaint should further be made subject to endorsement by the Minister or officer concerned. Otherwise, he asked, how would the provision be consistent with the obligation of the Minister or officer to pay compensation to the accused in the event of the accusation being proved false as provided for in sub-clause 7 of the clause.

Mr. Kishenchand (PSP—Hyderabad) opposed the clause and said he saw no reason why the Government should arm themselves with additional powers when they already had powers to deal with the "Yellow Press" under the Press laws. He suggested withdrawal of the clause from the Bill, or, in the alternative, bring under it only Heads of State and not Ministers and other public servants.

Mr. Jaganath Kaushal (Congress—PEPSU), opposing the clause, said it went against the fundamental principles underlying criminal law and was liable to stifle legitimate criticism of irregularities. He said the Government had not been able to make out a clear case in defence of the clause. The clause, in short, was derogatory to the spirit of freedom and welfare of a State, he said.

Dr. W. S. Barlingay (Cong.—Madhya Pradesh) took exception to the provision in the clause exempting

Heads of State from payment of compensation to an accused person when the complaint filed against the latter is proved frivolous or vexatious. He thought this concession should not be allowed to them as, persons who were found guilty should not be allowed to continue in office.

Replying to the debate, Mr. B. N. Datar, Deputy Home Minister, said there was no question of discrimination at all in respect of public servants. The ordinary provisions of penal laws continued to hold good in their case also, and all that was sought to be done was to have the complaint launched by a Public Prosecutor instead of the defamed person himself. It also sought to punish the guilty public servant if the contents of the defamatory substance was found to be true, otherwise to penalise the defamer.

Mr. Datar said that in the interests of purity of administration, the Government should not keep quiet when a public servant was defamed with regard to his conduct in the discharge of his public duty.

Explaining the procedure for starting prosecution in the case of the President, the Vice-President, a Governor or a Rajpramukh, Mr. Datar said it would be derogatory to their position if the prosecution was to be filed at the instance of the Government exclusively and so the matter had been left entirely to each of them. They had also been exempted from the provision on the issue of notices showing cause why compensation should not be paid if the prosecution fell. This was because Article 361 of the Constitution granted them such exemption. No criminal or civil proceedings could be instituted against them.

Mr. Datar said so far as public servants of a lower order were concerned, it might be the head of a department who took a decision but ultimately the matter would be scrutinised by higher quarters and the authorisation would be the authorisation of the Government.

Mr. Datar then referred to the criticism of the provision in sub-clause 5 stating that a person against whom an offence of defamation was alleged to have been committed "shall, unless the court of Sessions, for reasons to be recorded, otherwise directs, be examined as a witness for the prosecution." He pointed out that such a provision occurs in all cases wherever a judicial discretion was to be used by a court. Supposing a writing was *per se* defamatory, a Sessions Judge might feel there would be no need for putting the complainant in the witness box. It should be noted that the provision said the officer "shall" go to the witness box; this was the general rule. The use of the imperative phrase made it clear that the Government had no desire to keep their officers from the witness box.

A number of Opposition members questioned the real intentions of the Government behind providing for exemption in certain circumstances to a public servant alleged to be defamed from appearing in the witness box. Mr. Datar said that if the prosecution did not put defamed man in the box it would be doing so at its own cost. The implication of the decision to launch

prosecution was that the Government had to prove the charge. The rule of commonsense would require that the officer concerned would have to be put in the witness box.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru asked if a magistrate had discretion in cases of defamation, where the complainant was a private party, to exempt the complainant from appearing for examination unless he fell within the exceptions in the Criminal Procedure Code.

Mr. Datar said that in private cases, ordinarily the complainant had to go into the witness box and there would be no question of exemption from appearance. But the question that was to be considered now was whether it was absolutely necessary for him to seek exemption by an order of the court. He would agree that there was no question of asking for exemption because to go into the witness box or not would be a matter which the complainant or his lawyer had to decide at his own risk. The general rule required that the best kind of evidence, had to be produced and direct evidence would be oral testimony. But, the cases when the Government would not like to put the defamed man in the witness box would be very rare.

Sea-Customs Amendment

This amendment is another highly doubtful measure, which would be a potent weapon for the extraction of bribes in the hands of unscrupulous officers of whom there are hosts in that service. We append the news report below:

New Delhi, April 9.—The Lok Sabha today debated inconclusively the Sea Customs (Amendment) Bill, seeking to give certain additional powers to Customs officers for effective control of smuggling.

Though the Bill, partly discussed a fortnight ago, was scheduled to be disposed of today, an unexpectedly keen discussion on one of its provisions held up its passage, and further consideration was held over to enable House to take up non-official business.

The provision which was the subject of adverse comment by several members, even during the general consideration of the Bill seeks to throw the onus of proof in regard to smuggled goods on the person possessing them.

This, members contended was against the accepted principle of criminal jurisprudence that the onus of proof should fall on the prosecution.

Mr. A. C. Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, said in his reply to the general discussion that the provision to which members had objected was not new. Similar provisions already existed in many other acts like the Opium Act, the Dangerous Drugs Act and the Telegraph Wires Act.

Mr. Tek Chand (C—Punjab) described the measure as a "public harassment Bill" and said the person who was to be punished would not be the smuggler or the "incompetent Customs officer who lets the goods slip through" but the person who was innocent.

Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy (P.S.P.—Mysore) said in the long run the Bill might prove to be both an instrument of harassment and of intimidation.

India and the Decimal System

We have a whole host of measures and weights, that differ from each other, in various parts of the country. This causes a lot of confusion and needs standardisation on an uniform basis. The following news therefore is welcome:

April 22.—The Government of India have accepted the Decimal system of coinage and the Metric system of coinage and the Metric system of weights and measures, the introduction of which as the standard and uniform systems in the country has been favoured by the Planning Commission.

This was announced by the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, in the Lok Sabha on Friday. He said that the Metric system of weights and measures would be introduced in the country 'within a reasonable period.'

The Minister who was intervening in the debate on a non-official resolution which urged the Government to 'introduce uniform weights and measures throughout the country,' said that a Committee had been appointed with the Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri Nityananda Kanungo as Chairman to go into the question of Metric system. The Committee would decide upon the type of legislation necessary as well as the phased programme of introduction of the system in the country.

The Metric system of weights and measures would be preceded by the decimal system of coinage for which a Bill would be introduced by the Finance Minister, he added.

Winston Churchill

The retirement of this giant amongst statesmen marks the end of an era in the West.

To all the peoples of Asia and Africa that era meant ruthless exploitation and moral and spiritual serfdom. As such, we have not much to say about this retirement, beyond wishing him a peaceful evening to a strenuous life. The newspaper notice given below will serve for the rest:

London, April 5—Sir Winston Churchill, aged 80, today bowed to the years and resigned as British Prime Minister. He will be succeeded by 57-year-old Sir Anthony Eden.

The Prime Minister drove to Buckingham Palace from his official residence at No. 10 Downing Street to offer his resignation to the youthful Queen Elizabeth this afternoon and so wrote finis to his active career as one of history's greatest statesmen.

The following official announcement of Sir Winston Churchill's resignation was issued from Buckingham Palace at 5-20 p.m. today: "The Right Honourable Sir Winston Churchill had an audience of the Queen this evening and tendered his resignations as Prime

Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept."

Sir Winston Churchill has been Prime Minister for a total of eight years seven months and 25 days—including five years as Britain's great leader in World War II.

Soviet Editors Refused Entry

A group of editors of American student and youth newspapers while on a visit to the Soviet Union in 1953 invited a group of editors of Soviet youth newspapers to visit the USA. In the summer of 1954, the US Government refused visas to the Soviet editors on the ground that there was little activity among organized students during the summer vacation in the United States. In March of this year the US Government agreed to grant visas to the group of Soviet editors for a month's stay in the USA. But the visit of the Soviet editors fell through because they refused to comply with the US visa formalities which required them to give the fingerprints of both hands.

A *Tass* statement points out that no such demands had been made of the Soviet chess players when they visited the United States in 1954, neither had the Soviet Union ever demanded of the visiting Americans to give their fingerprints.

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

In recent years co-operation in international trade is being maintained through the international organisation, which is commonly known as GATT. The GATT was born out of the tariff negotiations in Geneva in 1947 between 17 countries. These countries negotiated among themselves a large number of tariff concessions which were extended in a series of subsequent conferences, particularly at Annecy and Torquay. The GATT has now 34 member-countries and its rules now constitute the accepted code in international trade and its policy determines the relationship between 34 countries which between them do four-fifths of the world's trade.

For some time past it was felt that the machinery of the GATT needs some modifications in order to cope with the changing conditions in international trade. The General Agreement seeks to lower customs tariffs, to remove other barriers to the free trade and to discontinue quantitative trade restrictions. With the purpose of modifying the provisions of the GATT, the contracting parties met at a special conference held at Geneva in March, 1955. The conference has reaffirmed the basic objectives and obligations including the principle of non-discrimination in trade and the general prohibition to the use of quantitative restrictions on imports, which have guided the member countries in the commercial relations since 1948. It has also been decided to establish a permanent organization, to be known as the Organization for Trade Co-operation. It will administer the Agreement and

will supersede the present informal operational structure.

It may be recalled here that the GATT was devised as a temporary stop-gap arrangement which will facilitate subsequently the establishment of the International Trade Organization as envisaged in the Havana Charter. The realisation of the Havana Charter ideals is still a far away objective and the GATT seems likely to remain for some years to come. India took a leading part in suggesting modifications of the General Agreement at the recent Geneva Conference. India stands for non-discrimination and she is not anxious to grant or receive new preferences in the field of tariffs. India's import licences also do not discriminate between country and country but are valid for all countries in particular currency areas. Likewise, unfair trading practices, such as dumping, have never been supported by the Government of India. The Government of India, however, differs from other member-countries over the question of liquidation of trade barriers. While there has been general support to the objective of expanding international trade, Government of India has the apprehension that the acceptance of the principles of liberal trading embodied in the GATT will interfere with the economic development of the country and prevent the authorities from giving adequate protection to Indian industries. The question of free trade received the most careful consideration from the Government of India who consulted the Planning Commission and the Tariff Commission in the matter. The Indian delegation that went to the conference was instructed by the Government of India to press for certain special provisions being made in the articles of the GATT so as to give sufficient freedom to countries like India to fulfill their programmes of economic development. Delegations from South-East Asia and South America also joined with the Indian delegation in pressing for the modification of the GATT. As a result, a new article has been drafted to deal with "Governmental assistance to economic development" with special regard to the problems of "countries whose economy can only support low standards of living and is in the early stages of development." This provision will enable the countries concerned to refrain from giving effect to the other provisions of the GATT in the interests of their economic development and to help the establishment of particular industries.

As regards the proposed change in the articles of the GATT, a new article will be inserted in the agreement which recognises the value of tariff negotiations directed to the substantial reduction of the general level of tariffs and in particular, the reduction of such high tariffs as discourage the importation even of minimum quantities. In order to accommodate the point of view of countries like India which for reasons of economic development and also

for budgetary or other considerations may not be in a position to participate in such negotiations, it has been provided in the article that each country will have the right to decide whether or not to engage in such negotiations. The proposed new article will therefore create no new obligations.

The second important change will be in regard to the items on which concessions have already been allowed. A new set of rules of procedure has been evolved in order to enable the countries to withdraw particular items from the schedules of concessions. Under-developed countries have been given special facilities for this purpose. The result being that, a country like India may at any time re-open negotiations with the countries which have been the principal suppliers of the commodity in question for increasing the fixed rate of duty on it or for making it wholly free from the binding so that the duty can be changed in the future without reference to the GATT. In such negotiations the country desiring the change will ordinarily be expected to extend concessions on other items which are substantially equivalent to the concession which is being withdrawn.

Provisions have been made for extraordinary cases under which it will also be possible for countries to withdraw an item without extending new concessions in its place though in such an event the countries whose exports are affected by the withdrawal would be at liberty to withdraw equivalent concessions from among those which were given to the country concerned under the General Agreement. In all such negotiations, the good offices of the GATT organisation—and in the case of applications from under-developed countries even an arbitration machinery—will be available in appropriate circumstances to secure a speedy and equitable settlement.

It has been further decided that countries which suffer from chronic trade deficits, can take special steps to conserve their foreign exchange and for that purpose quantitative restrictions on trade may be imposed. The modified General Agreement recognises that there may be conditions in which a country in the early stages of development may need to use import restrictions to help the establishment of particular industries where other methods of protection are not suitable. Under-developed countries can therefore have recourse to such restrictions for the establishment of particular industries. Such industries will include not merely new industries but also the establishment of a new branch of production in an existing industry or the substantial expansion of an existing industry supplying a relatively small proportion of the domestic demand.

The proposed amendments are now under the consideration of the Government of India. They are also examining the draft articles of the Organisation for Trade Co-operation the setting-up of which has

been proposed for the purpose of the administration of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade on a more formal and permanent basis. The Organisation will also serve as an inter-Governmental forum for the discussion and solution of other questions relating to international trade and commerce.

Small Industries Corporation

The Government of India has of late trying to develop small-scale industries in this country. Latest development in this direction is the establishment of a Small Industries Corporation, which has been registered as a private limited company under the Indian Companies Act. The Corporation is designed to assist small industries. It will accept contracts for supplying orders to Government and issue sub-contracts for these goods to small-scale industrial units. Small-scale industries will receive from the Corporation loans and technical assistance necessary for fulfilling orders and for the purpose of manufacturing articles of the required type and standard. The Corporation has been empowered to underwrite and guarantee loans to such units from banks and similar institutions.

The Corporation will endeavour to secure co-ordination in a similar way between large-scale and small-scale industries with a view to enabling small industrial units to manufacture ancillaries, components and other articles required for large-scale industrial units. The Corporation has been set up on the recommendation of the International Team of Experts of the Ford Foundation which surveyed the problems of small-scale industries in India in 1953.

The Corporation has an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs which will be subscribed by the Government of India. It will also receive necessary loans from the Government of India for its working capital. The Development Commissioner for Small Scale Industries, under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, will be Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Corporation, which will consist of nine members. Members of the Board will include representatives of the Director-General, Supplies and Disposals, and the Ministries of Finance, Railways and Defence. Representatives of small industries and banking interests will be nominated on the Board by the Government of India.

When all is said and done, there still remains a lag and it is that small industries do not receive the necessary help from the various organisations which have been recently set up for providing help to them. The regional and local authorities are rather conservative or at least do not know their job. It is known to us that several small-scale industries, well-established for the last 20 years, have failed to secure loans from the local authorities. On paper, therefore, the Government of India's drive towards developing small-scale industries is well publicised, but in reality there is a lacuna in the working of these institutions.

Census of Occupations in India

Census of India, 1951, Part-II-B—Economic Tables (General Population), issued by the Deputy Registrar General, India, reveals many interesting features of the occupational structure of the Indian population. Out of the total population of 35.66 crores, 69.8 per cent or 24.91 crores belong to the agricultural classes and the remainder, 30.2 per cent or 10.75 crores are non-agricultural. In the agricultural classes, 28.5 per cent or 7.10 crores are self-supporting persons, 59.0 per cent or 14.70 crores are non-earning dependants, and 12.5 per cent or 3.11 crores are earning dependants. The non-agricultural population comprises 10.75 crores, and of these 31.0 per cent or 3.33 crores are self-supporting persons, 62.6 per cent or 6.73 crores are non-earning dependants, and 6.4 per cent or 0.69 lakhs are earning dependants.

The Report further shows that out of 24.91 crores of persons with agriculture as the principal source of livelihood, only 16.6 per cent or 4.14 crores have a secondary occupation and that even the secondary occupation is agricultural in the case of 11.7 per cent and non-agricultural only in the case of 4.9 per cent. This state of affairs reveals the lack of non-agricultural secondary occupations. Among the people whose principal means of livelihood is non-agricultural, only 9.8 per cent have a secondary means of livelihood, the secondary means being agricultural in 4.3 per cent of the cases.

The total number of self-supporting persons in all industries and services in the country is 3.24 crores—males 2.80 crores and females 44 lakhs. Of these self-supporting persons, 11 lakhs are employers, 1.48 crores are employees and 1.65 crores are independent workers. In India, the independent worker in the non-agricultural classes still predominates. The distribution of self-supporting persons in the ten industrial divisions, is as follows:

Primary industries not elsewhere specified, 24 lakhs or 7.4 per cent; mining and quarrying 6 lakhs, or 1.8 per cent; processing and manufacture—foodstuffs, textiles, and leather products—55 lakhs or 17.0 per cent; processing and manufacture—metals, chemicals and products thereof 12 lakhs or 3.8 per cent; processing and manufacture—not elsewhere specified 24 lakhs or 7.5 per cent; construction and utilities—16 lakhs or 4.9 per cent; commerce—59 lakhs or 18.2 per cent; transport, storage and communications—19 lakhs or 5.9 per cent; health, education and public administration 33 lakhs or 10.2 per cent; and services not elsewhere specified 76 lakhs, or 23.3 per cent.

Nationalization of Commercial Banks

Now that the Government of India (or particularly the Congress Party) is professedly wedded to the doctrine of socialism, there can be no useful objection on principle over the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank of India. The demand for nationalisation is not new; ever since 1948 the demand for nationalisation has been pressed off and on. The Imperial Bank has been the

cyrenure of attack by the Indian business community and the banks for more than two decades. Before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, a catalogue of charges was levelled against the Bank. The contention has been set at rest by the recommendation of the All-India Rural Credit Survey and the Government of India acting upon it. The Bank is soon going to be nationalised and a Bill to that effect has already been presented to the Parliament.

The Government of India's main defence in nationalising the Imperial Bank is that it will facilitate rural banking and agricultural financing. The nationalised State Bank will open nearly 400 branches all over the country, particularly in the rural areas and through the machinery of the State Bank, financial accommodations will be extended to the cultivators on a large scale. The All-India Rural Credit Survey recommendations were not for nationalization, but for the holding of majority shares in the Bank by the Government of India. The Government of India have however decided to nationalize the Bank. We are not yet sure whether the Bank shall continue to perform all sorts of commercial banking which are now being transacted by it. Anyway, a great vacuum will be created in the sphere of Indian commercial banking which still needs large, stabilised, joint-stock banks. If the newly created State Bank is withdrawn from the field of commercial banking in this country, trade and commerce and business will greatly suffer. Other Indian joint-stock banks are not just at the moment in a position to take over the magnitude of business done by the Imperial Bank of India.

Another point which should not be overlooked in this connection is that the Imperial Bank has been hitherto the actual *de facto* leader of the Indian money market, the Reserve Bank of India remaining the *de jure* apex bank. Long historical tradition has endowed the Imperial Bank with acknowledged leadership of the money market and this has developed by convention. Banks in need of funds still come to the Imperial Bank for ready accommodation and this they always get. The Reserve Bank of India's accommodations to the commercial banks involve long procedures and as such the commercial banks always find it convenient to approach the Imperial Bank in the first instance for accommodations. If the proposed State Bank is exclusively directed towards rural banking, commercial banks will miss a great helper in time of need.

Agricultural finance requires both long-term and short-term financing. It is yet to be seen how the long-term financing projects can be undertaken by the State Bank. Long-term financing may be for more than 20 years and it is both for development purposes as well as for reclamation. If the State Bank maintains its commercial banking feature, it would be difficult to reconcile commercial banking with agricultural financing. In this country, the structure of farm credit is based on patch work, the authorities still groping in the dark what to do. In Western countries there are specialised institutions for undertaking farm credit. In Britain, in

the USA, in Denmark, Sweden and other European countries, there is an apex agricultural central bank quite unconnected with the commercial banking of the country. In India, the Government of India seems to have been confused by the recommendations of different committees appointed from time to time to suggest ways and means for improving agricultural financing on a wide scale. Only the Gadgil Committee in 1946 made a correct approach to the problem and recommended the setting up of a separate all-India agricultural bank. Mr. Davis, the well-known American authority on agricultural finance, also recommended the establishment of an all-India agricultural bank. The Government of India decided otherwise on their own responsibility and followed the patch-work of combining short-term and long-term financing in the State Bank.

It is yet to be seen how far the *de novo* institution succeeds in this new venture. If it continues its ordinary commercial banking business, it will no doubt strengthen the hands of the Reserve Bank of India in enforcing its decisions over the Indian money market through the machinery of the newly created State Bank. But the new institution stands the risk of complicating its business through over-involvement.

Chhuikhadan Firing Enquiry Reports

Chhuikhadan was a "native" State till the end of 1947. On January, 1948, it was merged with Madhya Pradesh and was constituted into a tahsil. The Madhya Pradesh Government, through a notification on December 26, 1952, abolished Chhuikhadan as a separate tahsil and tagged it on to Khairagarh tahsil along with certain other areas of Drug district. Thereupon, a Satyagraha agitation was launched with the backing of the District Congress Committee against the Government decision. There were a number of incidents between January 1 and 8, 1953 leading to the firing by the police on a crowd on January 9, 1953, resulting in the death of five persons and bullet injuries to eleven persons. In response to persistent demand for a public and judicial enquiry the State Government set up a one-man committee of enquiry by a notification on January 14, 1953. Mr. Justice B. K. Chowdhury of Nagpur High Court was appointed to hold the enquiry. The enquiry was completed by the 19th April, 1953, and Mr. Justice Chowdhury submitted his report to the Government on the 23rd April, 1953, holding that the firing had been unjustified. Thereupon the Government appointed a three-man Departmental Enquiry Committee headed by Shri Bhowani Shankar Niyogi, a former Judge of the Nagpur High Court. The other two members of the Departmental Enquiry Committee were Shri T. C. Srivastava, District Judge, and Shri H. S. Kamath. The D. E. Commission submitted two reports to the Government on the 1st December, 1953, with a minute of dissent by the Chairman.

The report of the Chowdhury Commission as well as those of the Niyogi Commission were laid on the table of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly on March 31, 1955, by the Chief Minister, Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla—i.e., after 26 months of the related incidents and one year eleven months and eight days after Justice Chowdhury had submitted his report. Placing the reports before the Assembly the Chief Minister said that though it was not usual to publish reports of Departmental Enquiries he had done so as a special case on this occasion but he made it clear that it would not be treated as a precedent.

The Departmental Enquiry Commission's findings were substantially different from those of the Chowdhury Commission.

The Chief Minister informed the House that the whole case had been referred to the Government of India and the Union Public Service Commission so far as the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were concerned. On their advice the State Government had awarded the punishment of censure to those two officers.

Another officer concerned, Shri H. S. Awasthi had been exonerated of the charge framed against him by the Government after consulting the M.P. Public Service Commission.

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur subjects to an editorial examination the reports of the Chowdhury and Niyogi Commissions as well as the steps taken by the State Government and makes some significant remarks.

Referring to the inordinate delay in the publication of the reports of enquiry the newspaper writes that notwithstanding the explanations of the Chief Minister, "the non-publication of the reports for such a long time is without justification." Had the findings of Mr. Justice Chowdhury been favourable for the Government, the newspaper continues, the report would certainly have been published much earlier. But because the Judge's findings were critical "the tedious process of holding a departmental enquiry into the matter was gone through."

"The procedure adopted by the Government in the matter is open to serious objection and the Ministry cannot escape the charge that they did not give sufficient attention to public feeling on the subject."

With reference to the material difference between the findings of the Enquiry Commission headed by Justice Chowdhury and the Departmental Enquiry Committee headed by Mr. Niyogi, the newspaper writes that the procedure adopted by the Government had thus resulted in an anomalous situation. A Commission consisting of a majority of members of a rank below that of the High Court Judge had reversed the findings of the High Court Judge. The position thus emerged where Mr. Justice Chowdhury

had been made to figure, so to speak, as a committing magistrate while the Departmental Commission had figured as the District Judge.

"It is an unhappy position for any Judge of a High Court to be placed in and it is time for the Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court to consider whether he should allow any of his colleagues to be deputed for enquiries of this kind in view of the fate which has befallen the report of Mr. Justice Chowdhury.

"If Government had wanted that appropriate action should be taken on the report of Mr. Chowdhury, they should have registered cases under Section 299 IPC against Mr. Rajwade (the District Magistrate) and Mr. Tankhiwale (S.P.) for culpable homicide not amounting to murder and allowed the normal processes of law to elicit their defence.

"If this course of action did not commend itself to them, they should have appointed a single Judge enquiry under the Public Servants Inquiry Act as was done in the case of Mr. S. A. Venkataraman and held an enquiry in public into the charges framed by Government. In the case of Mr. Venkataraman, the findings of Mr. Trevor-Harris were considered as the findings of a departmental enquiry but the public had the satisfaction that the case was gone into at the High Court Judge's level and that too in public. The spectacle of persons holding positions below that of a High Court Judge sitting in judgment on the findings of a Judge of the High Court and setting them aside would have been avoided."

The newspaper expresses disappointment at the extraordinary minute of the Chairman of the Departmental Enquiry Commission, Mr. Niyogi from his other two colleagues and writes: "The minute does not have the coherence which we expect from a former Judge of the High Court and parts of it are rambling and disconnected." Mr. Niyogi had held that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police had not been guilty of any error of judgment but the wordings appeared like special pleading. The newspaper questions the validity of the principle propounded by Mr. Niyogi that when "certain words are understood and acted upon by one to whom they were addressed, the only question that can arise is whether or not the words conveyed the sense in which they were understood. Upon this view the responsibility of interpretation lies wholly on the person to whom they were addressed." "This is contrary to judicial decisions," the newspaper writes, "which have held that a justifiable inference from a statement is only that which a reasonable man can be expected to draw."

The appointment of an aged person like Mr. Niyogi for the onerous duties of an enquiry also comes in for comment by the newspaper.

The offending officers had been allowed to go

with an administrative censure which would not affect their promotions, whereas a private individual for similar offences would have been sentenced for culpable homicide not amounting to murder. "This is travesty of justice," the *Hitavada* writes.

"It should not be said that under a democratic Government, persons who are guilty of actions leading to unnecessary killing of people should expect promotions and administrative preferment. Somebody has to pay for the unjustifiable killings in Chhuikhadan. The matter cannot be allowed to rest buried in the conflicting reports which have now been published by Government," the newspaper concludes.

Chowdhury Commission Report

Summarising his findings on the circumstances of the firing at Chhuikhadan in January 1953, Mr. Justice B. K. Chowdhury said: "In my opinion, there was error of judgment in ordering the police to fire on the mob. My conclusion is that the firing on the mob at Chhuikhadan on 9th January, 1953, was not justified."

"... I am clear that there was in actual fact no danger of the officers and the police being overwhelmed or seriously injured, still less there was any room for a reasonable apprehension of any vital injury to them. ...

"... none of the casualties occurred near the fencing of the tahsil building where the crowd is said to have been pressing hard. On the other hand, I find that the bullets had hurt the persons most of whom were beyond the prohibited area.

"The manner in which the promulgation of the order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was made was too technical. The illiterate people were not given a chance to know the significance of it. They were certainly taken by surprise. The promulgation of the order was just a manoeuvre to justify the subsequent actions."

Referring to the timing of the firing Mr. Justice Chowdhury held: "It is manifest that the official version that the firing took place at 2-30 P.M. is incorrect. I accept the people's version that the firing was over by about 2 P.M. ..."

The Commission said that the District Magistrate Mr. Rajwade appeared to be an able officer but he lacked experience. But the conduct of the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Awasthi, came in for scathing criticism for his lack of tact and manners and forbearance. The Commission found Mr. Awasthi guilty of misrepresentation and exaggeration of facts to his superiors and said: "The unfortunate tragedy would have probably been avoided had he acted with forbearance and not with the impetuosity shown by him because he was thwarted and shown black flags on the previous occasion by the people of Chhuikhadan." The Commission, however, found that Shri

Awasthi had been shown black flags "only after he had used abusive language to the people of Chhuikhadan."

Niyogi Commission Reports

The three-man Commission headed by Shri Bhowani Shankar Niyogi which had been appointed by the Madhya Pradesh Government to hold a departmental enquiry into the conduct of the three officers—Shri Rajwade, IAS, Shri Tankhiwale, IPS and Mr. Awasthi—involved in the Chhuikhadan firing submitted two reports with a minute of dissent by the Chairman, Mr. Niyogi. One of the reports was about Mr. Awasthi, the second one relating to the other two officers. Both the reports were signed by all three members of the committee.

The Commission said that taken in isolation, "in the circumstances that existed immediately before the firing of the crowd was ordered, there was sufficient justification" of the firing. However, the Commission went on, "we are unable to exonerate Mr. Rajwade from his responsibility in bringing those circumstances into existence. Without going further back than January 9, his last grave error of judgment in this episode was committed when he ordered lathi-charge just at the time a stalemate had developed and when a more experienced officer would have exercised patience and would also have practised such diplomacy as was possible by addressing the people direct or summoning their leaders."

The D. E. Commission further found that publicity to the order under Section 144 had been "sufficiently effective at any rate for practical purposes."

Differing from Justice Chowdhury regarding the time of firing, the D. E. Commission said: "We do not see much reason for not accepting Mr. Rajwade's version that the firing on the crowd was ordered at 2-25 P.M."

The Commission found that undoubtedly "Mr. Awasthi behaved in an unnecessarily rude manner"; but they found him not guilty regarding the charge of exaggeration of events to his superiors.

The difference of their findings from those of Justice Chowdhury was explained by the different nature of the two enquiries—one was a fact-finding enquiry and the other was a departmental enquiry into the conduct of certain officers, and secondly, by the fact that the Departmental Enquiry Commission had thought it fit "to record additional oral evidence and to admit additional documentary evidence, both of which threw further light on some of the matters at issue."

Cross Word Puzzles

"Madras, April 10.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has called for 'an immediate ordinance' for the total ban of 'cross,' 'square,' and such other word competitions,

which, he said, were exploiting the gambling tendencies of middle and poor classes of people.

"In a message to the Women's Savings Campaign organised by the Madras State Women's Committee, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that legislation to stop gambling would take some time but an immediate ordinance for the total ban of these competitions must be issued."

Rajaji's warning has not come a day too soon. Only a few years ago cross-word competitions were relatively little known things restricted to one or two Bombay periodicals and a few stray publications and their circulation was limited. But now it has become almost a universal spectacle. Many so-called news-magazines are being published solely for the promotion of cross-word puzzle competitions. The purpose of providing an intellectual pastime to the readers is no longer the motive. It has become on the one hand a means in the hands of some persons for making money-taking advantage of the fatality of the people growing out of economic depression, and on the other, a means for increasing circulation of certain periodicals, as the Press Commission have remarked.

Shri Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya discusses the nature of these competitions in an article in the *Vigil* of March 26 and writes that the awards did not always go to the most intelligent among the competitors. "The official solutions adjudged by the adjudication committees (I do not know who constitute them) are often unreasonable, inapt and foolish. And this is in itself a sufficient objection against the contention that these X-word puzzles are intellectual pastimes and deserve encouragement."

Yet scores of families were wasting valuable time, energy and money in the pursuit of such competitions. In the South, where these competitions were more popular, people made regular provisions in their budgets for such expenses.

It was no longer possible or wise to keep our eyes shut to the evil which was giving rise to a spirit of gambling among a sizeable section of the educated population, as Rajaji has pointed out in his above quoted message.

Adulteration of Milk

The alarming extent to which adulteration of milk is resorted to has been pointedly brought out by a recent survey in Bombay. The survey carried out by Bombay's Municipal Analyst at the instance of the State Government disclosed that eighty-five per cent of the milk sold in Bombay bazars outside the Bombay Milk Scheme was adulterated, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on April 16. The newspaper report adds:

"In his report the analyst points out that between February 14 and March 15 this year he had examined in the Municipal Laboratory, 1,005 samples of milk obtained from the city markets.

"Out of this nine samples were found to have been curdled, one was broken in transit and 846 were found to have been adulterated. Total number of genuine samples were only 149.

"Out of 846 adulterated samples, 76 were found to contain fat as well as water, 752 were found to contain water only and 18 were found to contain fat only.

"Out of the total number of samples, 193 were adulterated 5 to 20 per cent; 213 by 20 to 30 per cent; 202 by 30 to 40 per cent; 150 by 40 to 50 per cent; 66 samples by 50 to 60 per cent; 19 by 50 to 70 per cent while three samples were adulterated as much as 70 to 80 per cent."

If such a survey were carried out in Calcutta, it may safely be predicted, the result would be no less startling. That adulteration is resorted to on a very large scale in almost all food articles is common knowledge. Such a survey, as the one carried out in Bombay, only statistically confirms the people's worst fears in this regard. But the essential point is to devise the ways and means to contract the area of operation of the mischief makers and prevent the recrudescence of the scourge. It is time serious efforts were directed to that end without confining the energies to the discernment of an obvious evil.

Pavement Dwellers in Bombay

The Government of Bombay undertook a census of pavement dwellers in Greater Bombay which disclosed that the number of pavement dwellers in the city were thirty thousand. It was further disclosed that there were about nine thousand beggars there.

Disclosing the above facts in reply to a question by Mr. Naushir Bharucha (Independent) in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on March 28 the Chief Minister Mr. Morari Desai added that though the Government had no detailed plan for checking the beggar nuisance the Government were tackling the problem in several ways. A sum of Rs. 837,600 had been spent in 1953-54 in the implementation of the Bombay Beggars' Act.

Growing Juvenile Delinquency

The disquieting growth of juvenile delinquency in the country has already begun to worry the thinking citizens. Responsible quarters have expressed their concern at the evil. But it is still very doubtful if the extent of the evil and the variety of forms in which it is taking possession of the country's youth have been fully appreciated.

The following report published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of March 31 is highly significant in this context:

"Bombay, Tuesday.—A sex-starved youth, son of a wealthy jeweller of Dadar, came into the clutches of the Vigilance Branch of the City Police yesterday

when pornographic love letters and photographs of nude women received by him from all parts of the world as a 'penfriend' correspondent were seized from his house. The police also confiscated a cinema projector, a 'blue film,' and negatives.

"Sadanand Waman Harchekar, the police stated, had sent a letter to a girl correspondent in Pakistan some time back.

"The letter which contained amorous passages and pictures was accidentally intercepted by the Customs authorities. The Customs directed the letter to the Vigilance Branch."

Crime in Various Countries

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* for April, 1955, that the analysis by the General Secretariat of the International Criminal Police Commission tended to disprove the general belief that poverty led to crimes against property. The study rather pointed to a contrary conclusion and showed, at least statistically, as if the more wealthy a country was the greater would be the crimes.

India was the least criminal of the 34 countries covered by the study.

Dr. Kumarappa quotes from the report the following figures for 1952 for 100,000 population in the undermentioned countries:

	Cognizable crimes	Serious thefts	Simple thefts
U.S.A.	1322	325	983
U. K.	1342	259	911
France	1484	65	366
West Germany	2092	268	935
India	165	46	69

Foreigners in India

During question hours in the Lok Sabha, the Deputy Labour Minister, Mr. Abid Ali disclosed on behalf of the Home Minister that the number of foreigners registered in India as on the 31st December, 1953(?) was 42,591. The break-up was as follows: Chinese 9,110; Afghans 5,454; Tibetans 5,030; Tribal Pathans 6,357; Americans 3,517; Iranians 3,056; Germans 11,911; French 959; Japanese 526; Portuguese 206; Russians 249; Swiss 572; Spanish 413; Burmese 636.

The list discloses the fact the citizens of the other members of the Commonwealth are not "foreigners" in the eye of the law.

Foreigners' Profits in India

During the year 1954 a sum of Rs. 19.32 crores was sent out of India to foreign countries by foreign firms and companies operating in India on account of profits, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, told the Rajya Sabha on April 15. The figure for 1953 was Rs. 16.67 crores. The figures were

exclusive of individual remittances of less than Rs. 20,000 and also investments of profits in India.

The Finance Minister added that in 1954 Rs. 59.39 lakhs were invested by foreign firms in India as against Rs. 153.60 lakhs in 1953.

Dr. Pugh and Mr. Tensing

Dr. L. C. G. Pugh, a scientist attached to the successful Everest Expedition, said recently in California that "it was Sir Edmund Hillary who provided the brains for the climb to it (Everest) with Sherpa Tensing." He added, "The Sherpa tribesman, Tensing, did not have the knowledge to make the final climb and it was Hillary who took him up." He said Tensing had not the intellectual ability to operate the oxygen equipment which had to be during the final ascent and that Hillary had done it for Tensing.

Mr. Tensing has issued the following statement:

"Normally a gas mask was not at all a very difficult thing to work with, and sure enough, to be able to handle a mask is not the same thing as getting on to the summit of the Everest.

"It surprises me to think, why some member or the other of the 1953 successful Everest team should break out now and then with stinging remarks at me.

"Is it because I belong to one of those tribal Sherpas, who are treated by a certain patronising class of people as beasts of burden of expeditions?

"Well, for myself, I am proud to be a Sherpa, and will always love to remain a Sherpa.

"It is true, my parents could not send me to a school. I had to work hard since my childhood traversing difficult mountains from one corner of the Himalayas to the other for a morsel of food.

"But I was fortunate to have the opportunity to be taught at the hands of nature and the mountains, and with my mountain un-bringing, I do not want to fling any insult at Dr. Pugh."

British Press Strike

The national newspapers of England had to suspend their publication for about a month from the 25th March to April 20 as a result of the strike of about 700 maintenance mechanics and electricians. During the strike there was an interruption in the publication of the *London Times* for the first time in its life.

About a week after the beginning of the strike the British Government appointed a three-man court of enquiry to probe the causes of the strike. Sir John Foster, 65-year old Chairman of Britain's National Arbitration Tribunal and of the Industrial Court, headed the court of inquiry. The other two members were Mr. H. M. Caffyn, President of the British Motor Trade Federation and Mr. W. J. P. Webber, General Secretary of the Transport Salaried Staff's

Association and member of the General Council of the TUC.

The Court of Enquiry reported on April 13 that the wages claim of the mechanics were unrealistic and recommended for return to work of the workers without prejudice and on the basis of 12 shillings a week offer of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (NPA), pending the formation of a central body of 14 trade unions embracing all newspaper workers to negotiate with NPA.

The workers agreed to resume work from April 21 on the above offer of the NPA with the promise of further pay negotiations within eight weeks.

One estimate puts the daily loss of the newspapers at £80,000. According to *Reuter* the strike cost the newspaper proprietors nearly £2.5 million.

The strike has clearly shown that there is really no effective substitute of the daily newspapers in the radio, television or the periodical press singly or even collectively.

The Case of Anna Louis Strong

Miss Anna Louis Strong is an American Communist and an acknowledged authority on Soviet affairs; and in that light she had been looked upon both by Communists and non-Communists until early 1949 when she was turned out of the Soviet Union, where she had been living since 1921, on the charge that she was an imperialist spy.

Now comes the news of her "rehabilitation" by Moscow. A *Tass* statement of March 4 says that she had been falsely accused and was now "restored to her full rights" in the USSR.

It may be remembered that during her expulsion Miss Strong charged with falsely presenting the history of the Chinese revolution implicitly minimising the role of Soviet contribution in her then published book *Dawn Out of China*.

The book was distributed by Soviet distribution bureaus and she regularly contributed articles to the *Pravda*.

After her expulsion Miss Strong made allegations that significant changes had been made in her book on China at the orders of the Cominform.

The Communist Party of USA turned down with a ridicule her offer of a fairly large contribution to the Fund for the defence of the US Communist leaders.

Interestingly enough, after six years she has now been absolved of her "sin."

The Australian Aborigines

Democracy is on trial in the antipodes in a form that is known in the U.S. and in the British-held Africas.

Sydney (WP).—Australian opinion is still divided over equal rights and opportunities for the aborigines,

but more and more, voices of influence are raised in their behalf. A well-known professor of anthropology at Sydney University, A.P. Elkin, recently challenged a statement of an aboriginal station manager that equal education would be "a dangerous experiment." Professor Elkin asserted that although the training of the aborigines should be related to their background and regions, "aborigines do a white man's work and therefore must be educated to understand our economy."

Unemployment in Turkey

The *Worldover Press* supplies the following data:

Ankara (WP).—Turkey's official Labor and Unemployment Association has been doing better all the time in finding work for jobless persons. Figures just compiled, covering the first 11 months of 1954, show that suitable jobs were found for 338,072 of the 387,579 persons who applied. In the same period of 1953, the showing was only 175,129 positions found for 233,150 applicants. Whereas old age benefits applied to only 585,000 persons at the end of 1953, the number had risen by August, 1954, to 700,000, and during 1955 will be increased to 800,000.

Albert Einstein

The following bald news-item announced the end of the greatest scientist of the age and one of the outstanding titans in the history of human civilization.

Albert Einstein was much more than a scientist, inasmuch as he had worked and preached for peace and welfare of all humanity.

Princeton (New Jersey), April 18.—Dr. Albert Einstein, the famous scientist, died here today. Dr. Einstein, whose scientific formulae helped to harness atomic energy, was 76.

He was admitted to hospital here on Friday. The cause of his death was rupture of the main artery of the body caused by hardening of the arteries.

Dr. Einstein, who had secluded himself from public contact in recent years, had been attached to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

The quiet, unpretentious wizard of mathematics and physics spent his lifetime searching for a unified mathematical concept of the laws which govern the universe.

A revolutionary idea, it added a fourth dimension—time—to the three—length, breadth and width—which had formed man's basic knowledge of the measurement of matter. It also astounded scientists by disputing Newton's Law of Gravitation.

Dr. Einstein was the greatest scientist of modern times and one of the few men of the present age to be universally acclaimed as an authentic genius.

To his contemporaries in physics, his was the greatest scientific intellect mankind has ever produced.

Yet he had to live the last days of his life exiled from the country of his birth, deprived of his nationality and property after having been publicly shamed and defamed.

INDO-CHINESE CONTACTS—PAST AND PRESENT

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

CHINA has been maintaining friendly relations with her neighbours throughout the ages. She has a common past with the Indian people, who are indebted to her for preserving records of great historic value throwing light on the history of the ancient civilization of their country.

I understand that, in the pre-Christian era, Indian merchants purchased bamboos and cotton stuff from the south-western province of China and sold them in the markets of Bactria. Cultural contact between the two countries, however, did not take place till the early years of the Christian era when India moved in that direction through the efforts of Buddhist missionaries.

The message of the Buddha first reached China in the first century B.C. but it did not evoke immediate popular enthusiasm mainly on account of the powerful influence exercised by orthodox supporters of Confucianism. But, from the early years of the Christian era, Buddhism gained ground slowly, largely as the result of the missionary activities of Indian scholars who succeeded by their sincere devotion and deep erudition in impressing on the mind of the people of China the superiority of the faith they advocated to the existing one.

The first Buddhist missionaries of India to visit China were Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha, who had been invited about 65 A.D., to preach their faith by the Emperor Ming-tih of the Han dynasty. They were followed by a large number of Buddhist missionaries who plodded through jungles and defiles and highly dangerous mountain passes and reached the borders of China to preach the doctrines of Buddhism. Side by side with their missionary activities, they translated large volumes of Buddhist texts carried from India to enable the Chinese to have first-hand knowledge of Buddhist canons and philosophy.

The most eminent of this galaxy of Buddhist scholars was Kumarajiva who reached China in 401 A.D. As he was a master of both Sanskrit and literary Chinese, he succeeded in translating a large number of Buddhist texts in their correct perspective. Chinese students from different parts of that country came to him to study Buddhism making at the same time successful efforts to emulate his character and greatness. Kumarajiva advised his disciples not to take him as their model but to follow his precepts. At the time of his death, he is said to have exhorted his disciples in the following terms:

"Accept my work, but do not take my life to be ideal. The lotus grows from mud. Love the lotus and not the mud."

Other notable Buddhist teachers who went to China during the period under review were Buddhajiva, Gunavarman, Dharmamitra, Sanghabhuti, Gautama Sanghadeva, Punyatata, Dharmayasas and Vimalaksha from Kashmir, Dharmakshema, Gunabhadra, Paramartha, Prabhakaramitra, and Vajrabodhi from Mid-India, Jnanabhadra, Jinayasa and Yasogupta from Eastern India, Buddhabhadra, Vimokshasena, and Jinagupta from North-Western India, Dharmagupta from Western India, and Bodhiruchi from South India.

From the early years of the Christian era, Chinese pilgrims came to India in large numbers to visit and to worship in the sacred places connected with the life and teachings of the Buddha. Many of them lived in India for considerable periods to study Buddhism under competent teachers.

Two Buddhist Universities, viz., Nalanda and Vikramasila, made suitable arrangements for the study of Buddhism and allied subjects for students coming from China. Many of these pilgrims collected Buddhist texts, carried them to China and devoted their lives to translating them. As early as the second century A.D., Sri Gupta, founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, built a monastery at Mrigasikhavana in Varendri for accommodating Chinese pilgrims to Mahabodhi.

The most notable of the Chinese pilgrims, who visited India in the early period are Fa-hien, Cheng-mong, Fa-yong, Hsien-Tsang, I-Tsing, Wu-k'ong, Hsien-chao, Mahayana-Pradipa, and Tao-lin. Besides these, the Chinese emperors sent embassies and missions to India from time to time to establish contact with Indian princes and also to obtain the services of eminent Buddhist teachers for the dissemination of Buddha's doctrines in China.

The Indian Buddhist missionaries carried along with the message of the Buddha, other elements of Indian culture, such as art, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine to China. Traces of early Indian art have been discovered in Bamiyan, Balkh, Miran, Kuchar, Turfan and Tun-huang through which passed the northern land route to China from India. The influence of Indian art reached China through these countries but it could not displace the traditional art of the country which was admittedly of a high order and, according to many, of a superior type. It was,

however, assimilated and adapted into the existing art of the country forming a new style and technique.

Buddhist artistic activities were in a flourishing condition in the Wei period (A.D. 386-534), regarded as their golden period in China. The chief centres of Buddhist art in that country were Tun-huang, Yun-kang, and Long-men, where grottos and Buddhist sculptures have been found in large numbers. The sculptures are marked by gracefulness of pose and gentleness of expression reminding us of the technique and the design of the Saranath and the Ajanta schools of art. The Buddhist paintings in China of the period under review also reveal the influence of Indian art and, during the Wei period, the Indian painters Sakyabuddha, Buddhakirtti, and Kumarabodhi are known to have carried on artistic activities in various places in China.

As late as the thirteenth century, an Indian artist named A-ni-ko, who specialised in designing, modelling and casting, was commissioned by the Emperor Kublai to execute repairs to some old statues in the royal palace and to execute images for different monasteries in the Empire. Many Chinese pilgrims who visited India are known to have carried many images and specimens of Indian art to China. These undoubtedly served as inspiration, if not models, to the Chinese artists in executing new Buddhist images of the period.

The Indian style of architecture also exercised influence over the Buddhist architecture of the early period in China. The pagoda-like superimposed storeys, extended brackets with hanging bells, golden pinnacles and engraved pillars in the temples bear the impress of Indian influence.

I have referred so far to the old religious and cultural contacts between China and India and have tried to show that it was a two-way traffic based not on the political or economic domination of one country over the other but on terms of equality and friendship. It is remarkable that in those remote days when kings and emperors dreamt of extending the boundaries of the dominions they governed almost wholly through war, there was never even the remotest suggestion among the rulers of China and India of any desire for political domination through conquest.

There is the further fact that instead of favouring isolationism so that new ideas coming from outside their countries might not upset the minds of those they ruled, they not only encouraged but went to the extent of even welcoming contacts with foreign countries knowing full well that at least so far as India and China were concerned, they would not be exploited for political purposes. The only explanation of this attitude of India and China is that even in those remote days with wars going on all round them, the rulers of both the countries felt confident that peaceful and friendly relations would continue

to be maintained and were also desirous of learning from one another.

As we come down to later times, we find that the coastline of China, like that of India, became gradually dotted with the trading posts of mercantile concerns of various Western countries and it was not long before both the people found that they were no longer masters of their own countries, side by side with which the old contacts between India and China grew fewer and fewer till they practically disappeared.

I am one of those who believed that the give and take of ideals and ideas is found only when they are worth taking and receiving and that such ideals and ideas rarely bloom and blossom when a country does not enjoy complete political and economic freedom. This to my mind very largely explains the practical ending of the old flow of ideals and ideas worthy of emulation till both China and India acquired freedom and with that were able to evolve them afresh.

Once again, the old contacts between India and China are being renewed in which connection it is necessary to remember that between November 1951 and December 1954 no less than nine groups of writers, journalists, art-critics, painters, poets, exponents of vocal and instrumental music and dancing, actors and actresses, politicians and people taking interest and participating in public affairs have passed from one country to the other and have not only enjoyed their visits but have also learned something from one another.

We had first an official Cultural Delegation from China which visited India in November 1951 and which sponsored an exhibition of Chinese Art and Culture on the last day of November 1951. This was followed by an official delegation from India which visited China in April-May 1952. Led by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, it had as its members such eminent personages as thinker, politician and educationist Acharya Narendra Deva, educationist Dr. Amarnath Jha, scholar and historian Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, politician and leader of women's movement Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh, veteran editor and journalist Chalapathi Rao, writer and journalist Frank Moraes, art-critic and archaeologist Dr. N. P. Chakravorty, etc. Next came a six-member Trade Union delegation which visited China in April-May 1952. The fourth was a non-official Cultural delegation led by politician Dr. Kitchlu consisting of writers and artists like Shri Manoj Basu, Pandit Ravi Shankar Maharaj, Shri Kshitish Bose, Pandit Uma Shankar Joshi, etc., which visited New China in September-October 1952 under the auspices of the All-India Peace Council. The next was an unofficial Indian Cultural delegation which visited China from July to September 1953, consisting of writers, artists,

singers and dancers from all over India. The invitation extended by the India-China Friendship Association resulted in the visit in December 1953 of a non-official Chinese Cultural delegation led by Mr. Ting Si-Ling, Vice-Minister of the People's Republic of China. Then a 35-member non-official delegation sponsored by the India-China Friendship Association and led by Shrimati Uma Nehru visited China in September-October 1954. It included such eminent members as Dr. Gyan Chand, Economist, Shri S. K. Mukherjee, Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, Miss Mira Dutt Gupta, Vice-Principal, Women's Department, Ripon College, and Member, West Bengal Legislative Council, etc. Next came the Indian Women Delegation's four-week visit to China in September-October 1954, consisting of nine members led by Shrimati Ammu Swaminathan, M.P., the other members being Shrimati Seeta Paramanand, M.P., Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, M.P., Shrimati Rajen Nehru, Madame D. N. Wadia, Rajmata Kamalendu Mati Shah, M.P., of Tehri Garhwal, etc. The ninth one, a 67-member official Chinese Cultural delegation led by Mr. Cheng Chen-to, Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs, visited India for six weeks during December 1954 and January 1955. This delegation gave several performances of Chinese songs, dances, etc., in New Delhi, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. This has been succeeded by the recent exhibition of contemporary handicrafts and arts of the People's Republic of China organised under the joint auspices of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign countries and the Lalita Kala Acadami.

After referring to the inter-change of cultural delegations between China and India, I deem it necessary to say something about the efforts made by both of them to give opportunities to other countries also to know something about what is being done by them after they had become free which, to my mind, is clear proof of their desire to be friendly with as many nations as possible.

Taking the case of China first, we find that high quality handicraft products have been included in every Chinese agricultural and industrial exhibition sent abroad. Apart from this, two handicraft exhibitions, one in Czechoslovakia and the other in Poland, were shown in 1951. Next year, four such exhibitions visited Bulgaria, the Mongolian People's Republic, Pakistan and India. In 1953, three countries, viz., Soviet Union, Sweden and Indonesia were afforded opportunities of seeing selected specimens of Chinese handicrafts.

Like the visit of the present exhibition of arts and crafts from China, India has seen in the last few years a number of exhibitions of photographs, paintings, textiles, crafts and even of industries from various countries all over the world to which no reference can be made here. This, however, has not been a one-way

traffic and exhibitions from India have also visited various countries.

In July 1953, an exhibition of Indian art, organised by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, visited Russia. It consisted of sculptures, Rajput and Moghul paintings and contemporary paintings in such media as water colour, oils, etc., and a large number of photographs of Indian textiles, sculptures, wood and ivory carvings. This exhibition also visited Poland. This was followed by a second exhibition of Indian contemporary arts and crafts organised by the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, which visited the United States of America. An exhibition of Indian Industrial Development was held in London in June 1953. An integral part of it was a pictorial survey of India's industrial advance and her progress towards implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

In the East, there was an exhibition organised in Tokyo, in Japan, which was called the "Great Indian Cultural Exhibition." It included photographs of the Holy City of Banaras, the Ganga and of Buddhist and Hindu shrines throughout India, besides sculptures representing Hindu gods, miniature Moghul paintings, ivory carvings, carpets, paintings, photographs and various statistical maps. To this list should be added the exhibition organised in Australia by two young Bengal artists, Susil Sarkar and Sukumar Bose. An Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibition on a rather small scale was held in Peking, China, in June and July last year. This exhibition generally included ivory carvings, bronze and silverware, porcelain, carvings in wood and horn, textiles, modern paintings and a number of photographs. The photographs depicted archaeological objects like the Lion Pillar of King Asoka, the Stone Bull Pillar of Bihar, the giant Stupas of Sanchi and sculptures in the Mathura Museum relating to the Gupta Dynasty. There was also an exhibition in July last year of Indian arts and crafts in Brazil. This specialised in Indian brocades, silk, silverware, brassware, handicrafts and real jewellery. A similar exhibition was also held in Argentina. Just at present, an exhibition of Indian arts and crafts and Indian textiles is touring Europe and will shortly proceed to South American countries under the charge of our well-known Bengal artist, Subho Tagore.

Rightly or wrongly both China and India feel that some at least among the progressive nations persist in thinking that they continue to be backward, as they admit they were in pre-freedom days, and that independence has made little, if any, difference. They also believe that the world at large does not know as much as it should, about their rich heritage, particularly in the spheres of arts and crafts. They maintain that whatever their attitude in the past, the view that they dislike contacts with other, and specially with progressive, nations and prefer to live their own narrow lives within the boundaries of their

countries is wrong. They also desire to occupy what they consider a status commensurate with their importance in the comity of nations so that they too might be in a position to make their contributions towards the solution of world problems.

The removal of such misconceptions in regard to China and India as continue to exist would, the two countries feel, be greatly facilitated if they can somehow persuade the world at large to think that today both are progressive in their outlook and can prove that they have, as a matter of fact, made advances of a substantial character after freedom.

This explains why India and China welcome delegations from other countries so that their members might have opportunities of seeing with their own eyes something of their past glories, of assessing for themselves their achievements in various directions and of verifying the correctness of such accounts in regard to the progress made in post-freedom days as might have reached them.

One important reason for sending out cultural and other delegations undoubtedly is that the members by seeing what is being done in progressive countries might utilise the knowledge thus acquired by fitting it into their framework and rejecting what is regarded as unsuitable. A second equally important reason is that their delegates are expected to act as unofficial ambassadors whose duty is to convey to the outside world as much information as possible in regard to the countries they represent.

Delegations by their very nature have a somewhat limited utility in the sense that the direct contacts established have necessarily to be between comparatively small numbers of people, though it is conceded that they have far-reaching consequences as they are between leaders and prominent men who can, and do later on, avail themselves of the knowledge thus acquired for the improvement of their countrymen.

As regards exhibitions coming from outside their countries, the leaders of both China and India feel that the people at large must be afforded adequate facilities of knowing something about other lands, visits to which are, of course, impossible for most of them. The same feeling operates when they themselves send out their exhibitions, that is to say, they are anxious that the people of countries other than their own should be given opportunities of familiarising themselves with what India and China have to be proud of and therefore want to show. One great argument in favour of both welcoming and sending out exhibitions is that they are viewed by thousands and thousands of the general public thus encouraging mutual respect for the achievements of one another's

people and, from this point of view, they may be said to have a special value of their own.

It is a legitimate inference from what has been said above that the technique followed by China and India, which is a combination of the above two methods, has been adopted with the deliberate intention of hastening as far as lies in their power the process of acquiring knowledge of other countries as well as of reaching to them information of their motherland in all spheres of activity. This becomes clear when we remember the increasing numbers of delegations and exhibitions received and sent out by both the countries.

Let us remember that the contacts already established and those going to be established in future have only one aim. The people of these two countries desire to learn from one another and to come closer to one another with a view to the establishment of the friendliest possible relationship.

Both the countries suffer from a large and growing population primarily depending on agriculture for their livelihood. Land reforms to ensure economic justice have been introduced in both the countries. Both of them appreciate the need for industrialisation and are taking all possible steps to attain that end. The standard of living, that of public health and of education in both the countries need to be greatly improved before their people can expect to live comfortable lives and some progress has already been made in all these directions.

The aim of both India and China is the same though it is admitted that the approach is not identical. Nonetheless the leaders of both the countries believe that it is possible to secure what the countries desire in the ways and through the measures adopted by them severally. Their idea is that both should go their own way without any interference. All they want is peace so that they may be able to devote all their energies to the development of their resources so as to be able to raise the standard of living of their countrymen. Their leaders feel that perseverance is needed to bring back peace and to gradually increase the areas over which it reigns.

A start is being made by the two largest countries in Asia to come together and though the immediate purpose of the recent exhibition was to show India specimens of Chinese Folk Arts and Crafts, it is nonetheless true to say that it is a pointer to the ardent desire of both China and India to have perfect peace among their people in the hope that the example they are trying to set will be emulated first by their neighbours and later on, they hope, by others living farther away.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION (V) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom— A General Discussion

By D. N. BANERJEE,
Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science,
University of Calcutta

I
We shall now pass on to the consideration of the second category of our Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution. Before, however, we actually do this, we should like to make a few introductory observations of a general character, having a close bearing on the subject. And we should also like to refer, briefly, to the position in respect of this Right to Freedom as it obtains today in the United States of America and England. This, it is hoped, will enable the reader to appreciate the position in our country better when we deal with it.

II
The relation of the individual to the State, that is to say, the question of a just delimitation between the sphere of personal freedom and that of social control, between the rights of the individual and those of the community, has been so to speak, an eternal problem of social and political philosophy, and there is still, as there has been in the past, a very sharp difference of opinion amongst thinkers on this vexed issue. Indeed, Professor Willis hardly exaggerates when he says¹ that "the conflict between man and the state is as old as human history." On the one hand, we have, for example, the views of some ancient political thinkers and also of some of their modern followers that the State 'is a creation of nature' and 'is by nature clearly prior' to the individual²; that the man is by nature a 'social' or 'political animal,' and 'is real' only because he is social, and can realize himself only because it is as social that he realizes himself; that the State is 'an end in itself,' as it 'is a partnership in a life of virtue'; that it 'is not a mere society, having a common place, established for the prevention of crime and for the sake of exchange'; but that it 'exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only'; that 'law is the expression of pure and passionless reason' and is, therefore, sacred; that there is, and can be, no real conflict between law and liberty; that true liberty can only be attained 'in and through obedience to the law'; that the State is a 'moral organism,' and is always inspired by a moral purpose; that 'righteousness' for each individual consists in the proper fulfilment of the duties of his allotted station

in the life and activities of this 'organic moral whole'; that only in the State he can 'attain to the good life'; and can 'realize all that he has it in him to be'; that he is 'what he is because of and by virtue' of the community to which he belongs and which has poured itself, as it were, into his being and his essence; that he is thus 'created by the social process and is daily nourished by that process'; that his supreme duty, therefore, is to the State which is only an organised aspect of the community and which is really 'the individual mind writ large'—a natural extension, as it were, of the individual personality; that his 'obligations as a citizen' must 'take precedence of all other claims upon his loyalty'; and that 'the mere individual is a delusion of theory,' and 'the attempt to realize it in practice is the starvation and mutilation of human nature, with total sterility or the production of monstrosities.'

On the other hand, there are many thinkers who seriously maintain, speaking briefly, that 'the State is not an end in itself, but is simply a means to secure the welfare of individuals.' Further, they urge 'the right of the individual to unfettered freedom and full self-expression' and insist on 'the autonomy of man' as 'the most important ethical principle.' And, according to many of them, all restraint as restraint is an evil, and every extension of the power of the State means 'a corresponding diminution of the domain of individual liberty.' Thus 'law or government' appears to them as 'essentially antagonistic to the self or true individuality of man.' And one³ of these thinkers has gone so far as to say that 'over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign,' and has, on the basis of a so-called 'demarcation between self-regarding and other regarding action,' added that 'to individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested,' and to 'society, the part which interests society.' And another⁴ has declared that, as 'there is no social sensorium, it results that the welfare of the aggregate, considered apart from that of the units, is not an end to be sought'; that 'the society exists for the benefit of its members,' and 'not

5. See Follett, *The New State*, 1926, p. 62. "There is no such thing as a self-made man."—See *ibid.*

6. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, 1930, p. 143.

7. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

8. See John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Introductory, and Chapter IV.

9. See Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition, 1877, pp. 479-80.

1. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 477.

2. Aristotle's *Politics*, Jowett, Oxford, Book 1.

3. Bradley, *Ethical Studies*, Oxford, 1952, p. 174.

4. Aristotle's *Politics*, *op. cit.*, Book III.

its members for the benefit of the society'; and that 'it has ever to be remembered that great as may be the efforts made for the prosperity of the body politic, yet the claims of the body politic are nothing in themselves, and become something only in so far as they embody the claims of its component individuals.' Further,¹⁰ 'the liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints it imposes on him.' Moreover, some of the thinkers belonging to this school of thought lay a special stress on a supposed antithesis between the individual and the State, and hold that this antithesis cannot be either reconciled or abolished. We are not, therefore, surprised when we find it seriously propounded by some of them that 'the State ought to strive to make itself useless and prepare for its own demise'; that 'the ideal form of government is no government at all'; and that 'perfect liberty is equivalent' to total absence of government.¹¹

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state here that both these sets of views suffer from the defect of one-sidedness. We cannot certainly ignore the importance of human personality in any rational scheme of social structure; nor can we ignore the value of personal freedom as a chief ingredient of individual and social progress. After all, in the ultimate analysis, a Nation or a State means a group of human beings and not a herd of cattle or a flock of sheep. This is perhaps the reason why Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend of his in the year¹² of his election as the third President of the United States:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."¹³

We should not, therefore, overlook the individual in the State or allow the question of his welfare to be treated 'as a ball to be tossed about at the caprice of rulers.' That would gradually lead to totalitarianism. At the same time, we must bear in mind that we are not really 'isolated atoms.' We should not, therefore, altogether, 'deny the reality of the social group', and refuse 'to see the wood for the trees' and the importance of the State to the life of the individual. That way lies, ultimately, anarchy. The State, therefore, as an eminent publicist¹⁴ has very rightly pointed out, is both a *means* and 'has an *end in itself*.'

"On the one hand," he says, "it is a *means* for the advantage of the individuals who compose it. From another point of view it has an *end in itself*, and for its sake the individuals are subordinate, and bound to serve it."

Otherwise, he further observes, we cannot explain the "spirit of self-sacrifice" exhibited by thousands of men in times of national danger.

"The deeds of ancient heroes," he rightly adds,¹⁵ "would be the folly of idle fanaticism if the State were only a means of serving individual interests, if the collective life of the nation had not a higher value than the life of many individuals."

The State stands for a certain ideal of life, and is, therefore, "something better and higher than a mutual assurance society." The nation, too, "is something more than the sum of (the) persons belonging to it," and "the national welfare is not the same as the sum of individual welfare." Even an individualist writer like Hobhouse¹⁶ has admitted that

An "organized society is something more than the individuals that compose it," and that "in any human association it is true, in a sense, that the whole is something more than a sum of its parts."

It has been rightly held that "without democracy there cannot be liberty."¹⁷ But we cannot ignore in this connexion what democracy implies: It entails a heavy responsibility. Indeed, as Christopher Lloyd¹⁸ has rightly pointed out:

"The problem of Democracy is how to balance discipline with freedom, the good of the whole with the good of the parts."

It is true that it is difficult to strike a balance between the mutual claims of the State and the individual, or to lay down any general rule as to the limit of State control and the sphere of individual liberty which will apply to all times and places. But we must not forget that, in certain circumstances the individual has rights against the State, the State also has rights against him; that if he does not "exist solely for the State," the State, too, does not 'exist solely' for him; that the State 'has the right to exact from' him the 'conduct which secures to others the enjoyment of the right it secures' to him; that if a certain 'measure of liberty is essential to the development of personality,' 'excess of liberty' really 'contradicts itself'; that, therefore, 'there can be no liberty without social restraint'; that 'there is no true opposition between liberty as such and control as such, for every liberty rests on a corresponding act of control'; that rights are correlative with duties and responsibilities; that if the individual can claim certain fundamental rights, then the society to which he belongs can also demand certain primary obliga-

10. See Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State*, The Thinker's Library, 1940, p. 19.

11. See Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science*, Macmillan, 1908, p. 119; also Boasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 57n.

12. *I.e.*, 1801.

13. See S. K. Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, 1949, p. 2.

14. See Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, Oxford, 3rd Edition, pp. 307-309.

15. See *ibid.*

16. See his *Metaphysical Theory of the State*, 1926, p. 27.

17. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1948, p. 65.

18. See his *Democracy and its Rivals*, 1938, p. 63.

tions and forbearances on his part; and that 'liberty and compulsion,' therefore, 'have complementary functions, and the self-governing State is at once the product and the condition of the self-governing individual.' In a word, we must avoid the road either to anarchy or to totalitarianism, and true statesmanship lies there. For example, if, on the one hand we must very strongly condemn any regimentation of the life and thought of the citizen by the State, we cannot, on the other hand, concede to him any right to advocate murder, or to undermine by his speeches and writings public order, or otherwise to incite people to commit criminal acts. No State can, and should, tolerate any incitement to break its laws or to defy its authority—any 'definite assault' by any person 'on the principle of law-abidingness' in it.

"Such incitement or defiance" is, as Professor MacIver¹⁹ has rightly said, "more than the expression of opinion," and "the State is entitled to suppress an incitement which itself is an attempt to dethrone the rule of opinion," and must, as a condition of its existence, "use its force in its most legitimate application, to prevent the rule of force itself." For "to urge law-breaking is to attack the fundamental order, the establishment of which is the first business of the State, and for the preservation of which it is endowed with coercive power."

Certainly, if a law is pernicious, the citizen has a right to denounce it 'to his heart's content while still recognizing' his duty to obey it. But if he exercises his right of freedom of speech and expression in a manner which leads to violence and other anti-social acts, the State must interfere, and interfere effectively. Otherwise, it cannot maintain that framework of social order without which any peaceful and progressive civic life is impossible. Even so radical a thinker as Harold Laski²⁰ has had to admit that

"Our rights are not independent of society"; that "the rights of a citizen are circumscribed by the needs of the community of which he is a part"; that "historic experience has evolved for us rules of convenience which promote right living," and "to compel obedience to them is a justifiable limitation of freedom"; that a Government cannot be "left to the not always tender mercies of an orator with a grievance to exploit"; and that the State, "clearly, has the right to protection against the kind of public utterance which is bound to result in disorder."

III

It must be evident from what has been stated above that our rights as citizens can only be relative

19. See Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, Lectures F and H; also Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 89-102; also Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (Chap. IX) and *Liberalism* (Chaps. IV, VI and VII).

20. MacIver, *The Modern State*, 1928, pp. 149-52.

21. See his *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 94, 117 and 192, and also his *Liberty in the Modern State* (1948), p. 111.

and qualified, and not absolute. What Professor Willis²² has stated on the question of personal liberty *vis-a-vis* social control in the context of the Constitution of the United States with which our Constitution is sometimes contrasted by some people to the disparagement of the latter, is particularly worthy of note in this connexion.

"There is," he has rightly said,²³ "no such thing as absolute personal liberty or private rights; they are always relative as between private parties, and the same thing is true between private and public parties. If people were given complete and absolute liberty without any social control, the result would be ruin. Hence, it was never the purpose of the Constitution (of the United States) to give any such protection . . . If the government were given an absolute and complete power to delimit personal liberty without constitutional restrictions the result would be tyranny; and under our Constitution there is no such thing . . . Some compromise must be struck between private liberty and public authority. There is some need of protecting personal liberty against governmental power and also some need of limiting personal liberty by governmental power. The ideal situation is a matter of balancing one against the other, or adjusting conflicting interests. In the United States Constitution an attempt has been made to strike a proper balance between personal liberty and social control through express limitations written into the Constitution and interpreted by the Supreme Court, by implied limitations created by the Supreme Court, and by the development of the governmental powers of regulation, taxation, and eminent domain by the Supreme Court."

Further,²⁴

"The final goal of law should be the attainment of social happiness or social perfection. It is possible to think of the attainment of this goal either by personal liberty, or by social control, or by self-control . . . Neither personal liberty nor social control alone is capable of attaining the goal. Self-control, if people would only exercise it, would undoubtedly be the ideal way of attaining the goal . . . However . . . we must resort to all three methods for the attainment of the goal. Law is a scheme of social control, as distinct from self-control; so that when we are concerned with law we are concerned only with the question of how much personal liberty is best and how much social control is best. In order to answer this question it is necessary first to determine those social interests which are so important that they cannot be left to personal discretion but must be protected by social control . . . Where such matters as speech, religion, and scientific and political thought are involved, freedom, or at least a certain minimum of freedom, is undoubtedly more desirable than social control. Where such matters as life, property,

22. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-86.

23. See *ibid.*, pp. 477-78.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.

25. The italics are ours.

family, reputation, social institutions, general morals, social resources, general progress, and the individual life are concerned, social control is better than personal liberty. The written Constitution (of the United States) seems to make this distinction."

Finally,"

"If there were no social control, there would probably be no personal liberty. When government exercises social control it of course delimits personal liberty, but if government did not exercise its social control the chances are that the liberty of each would be destroyed by the actions of others in the exercise of their liberty so that social control which delimits individual personal liberty anomalously results in enlarging general personal liberty. Perhaps no general test can be formulated which will determine in all cases when it would be better to permit personal liberty and when it would be better to have social control. It can be said, however, that no one should be allowed to do what all cannot be allowed to do if by so doing our social order would be ruined."

We may also refer in this connexion to the views of Justice Story who is often quoted by the Judges of the American Supreme Court as an authoritative guide to their own judicial decisions. Referring to the clause in the first Amendment²⁶ to the Constitution of the United States regarding "the freedom of speech, or of the press," namely, that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," Justice Story has observed:²⁷

"That this amendment was intended to secure to every citizen an absolute right to speak, or write, or print whatever he might please, without any responsibility, public or private, therefore, is a supposition too wild to be indulged by any rational man. This would be to allow to every citizen a right to destroy at his pleasure the reputation, the peace, the property, and even the personal safety of every other citizen. A man might, out of mere malice and revenge, accuse another of the most infamous crimes; might excite against him the indignation of all his fellow-citizens by the most atrocious calumnies; might disturb, nay, overturn, all his domestic peace, and embitter his parental affections; might inflict the most distressing punishments upon the weak, the timid, and the innocent; might prejudice all a man's civil, and political, and private rights; and might stir up sedition, rebellion and treason even against the government itself, in the wantonness of his passions or the corruption of his heart. Civil society could not go on under such circumstances. Men would then be obliged to resort to private vengeance to make up for the deficiencies of the law; and assassinations and savage cruelties would

be perpetrated with all the frequency belonging to barbarous and brutal communities. It is plain, then, that the language of this amendment imports no more than that every man shall have a right to speak, write, and print his opinions upon any subject whatsoever, without any prior restraint, so always that he does not injure any other person in his rights, person, property or reputation; and so always that he does not thereby disturb the public peace, or attempt to subvert the government. It is neither more nor less than an expansion of the great doctrine recently brought into operation in the law of libel, that every man shall be at liberty to publish what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends. And with this reasonable limitation it is not only right in itself, but it is an inestimable privilege in a free government. Without such a limitation, it might become the scourge of the republic, first denouncing the principles of liberty, and then, by rendering the most virtuous patriots odious through the terrors of the press, introducing despotism in its worst form."

Equally emphatic and instructive are the views of Justice Story on the specific question of the liberty of the press.

"There is," he has said,²⁸ "a good deal of loose reasoning on the subject of the liberty of the press, as if its inviolability were constitutionally such that, like the King of England, it could do no wrong, and was free from every inquiry and afforded a perfect sanctuary for every abuse; that, in short, it implied a despotic sovereignty to do every sort of wrong, without the slightest accountability to private or public justice. Such a notion is too extravagant to be held by any sound constitutional lawyer with regard to the rights and duties belonging to governments generally, or to the State governments in particular. If it were admitted to be correct, it might be justly affirmed that the liberty of the press was incompatible with the permanent existence of any free government. Mr. Justice Blackstone has remarked²⁹ that the liberty of the press, properly understood, is essential to the nature of a free State; but that this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press. But if he publishes what is improper, mischievous or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity. To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser, as was formerly done, before and since the revolution (of 1688), is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. But to punish any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall, on a fair and im-

partial trial, be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion,—the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment. Neither is any restraint hereby laid upon freedom of thought or inquiry; liberty of private sentiment is still left; the disseminating or making public of bad sentiments, destructive of the ends of society, is the crime which society corrects. A man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not publicly to vend them as cordials. And after some additional reflections, he concludes with this memorable sentence: 'So true will it be found, that to censure the licentiousness is to maintain the liberty of the press!'"

We may also refer here to the views of another great American jurist—we mean Judge Cooley.

"The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States," he has said,³¹ "provides, among other things, that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. The privilege which is thus protected against unfriendly legislation by Congress, is almost universally regarded not only as highly important, but as being essential to the very existence and perpetuity of free government. The people of the States (in the U.S.A.) have therefore guarded it with jealous care, by provisions of similar import in their several constitutions, and a constitutional principle is thereby established which is supposed to form a shield of protection to the free expression of opinion in every part of our land."

He has also observed,³² however, that

"The common-law rules that subjected the libeller to responsibility for the private injury, or the public scandal or disorder occasioned by his conduct, are not abolished by the protection extended to the press in our constitutions," and that "liberty of speech and of the press does not imply complete exemption from responsibility for everything a citizen may say or publish, and complete immunity to ruin the reputation or business of others so far as falsehood and detraction may be able to accomplish that end."

Further:³³

"The constitutional liberty of speech and of the press, as we understand it, implies a right to freely utter and publish whatever the citizen may please, and to be protected against any responsibility for so doing, except so far as such publications, from their blasphemy, obscenity, or scandalous character, may be a public offence or as by their falsehood and malice they may injuriously affect the standing reputation, or pecuniary interests of individuals. Or, to state the same thing in somewhat different words, we understand liberty

of speech and of the press to imply not only liberty to publish, but complete immunity from legal censure and punishment for the publication, so long as it is not harmful in its character, when tested by such standards as the law affords."

Finally, so far as the libels upon the Government are concerned, Judge Cooley has stated³⁴ that

"When it is among the fundamental principles of the government that the people frame their own constitution, and that in doing so they reserve to themselves the power to amend it from time to time, as the public sentiment may change, it is difficult to conceive of any sound principle on which prosecutions for libels on the system of government can be based, except when they are made in furtherance of conspiracy with the evident intent and purpose to excite rebellion and civil war."³⁵

The views of Willis, Story and Cooley on the question of "the freedom of speech, or of the press" in the United States, are perhaps best illustrated in the judgment of the American Supreme Court in the judgment of the American Supreme Court in *Gillow vs. New York*.³⁶ In delivering "the opinion" of the Court" in this case in 1925, Mr. Justice Sanford said,³⁷ among other things:

"Benjamin Gillow was indicted in the Supreme Court of New York, with three others, for the statutory crime of criminal anarchy . . . He was separately tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The judgment was affirmed by the Appellate Division and by the Court of Appeals . . . The case is here on writ of error of the Supreme Court . . .

"The contention here is that the statute, by its terms and as applied in this case, is repugnant to the due process clause³⁸ of the Fourteenth Amendment . . .

"The indictment was in two counts. The first charged that the defendants had advocated, advised, and taught the duty, necessity and propriety of overthrowing and overturning organized government by force, violence and unlawful means, by certain writings therein set forth, entitled 'The Left Wing Manifesto'; the second that the defendants had printed, published, and knowingly circulated and distributed a certain paper called 'The Revolutionary Age,' containing the writings set forth in the first count, advocating, advising, and teaching the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence, and unlawful means . . .

34. See *ibid.*

35. The italics are ours.

36. Supreme Court of the United States, 1925, 268 U.S. 652.

37. Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Brandeis dissenting.

38. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, pp. 83-87; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 811-17; also Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 926-36; also Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., Fenwick, pp. 958-64.

39. Reference is to the following: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,"

26. See *ibid.*, p. 480.

27. Adopted and made effective in 1791.

28. See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II; Fifth Edition, 1891, Bigelow, Section 1880.

29. See Story, *op. cit.*, Section 1884.

30. In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.

31. Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Edition, pp. 596-615.

32. See *ibid.*

33. See *ibid.*

"The sole contention here is, essentially, that as there was no evidence of any concrete result following from the publication of the Manifesto or of circumstances showing the likelihood of such result, the statute as construed and applied by the trial court penalizes the mere utterance, as such, of 'doctrine' having no quality of incitement, without regard either to the circumstances of its utterance or to the likelihood of unlawful sequences; and that, as the exercise of the right of free expression with relation to government is only punishable 'in circumstances involving likelihood of substantive evil,' the statute contravenes the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The argument in support of this contention rests primarily upon the following propositions: 1st, that the 'liberty' protected by the Fourteenth Amendment includes the liberty of speech and of the press; and 2nd, that while liberty of expression 'is not absolute,' it may be restrained 'only in circumstances where its exercise bears a causal relation with some substantive evil, consummated, attempted or likely,' and as the statute 'takes no account of circumstances,' it unduly restrains this liberty and is therefore unconstitutional . . .

"The Manifesto, plainly, is neither the statement of abstract doctrine nor, as suggested by counsel, mere prediction that industrial disturbances and revolutionary mass strikes will result spontaneously in an inevitable process of evolution in the economic system. It advocates and urges in fervent language mass action which shall progressively foment industrial disturbances and through political mass strikes and revolutionary mass action overthrow and destroy organized parliamentary government. It concludes with a call to action in these words: 'The proletariat revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society—the struggle for these—is now indispensable . . . The Communist International calls the proletariat of the world to the final struggle!'

"This is not the expression of philosophical abstraction, the mere prediction of future events; it is the language of direct incitement . . .

"For present purposes we may and do assume that freedom of speech and of the press—which are protected by the First Amendment from abridgment by Congress—are among the fundamental personal rights and 'liberties' protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from impairment by the States. . . .

"It is a fundamental principle, long established, that the freedom of speech and of the press which is secured by the Constitution, does not confer an absolute right to speak or publish, without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity for every possible use of language and prevents the punishment of those who abuse this freedom."⁴⁰ . . .

40. Reference is made here to Justice Story and to a number of judicial decisions in the United States.

"That a State in the exercise of its police power⁴¹ may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals, incite to crime, or disturb the public peace, is not open to question . . .

"And, for yet more imperative reasons, a State may punish utterances endangering the foundations of organized government and threatening its overthrow by unlawful means. These imperil its own existence as a constitutional State⁴² . . . And a State may penalize utterances which openly advocate the overthrow of the representative and constitutional form of government of the United States and the several States by violence or other unlawful means . . . In short, this freedom (of speech and press) does not deprive a State of the primary and essential right of self-preservation; which, so long as human governments endure, they cannot be denied . . .

"That utterances inciting to the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means, present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion is clear. Such utterances, by their very nature, involve danger to the public peace and to the security of the State. They threaten breaches of the peace and ultimate revolution. And the immediate danger is none the less real and substantial, because the effect of a given utterance cannot be accurately foreseen. The State cannot reasonably be required to measure the danger from every such utterance in the nice balance of a jeweller's scale. A single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smouldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration. It cannot be said that the State is acting arbitrarily or unreasonably when in the exercise of its judgment as to the measures necessary to protect the public peace and safety, it seeks to extinguish the spark without waiting until it has enkindled the flame or blazed into the conflagration. It cannot reasonably be required to defer the adoption of measures for its own peace and safety until the revolutionary utterances lead to actual disturbances of the public peace or imminent and immediate danger of its own destruction; but it may, in the exercise of its judgment, suppress the threatened danger in its incipency . . .

"We cannot hold that the present statute is an arbitrary or unreasonable exercise of the police power of the State unwarrantably infringing the freedom of speech or press; and we must and do sustain its constitutionality. This being so it may be applied to every utterance—not too trivial to be beneath the notice of the law—which is of such

41. Under American constitutional law, the expression "police power" is a very comprehensive one. Among other things, it means the power of the State "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its sources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."—See *Barbier vs. Connolly*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1885, 113 U.S. 27.

42. Justice Story is again quoted here.

a character and used with such intent and purpose as to bring it within the prohibition of the statute . . . And finding, for the reasons stated, that the statute is not in itself unconstitutional, and that it has not been applied in the present case in derogation of any constitutional right, the judgment of the Court of Appeals is affirmed."

This decision of the American Supreme Court establishes, beyond doubt, the principle that, whatever may be the language of the relevant constitutional provisions in the United States, freedom, as Professor Charles Beard has put it,⁴³ 'is relative,' and 'not absolute.'

"It is not easy," he has further observed,⁴⁴ "to draw the correct line between the expression of opinions that are actually dangerous to orderly progress and the expression of opinions that, even if extreme, are within the boundaries of the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. In any case, freedom cannot be absolute, that is, it does not give the citizen a right to say anything he likes, anywhere, at any time, regardless of circumstances. No government could allow unrestricted liberty to persons who urge direct attempts to overthrow it by violence or the murder of its officials. In ordinary criminal law the man who induces another to commit a crime by persuasion or promises also shares the guilt of the principal and is punished. So in the case of criticism of the government, conspiracies and attempts to overthrow it by violence are necessarily crimes; otherwise its foundations would be built on sand."

Elsewhere⁴⁵ we have discussed in detail the effect of the adoption by the American Supreme Court, as the basic principle for its decision in some cases, of what is known as the test⁴⁶ of "clear and present danger of serious evil" so far as the freedom of speech and expression in the United States is concerned. As we have stated there, even if we accept this test—there is a difference of opinion among jurists on the question of the merits of this test as a constitutionally permissible rule of law⁴⁷—it does not in any way shake our position that the so-called fundamental

rights can never be absolute rights in a State and that they are not so even now in the United States, in spite of the apparently *unqualified* character of the provisions⁴⁸ in its Constitution relating to such rights. The Supreme Court of the United States has never declared the fundamental rights of the American citizen as absolute or unqualified; nor does this follow from the test of "clear and present danger" referred to above. We may even go further and say that the Supreme Court has not so far repudiated the doctrine of police power emphasized by it in 1925 in the course of its judgment in *Gillow vs. New York*. At best, the emergence of the clear-and-present-danger test, if it is considered at all adequate—and we do not, like many others, think so—, does only supplement, and not supplant, the doctrine of police power referred to by the Supreme Court in *Gillow vs. New York*. Another noticeable point is that the judgment in *Gillow vs. New York* (1925) in which we find emphasized the doctrine of police power of the State, was given several years after the judgment in *Schenck vs. United States* (1919)⁴⁹ which had first embodied the formula of 'clear and present danger' as a basic principle of judicial decision. Thus we find in an American official publication⁵⁰ of a great weight that in the *Gillow* case the Supreme Court "was obliged to reach a clear-cut choice between the common law test of dangerous tendency and the clear and present danger test," and that "it adopted the former and sustained the conviction (of *Gillow*), saying 'by enacting the present statute the state (of New York) has determined, through its legislative body, that utterances advocating the overthrow of organized government by force, violence, and unlawful means, are so inimical to the general welfare, and involve such danger of substantive evil, that they may be penalized in the exercise of its police power. That determination must be given great weight!'"

This is, in brief, the position in the United States of America in regard to personal freedom. We may now refer to the position in this respect in England.

So far as England is concerned, what the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Denning of His Majesty's Court of Appeal said only in 1949 in regard to the question

43. See Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 1947, pp. 23-24.

44. See *ibid*; also see in this connexion Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Edn., 1947, pp. 93-94; also Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., 1948, p. 154; also Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, pp. 89-90.

45. See my article entitled "Freedom of Speech and Expression in India: Clear-and-Present-Danger Test" in *Indian Law Review*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1952.

46. This test is also popularly known as the "Holmes formula" as it was Mr. Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court who first used it in 1919 in *Schenck vs. United States* (249 U.S.47) when he "declared for a unanimous Court that 'the question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress (the State?) has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree'."—See *ibid*; also Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-509; also Strong, *American Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 830 and 936.

47. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-99; also *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress (Corwin), Washington, 1953, Document No. 170, pp. 788-92; also an article entitled "The Degradation of the Clear and Present Danger Rule" by Prof. Wallace Mendelson, University of Tennessee, in *The Journal of Politics*, University of Florida, August, 1953.

48. See, in particular, Amendment 1 (adopted in 1791), Amendment 5 (adopted in 1791) and also Section 1 of Amendment 14 (adopted in 1868), to the Constitution of the United States of America as originally adopted.

49. 249 U.S.47 (1919).

50. *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress (Corwin), Washington, 1953, Document No. 170, p. 775.

of a true balance between personal freedom and social security, is particularly worthy of attention here.

"Let me," he said,⁵¹ "first define my terms. By personal freedom I mean the freedom of every law-abiding citizen to think what he will, to say what he will, and to go where he will on his lawful occasions without let or hindrance from any other persons. Despite all the great changes that have come about in the other freedoms, this freedom has in our country remained intact. It must be matched, of course, with social security by which I mean the peace and good order of the community in which we live. The freedom of the just man is worth little to him if he can be preyed upon by the murderer or thief. Every society must have the means to protect itself from marauders. It must have powers to arrest, to search, and to imprison those who break the laws."⁵²

The task, therefore, he further observes,⁵³ "is one of getting the right balance. The freedom of the individual, which is so dear to us, has to be balanced with his duty; for, to be sure every one owes a duty to the society of which he forms part . . . (Thus) what matters in England is that each man should be free to develop his own personality to the full; and the only duties which should restrict this freedom are those which are necessary to enable every one else to do the same." The English law, according to him, "has kept in the past the balance between individual freedom and social duty."

And what Lord Justice Denning said on the question of "freedom of mind and conscience" in England, is also equally worthy of consideration here. Referring to this aspect of the freedom of the individual, he stated:⁵⁴

"This is just as important, if not more important, than his personal freedom (*sic*). To our way of thinking it is elementary that each man should be able to inquire and seek after the truth until he has found it. We hold that no man has any right to dictate to another what religion he shall believe, what philosophy he shall hold, what shall be his politics or what view of history he shall accept. Every one in the land should be free to think his own thoughts—to have his own opinions, and to give voice to them, in public or in private, so long as he does not speak ill of his neighbour: and free also to criticise the Government or any party or group of people, so long as he does not incite anyone to violence . . . This country, just as every country, preserves to itself the right to prevent the expression of views which are subversive of the existing constitution or a danger to the fabric of society. But the line where criticism ends and sedition begins is capable of infinite varia-

tions. This is when (where?) the practical genius of the common law shows itself. The line between criticism and sedition is drawn by a jury⁵⁵ who are independent of the party in power in the State."

Referring in this connexion, particularly, to freedom of speech and of the press Lord Justice Denning remarked⁵⁶ that

"Nothing is more important than that there should be an independent press entitled to make any honest comment on a matter of public interest, no matter whether it be politics or literature, art or science or anything else."

But he added:⁵⁷

"Freedom of speech and . . . of the press . . . does not mean that anyone is free to libel or slander another. Actions in the court everyday show that. But it does mean that free and frank discussion and criticism of matters of public interest must in no way be curtailed. But there comes a point at which this country, and every other country, must draw the line: and that is when there is a threat to overturn the state by force."

We find a virtual endorsement of these views in Dicey, Berriedale Keith and Ivor Jennings—undoubtedly three recognized authorities on English constitutional law. Referring for instance, to the question of freedom of discussion in England, Dicey has said:⁵⁸

"The true state of things cannot be better described than in these words from an excellent treatise⁵⁹ on the law of libel:

"Our present law permits any one to say, write and publish what he pleases; but if he make a bad use of this liberty he must be punished. If he unjustly attack an individual, the person defamed may sue for damages; if, on the other hand, the words be written or printed, or if treason or immorality be thereby inculcated, the offender can be tried for the misdemeanour either by information or indictment."

"Any man may, therefore, say or write whatever he likes, subject to the risk of, it may be, severe punishment if he publishes any statement (either by word of mouth, in writing, or in print) which he is not legally entitled to make."

Nor does, Dicey has further observed, the law of England recognize, in general, any "special privilege on behalf of the 'press'." The law of the press as it

55. Referring to the jury system in England, Lord Justice Denning stated: "By the constitution of this country a man is not to be found guilty unless twelve of his fellow countrymen—each and all of them—unanimously find him to be guilty. This was settled in 1367 . . . and never has there been any doubt that a jury must be unanimous."—Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

56. See *ibid.*, p. 45.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

58. See Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 239-41.

59. Odgers, *Libel and Slander*, Introduction (3rd Ed., 1896), p. 12.—See *ibid.*

51. See Denning, *Freedom under the Law*, Stevens, 1949, p. 5.

52. The italics in this quotation are ours.

53. See Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

54. Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

exists in England is "merely part of the law of libel,"⁶⁰ and "the so-called liberty of the press is a mere application of the general principle, that no man is punishable except for a distinct breach of the law."⁶¹

So far as "the right to criticise the conduct of the government" is concerned, the law in England, according to Dicey,⁶² is as follows:

"Every person commits a misdemeanour who publishes (orally or otherwise) any words or any document with a seditious intention. Now a seditious intention means an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the King or the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite British subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to promote feelings of illwill and hostility between different classes. And if the matter published is contained in a written or printed document the publisher is guilty of publishing a seditious libel."

"The case," he has added,⁶³ "is pretty much the same as regards the free expression of opinion on religious or moral questions."

And we find in Berriedale Keith:⁶⁴

(a) "The liberties of the subject (in England) rest on the two principles: (1) that the subject may say or do what he pleases so long as he does not infringe the substantive law or the rights of others; and (2) that public authorities can do only what is permitted by common law or statute."

(b) "The right to personal freedom means that no man may be punished, imprisoned, or coerced, except for a breach of the law proved in a legal manner before an ordinary tribunal, and this right flows directly from the provisions of Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, 1628, and the Bill of Rights, 1689."

(c) The right to freedom of speech "covers that of the liberty of the Press and of conscience, and is in effect the fact that any person may say, write or publish what he pleases so long as he does

not bring himself within the law relating to (1) slander or defamatory libel, or (2) blasphemous,⁶⁵ (3) obscene, or (4) seditious words written or spoken."

Anything therefore, "is lawful," says Professor Ivor Jennings humorously, in regard to the so-called fundamental rights in England,⁶⁶ "which is not unlawful . . . The 'right' is the obverse of the rules of civil, criminal, and administrative law. A man may say what he pleases provided that he does not offend against the laws relating to treason, sedition, libel, obscenity, blasphemy, perjury, official secrets, etc. He may form associations provided that he does not offend against the laws relating to trade unions, friendly societies, religion, public order, and unlawful oaths. He may hold a meeting where and how he pleases so long as he does not offend against the laws relating to riot, unlawful assemblies, nuisance, highways, property, etc."

And what is called "the right to personal freedom," is, he further observes,⁶⁷ "a liberty to so much personal freedom as is not taken away by law. It asserts the principle of legality, that everything is legal that is not illegal. It includes, therefore, the 'right' of free speech, of association, and of assembly. For they assert only 'that a man may not be deprived of his personal freedom for doing certain kinds of acts—expressing opinions, associating, and meeting together—unless in so doing he offends against the law. The 'right of personal freedom' asserts that a man may not be deprived of his freedom for doing any act unless in so doing he offends against the law. The last is the genus of which the others are species."

Thus, "the rights of free speech, of association, and of assembly," remarks Professor Jennings in conclusion,⁶⁸ "cannot be regarded as being without limitation. They may be used not for creating opinion in order to turn out the Government by lawful means, but to persuade a small minority to use force to coerce the rest of the population. In their extreme meanings, the rights conflict with the fundamental requirements of public order. National emergencies, too, may demand a limitation upon the rights of individuals which would not be permissible in ordinary times."

IV

We have referred above to the legal position in regard to personal freedom in the United States of America and England, just with a view to illustrating the points we have emphasized in the earlier part of this article. The position is more or less the same today in every other democratic country. Nowhere

65. According to Lord Justice Denning, "the offence of blasphemy is a dead letter" now.—See Denning, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

66. See Ivor Jennings, *The Law and the Constitution*, 2nd Ed., pp. 243-44 and 239.

67. See *ibid.*

68. See *ibid.*

60. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

63. In regard "to the question who are to determine whether a given publication is or is not a libel," the reply, says Dicey, "is 'that in substance this matter is referred to the decision of a jury. Whether in any given case a particular individual is to be convicted of libel depends wholly upon their judgment, and they have to determine the questions of truth, fairness, intention, and the like, which affect the legal character of a published statement.'" Thus freedom of discussion, continues Dicey with, according to Professor Ivor Jennings (*The Law and the Constitution*, 2nd Ed., p. 248), "conscious exaggeration," is "in England little else than the right to write or say anything which a jury, consisting of twelve shopkeepers, think it expedient should be said or written."—*Ibid.*, p. 246.

64. See Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law being the Seventh Edition of Ridge's Constitutional Law of England*, 1946, pp. 433, 434, and 444.

is freedom absolute. It has been very rightly said that freedom can exist only "under the law"; that it "exists only because there is *restraint*"; that "freedom and restraint are thus but obverse sides of the same shield."⁶⁹ and that, generally speaking, "law is a removal of natural restrictions, (and) not the addition of more."⁷⁰ We, therefore, fully agree with Professor Ernest Barker when he says⁷¹ that (i) "the truth that every man ought to be free has for its other side the complementary and consequential truth that no man can be absolutely free"; (ii) that "the need of liberty for each is necessarily qualified

69. See Willoughby, *An Examination of the Nature of the State*, 1922, p. 110.

70. See Delisle Burns, *Political Ideals*, 1929, p. 253.

71. See Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, 1952, pp. 145-46.

and conditioned by the need of liberty for all"; (iii) that "liberty in the State, or legal liberty, is never the absolute liberty of each, but always the qualified liberty of all"; (iv) that "liberty within the State is thus a relative and regulated liberty"; and (v) that "a relative and regulated liberty, actually operative and enjoyed, is a liberty greater in amount than absolute liberty could ever be—if indeed such liberty could ever exist, or ever amount to anything more than nothing at all."

In conclusion, we should like to state that in this article we have dealt with the general question of personal freedom *vis-à-vis* social control by way of, as noted before, an introduction to what will follow it. In our next article we propose actually to commence the consideration of the nature of our Fundamental Right to Freedom.

—O:—

X IS SECOND CHAMBER A SUPERFLUITY?

By PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

PROF. LASKI SAYS:

"It is regarded as noteworthy that practically every state of importance in the modern world has adopted the two-chamber system. It should yet be noted that the two-chamber system is largely an historical accident. Bifurcation is universally derived from the habits of English Constitution."—*Grammar of Politics*, p. 328.

Great Britain is the mother of Second Chamber. It is largely the product of the conflict between the landed aristocracy and the commoners. The whole history of Great Britain is characterised by the fact that the State-power shifted from the absolute monarchy to the landed aristocracy and from the landed aristocracy to the Commons. The victory of the House of Commons was complete with the passing of the Parliamentary Act of 1911. The same history repeated itself in most of the countries and the Second Chamber acted as check on Democracy. Always it was a reactionary body and conservative in outlook. At present almost all of them, excepting a few, have been designed or remodelled on democratic lines to serve the purpose of legislative revision and to act as a check of resistance to the predominant body of the State, that is, the Lower House. Excepting in Great Britain and Canada nowhere it is a body of vested interest or reactionaries—it does not act as a stumbling block to Democracy. At one time the Labour Party of Great Britain was vehemently against the retention of House of Lords and according to them, "What was

needed was a single chamber, the House of Commons kept in closest touch with the people." At present it appears that the Labour Party is not enthusiastic enough to abolish the House of Lords if it can be reformed on democratic lines. Thus the question even in Great Britain is not of abolition of Second Chamber, rather its reformation.

History is the same everywhere. The Japanese House of Peers of the Constitution of 1889 resembling the British House of Lords has been replaced by a popularly elected body, it is the House of Councillors in the Constitution of 1946. The powers of the indirectly elected Second Chamber of France—it is the Chamber of Deputies—have been curtailed by the Constitution of the Fourth Republic in 1946 and the body has become the pale image of the Lower House. The indirect election of Senators in the U.S.A. was abolished in 1913 by the seventeenth amendment of the Constitution and popular election has been introduced. The Weimer Constitution of Germany in 1919 replaced the all-powerful Bundesrat of Imperial Constitution by a Federal Chamber of German States; it is the Reichsrat. The present Bonn Constitution of West Germany has given the Upper House only a suspensive veto power over Legislation. Except the Senate of the U.S.A. no Second Chamber of the day exercises more than a suspensive veto power over legislative proposals of the Lower House. It acts only as a filtering body of the popular impulses. Prof. Laski's comment that "A Second Chamber is

no more likely than the first to be correct in its judgment of the electoral will" can be combated by the equally authentic view of Professors Ogg and Zink that

"No student of English history needs to be told that upon sundry occasions the Upper House has interpreted the will of the nation, or the realities of a political situation, more correctly than the Lower, and that more than once it has saved the country from hasty and ill-considered legislation."—*Modern European Governments*, p. 232.

If the observation is true of the British House of Lords, it is more true of present-day Democratic Second Chambers. Prof. Laski's statement that the Second Chamber will "be a premium not upon improvement but upon opposition in terms of vested interest" can be falsified by the fact that modern Second Chambers do not represent the vested interest excepting a few.

Revolution is unknown in Democracy. It achieves its objectives through evolutionary steps. Complete break with the past is not favoured in Democracy. All the steps for social, political and economic changes, it takes with caution. After lengthy deliberation it takes any step it desires to do. The verdict of the people in the determination of a Government does not smoothen the path of the Government to adopt all measures it desires to take unless it is an avowed objective of the party before the election. As such, every item of national importance should be discussed by the nation as a whole and then adopted. Democracy is not a Government by majority, rather it is a Government by compromise. If the Second Chamber can facilitate such a compromise between different political parties, it is highly desirable. Prof. Laski's view that "The power, in fact, to postpone is a power to defeat the changes regarded as necessary by the party chosen for office by the electorate" does not hold good if we accept the idea that the electorate does not give all powers to a party only by choosing it to power. Revolution cannot be brought about only by a victory in election.

With this outlook we cannot but conclude that India needs a Second Chamber. The predecessor of our Second Chamber has a black history. It represented only high income groups and was notoriously opposed to the national desire. But the present one is democratically constituted and there is no reason to believe that it represents or shall represent only the high income groups and act as a deterrent to democratic will. India is a land of complexities. She has complex economic, social and political problems of national importance. It is not wise to allow all these problems to be handled by a single House. Furthermore, the Indian Constitution has adopted Parliamentary supremacy limited only by the

Constitutional bounds. It is not safe to give this supremacy to one House alone. The power may be abused by brute Party majority. The House of People may err; the Council may point out its errors. The members of the Lower House may be guided by popular impulses and may design to codify that. The Council may give it a deliberate consideration; and afford the opportunity to the nation to pause, ponder and discuss the matter in details and at the same time allow the members of the House of People to give it a second consideration. After second consideration, to many it might appear detrimental to the national interest or useless.

To some the Council of States appears to be an impotent institution. "To suppose that power will allow itself on important matters to be controlled by impotence is vain." (Goldwin Smith—cf. Strong in *Modern Political Constitution*). The Council possesses not only a suspensive veto but can play a positive role in matters of legislation. It can initiate legislation besides Money Bills. If it cannot agree with the legislative proposals of the Lower House it can compel the joint sitting of the two. If the House of People is sharply divided and the Council is unevenly divided with a substantive majority against the House of People, the latter may lose the battle. But if in the House of People the legislative proposal has the support of overwhelming majority, the measure will be adopted because of the numerical superiority of the House of People, as the number of members of the Council of State is 250 to 500 of the House of People. If it happens, there is nothing to fear, because Democratic Will should prevail in Democracy. The Council is to serve the purpose of a check on the abuse of Democracy, not on its proper use.

It shall be a permanent body—one-third of its members retiring every second year—and shall be elected by members of the State Legislature. As such Second Chambers shall not necessarily be a shadow of the first Chamber, because the general election and the election of the members of the Council of States shall not be held at the same time except the first one. So according to Abbe Sieyes' dilemma it may not be superfluous. Again it may not be pernicious because it is not undemocratically constituted.

But it does not represent the federal principle. India is a Federal Government. It can be reasonably hoped that the Second Chamber should have been a federal Chamber. It is not a Second Chamber like that of the U.S.A. and the Australian Senate, where federating Units are represented equally, nor it is a Second Chamber like Bundesrat of old German Confederation where members should come as delegates from Laenders (federating units). Seats have been allotted to the States more or less on the basis of population as in Bundesrat of the present Bonn Constitu-

tion of Germany. It does not enshrine the Federal principle of equal representation of each State in the Upper House. But is there any necessity for this? The U.S.A. Constitution was framed completely in a different political set-up. Otherwise disintegrated colonies united themselves into a federation. There is no such disintegrating feeling amongst the people of India. Even if it exist, this should be ruthlessly curbed rather than be fanned.

From the knowledge of Indian history it is evident that whenever India became disintegrated it fell a prey to the foreigners. Furthermore, present Indian States hardly represent any feeling of Nationality. Present States are more or less administrative units. In the U.S.A. and Australia, members of the Senate do not consider everything from the State point of view, rather they are guided by their party affiliation. This fact destroys the very intention of equal representation of States as safeguarding weapons for the rights of the States.

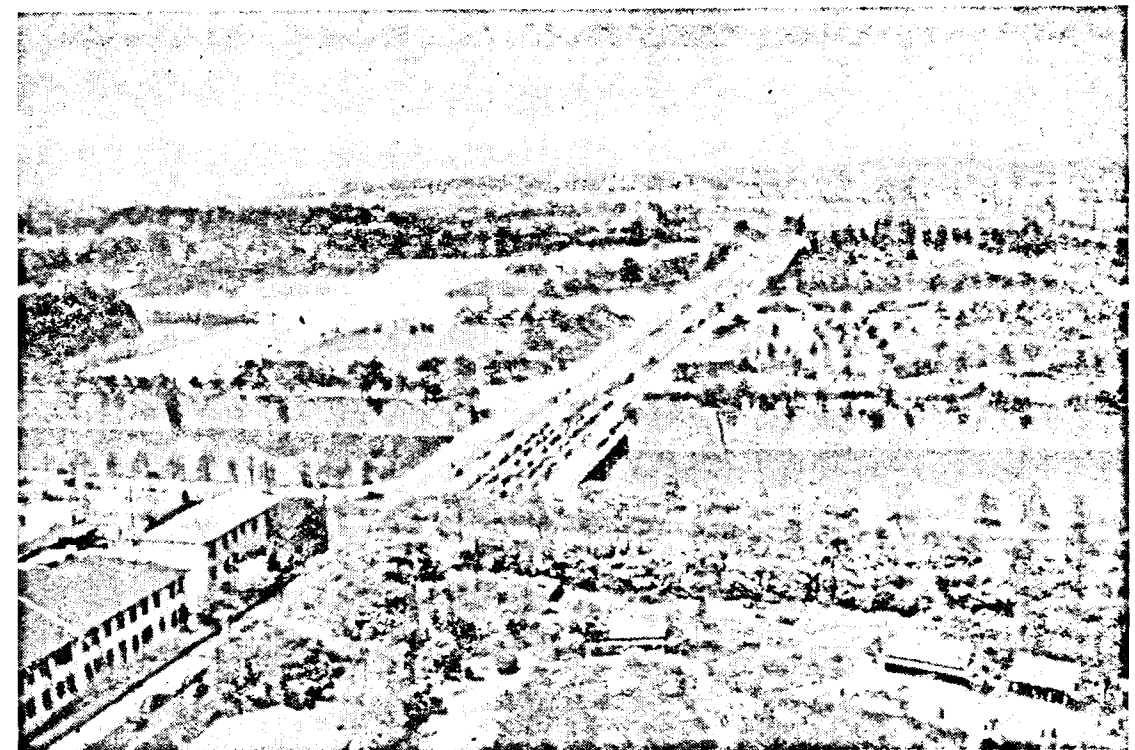
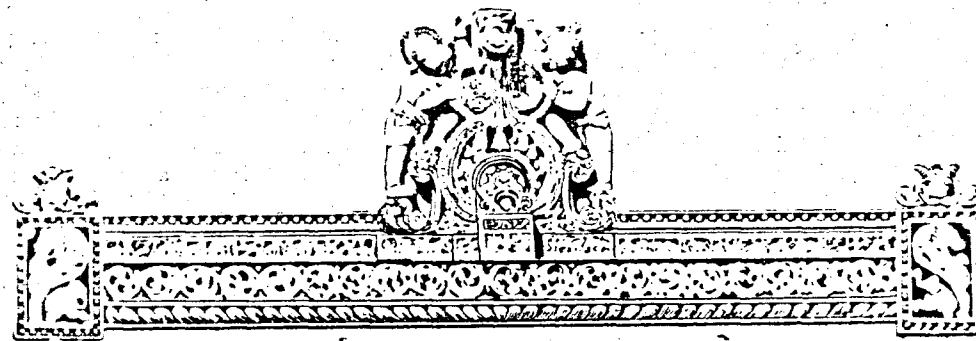
Our Constitution has given the Second Chamber power to protect the rights of States in another way by Section 249 which states that Parliament can legislate over State subjects provided that the Council of States passes a resolution to that effect by a two-third majority. It is supposed to be a body of wise men. The overriding authority of the Parliament is given to the body of wisdom.

The success of bicameralism in India, after all, depends on the selection of its members. State legislatures should always elect men of real talent, experience and judgment to the Council. The best and the wisest men of the Nation should constitute the Second Chamber of India. Sufficient scope is given by the Constitution for that. Apart from twelve nominated members all shall be elected not by popular votes but by votes of persons of comparatively superior calibre. As regards the nominated members, the President may not forget the very intention of the provision for such nomination. Much again shall depend on the members of the Council

of States themselves. If they can prove the efficiency of a Second Chamber it shall be a safety valve of infant democracy in India. If they cannot, it shall fall into desuetude.

The next questions to be answered are whether it is constituted in the best possible method and whether it requires to be more powerful. Answers to these questions are in the negative. Framers have given very careful consideration as to the methods of its composition and have allowed it just the powers it requires to act as a legislative revisory body. It is not undemocratic like the hereditary British House of Lords and the nominated Canadian Senate; and it is not too much democratic like the U.S.A. Senate having both Houses popularly elected—both representing one and the same people in the same manner. It makes both of them equal in powers and ultimately allows one to fall in oblivion. It has avoided the South African method of election of members of the Upper Chamber by members of both State and Central Legislatures, because it smacks of Unitarianism. It has not accepted the French method of composition of Second Chamber. The Council of the Republic of France is partially elected by the National Assembly. Under this system the Upper House becomes the shadow of the Lower House.

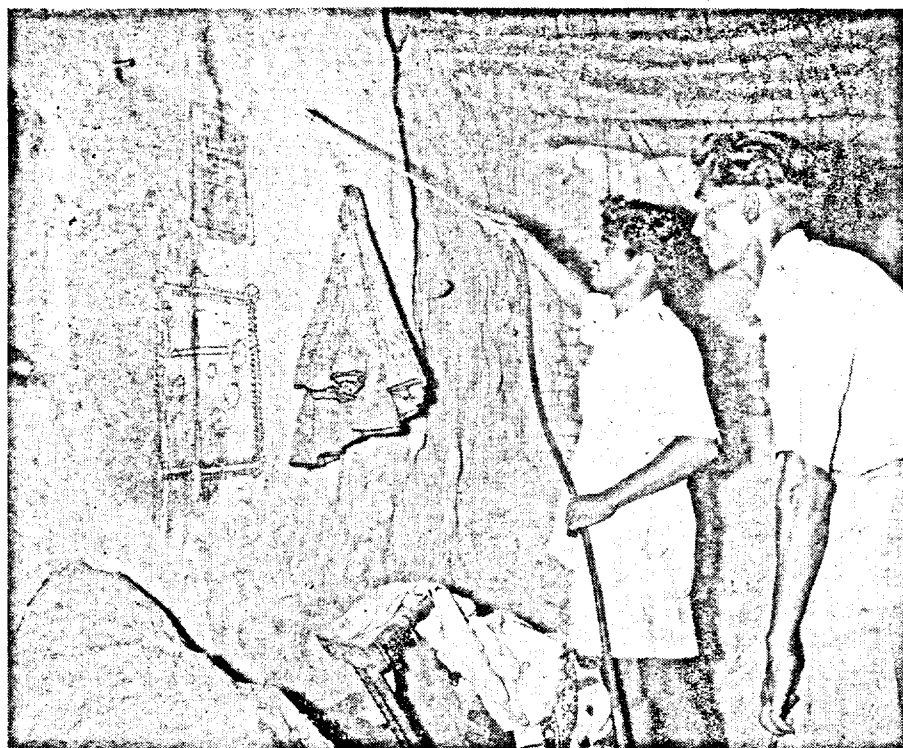
It is not all too powerful a body like the U.S.A. Senate nor only a dilatory body like the British House of Lords and the French Council of Republic. Virtual veto power over legislation like that of the Japanese system has not been accepted in our Constitution. It is given only substantial revisory power, not equal powers, over legislation. It does not and should not require more than that because in Democracy popular will should ultimately prevail. The Council of States is not only the best constituted Second Chamber in the world, it is also the most well-balanced in its power to fit in modern Democracy and to serve the Constitutional purpose which a Second Chamber in Democracy is required to perform in the best possible manner.



Aerial view of the Imperial Plaza, Tokyo



A view of the snow-clad Mt. Fuji from the lobby of the Hotel de Yama, Japan



Trained technical hands go out everyday with insecticides like DDT and spraying equipments to spray walls and ceilings of houses, once or twice in a season.



An Inspector of the Malaria Squad scoops a ladleful of water from a stagnant pool for examination

X BHOODAN—A REVOLUTION MISTAKEN FOR REFORM

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

SOME say there is not enough land in this State or in that to be given away to Bhoodan. Such talks leave one wondering, what may they mean! I would not call these arguments captious. Nor would I run to counter them by marshalling facts. I would simply reproduce Vinoba's words which say:

"Those who do not give me land to-day will give tomorrow. They cannot but give. There is no one in India who may refuse."

These are not vain words. Vinoba is not given to rattle. He speaks with confidence. Is this confidence born of faith merely? No. He derives his authority from the confidence reposed in him by the poor, by the masses. To quote Vinoba:

"Large numbers of people come to attend my prayer-meetings. They certainly do not come to earn merit as a passport to the other world. They do come because they have come to believe that what this fellow is doing would do them good in this very life. I do daily read this hope in their eyes."

In another context he has said:

"The entire people are speaking through me."

This sustains him. This makes his words so winged. And a people never lend ears to a message before its time. The idea of equality is in the air. It is knocking at the door. To it Gandhi gave a name and shape. Some one was needed to link this great idea—Mantra—to an adequate programme. Vinoba gave Sarvodaya a programme such as it demanded. A stroke of genius it was. And it readily caught on and marked off Vinoba as the leader.

And what a leader! One who has no attachment, no desires. One who is ready to throw away his body. Such a one can move mountains. Says he:

"I am weak in body. I have been so from the very start of my life. Vital energies too have grown feeble. But looking to the mind, I find it full of enthusiasm, full of vigour. I feel as though I would throw the world this way, throw the world that way."

For four years now this man who is in his sixtieth year has been on the move covering on an average nine miles a day. Has he, except for the few days at Chandil where he was stricken with malignant malaria, ever failed to keep to the schedule by a day, even by an hour! The sun's unerring precision has marked this movement. Could you believe that this man has an old duodenal ulcer to reckon with? The mind dominates. The spirit dictates and the body obeys.

So all the prerequisites to a shake-up—the time spirit, the programme, and a rare leader—are there.

And this old fossilized society of ours needs a great shake-up.

There is no end to economic bondage and so to social injustice here. Tillers of land, six crores of them, have no lands of their own. Call them wage-earners, call them serfs. They are there. Social justice has long demanded that lands should be taken away from non-agriculturists and given to tillers. Yet this our Welfare State has dallied too long with this crying problem. And when it has come to legislate, it has made a free-gift of from 25 to 33 acres to non-cultivating landlords besides leaving to them the option to form joint-stock farms running to even 15000 acres, each shareholder entitled to hold 25 acres. This is ending social injustice by clinging fast to it.

Social justice waits and waits. The limit is reached. And at long last it asserts itself. It chooses its time. It finds its leader. And then, bang goes the thing. Telangana's was a near approach. It erred in that it ignored the tradition and cultural heritage of India.

True to her culture, true to her genius India rebounded, sought and found a humane and, therefore, a more dynamic and correct way. And Bhoodan Yajna was born.

What does Bhoodan Yajna stand for? It seeks to bring about a change in the values of life. It seeks to do away with the individual ownership of land vesting it in the village to be jointly held and co-operatively cultivated. Vinoba says:

"What it is all that I am doing? What is my goal? I want to bring about a (1) change of heart, (2) a change in the way of life, (3) a change in the very structure of society. This three-fold change, three-fold revolution is what I am labouring for."

And again:

"I will not be satisfied unless the entire village land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed to the villages."

But how is that to come about? By begging? No. Begging pays not. Begging is anathema to Vinoba. "To make the poor conscious is my mission," says he. He wants the common man to realize that he himself is the maker of his destiny, the guardian of his freedom. He cannot degrade him by begging. He says:

"The slogan, 'Give lands to the poor' jars upon my ear. To say 'Give lands to the poor' is begging. I do hate it. What is dear to me and what I insist on people voicing is: There will be none in our village who has no land."

Land will come by the right thought presented by Vinoba and the sanction that is being forged by it. What is that right thought—great idea? Land does not, any more than air, water or light, belong to any one. It belongs to all. It directly belongs to such as works and worships it with his hands and then indirectly to all. So too is wealth. Vinoba says:

"Capitalism cannot be ended either by love or conflict but by right thought. Conflict leads to ever more conflict which can only weaken both, while love also cannot bring about a change of things. Love brings forth enthusiasm. Only right thought can initiate and effect a revolution. That is why we do not beg for gifts. We demand a share to which the poor are rightfully entitled. We want the people to understand and accept the idea that in a just and equitable order of society land must belong to all. We rely more than anything else on the force of this thought for furthering our cause. And yet if conflict becomes necessary, we will not avoid it."

And this right thought Vinoba is doing his very best to reach to every one of the five hundred thousand villages of India. And that before 1957. He reminds us that the year 57 is India's destiny year. In 1757 India lost her independence. In 1857 she made a desperate bid for regaining it. 1957 is fast approaching. And by coincidence the second general election of free India falls that year. The aspirants to dollar suzerainty and the aspirants after rouble world dictatorship are overtly or covertly preparing to win the election for their adherents or likely adherents. Virtually, therefore, the election will be fought as a tug of war between these two contending ideologies. Contending though they are, they are in reality the obverse and reverse of each other. Both of them pin their faith on centralization of industries and administration. That is like seeking to redeem the masses by ever paralyzing them in every respect. As against these two ideologies (if you would still persist in regarding them as two) India under Gandhi offered a third way—that of decentralization both in the sphere of industries and administration. Gandhi called it Sarvodaya. Vinoba is walking the way of Sarvodaya. And he is urging us to, saying that that way lies the good of India and the hope of a perplexed world. The choice is before us, and it has to be made before 1957. We may go the right way. We may go the wrong way. That will be like turning to light, turning to darkness. That we do not go the wrong way, we do not stray away from Gandhi and betray the masses and disappoint a fear-stricken world that looks to India for light, Vinoba ceaselessly walks on foot from village to village. He knows not rest. He defies rains, he defies storm, he defies chill, he defies the sun, he defies duodenal ulcer pain. On his trek goes. He needs must reach the message of Sarvodaya to every home of every village that there is in India before the fateful year 57 and get from people receipts in acknowledgment of the message understood and accepted by them. And what are those receipts? Danpatras—trans-

fer deeds. He calls them Sarvodaya ballot-papers. He must secure for Sarvodaya a convincing victory so that the common man may come to his own. When he gets a lakh or more acres by a single transfer deed, as in Hazaribagh district, he says, "No, that won't do. You must reach the people and secure at least sixty thousand transfer deeds." You can see where his gaze is fixed. The philosophy of Sarvodaya must pervade the whole of India and roll over her borders to the world. India should not mistake a mirage for a cooling, refreshing sheet of water, or a hallucination for a heaven. If she do, she goes. That is the alarm Vinoba gives.

Sarvodaya stands for a just social order. And economic equality is the very base of a just social order. If you fail to prevent concentration of capital whether in the hands of a few or of a group or of the state your heaven of a just social order falls to the ground. Whoever amasses riches amasses them by exploiting labour or by using labour-saving machines. Peasants who cultivate their lands themselves earn enough to satisfy their natural wants but never have much to spare.

That calls for two things, (1) doing away with existing economic inequalities and (2) providing against their reappearance

Now the unjust distribution of land that there is is by far the greatest factor responsible for our economic inequality. For agriculture accounts, for 76.4/5% of our national annual income. Next come small-scale and village industries with 14.3%. The third (*viz.*, big industries) contributes 8.4/5%*. So to attack and liquidate the land-farming interests and to so redistribute the land released that no peasant family gets more than it requires and can cultivate by itself, is the first thing essential to the road to a just social order. For the way 76.4/5% will go, 8.4/5% is sure to follow, many of the big industries adjusting themselves to changing condition. And such of them as may have to be maintained will be made innocuous under co-operative management. As to small-scale and village industries, they are aids and are no enemies of economic equality. Vinoba has hit where it was necessary to hit. That is the beauty of the Bhoodan Yajna. And a leader is he who knows when and where to strike.

"Why this Bhoodan at all, when Zemindari is going?" ask some. It is a poser. Is Zemindari going? Really? Vinoba says, zemindari has gone, farmdari has come, reducing life-long tillers to wage-earning serfs. Bhoodan would not have made such remarkable progress as it has in face of the zemindari abolition legislations undertaken by various State Governments if they were really worth anything. Secondly, change of values is not so much brought about by legislation as by propagation of the right thought. Hence even if satisfactory transfer

* Of the total national annual income of Rs. 6250 crores, Rs. 4800 crores come from agriculture, Rs. 900 crores come from small-scale and village industries, and Rs. 550 crores come from big industries.

of land could be made by legislation, that would not be desirable from the Sarvodaya point of view. If anything, Sarvodaya wants to awaken the masses to their rights and duties, to place in their hands such a weapon as no social science has ever sought to arm them with, a weapon which no government can snatch away from them, a weapon by which they can attain and retain their economic freedom. That requires organizing men and opinion. And Bhoodan is doing that.

Even then Bhoodan has no quarrel with legislation. It is preparing the ground for it. Legislation is maimed without organized public opinion behind it. The seal has to be the seal of legislation, but the sanction has to be the sanction of awakened public opinion.

Vinoba asks for lands. He rejects offers too. He says:

"I will be sorry if you give me land without understanding the philosophy behind it."

This is significant. He wants his donors to change their way of life and become pioneers of a new civilization. So it is that he wants people's heart more than their lands. Says he:

"I want land. I want to have their heart as well. Heart is greater than land. He who gives land out of love gives his heart too along with it. He becomes a co-worker."

To such as say, nothing will come the Bhoodan way, he points out that he is not so helpless. Bhoodan is not the only arrow in the quiver of Satyagraha. It has other weapons also. If appeals fail, if the land-owners and moneyed classes do not wake up betimes and behave as is expected of them his mixed army will go into action. He says that those who give him land become his soldiers much as receivers of land become. Tillers of land may one day refuse to till the land-owners' land. But he says also that probably things would not go to that length. Bending the bow will do the trick, shooting of arrows will not be necessary.

Yet he knows that India must pass through a revolution before the masses come to their own. And he has been working for that. To quote him:

"I am working for a revolution. But I see to it that it be a peaceful one. Give the go-by to peaceful means and India is ruined. On the other hand, without a revolution the miseries of the poor will not end. If peace be synonymous with maintenance of the status quo, it is no peace at all. If revolution be synonymous with armed violence then the country will surely be the target of atom and hydrogen bombs. In that case India shall have to toe the line of countries that lead in armaments, as Pakistan is toeing the line of America."

"It is, therefore, urgent that the problems that confront us be immediately taken up and tackled with in peaceful ways. Viewed thus Bhoodan is a great potent weapon."

"Can a revolution be non-violent?" To this question Vinoba delightfully reacts and says, "Can water quench

thirst?" Revolution is not caused by arms. Revolution is caused by ideas. Don't we say 'the pen is mightier than the sword'?

And Vinoba compares a mighty idea to an *avatar*. Says he:

"Where a right thought, a great idea appears, an *avatar* appears. *Avatar* not of man but of idea, And this new idea is Samyayoga."

The message of this *avatar* of an idea—Samyayoga—he is preaching and reaching to the people. He says:

"Now that political freedom has been attained we have to work for the establishment of equality. I have called that Sarvodaya, you may if you so like, call that Samyayoga or Sarvodaya. It is for the establishment of this Sarvodaya that I have been going from village to village."

And the way he has chosen to reach the message of equality called Samyayoga is unique. It is after the Buddha, it is after Shankaracharya the great. The response has been spontaneous, great and understanding.

Daily he walks nine miles on the average. Each day he visits a new village. Each day he talks to hundreds of people. He appeals to them. He reasons with them. He hears their point of view and places before them his own. They pause, they think, they ponder. And when convinced they give him land, give him their heart. And so the process of getting land and winning hearts goes.

Sometimes reaching a village he addresses the boys gathered there to welcome him thus, "Do you know why I have come?" Some one from among them rejoins, "To get land to be given to the poor." "You are right," he says and asks them to go home and tell their parents to give land to Bhumibaba. They go back shouting the slogan, धन और धरती बंटकर रहेगी—land and wealth cannot but get justly redistributed—often put in their mouth by him. And when he finds children of land-holders inoculated with this happy virus of equality he half-seriously and half-humorously says, "Sons of land-holders will be their enemies and get their land redistributed."

Vinoba gets land and he gives it away to actual tillers. There is no question of payment, no question of compensation. On the other hand, he realizes compensation so to say from donors of land in that he asks for and gets from them a pair of bullockes, a plough, or money adequate for a well for irrigation purpose.

And all these raise in people's mind the question, "If this Fakir can get land for us free and without compensation and secure for us to boot bullocks, ploughs and wells, etc., from donors, why the Government insist on us paying the compensation. And this question is daily growing in volume and dimension as Vinoba moves on."

Vinoba is forging a tremendous sanction. And that is his mission. And the mission will do the rest.

CHANGING PATTERN OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR In the Climate of A Socialist Pattern of Society

By PROF. R. N. SANYAL, M.A.

THE pattern of a Socialistic Society, set out in the resolution of the Avadi Congress, has been described by some as a mere sop to a vague sentiment of Socialism while others have dubbed it "Nehruism" to distinguish it from communism, socialism and capitalism. In any case this "socialistic pattern of society" may in plain language be called a "mixed economy" in which a private sector co-exists with a public sector under certain overall control, supervision and safeguard, by the State in accordance with the National Plan. Industrialists have recognised that public ownership has become a part of the social order. As Mr. G. M. Mackelaj significantly observed, in the course of his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry:

"The justification for and the inevitability of a dual pattern of economy, namely, public and private, for the future has been accepted by industrialists operating in the private sector without reserve."

He wanted to impress "the very marked re-orientation that has taken place in the capitalistic outlook of former days." But while the capitalists have been reconciled to their co-existence with a public sector, the complete change of the climate under which capitalism flourished so far has not been so clearly understood by them, as is evident by their lack of will to adapt their pattern to a changing social and economic system. One of the most important symptoms of this change of climate is the problem of incentives and efficiency, and it is here, more than anywhere else that we have to find the big changes which are going on in our generation. We are going through the transitional phase of a changing civilisation, where old values are giving place to new ones.

INCENTIVES TO ENTREPRENEUR

The prime motive of the private sector is the motive for profit. It is, of course, of the very essence of this sector that profit should govern its activities. The exponents of this sector say that it is open to the State to mop up what it regards as excess profits. Only, it should be careful to see that all profits are not mopped up, for that would be to bring the private sector to a standstill. Again, it must be realised that there is, as Mr. Mody said, "Nothing ignoble about profit motive, every man has a right to expect a reward for his work." But an institution

is judged not by what it feels about itself, but how others view them. Judged by this standard, private enterprise in this country has few friends and sympathisers outside its own narrow circle.

Take for example the view of a man like the late Mr. Jagmohan Das Kahadia, who in the words of Mr. K. R. P. Shroff, was a strong and ruthless critic of Company management. Again take the case of the Bombay Share-Holders' Association. Obviously, they had to create this instrument to defend their interests. In law and in theory, the shareholders are the owners of a Joint Stock Company. Power and authority which go with ownership are taken as vested in them. The management is supposed to act on their behalf, as their agent or trustee, under the guidance and control of a Board of Directors elected by the shareholders. How is it then, that the owners of a business concern, find themselves so much at the mercy of the very people to whom they have entrusted their savings, that they have to organise themselves to protect their interests?

Mr. Dharamsay M. Khatau, while addressing the shareholders of the Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., two months ago, said:

"If we are able to fulfil the targets now laid down for us, and in the process of doing so we can convince the work people, our consumers and our shareholders, that, by pinning their faith on Free Enterprise, they ensure their own security, progress and well-being, then it may well be that, in due course, the national emphasis will be laid on individual initiative rather than, as is the case today, on State enterprise."

Applying this touch-stone, we find that it is not shareholders alone whom private enterprise in this country has estranged to the point of seeking protection against it from the authorities. It is also doubtful if its position *vis-a-vis* workers and consumers are in any way happier. If the shareholders, workers and consumers were friendly towards private enterprise, it would amount to saying that private enterprise had the active support of the whole nation. But still all is not lost so far as private enterprise as a basic factor of our socio-economic organisation is concerned. In spite of some defects there is still a good deal of vitality about it. If its defects can be cured, if it can reorient its entire outlook, if it can establish itself on friendly terms with all those who serve it and whom it serves and

win their support and goodwill, if it can put itself to the fore as a factor which contributes to social security as well as rapid social progress, and finally, if private enterprise can throw up leaders, with daring, strength and imagination, there is still a hope of its leading the country to a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness in which the whole populace could share.

INCENTIVES TO LABOUR

The theory and practice of free enterprise lay stress on labour incentives of two types: (a) fear of sack and (b) hope of high income, promotion to a higher status or both. Today the first main incentive of fear of sack has lost a great deal of its force. Even in a community where the employer retains full legal freedom to dismiss the worker without any provision for appeal, his practical power, to do this is reduced very much, due to the strength of organised labour and the power of the Trade Unions. Fear, as an incentive to the workers, is no more effective, and unemployment has wellnigh lost its terror, in a "full employment Welfare State." Hope of higher earnings under the system of piece-work or through promotion to a higher grade has been given more weight to compensate for the loss of the first incentive. But unconsciously, the workers are not having the encouragement to maximise their output, as they feel that increased efficiency of work might lead to a reduction of prices and not necessarily to the raising of wages.

A planned economy of a socialist pattern involves planning of the distribution of income as well as of what is to be produced and of the methods of production to be employed. It implies planning for full employment which means not only a lessened fear of unemployment, but also an assurance for most people of regular and continuous earnings. This double assurance has naturally weakened very much the second incentive of higher earnings. Moreover, in a society where personal earnings are looked down upon by the authorities and sometimes considered even enemies of society, and fear of want has been totally eliminated, a normal man is not likely to be spurred by the incentive of earnings. This naturally discourages greater efforts on the part of persons of capacity and ability and ultimately the society is a sufferer for this forced cold storage of efficiency. Newer social motives, patriotism, pleasantness of work and the like must take the place of the older motives.

INCENTIVE TO INVENTIVENESS

In a well-planned society, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and its related research institutes, universities, colleges, etc., should be in the closest touch with the planning authorities of the government and the facilities under the new conditions might be better. Very often an invention

has its origin in the research work of a pure scientist, passing from the University laboratory to the research workers in applied science and technique, and is brought by them into relation to a number of other inventions and discoveries, until it becomes the basis for a proposed new industrial process and emerges as a commercial proposition. This type of organised research and invention is beyond the means of private firms except the very big ones, and the government may have to spend lavishly on such work.

INCENTIVES TO CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Provision of capital in a free economy is left in the hands of individuals and institutions and decisions to spend or save as well as the decision to invest are all left in private hands. Traditional economists assumed that all that was saved got invested. But when unemployment became chronic many economists began to realise that saving does not guarantee prosperity.

In a planned society, investments are decided by the government on the advice of the Planning Commission. It settles both the total level of investments and the distribution of investments among different industries on the basis of priorities. This decision involves a reduction in current spending in the community, and the capital required may be raised by the authorities by means of taxation or by borrowing or by "creating" money: deficit financing. Thus, the level of investment in a well-planned economy does not depend upon the decision of individuals to save or firms to borrow for investment, but upon the national needs of full employment of the available man-power.

This problem is more difficult in a mixed economy in which socialised and private sectors must exist side by side, for Government must secure the right amount of investments within public and private sectors. The government will have to control investments and savings, and extend the controls even to spending and consumption. This may be done in a well-planned system by means of financial policies and the application of the technique of national budgeting.

CONCLUSION

In his speech to the A.I.C.C., Mr. Nehru said that he saw no conflict between the public sector and the private sector in the task of raising the wealth of the country. There was enough to be done by both. Repeatedly Mr. Nehru said that they could not be bound by any theories outdated by modern science. The socialistic pattern of society envisaged by the Congress could not be a mere imitation of socialism practised in any other country. It must conform to Indian conditions and have roots in the Indian soil.

"In our conception of achieving progress," he said, "we do not rule out the place of the private sector. If we say that we want to have a socialistic

pattern of society, it does not mean that we visualise the taking over at once of the private sector in our grip. This is wrong. What we have to take complete hold of are the obstacles which come in the way of achieving our ideal under the National Plan."

But if the private sector is to play the role, it is expected to do, they should bring about a healthy improvement in the relation between the community and the government, the community and the public and the community and labourers. Mr. Homi Mody clarified in his speech on "Economic Policy" at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the first week of March, that although the business community was prepared to advance with the times and to co-operate in all schemes for the advancement of the real welfare of the people, there was a general distrust of the community. He attributed this to the anti-social activities

of a certain section of businessmen. He suggested that members of a recognised body who were found guilty of having indulged in such activities should be debarred from being members of that organisation. Surely 'capital' is not what it was some 30 or 40 years ago, and it will be something quite different in some 10 or 15 years from now. What is required of private enterprise is that it must function with "honesty of purpose and a sense of social justice." As Dr. Radhakrishnan said while inaugurating the Burmah Shell Oil Refinery in Bombay:

"The Refinery is an outstanding example of what private enterprise, backed and encouraged by an enlightened democratic government, can achieve."

"We wish to lay stress on the social vision, the social approach; wealth produced must be equitably distributed in order that the existing contrast between 'irresponsible wealth and abysmal poverty' may become less and less."

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THE IDLE HOURS

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE unemployment situation in the country is getting worse from day to day. The Central and the State Governments have numerous schemes in view for the solution of the great problem, and if the Central Finance Minister is right, in the next ten years the spectre that is growing in size will not only shrink and shrivel but will vanish into thin air altogether. Let us wait with the legion of the unemployed for the blessed day and in the meantime hold our soul in peace.

A very large number of thoughtful men have suggested remedies for the alleviation of the distress of the unemployed. Some of these no doubt look very attractive and it is for the person in distress to act upon such advice and profit by it. It is unnecessary to dump another set of counsel upon the people who have them in plenty and most of whom are not in a mood to accept or to work upon them because of the little or no prospect of immediate result accruing from them. There is worry and want in abundance for the helpless and hopeless fellow who is without employment but the sense of being useless to the family or to the society is added to the poignancy of abortive attempts to earn and to enable himself (or herself) to keep body and soul together.

The sense of frustration in life as well as the boredom of forced idleness is galling to the extreme. While pain of hunger is felt in the minutest tissue of the body and the tiniest nerve, and the melancholy strain of the piteous wail coming feebly out of the hollow of the abdomen of young ones who are objects of

supreme love and delight reaches the ear and he has to witness the sight of hot tears of sorrow, anguish and despair rolling down the cheeks of the speechless and famished mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, it requires a stupendous amount of effort to overcome the temptation of doing physical violence to self and to other members of the hapless family. It is simply maddening. Each dawn is a curse, each day is everlasting; time hangs too long and there is no streak of light peeping through the pall of deepening gloom. The question, next to the troubles arising out of poverty is, how to pass the time day in and day out, without any work, without the expectation of gain or a comforting thought of a favourable chance.

If any one ventures to tender any advice to the unemployed people, the first question they would ask is whether that would bring them a farthing, not to speak of an income sufficient for subsistence for the worker himself. The question of maintaining the family may be relegated to the background.

There is hardly any advice worth tendering except what is contained in that hackneyed word "self-help." At once a chorus of protest would rise to say, "No more of such advice that does not help one presently."

Every thinking man knows that idle hours sharpen the edge of suffering very greatly, because one is left with unbounded opportunity for brooding over his hard fate and feeling sour with everything around him.

Let there be no relaxation in the efforts for earning a livelihood by all means. No time, no effort, no

opportunity should be allowed to go unwatched. There is still prolonged idleness throughout the day and a large part of the night. This idleness should be tackled by all means even if they fail to bring anything in the shape of ready money. This waste of time should be confronted with another form, if we may call it so, of waste of time by taking to some form of hobby; let us admit, a non-paying hobby. This is the best weapon for killing boredom.

What these hobbies should be, what shape they will take in appealing to one's taste, it is difficult to suggest. Hobby develops according to one's idiosyncrasy, environment, education and temperamental leanings. It is better to follow the line of least resistance where inclination follows the natural bent of mind.

It is to be clearly understood that it is not for a moment suggested that the course will lead to direct income. Just, it may. But that is secondary for our present purpose. It is treated as something that is likely to rob some of the bitterest moments when life seems unbearable.

With the educated unemployed, it is better to take to reading as often and as long as possible which does not conflict with one's efforts for securing something that would fetch a little cash or some concrete benefit. That is the best way of whiling away time. Every unemployed young man for whom this is written will perhaps say with some amount of justification that the proper mood for study is wanting due to distraction, and books are not available in plenty to a poor man. The latter difficulty is overcome by honest dealings, by returning the book in time in good order and condition to the donor or the owner and the rest will be smooth sailing. As to the former difficulty, the start will no doubt be a bit hard as is the case with every new endeavour and the thought that the particular step has been adopted to strengthen the greatest enemy of boredom will encourage us to a point till triumph has been achieved.

The next point is to develop a taste for a particular branch of study, to specialise so to say, in history, geography, economics, literature, art, penology, psychology, psycho-analysis, sociology or whatever it may be, so that your advice will be sought for by others in the locality in cases of controversy, and gradually, your advice or opinion will be sought for by a wider circle on the subject. It is better to read a variety of subjects but the aim is to be directed towards a particular matter with another as additional. Those who can afford may indulge in learning a foreign language, particularly French and German; and a little efficiency in any one of these is bound to give a rich dividend by way of affording opportunity for killing much of the unpleasant time. Nothing is definitely told about the efficacy of the course as a means for earning livelihood but again it can be said, *it may*; it forces one door partly open for some opportunity to appear in the embassies or in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

To come to other things: a hobby for music is the next best course to adopt. The points against the measure are the same as with the case of study of books. There is no question of neglecting the efforts for earning but here again the problem of idle hours comes to the fore. But it is to be remembered that a modicum of efficiency in either of the instrumental or vocal music will at once attract notice not only of the locality but also of the wider public within a short time. A good singer is oft-times a merry man even when in hunger and vocal music does not require so much of expenses as is the case with instrumental music. Of the three requisites: leisure, determination and mood, there should be no dearth of the first two, and the third should be developed by all means.

Drawing, painting, etching, sketching, calligraphy, lettering (of charts) and a host of other items performed with the help of the pencil, the brush, the style and such other tools, and works of other sorts, such as making of paper flowers, clay and other models or toys, chiselling of sola or soft wood, or anything of choice can claim a little time each day. If there is a small plot of land, and villages afford the best opportunity, some work on it including gardening and all that has any connection with gardens, such as putting up of a nice fencing, better irrigation, intelligent lay-out, selection of fancy plants, etc., will absorb greater time and make the work attractive even in an otherwise droll and drab atmosphere.

If the experiment can be pushed a little further, one other avenue for recognition may be created. There is no money, no sufficient land and above all no proper mental condition to undertake profitable gardening. But if one chooses to concentrate upon one or two items only, the otherwise gloomy picture may present a lighter tint here and there. If one takes to growing *all* species of chillies or tomatoes amongst the lighter crops, *jaba*, *sithal-padma*, *rajani-gandha* or *bela* in the group of flowers that are known to be in existence, his small garden is likely to attract attention in a short time bringing some amount of celebrity at his door. The entire outlook changes when he is successful in bringing about a special type or something unusual in shape, size, field or resistance to pests, etc.

A hobby for collection is to be the best and easiest way of killing monotony. A collector of stamps or of coins or of both can spend several enjoyable hours over successful 'bagging' of one particular piece for which he might have worked for days and months. And the time spent over this effort, for devising means for securing the end, is so much of gain against brooding over fate. There is no end of the list for collections and not that each and every item requires money. Say, a collection may cover specimens of minerals and sub-divisions of minerals, of foodgrains and other cereals and oilseeds and their different types, of fibres, medicinal and other plants, furs, feathers, curios, insects and the like. Everybody knows that after the first hurdle has been

overcome, "exchange" goes a long way in rapid strides in embellishing the stock.

In respect of whiling away of time, indoor games have earned a reputation without parallel and in all ages guardians and well-wishers have accepted these as the best resort of an idler and do-nothing of the family and the society. A player gains experience and efficiency with time in any one of so many of the indoor games, particularly where intelligence plays a greater part in winning than luck, and there should be an endeavour to excel in them, particularly in chess and to a certain extent in auction bridge in cards. If a position is attained when there is practically no competitor in the locality, the reputation spreads wide and the name of such a player is mentioned in bigger competitions and challenge from distant places is accepted with a certain amount of confidence. The circle of friends becomes larger and some are likely to be of immense help in securing some benefit of financial nature.

Every unemployed young man does not belong to a "poor" family and those who can afford would best bestow some time in training domestic pets in performing special feats. When the art has been mastered to a certain extent, the rest becomes easy; and while trying for a job or any source of income, the activities of a trainer of pets may be extended to the houses of friends and relations.

What about learning magic and practising sleight of hands with cards and other articles? This pastime is so engrossing that a daily practice will rob many an unpleasant hour and the appetite for learning more will be whetted to a point which would give no rest to the learner. Add to it, if you like, a lesson in astrology or palmistry and the cycle is likely to be complete with a study and application of the knowledge of the influence of metals, minerals, roots, herbs and the like.

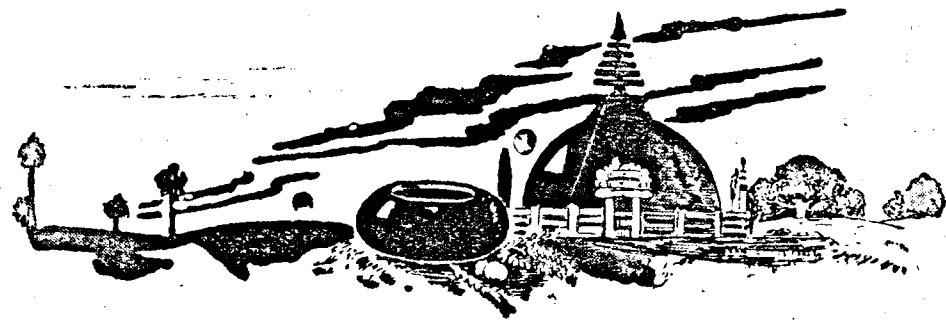
There is a good chance for a ventriloquist to attract public attention. It goes well with the magician's trade. But trying to kill time in an effort to reflect the moods and tempers on the physiognomy together with developing the pitch and sonorousness of the voice may bring a wave-tossed ship of young life to the haven of the stage or the screen or both.

There can be no end of the various activities which can keep one engaged at least for a certain part of the day. In every family there is so much of domestic duties to perform which when intelligently attended to would

keep one gainfully engaged and is sure to bring a healthy change in the minds of other members of the family. The poisonous flings of taunts and sneers of the bread-giver, the indignity that is heaped upon by those who pose themselves as the sole trustees of the welfare of "the fool" who allows himself to be exploited and is forced to ruin his health and blight the future of the dearest ones for the sake of those who should be shown the door, have goaded thousands to desperation. While living upon others' earnings these factors have to be taken into account. Even simple domestic services will to a certain extent allay hostility and mellow down the pungency of attack while money saved by work in the domestic field will be earning a lot though indirectly. It may give some sort of consolation that a part of the cost of living has been well-earned. Even then I would repeat that there need be no relaxation for trying for a job or other suitable means of earning.

It is best to devote as much time as possible on all sorts of local public activities, libraries, educational institutions, charitable societies, co-operative bodies, children and women welfare centres, guidance clinics, scout movement, development of indigenous games, research organisations, societies for the improvement of agriculture, cattle and the like. If there is honesty of purpose and a large fund of diligence, the services rendered to such public bodies will be recognised as valuable if not indispensable and are sure to attract attention of people high up in social position. There need be no quarrel over positions because power flows to those who combine intelligence with a sense of responsibility.

In whatever sphere we may work the aim will be to rise above the average in qualities or the activities of others whom we would like to emulate. A man who has initiative, perseverance and devotion to duty, is sure to rise higher and higher in the estimation of the public and occupy a respectable position which is not unlikely to bring financial succour. If it does nothing else, it will make life livable. This is the spirit which is badly needed. The salt of life has become stale with the millions vainly searching after jobs and it is a fact that most of them are literally dying by inches and for them some sort of diversion is absolutely necessary. Can't some permanent centres be opened in villages where unemployed young men may spend some part of their idle time profitably?



MADURA—THE HOLY CITY OF TAMILNAD

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

Caught up, as we usually are, in the vortex of high international politics, city gossip and roboted life, one feels a world of difference to betake oneself to the holy cities of India where life continues much the same today as it was millennia ago, where little difference is made between mythology and history, no difference whatsoever between the rational and the imaginative.

If even the holiest cities like Jerusalem, Rome and Mecca today represent a type of psychic dichotomy between the mythological past and the scientific

city could be traced back to the 5th century B.C. when the Pandyan dynasty ruled over Tamilnad. When the

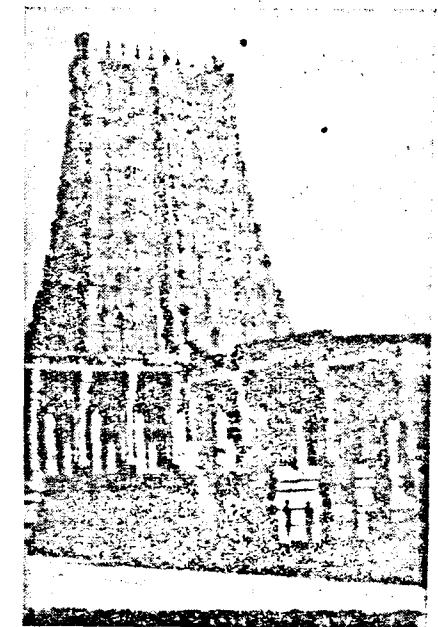


Goddess Minakshi worshipped in the Madura Temple

present, then the holy cities like Benares, Madura, Nasik and other places in India betray the impact of modern civilization in that there exists an air of scepticism,—nay positive hostility against the accepted religious practices and beliefs. Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and Materialists are found today even in the Holy cities.

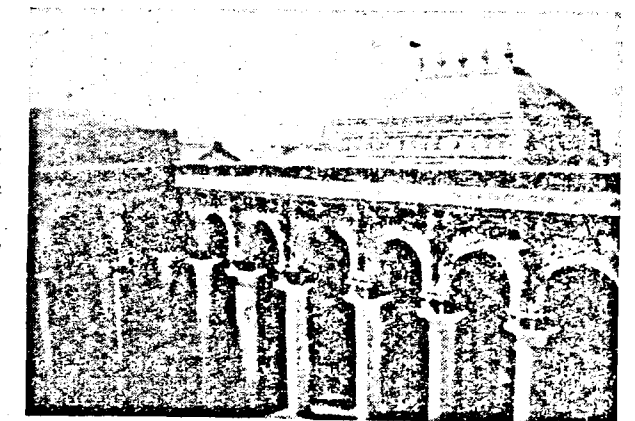
Madura, the Benares of the South, is famous for its temples, Sanskrit learning and religious lore. Rising majestically on the banks of the river Vaigai, surrounded by hills and hillocks, Madura is rich in scenic beauties. Kodaikanal and Palani Hills, the queen of Indian Hill Stations, lie within fifty miles from Madura. The soaring heights of the Kodaikanal Hills could be seen from any building in Madura. To religious ascetics and pilgrims, Kodaikanal and Palani Hills are like Kailas of the South.

Madura became famous because of the Minakshi Temple, a rare specimen of Indian art and architecture. The earliest beginnings of Madura as a religious



The thousand-pillared Temple inside the Minakshi Temple

Pandyan dynasty came to an end in the 11th century A.D., Madura became renowned not only for the



Tirumal Nayakam Palace (Nyaya Mandir)

Minakshi Temple, but also as the seat of Hindu culture, specially of Saivism and rich philosophical and religious literature.

Minakshi Temple, also known as the "Great Temple," is in the shape of a parallelogram of about 847 ft. by 729 ft. It stands about two furlongs away from the Madura Railway Station on the Madras-

Trivandrum or Madras-Tuticorin Express line. Alighting from the station, the sight of the tall *gopurams* enchants the eyes of the visitor. There are four main *gopurams* standing as the sentinels on the four sides of the thirty-feet-high wall surrounding the temple, the largest of which reaches the height of 152 ft. Then there are seven *gopurams* inside the temple. *Gopurams*, so common in the South Indian temples, are pyramid-like ornamented gates resting on rock door-posts,

to Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, so very popular in Tamilnad as the Sakti cult in Bengal is the symbol of the Primordial Energy, *Adya Sakti*, worshipped as Knowledge (*Jnana*), Love (*Prema*) and Activity (*Kriya*).

Contrasted with the small, gloomy temples of the North, the South Indian temples, specially the Minakshi Temple, Srirangam, Canjeevaram, Rameswaram and other temples of Tamilnad give us the idea of something vast, gorgeous and spacious for the religious folk, pilgrims and visitors. These huge temples remind us of the great Cathedrals of Europe wherein several thousands at a time can worship and pray, study and meditate. For millennia have generations after generations come and brought their pitchers to draw waters of life from these shrines and quench their religious thirst. But today tradition is being challenged.

Besides the world-famous Minakshi Temple, Madura owns an array of small and big temples scattered throughout the city. Of these the most important

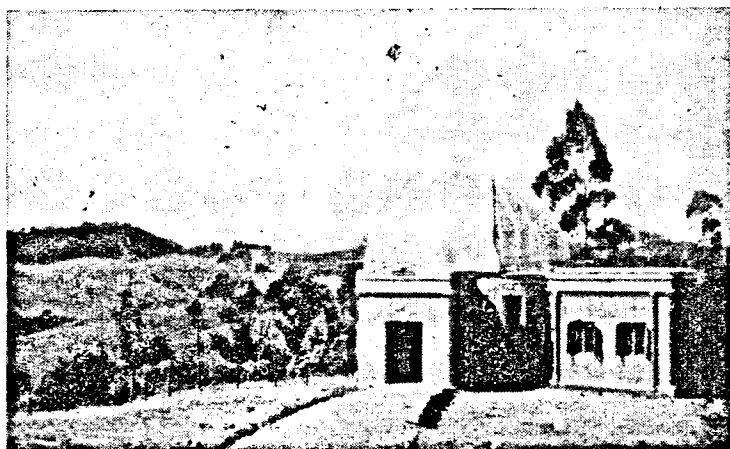


Kodaikanal Lake and the Boat Club

which at the Minakshi temple are 60 ft. high. It is on these tall door posts the array of gods and goddesses, elephants and peacocks and religious stories are carved out, ornamented, coloured and gilded. Rising like a pyramid, the top extremities of *gopurams* end in stone *trishul*, the recognised Saivaite symbol.

The "Hall of a Thousand Pillars" inside the temple is believed to have been built by Raja Viswanath of Nayak Dynasty. In architectural beauty the "Thousand Pillars" are on par with the best classical Greek architecture. There are three large courtyards, one large temple tank so beautifully decorated, three large halls with gothic roofs and colour and oil paintings and one long corridor of over 500 ft. long leading up to the shrine of goddess Minakshi. Of the most graceful statues inside the temple the one of Radha-Krishna is the most perfect and elegant.

Underneath a richly-gilded dome stands Goddess Minakshi, the consort of Siva, attired in white and gilded robes. Siva has got another shrine in the temple. There are many other side-shrines for some gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. Minakshi, according



Kodaikanal Observatory

for both pilgrims and visitors are the Subramanya Temple, Mariamam Tappa Kulam and Alakar Kovil Vishnu Temple. For the tourists, however, after Minakshi Temple the most interesting monument from the artistic and historical point of view is the Tirumala Nayakam Palace which is acclaimed by art critics as "the finest specimen of secular architecture in Madras Presidency." The palace is named after Raja Tirumala Nayak who reigned in Madura from 1623 to 1659 A.D., and built up that royal palace.

It is reported that many European and Indian artists and architects worked for over a decade to complete the building. Certainly, the gorgeous gothic arches, colourful paintings, carved pillars and the general architecture are there to tell the visitor that Tirumala Nayakam Palace is the proud product of East-West co-operation. The Durbar Hall, called "the Vasanta Hall" is 333 ft. long and is rich in architectural grace.

Like the Rock Temple in Trichinopoly, Tirumala Nayakam Palace is roofed with a high terrace from where one can get the aerial view of the whole city of Madura and its environs, including the graceful Palani and Kodaikanal Hills. The terrace is punctuated with domes and doors which bespeak of the glory of the palace underneath. It spells bad taste—to say the least—on the part of the Government to transform such a masterpiece of art into the District Law Court and to call it today *Naya Mandir*. It is

a pity that Tirumala Nayakam Palace, such a monument of art and beauty, is not used for anything better than for the District Law Courts and nestling coves for bats, rats and birds!

The proximity of Kodaikanal Hill Station with its wonderful sceneries, the graceful three-mile long lake, the astronomical observatory, the enchanting Pillar Rocks, the fashionable "Highclere" American School, the Jesuit Theological College and the Shembakanoor Post office, the cleanest and the most efficient post office in the whole of India, is an added attraction for pilgrims, tourists and visitors who go to bask in the aesthetic beauty and religious rhapsody of Madura. Kodaikanal is the one Indian Hill Station which has the same uniform climate all the year round with scenic beauties comparable to Switzerland, and it forms the veritable *Kailas* of the holy city of Madura.

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SHIVA TEMPLE OF BHOJPUR

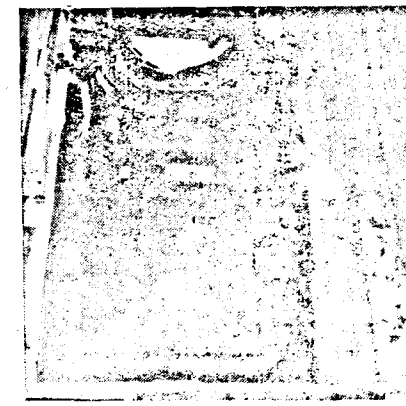
By DIPT NARAIN TRIPATHI, M.A.

CENTRAL India presents an infinite variety of scenes. Mountains clothed with deep forests and low rocky hills overgrown with thorny jungles skirt the vast fertile land with its myriad gardens and far-stretching fields of waving corn. Rivers flow softly through fields of millet and sugarcane, through towns and hamlets and wide pasture lands.

in the shady forest, we stumble upon the ruins of cities that were rich and populous a thousand years ago. High up on the breezy hill-top, we startle a herd of gazelles in the forests beside some crumbling, tottering ramparts that in its day resounded with the din and clash of battle. The panther finds shelter for his brood among the marble columns of palaces, once



Bhojpur Temple from a long distance



Inside view of the Bhojpur Temple

Hills and plains are rich in records that live in the broken pillars and crumbling walls. Far away from the stir and bustle of the present world, deep

splendid and gay with pageant revelry. Black winds move through the deserted galleries of cave temples, upon which many generations of priests and worship-

pers lavished their wealth and art in ages long ago. Every glade in the forest, every fountain on the mountain side, every pool in the deep valley has its ruined shrines and its half-forgotten story. Though many ancient places are still replete with buildings, chisellings and inscriptions of the highest antiquity and interest, they are still for the most part very little known to us.

The temple of Bhojpur is one of the little-known places of Central India (Bhopal). It is an ancient Shiva temple and is in a very dilapidated condition. It is near a small village of Bhojpur. This village consists of about fifty houses of poor people. It is nearly 18 miles away from the city of Bhopal. A pucca road runs from Bhopal city to Hasangabad which is situated on the southern boundary of the



Exterior of the Bhojpur Temple on the right hand

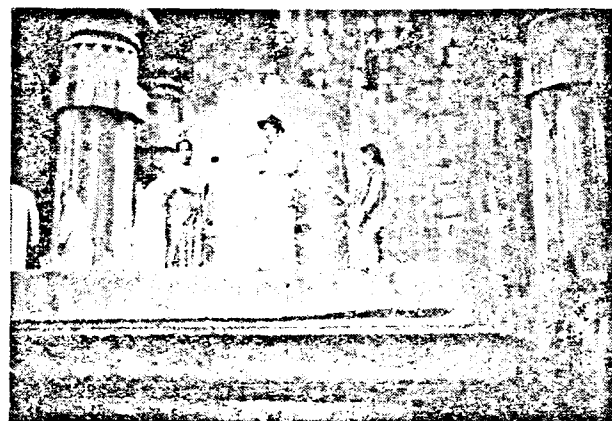
State. To reach Bhojpur it is necessary to leave the pucca road at 15 miles from Bhopal and turn to the eastern side of the road. A three-mile journey after crossing a small tributary of Betwa, takes us to the village of Bhojpur. The village is in the Tal Pargana division of the State. This is how it came to be known by this name:

In former times Raja Bhoja, ruler of Malwa and Ujjain, built a long, broad and lofty dam of stones between two hills about sixteen miles from Bhopal, the scattered remains of which can still be seen. Owing to this dam the out-flow of water from the hills was checked and a large lake was formed extending for several miles in every direction. This dam was destroyed and the water was released by Hosung Shah, Prince of Malwa, the founder of the town

Hosungabad. It was he who in 801 A.H. founded a city near Piran Dhar, his capital on the hill of Mando, which he found to possess an agreeable climate and was difficult of access. After the waters had subsided, Hosung founded villages in this tract which obtained the name of Pargana Tal. During the rainy season there is such a quantity of mud of an adhesive nature that certain low-lying lands are impassable.

Near this dam is the village of Bhojpur on the left bank of the tributary of the Betwa. Near this village there is a hillock belonging to the Vindhya Ranges on whose slope this village is situated. On the upper portion of the slope the ancient temple of Shiva stands.

The local tradition assigns the construction of this temple to the celebrated Raja Bhoja who is said to have been eleventh in descent from Vikramaditya and to have transferred the capital from Ujjain to Dhar. King Bhoja after a long reign died by the close of the eleventh century. There is a story current among the local people that once Raja Bhoja wished to build this Shiva temple within a night but unfortunately he could not succeed to complete it within the



Lingam on the Argha

desired period. This was the reason that the temple remained unfinished. But this local tradition does not seem to be true because by observation one finds that it did bear the shikhara. The withering effect of nature ruined it, as time rolled on.

This ruined temple is the symbol of happiness and prosperity of the people of the period when it was first constructed. It shows the masterly craftsmanship of the sculptors who chiselled out the stone-pieces to build the temple.

As far as the shape of the temple is concerned the lower portion of the temple is rectangular but it is difficult to ascertain anything about the shape of the Shikhara for it has fallen down and there is nothing to indicate it. But it is believed that it would have been pyramidal in shape which was in fashion

at the time. The only remains are the ceiling of the temple but its central portion is open to the sky which therefore does not necessarily indicate the hollowness of the Shikhara.

The temple is made of stone-bricks chiselled out from the neighbouring hillock whose stone is durable for building purposes. The stone slabs were first levelled and chiselled on the hill and were taken therefrom to be used as we notice, while walking on the hillock, at several places. These stone slabs are joined with each other by mud plaster.

In the inner side of the temple there are four massive stone columns, one in each corner supporting the ceiling or we may call it the roof. These columns measure nearly 36 feet in height and 7 feet in circumference. On the uppermost portion of these columns are to be found winged figures facing each other. But due to our misfortune at the time of our visit these figures were covered by bee-hives and we could not identify them.

The ceiling in between these columns is in gradually diminishing circles making the Shikhara hollow. The ceiling is carved out in intersecting geometrical and other designs of a masterhand. But as was ordained nothing has survived in the centre.

In the centre of the *sanctum* there is the Argha of the *lingam* made of a single massive stone block on which rests the *lingam*, the object of worship. The *lingam* is of massive cylindrical stone inserted in the Argha. There are many *lingams* in India having one Mukha to four Mukhas but the *lingam* of reference is not of any Mukha. The height of Argha and *lingam* is about 14 feet. The measurement of the *lingam* alone is approximately 7 feet in height and the circumference can be measured by stretching the arms of four persons joined together as we did at the time of our visit. Facing the door are to be found two lines one smaller than the other joining together making a figure like A as it may be seen in the photograph of the *lingam*.

The jambs of the door are made of stone slabs. There are seven jambs on each side of the door

making the symmetry. On these jambs figures of human beings and foliage are carved out in low relief. But Nature did not like to see the beauty of the jambs and she did not allow to stand some jambs of the left side. Thus Nature has made these beautiful jambs ugly.

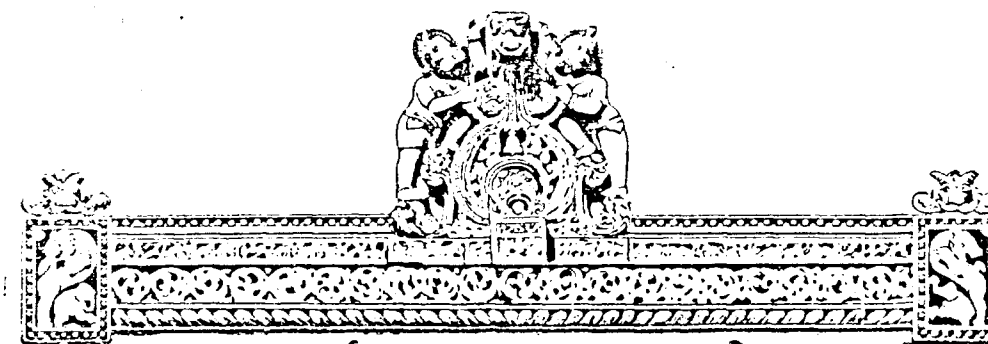
The fallen stones of the Shikhara are lying by the right side of the temple. A large number of stone bricks have been taken away by the village people to build the walls of their *kuncha* houses. The remaining stone bricks are being taken away by the people of the village as the place is unguarded. It is fortunate that the Archaeological Department of Bhopal has taken it under its protection as we come to learn later.



Jambs of the right hand of the door

In front of the temple there is a small hut in which a *pujari* or priest of the temple dwells. This priest looks after the temple and the object of worship, the *Lingam*. Still now the people of the locality come and offer their prayers to get their desires fulfilled through the mercy of the Lord Shiva.

The department of Archaeology has taken it under its protection and due publicity will help in attracting people of different classes to visit this sleeping memorial of a glorious past.



HELEN KELLER—A NEW STAR OF HOPE

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

"THE more hazardous an enterprise becomes, the greater thrill and confidence I feel in myself." With these significant words Dr. (Miss) Helen Keller not only expresses her delight and fearlessness in air travel, but also indicates her faith in the 'generous beams of science' which she wants to follow without fear and plead to the world 'the wonders of co-operation and brotherhood which grows and flourishes through human



Helen Keller—A sketch

influence.' No, it is a step further, it marks the triumph of human spirit over odds posed by Nature. This faith has not only sustained her but has also made her conquer despair and made herself a living message to the handicapped, nay, to the humanity at large. This is how she expresses herself:

"I did feel sad and discouraged on certain occasions, but that was not because I was blind and deaf; the human miseries and sufferings only made me feel sad and despondent. My factual relief is that if they (the handicapped) put faith in themselves and reject all gloomy views of blindness, their problems and difficulties will flee before them as the night before the morning."

Her patience, perseverance and aspirations since she lost her sight and became deaf and dumb, at the age of her eighteenth month, have brought her to this unshakable state of mind. She is majestic yet humble to-day. Like a devotee her modest words will leave little room of doubt as regards her sincerity:

"I have seen thousands of brave people who have overcome handicaps greater than that I have known unfolding their resources of will-power. When I think of these persons, I feel very humble indeed."

This will-power has made her a guiding light marching along the paths of peace. Yes, it is real peace that she has discovered and peace that she stands for. That is why, while ordinary hazards of life only add romance to existence, the Atom and H-Bombs reveal to her as great terrors "which if unleashed could spell ruination and devastation."

Although it is amazing, no, a miracle to think about her life and achievements, yet if we sit quietly and pause for a moment it will not be difficult for us to discover that every single human being suffers from one handicap or the other—some from physical while others from mental. While many strive and rise above them, others succumb and surrender for so many reasons, important of which are lack of trust in themselves and will to rise above what they are. All great men and women bear testimony to this, and Helen Keller is no exception to that. Through almost complete seven decades she has studied, worked and travelled without any rest, without indulging in any personal effects whatsoever, with one single aim and that is to lay a treadable road, if not a straight and smooth one, for those who are, and will be afflicted with darkness! She never hesitated, never stopped—in fact she fell in love with and married her aim. And such is the depth of this love that her mind could never respond to the call of marriage union without *his* being converted to the same ideal. Who could be! Strangely enough, it proved to be none, in spite of the fact that she is a "gracious, compassionate woman of singular intellectual attainment and compelling personal charm" and that she has won friends in all parts of the world by her sparkling sense of humour, vitality and, last, though not the least, the warmth of her hand-clasp!

Yes, these palms alone are more than our eyes, ears and tongues. It is through this medium only that she received her first lesson which gradually rather in a very short while helped her to grow into a full-grown super-intellectual, writing, addressing, travelling throughout the length and breadth of the world, enjoying music, motion pictures and all arts and crafts. All sounds and music which are nothing but vibrations cannot by-pass her. She catches them and it is no wonder that you will find her in theatres and motion-picture shows while a companion spells the plot into her hands.

HELEN KELLER—A NEW STAR OF HOPE

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Her beginning in this world of darkness, her meeting with her teacher are as much surprising as her achievements. Who can say that it was really not a good luck to the world that she was born in a well-to-do family with a loving father!

A born genius and source of inexhaustible perseverance, she was growing restless, whimsical, expressing her wants by signs up to the age of six; nothing could be taught. But soon she meets her "guardian angel" Miss Anne Sullivan, a gifted though young teacher from Perkins Institution in Boston, a famous American School for the blind, who happened to be her constant companion for the next 50 years of her life. This lady, Miss Sullivan, for whom no tribute as teacher is too much, soon realized that the education of this child will be a distinguishing event of her life. Soon the entire nation came to know about this "mental prodigy" and had been watching the progress with great interest. The meeting of Miss Sullivan and Helen Keller can almost be compared to that of Shri Shri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda who immediately saw in each other the personification of each other's object, and worked both together toiling, labouring, and achieving things which are little short of miracles.

Helen Keller, even as a child in spite of all possible worldly comforts, was pining for light and love. The day she met Miss Sullivan, she discovered her home too.

The moment she came to know the means of methodical learning, she "spent almost every waking hour with her teacher, to know more and more. In addition, her family and household was quite a large and busy one. Quite a good number of adults, children and servants, constant visits of guests of all types and shades, provided her ample resources to have a dip into the human character. To this were added the farm activities, the animals, the flowers, orchards, woods, fields, and streams. All these together provided ample materials for her awakening mind; and soon she came to know what they are.

This practical touch with all aspects of human life made her a woman and not a scholar away from the daily life of common men and women and their sufferings. Her good education and better taste have not only brought her up, but has made her taste what life is. And it is her earnest desire that every single human soul deprived of sight or any other handicap should be brought out of that sense of inferiority and taught to forget their difference.

That is why she did not stop when her academic career came to a close. Waves of the silent call of the handicapped-humanity made her restless. She started an active life and visited Japan, Korea, and Manchuria, for and on behalf of the blind.

At the cessation of World War II, the stories of the war blind sent her across from Britain to France, from there to Italy and Greece to study first-hand their problems and what really can be done for them.

Later on, in 1948, she travelled through India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, China, and the Middle East. All this was with one single aim and that is to help formulate policies and programmes for the handicapped.



Quite at home with Dr. Radhakrishnan

In her travel from one country to another, she not only feel the difference by the atmospheric touch and smell, but even the approach of mountain is obvious to her and she fully appreciates the thrills and adventures of height, hazards, and awe-inspiring majesty. A flint stone brought from the top of the Everest was touched by her and she remarked:

"When I touched the stone I felt a wonderful thrill of the Everest looking down upon the world through a mist of greatness."

Being deaf she had no idea as to what sound was but nothing could stand on her way. There was day, there was night, and she had the energy to work ceaselessly. The result is, she can speak to-day. It took her twenty-five years to develop this power of speech although it is not always very distinct. Having no idea about the immediate reaction of the audience her speech sometimes runs faster than could be understood. At such moments Miss Thompson, her constant companion, has to caution her for a slow speech. Her concentration for reception is so perfect today that in spite of her being completely deaf she can hear if one speaks to her slowly and clearly.

Even as a student at Radcliffe her career as a literary figure started. At the end of the second year she wrote her first book *The Story of My Life* which not only made her known to the world, but at once made her one of the most inspiring figures in public life. Since then, she has written many other books including *The World I Live in*; *Out of the Dark*; *My Religion*; *Mid Stream*; *My Later Life*; *Peace at Eventide*; *Helen Keller in Scotland*; and *Let Us Have Faith*.

Like everything else she is exacting in her writing too. She writes and revises them over and over again till they meet her standard. Although she can use both ordinary typewriter and a Braille writing machine, as she cannot read what she types, her composition naturally is slow. But steady she is and success is hers therefore too.



Her palms are her eyes and ears

She is not only a scholar, and an author, but also an artist in the truest sense of the term. And that is why when she travels she tries to discover the soul and expression of the country. She intends to visit the Tajmahal and feel its exquisite beauty of arts and crafts for two reasons; one, because she thinks that this is not only a great heritage of India, but an essential expression of her (India's) soul too; secondly because, she wants to carry this feeling with her to spread it to all the handicapped through their language. This desire is like ours to carry a good thing for our near and dear ones. To her the humanity she represents is near and dear.

She does not want to miss any opportunity to popularise and further her aim. Based on her life story a documentary film, *The Unconquered*, has been made. She has played the heroine herself. Nothing could be more realistic.

To have praise for one and to follow him or her is quite a different thing. Although Americans had been watching her progress with great interest, yet she did not have a smooth way for aiding legislation for the handicapped. She had to fight an untiring battle appearing before the US Congress and State Legislatures.

Throughout the length of her seventy-five years she has met many great persons. Most of them considered it a great honour to be able to meet her. In the course of her four months' tour of the Far East in 1955 sponsored by the American Foundation of Overseas Blind, in co-operation with the Indian Ministry of Education, she did not fail to meet Sri Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan. She touched their faces and foreheads and found Sri Nehru "undoubtedly a very great man" . . . "was much impressed by his nobility, upward and inward qualities embodied in the dome of his forehead." She was also "touched by his gentle and thoughtful manners." She sincerely believes that "Sri Nehru is working mightily hard for peace . . ." Greatly spiritual as she is she did not fail to discuss the Bhagvatgita with Sri Nehru and took important clues to good translations which she intends to study.

The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad reveals himself to her "a darling, not only a fine personality but a great soul."

The history of life has presented rows of kings and emperors, Prime Ministers and other temporal Heads with all their pomp and grandeur the earth can produce, but rarely has it produced souls who by their work and faith lifted the humanity from dust, to march along to a peaceful and prosperous life. Amongst such immortals Helen Keller has stepped into by her undaunted spirit and an unshakable faith. The depth of this faith can only be understood in her own words so simply and clearly expressed:

"Faith is a safeguard to me against cynicism and despair. After all, faith is not one thing or two or three things; it is an indivisible totality of belief that inspires me—belief in God as infinite goodwill and all-seeing wisdom whose everlasting arms sustain me walking on the sea of life. Trust in my fellow-men, wonder at their fundamental goodness and confidence that after this night of sorrow and oppression they will rise up strong and beautiful in the glory of morning."

This is she—a new star of hope in the dark horizon emitting the light of joy to the millions of the handicapped. She has won many awards both from private as well as State sources, but are these enough? No. The greatest that this world can present her is a pledge to work ceaselessly till that day when no man or woman remains to be called as handicapped.

It is known that in one corner of the lawn of her residence there stands a Japanese stone lantern, eight feet high, with a constantly burning light—not to go out while she lives. This light in fact should be kept burning till that day when every single individual be a she or he becomes a self-respecting, independent citizen and the word 'handicap' (as understood today) disappears completely.

THE KHASIS

BY PRINCIPAL JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., LL.B., J.D.

THE Khasis who are in the van of the movement for a separate 'eastern hill state' are a very interesting people. They inhabit the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District in Assam. There are 230,326 Khasis in Assam, 113,109 male, 117,217 female. Women exceed men considerably, 1036 women to 1,000 men. Literacy is higher among women than among men.

The Khasis are a handsome people with light olive-brown complexion. They are short and sturdy and have slightly depressed noses, black straight hair, and black or brown eyes that are almost almond-shaped. Their highly developed calves are considered an addition to their beauty, especially for women. Some women are very fair with wild-rose cheeks.

The Khasi men in Shillong have adopted European dress. The men in the villages wear a sleeveless cotton shirt, a loin-cloth or a dhoti, and a turban. On festive occasions they wear a silk loin-cloth or dhoti, a finely embroidered coat and a silver chain across the chest.

The Khasi woman is probably the most modestly dressed woman in the world, with the exception of *pardanashins*. Her dress reminds one of a Carmelite nun's religious habit. Even the religious habit stands second to the Khasi woman's dress in point of modesty.

The woman of the interior rural areas still wears the original Khasi dress. She wears next to her skin a piece of cloth called *ka jympien*, wound round her body and fastened at the loins. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, usually of silk, called *ka jainsem*, which hangs loosely down to the ankles without being caught in at the waist and is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. (In Shillong these days two pieces of cloth are used, one for each shoulder). Over the *jainsem* is worn the gay-coloured woollen *ka jainkup* which is thrown over the shoulders with its two ends knotted in front. It hangs down the back and the sides to the ankles. A woollen wrapper called *ka tapmohklich*, usually of some bright colour, is worn over the head and shoulders fastened around the neck. The skirt and the blouse or the frock and the chemise worn nowadays by the women in the towns are recent innovations induced by Western influences.

On ceremonial occasions the Khasi woman does not cover her head; she adorns her hair with jewellery or with flowers. She wears necklaces of coral and gold beads. The gold bead is a hollow globe filled with lac.

Both men and women carry a bag of cloth or leather with them for odds and ends. The commonest contents of the bag will invariably include a few pieces of the ever-needed betel-nut. The women of the town carry a leather bag slung across the shoulder.

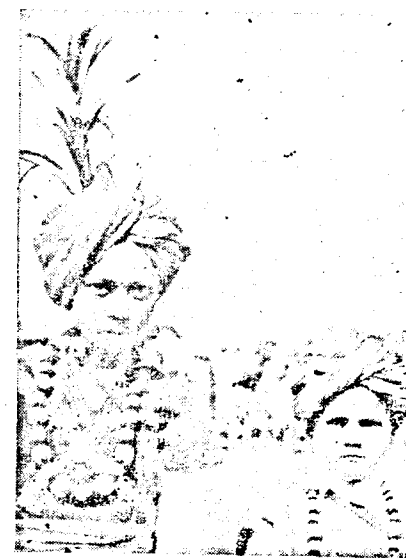
The Khasi woman's dress has no parallel in India, except among the Syrians of Malabar. The Khasi dress strikes one as a wise adaptation of the Syro-Malabar woman's dress to suit the climatic conditions of a wind-

swept hilly region. The main difference seems to be that in place of the *tapmohklich* and the *jainkup*, the Malabar woman wears a long shawl which serves the purpose of both in a warmer climate. The shawl is worn over the head and shoulders and is allowed to flow down over the chest crosswise and is now and then kept in position or held intact with the hand.

The Khasi language has no script of its own. It is written in Roman script which was introduced by the Welsh missionaries who gave the tongue a written character.

THEIR ORIGIN

The origin of the Khasis is as misty as one of Shillong's wintry nights. They are probably Proto-Australoid, in spite of a few Mongoloid traits noticeable in their physical features. These traits may be later acquisitions due to their contact with the Mongoloids of the neighbouring areas.



Khasi children in dance dress

The Khasis speak a tongue which is related to the Mon-Khmer group belonging to the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family of languages. The Munda speech of Chhota Nagpur is also related to the Mon-Khmer group. The Pnars or Jaintias (also called Syntengs) who inhabit the Jaintia Hills speak a tongue which is not very different from the Khasi language. The Pnar speech is very often taken to be a dialectal variation of Khasi. The Pnars are darker in complexion and follow the matrilineal system more rigorously than the Khasis. They probably constitute a link between the Mundas and the Khasis. They, like the Mundas, were more in touch with the Dinaric races of their neighbourhood while the Khasis felt the impact of the Mongoloid and the climatic condi-

tions of a higher plateau on their complexion, physical features and cultural outlook. It would appear that the Jaintias who still occupy the territory of their ancient residence are the parents of the present Khasis of the high hills and the War and Bhoi countries.



Khasi women

It is probable that the Mongoloids who effected a change in the physical features of the Khasis adopted the language and customs of the latter, especially because of the rigorous matrilineal social system of the Khasis. The Austric temper, in spite of a casual sprinkling of occasional abandon has in it great respect for convention. It is seen even now that the westerner or the man of the plains who marries a Khasi woman usually adopts the Khasi language and social usages including matriliney. Even if he does not, his children born of the union invariably take to the customs of their mother's community. An exception is sometimes made in regard to metonymy.

The Austric language is spoken, according to Schmidt, over a large area of the globe, extending from the Panjab in the west to Easter Island off the coast of South America in the east. Jean Przyluski thinks that the Austric linguistic zone extends further to the west of India. He sees in the Sumerian speech of Chaldea a language allied to the primitive Austric. The many parallels observed between the Khasis and the people of Malabar, especially the Chaldean Syro-Malabar community, are probably due to an ancient kinship in language and culture perhaps also in blood. The necklaces worn by the ancient Sumerian woman, as understood by Sir Leonard Wooley and others who conducted excavations at Ur in Mesopotamia, are exactly like the ones used by the Syrian Christian girls in Malabar and

the Khasi girls in Assam. Sir Leonard refers also to the gay garments of bright red woollen stuff worn by the Sumerian women. The parallel in dress between the Sumerian, the Syro-Malabar and the Khasi, women may appear far-fetched; but it becomes important when so many other points of affinity are also considered, for instance, the art of pottery, which would appear to have been unknown to the Negritos who were in all probability the earlier inhabitants of India.

It would appear that the Hebrews in the early days traced relationship, through the mother. We find Abraham marrying Sarah, a half-sister of his through his father's second wife, because Sarah belonged to a different clan. Though in a later period the Hebrews were definitely patrilineal, it is interesting to note that some of the patriarchs and their wives had matrilineal residence. Jacob, Moses and Samson were living with their fathers-in-law. From the Pentateuch of the Old Testament we gather that the naming of children was a right enjoyed by Hebrew mothers in the early period.

The Proto-Australoids are supposed to have been the original speakers of the Austric tongue. They were a very ancient offshoot of the Mediterranean race. It is therefore probable that the Proto-Australoids in their trek to India left some of their tribes on their way or that some kinsmen of those who migrated to India went to Mesopotamia and settled down there.

The stream of migration of the Austric-speaking Proto-Australoids seems to have started from the extreme western end of the entire tract, whether it is Chaldea or the Panjab, and to have worked eastwards and southwards. It is almost certain that it was from India that the Austric speech spread into the lands and islands of the east and the Pacific.

There might have been back-washes of immigration into India of the Austric-speaking Polynesians and Melanesians. It was probably the Polynesians who introduced the outrigger canoe and the coconut into India. It is intriguing to find that the Dravidian-speaking Malayali calls his land 'Kerala' (the land of coconut palms) and the southern part of his country 'Vanchinad' (the land of canoes).

THEIR CHARACTER

The Khasi, like his Austric-speaking brethren in other land, is given to cheerful hard work, sturdy gaiety and kindly simplicity. Even in the midst of strenuous, back-breaking labour, cheerfulness comes to him as naturally as flight to a bird. He is pre-eminently gregarious. He is fond of simple music. A bottle of *kiat*, a snatch of song and a girl-friend beside him can make him happier than a similar assortment of worldly goods could have made Omar Khayyam.

Many a Khasi woman who works day and night in the kitchen and the fields is so cheerful and is heard so merrily singing that one is apt to take her for a live wrap of wool surrounded by a song.

The Khasis have an infinite capacity for fun at work as well as at play. One could with eyes misted with

loving curiosity notice them coming to Shillong from neighbouring villages on a Barabazaar day. Crowding an ancient bus to double its capacity, they sit in one another's lap and laugh and joke among themselves. Someone, very often a pretty honey-coloured girl in her teens, starts singing a snatch of song, in which all join, with laughter for its burden. They seem to have a cool sense of the real values of life. "If we could only be a little like that!" whispers a spectator to himself.

The Khasis are possibly the world's sweetest-tempered people. Though they are easily offended, even for imaginary reasons, one does not often find them lose their temper.

They are well-ordered in their spirit. They are stubbornly honest. They have an instinctive aversion to humbug. They do not seek high rewards through guilt hypocrisy; nor do they court anything that is not within easy and honourable reach. A Khasi's principle of life is to live his life in such a way that he can look any man in the face and tell him to go to hell.

The Khasis have poise and polish. Every one of them is very polite without being servile; every one speaks to a visitor 'spicy little words with sweetness beneath.' Every one has a natural dignity without a shadow of arrogance. On the road the Khasi women carry all kinds of loads on their back—baskets of potatoes and dried fish, bundles of firewood, heaps of laundry, and babies in cloth-cradles. They move gracefully and with dignity among the crowds, oblivious of the women in silk *mekhalas* and gorgeous *saris*.

Hospitality is sacred to a Khasi and he offers what he has. At Cherrapunji a visitor may be overwhelmed by the golden oranges he is offered by the generous local people. It would seem that there is an unwritten Khasi law that no one may withhold help from anyone who is in need of it.

The Khasis are keen traders. Many of them, even old women with time on their hands and faces, earn their living by travelling from market to market with their heavy loads of goods.

Literate and diligent, with an easy susceptibility to new ideas that continue coming to the hills like electric pulsations, the Khasis have distinguished themselves in all walks of life. There have been Khasi cabinet ministers in all governments formed in Assam. One of them was a highly educated lady with University degrees in arts, law and education.

The Khasi's food is sparse in nutritive contents. It consists generally of rice and dried fish. How he manages to do hard work like carrying heavy loads must puzzle dieticians. Those who can afford, and they are not many, take pork, beef and any kind of game. The indigenous liquor called *kiat* made from rice or millet is the luxury and solace of the common man. Continual chewing of *pan* has become, for a Khasi, one of the necessities of life.

In some parts of Shillong, Khasis who know the gnawing of poverty huddle together thicker than sea-

birds on their rocks, in slums of medieval squalor. In Dawki and other areas bordering East Pakistan, Khasis live mainly on God's good air and green grass. Still they keep afloat the bubble and foam of happiness; they cherish an intense love of life and colour and sunlight. One watches them in a spirit of marvel unable to understand the spontaneous joy of the moment which is so natural to them and which all the motor cars, palatial houses and gadgets of big cities fail to call into existence.



A Khasi girl with sun-shade

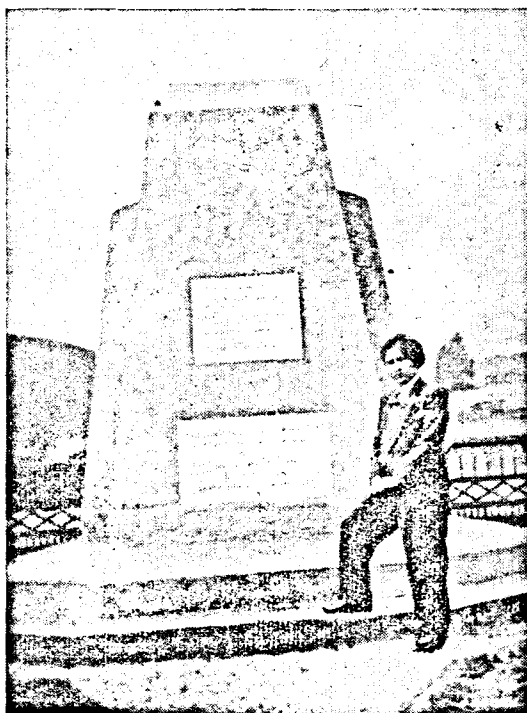
THEIR CHILDREN

One of the most fascinating scenes in Shillong is the merry morning procession of children to school. With his chubby face, wild-rose cheeks and innocent eyes, Sobenshon proves that "heaven lies about us in our infancy." There is an angelic prospect about Serlymon with her white frock flowing down over her little tummy and her elfin light-blue head-dress framing a sweet, ruddy face, a few wavy locks showing on the forehead.

The Khasi child has endearing manners. Binola is always polite, gay and charming. She has a certain sense of *noblesse oblige*. She gets so much love from *kmie* and *kpa* and her tender relatives that she feels she must be responsible to it. As her mother has to go out for work, she learns to adjust herself to circumstances. She does not make either a silent or a screaming demand

for a baby-sitter. She finds comfort in the company of her elder brothers and sisters or of the children of the neighbouring house. It is fair that she should develop this sense of responsibility and accommodation even when very young, for, consider for a moment how tiring and tedious a job *kmie* does, as she goes on making, for hours on end, dancing movements with her whole body to lull to sleep the little Binola carried in a cloth-cradle on her back.

Linsimai in her infancy is fondled and kissed and hovered over not only by her parents but also by all their friends, relatives and visitors. She seems to be quite happy in her own warm loving household and does not seek frequent adventures outside.



In memoriam U Tirat Singh, Syiem of Nongkhlaw. One of his descendants is seen standing at the monument

Jren Manik is treated with so much loving kindness and constant anxious attention that occasionally for a change he is inclined to take the reins of household government. He starts a reign of terror for a brief while through his innate, infinite capacity for wild innocent wailing. The independent Khasi, for all his democratic traditions, submits himself for the moment to the minority rule of the child. But such occasions are very rare. The Khasi child is usually too good and too polite to be embarrassingly mischievous.

Khasi children are not problems. Bilrimai is seldom scolded and less often spanked. Still she grows up good and polite. Spare the child and toil the Lord was

spoken of the Khasi child. The Lord keeps her good and sweet and wise.

THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Khasi states remind one of Buddhist republics in ancient India. They were aristocratic republics. Though they had a mixed constitution with elements of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy, the prevailing note in many states was democratic, in some seemingly oligarchic and in none monarchic. Custom required that the Syiem or chief should be elected from the Syiem family. It was again customary to elect the brother in some states and the eldest son of the eldest uterine sister of the deceased chief in most states and the brother of the deceased chief in some other states. But he was to be elected by an electoral college. In some states, as in Langrin, all the adult male citizens formed the electoral body. In some others when the hereditary electoral college consisting of priests or headmen or both could not come to a unanimous decision, the entire body of the people exercised a right of referendum. Thus the ultimate power was vested in the people; the headmen and the priests who constituted the electoral college and those who sat on the durbar were representatives of the people. It is true they were not elected; but the avocations they followed in life gave them the status of a representative and when they, as heads of clans or priests, elected a chief or helped the chief decide a dispute, they were doing so as representatives of the people.

In the Khasi matrilineal society the rule of succession to syiemship was different from the rule of succession to real property. As in the royal families of Malabar, the customary right to succeed a Syiem went to the brother or the eldest son of the eldest uterine sister; but inheritance to real property was a right enjoyed by the youngest daughter of the family. In the absence of sons to the eldest sister, a Syiem was succeeded by the son of the next eldest sister. Thus by what has been called 'knight's move,' the right to succession rested with the son of the sister or niece of the deceased chief.

Though this was the customary rule of succession the electors could, when the situation demanded it, select a worthy chief from the Syiem's family or any other family, regardless of the claims of the brother or the son of the eldest sister. It is interesting to remember that in the Rig Vedic era, the *visah* (common people) who constituted the *rashtra* (national unit) exercised the same right of selection.

The Syiem in durbar conducted the affairs of the state. The *durbar* consisting of the *mantris* was an executive council. It had judicial powers too. The Syiem was not permitted to perform any act of importance without first obtaining the approval of the durbar.

The durbar, it would appear, corresponded to the *sabha* of the Vedic age. At the *sabha* consisted of the elect, that is, the *purohits* and the rich patrons, the durbar was constituted of the *lyngdohs* (priests) and the heads of the clans.

As God and Caesar were considered cater-cousins in early societies, conduct of the government by a council of elders was not considered undemocratic in principle. "The *gana* leaders," says the Mahabharata, "should be respected, as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of council should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the *gana* should hear those secret matters." Lord Buddha who adopted a democratic constitution for his religious organisation, following probably the example of Lichchhavi and other republican states of the period spoke of the Vajjians that so long as they met together in concord and carried out their undertakings in concord, acted in accordance with their ancient institutions, and honoured and esteemed and revered and supported the Vajjian elders and held it a point of duty to hearken to their words, they might be expected not to decline but to prosper. Thus hearkening to the elders as a point of duty was insisted upon in the republics of ancient India. It seems, therefore, that the membership of the durbar enjoyed by priests and headmen did not derogate from the basic democratic principle of the Khasi states.

The timeless piece of advice from the sacred lips of the Enlightened One that so long as the Vajjians carried out their undertakings in accord, they might be expected to prosper, is invested with an unfading freshness and timeliness all its own.

The democratic Khasi was never familiar with the conception of nomination by a higher authority and that is why the present-day Khasi does not take very kindly to the idea of nomination of members to the District Council, whether they be Khasi or *dkhar* (Khasi term for one from the plains).

The Syiem's main sources of revenue were the *pyushok* (contribution) voluntarily paid by the clans, the tolls levied from the various markets and judicial fines which were divided between him and the durbar.

There were twenty-five Khasi states. Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin and Nongkhaw were the most prominent among them. Shillong is within the territory of Mylliem; but the municipal area is administered by the Government of Assam and the Cantonment by the Union Government.

The *dolois* of the Mawlong syiemship and of the Jaintia Hills in their powers and duties corresponded to the *dalavas* of Travancore. In Travancore as also in the other royal families of Malabar, the rule of succession to kingship was almost the same as in the Khasi Hills.

The British came into contact with the Khasis in 1824. The Khasi chiefs gave permission to the British to construct a road through their territories connecting the Assam plains with Sylhet. But when they suspected that British roads and arms would not come all alone with no strings attached, they attacked the Europeans. This led to a series of engagements between the two powers. Warfare continued vigorously until in 1833 U. Tirat Singh, the Chief of Nongkhaw, was treacherously

captured and imprisoned. The British entered into a number of treaties with the Khasi chiefs and the states were granted many of the rights and privileges common to native states in British India.

The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India provides for an autonomous District Council for the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The District Council was inaugurated in June, 1952. The syiemships with vague undefined powers continue to exist. They are now lorded over by three other democratic institutions—the District Council, the Government of Assam and the Union Government. The average Khasi who does not interest himself in the technicalities of Constitutions and schedules feels that he has too much democracy at his expense and to his cost.

THEIR RELIGION

The Khasi uses the word 'miam' to denote religion. It is a loan-word from Assamese or Bengali, meaning rules of conduct. The idea implied in the use of the word in the sense of religion may be that the Khasi's customs and manners are regulated by religion or that his usages form the bed-rock of religion.

The Khasi, by temperament and choice, is a highly religious person. Before he does anything important, it is customary for him to ascertain the will of God through some form of divination, usually through egg-breaking. The Khasi Presbyterian Christians seem to observe Sabbath more strictly than the Welsh Missionaries who converted them and who are themselves strict observers of the day.

The Khasi religion is monotheistic. God, called U. Blei in Khasi, is the creator and preserver of life, lord and master, omnipresent, omniscient and the ultimate cause (U. Blei U. Nongstoin) to Whom all homage is due. God (U. Blei) as Creator and Master is thought of as a male, U. being the definite article for the masculine gender, and God (Ka Blei) as preserver and controller is conceived of as a female, Ka being the definite article, denoting the feminine gender. It is noteworthy that at the marriage ceremony God is addressed U. Blei-Ka Blei, probably suggesting the union of the couple which should be a reflexion of the unity of the godhead, though spoken of in duality. This division of powers and duties between godhead as conceived of as male and godhead as thought of as female may be due to the matrilineal system in which there is a division of powers between the uncle and the youngest niece. It can also be the other way about, that religion influenced the working out of details in the social set-up.

The Khasi neither makes nor worships any image of the divine, nor does he have any temple or place of worship.

To him material existence upon this earth is a life of temporary encasement (Ka ruh shong bynda); and the earth itself is a place of temporary abode (Ka pyrthei shong besa).

He believes in an immortal soul which leaves the body at death and goes to the house of God the Creator or to His garden where there are groves upon groves of betelnut palms. A departed soul is usually referred to as one who is eating betelnut in God's house. To eat betelnut ceaselessly is considered extremely pleasant for a Khasi and the eating of betelnut in God's house may be an expression in human terms of the idea of supreme happiness in heaven. It may also mean that U. Blei has taken the departed soul to Himself and is entertaining him with betelnut.

The Khasi believes in a myriad of spirits, all under the control of U. Blei. When man commits sin, God permits evil spirits to visit him with ailments or calamities in punishment for his transgression. Then through some divination it is ascertained which spirit is causing the trouble and how he has to be propitiated. If such attempts at propitiation fail, the Khasi believes that it is the will of God that he should suffer. He is aware of the seriousness of sin, a transgression against the law of God. Sin is a *sang*, that which is gaping, that which cannot be bridged, that which keeps man away from God.

The Khasi idea of the expiation of sin is strangely Christian in its character. Experts at 'egg-healing' repeat the formula, "I man have sinned." The cock who appears as a mediator between man and God is described as "the son of God (*Ka Blei*) who lay down his neck (life) for me man." In one prayer God is asked not to forget the covenant (agreement or promise): "O God, do not forget the covenant, arise oh man." The idea seems to be that man has offended God by committing sin but God is expected to spare him according to the agreement and accept in his place the cock who is styled "the son of God," horn of the female quiddity. All this is reminiscent of the promise in Eden and the expiation of the sins of the world by the son of God.

The spirits of those who die in sin (*sang*) are obliged to wander about the earth in various forms.

The Khasis do not worship the dead. The giving of food (*ai bam*) to the spirits of the departed ancestors is to win their favour and blessing. These spirits being in the house of God are in a position to intercede for the living before God and secure His help and protection for them.

The dead are cremated and the bones placed in the sepulchre of the clan. Huge stone monuments are erected in honour of the illustrious dead. These are cenotaphs and not tombstones, as the tomb in which the bones are deposited may be at some distance from the monoliths.

Some Khasis are believed to propitiate with human sacrifices a snake called *U Thlen* who rewards them with wealth and happiness on earth.

With the concept of monotheism and expiation for sins in their own religion, to many Khasis, Christianity might have appeared strangely familiar. That is probably why a large number of them took to Christian-

ity as readily and delightfully as they take to sunshine in winter. It is possible that the mystery of the Holy Trinity in the Christian conception of God is easily acceptable to a people who have an imageless concept of *U Blei-Ka Blei*, the one deity in the aspect of two.

THEIR SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The Khasi community is composed of a number of exogamous clans. A clan comprises all the descendants of one common ancestress. A Khasi is forbidden to take a wife from his clan or sub-clan. A Khasi of the Diengdoh clan, for instance, should not marry a Khasi of the same clan or a Phar of the Lalu clan. For the lineage of the Diengdohs and the Lalus is traced to the same common ancestress and they, therefore, belong to the same clan.

A Khasi cannot commit a more heinous sin than to marry within the clan. To do so will entail the most serious social and religious consequences. The couple will be excommunicated, funeral ceremonies will be refused at their death and their bones will not be placed in the sepulchre of their clans.

Like the people of Malabar with whom they have many things in common, the Khasis follow matriliney. In a Khasi family it is the youngest daughter who inherits the family property. The other daughters are given some share at their mother's death.

Men are more respected in the matrilineal Khasi society than they generally are in a patrilineal society. In communities where patriliney prevails, a man is regarded with respect in his own family only; in a matrilineal social system he is esteemed in two families, as brother and uncle in his mother's family and as husband and father in his wife's family. His youngest sister who holds the family property in consideration of her responsibilities for the performance of the religious rites of the family seeks his advice in all matters of importance.

The matrilineal system does not affect a woman economically if a marriage turns out to be a failure. Such a failure by itself is a calamity. Why should a social system add to it an economic disaster as is done in the patrilineal society? And why should the children be left unrequited for and almost destitute? If matrilocal residence of the bride is customary as it is among the Jaintias and as it used to be among the Nayars of Malabar, matrilineal marriages are happier for the bride, as she has not to adapt herself to the ways of a generally unsympathetic mother-in-law. Among the Khasis matrilocal residence of the bride is insisted upon till a child is born to the couple; after that the husband and wife may have a home of their own. An exception is usually thought of for the youngest daughter, who, because of her special responsibilities, has to live in her mother's house.

Most things run smoothly in the Khasi society. Even divorce is no exception. One has not to devise schemes for colluding without collusion or accuse one's partner of cruelties he or she never even imagined. One

has only to tell the Syiem in durbar why the partners cannot get along together. And if the couple are determined on a divorce, the Syiem grants it. But divorces are not so common as in some of the western countries. The percentage of happy marriages in the matrilineal Khasi society seems to be much higher than in the patrilineal societies in India. And what adds a glittering halo to these marriages is the fact that they are held together until death do the partners part, not by the fear of the adverse economic or social consequences which may appear in the wake of a divorce, but by sheer genuine affection.

It is probably these circumstances that have tended

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GANDHI, THE CHAMPION OF DECENTRALISATION

By BUOYLAL CHATTERJEE

MAHATMA GANDHI had not yet become a world figure. He was leaving for Natal. His friend Mr. Polak had come to the station to see him off. He left with him a book to read during the journey. It was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. Gandhiji writes in his autobiography:

"The book was impossible to lay aside, once I had begun it. It gripped me. Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours' journey. The train reached there in the evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book."

When Gandhiji reached Durban his life had already been transformed by the tremendous ideas of a master-mind of the modern world. A great thinker changes the whole system of our organised perceptions. When Ruskin wrote *Unto This Last* perhaps he knew that a day would come when the power of his mighty thoughts would open before the eyes of a young Indian barrister in South Africa a new version of the world, a new path to truth. It was intended by Destiny that a man who would usher in a most magnificent new era in the benighted life of an unhappy nation should be fully equipped with revolutionary ideas that would give him courage and determination to fight for political and economic democracy for over half a century.

Many years ago I read a book by Bernard Shaw in which I came across the following lines:

"I have met in my lifetime some extremely revolutionary characters; and quite a large number of them, when I have asked 'Who put you on to this revolutionary line? Was it Marx?' have answered 'No, it was Ruskin.' Generally the Ruskinite is the most thorough-going of the opponents of our existing state of society."

And again Shaw remarks:

"It goes without saying of course that he was a communist."

to make the average Khasi girl more open-minded and straightforward in her behaviour than her sisters elsewhere. She moves in society naturally and gracefully without any lurking fear that her conduct may be liable to criticism.

Because of the matrilineal system, children are not adversely affected if their father dies or when there is a separation or divorce between their parents. They are very well looked after and educated in their mother's home.

If pursuit of happiness is the motif for a social set-up, the Khasi system seems to be one of those best suited for the purpose.

Shaw had no doubt that Ruskin was a communist.

Gandhi, a Ruskinite, was certainly a thoroughgoing opponent of our existing state of society. In his *Constructive Programme* Gandhi wrote that Working for Economic Equality was 'the master-key to non-violent Independence.' The valuable booklet contains the following thought-provoking lines:

"A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land."

Regarding the significance of 'Working for Economic Equality' Gandhi writes:

"It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on one hand, and a levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other."

It was because Gandhi was a Ruskinite in the true sense of the word and was a firm believer in economic democracy that he advocated the principle of decentralisation of economic and political power. His distrust of the State in economic reform was based on the belief that even representative Governments are too easily dominated by the holders of economic power. He wished to see society organised so that it should be malleable to the general will. His advocacy of Charkha and village industries amply demonstrated his living faith in decentralisation of economic power. George Russel, popularly known as A.E. wrote in *The National Being*:

"It is by a predominating idea that nations achieve the practical unity of their citizens, and national progress becomes possible."

And when starving millions cry for food the only dominant idea that can influence their minds is the idea of democratic control of the economic life of the nation. I think it is G.K. Chesterton who wrote:

"If a ship is being wrecked, we organise a life-boat; if a house is on fire we organise a blanket; if half a nation is starving we must organise work and food."

Gandhi saw India was starving and he organised work and food. He placed before us Khadi. It meant decentralisation of the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Gandhi wrote:

"Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality, and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'."

But Gandhi was a practical idealist. He recognised the value of heavy industries and knew that they would be necessarily centralised. Only such centralised heavy industries should never be controlled by private capitalists. They had to be nationalised. And Gandhi wrote:

"Heavy industries will necessarily be centralised and nationalised. But they will occupy the least part of the vast national activity in the villages."

Gandhi, the disciple of Ruskin, stood for economic freedom of the masses and he saw clearly that such economic freedom would remain an impossible dream unless the idea of democratic control of the economic life of the nation was a reality. Gandhi had little faith in centralisation of economic and political power. The production and distribution of the elementary necessities of life, such as food, clothing and shelter could not be left in the control of the Government. For in the struggles between rich and poor, between capital and labour there was every possibility that the holders of economic power might capture the political power and use that power to enhance their own interests. Gandhi, therefore, exhorted us to find all the necessities of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers.

Aldous Huxley has rightly said:

"Our basic trouble is that, in spite of everything that has happened, everybody thinks that he is right."

We are seeing before our very eyes that 'in modern industrial societies vast numbers of men and women pass their whole lives in hideous cities, are wholly dependent for their livelihood upon a capitalistic or governmental boss.' They have no root in the soil and no property of their own. Further they perform manual or clerical work that is mechanical and monotonous in character. Huxley, one of the greatest of modern thinkers, thus writes in his *Science, Liberty and Peace*:

"My own view, which is essentially that of the Decentralists, is that, so long as the results of pure science are applied for the purpose of making our system of mass-producing and mass-distributing industry more expensively elaborate and more highly specialised, there can be nothing but ever greater centralisation of power in ever fewer hands. And the corollary of this centralisation of economic and political power is the progressive loss by the masses of their civil liberties, their personal independence and their opportunities for self-government."

"Man as a moral, social and political being," says Huxley, "is sacrificed to *homo faber*, or man the smith, the inventor and forger of new gadgets."

Such sacrifice is a crime against man and God. This craze for labour-saving device, this infatuation for progressive technologies is making one insensible to the dignity and worth of human life. Ruskin's immortal ideas opened before us a new horizon. His books did one great service to thinking men and women throughout the world. He made us see that the life in a person is something that has worth, dignity, delicacy and nobility. Gandhi, the Prince of the Decentralists, accepted the principle of decentralisation in both economic and political spheres of national life, from his limitless reverence for human personality. May God give us love and understanding to appreciate the greatness of Gandhi's personality and the historic mission for which he lived and died.

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"WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF INFORMATION?"

It is on the subject-matter "What do you expect of Information?" that the two-yearly meeting of Evian (France) will be held, from 13th to 16th June next.

This reunion is placed under the high patronage of the President of the French Republic. Its honorary Committee is composed of thirty-four French and international professional organizations. It will follow up the International Days of the Press which gathered representatives of all the continents in 1951, 1952 and 1953. H. E. Sardar Hardit Singh Malik, Ambassador for India in France, was in 1951 one of the chief guests of honour.

The opening speech will be made by Professor Andre SIEGFRIED of the French Academy. Many people of consequence in the Press, literary men, scientists and economists will take part in the discussions.

The two-yearly reunion of Evian is not only open to the professionals of Information. It is also meant for all persons interested in the problems of public opinion and news diffusion.

All particulars may be asked from now on from "Conseil permanent de la Kiennale d' Evian," 122, rue de la Boetie, Paris, (8^e), France.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF TAGORE

By NARAYANI BASU, M.A.

REALITY AND LIFE

TAGORE is a philosopher whom it is not difficult to classify. In his ideas he is very near to the illustrious contemporaries, Tolstoy and Gandhi. Like them he is a humanist to the core but cast in the mould of a poet. He has a strong passion for art. He is more an artist than a dialectician and has expressed himself mainly through colourful poetry which naturally made a wider public appeal than pure philosophy. This medium makes him deeply human. For him life is not a prison to be escaped; it is to be lived and enjoyed in its largest relations and affinities.

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight."

But these bonds do not tie him down to a static reality. The earth for him is an eternal flux of change where life is in tune with the rest of universe.

"The same stream of life that runs through my veins right and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures. It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers."

Tagore's metaphysics has a close affinity with that of Bergson. The flight of the ducks in the poem 'Balaka' symbolises a vibration of life pulsating all around which recalls the surge of the *elan vital*. Like Bergson again, Tagore sees that Spirit is struggling unceasingly to break the shell of matter and bursts out in a sweep of creative force. Thus in 'Nirjharer Swapnabhanga' (Awakening of the Mountain Spring):

"I know not what stirs my life today;
I hear the surge of the ocean from afar.
Ah, I feel a dark prison around me,
I must hit and hit and knock it down.
What a melody the bird has sung today
And what a piercing light is come!"

This dynamic spirituality is the essence of Tagore's humanism. Life is a ceaseless flow towards the Spirit which is implicit in the vast ocean of humanity.

HUMAN EQUALITY

Like all other philosophers of modern India Tagore began his public life as a staunch nationalist and revivalist. He threw himself headlong in the

Swadeshi movement during the days of the partition of Bengal. He felt the necessity of political freedom in order to liberate humanity from suffering and hence he immortalized the revival of Maratha, Sikh and Rajput nationalism in his ballad poems (*Katha O Kahini*). But soon he discovered that his nationalism was not of the common variety. He found that the real problem of India was her social degradation wrought by poverty, ignorance and caste rules.

"Oh my cursed Motherland . . .
Those whom you have deprived of human rights,
Kept standing before you yet did not have your lap for them.
In degradation you shall be equal made."

When India was fighting for political liberty Tagore saw that real emancipation will never come if she builds upon the quicksand of social slavery. Thus he writes in 'Ebar Phirao More' (Take me back from the Ivory Tower):

"The dumb millions who stand there downcast, the sorrow of centuries written on their face, who transmit the burden of their miseries to their sons, never blame anybody, neither man nor God, who know not where to seek redress . . . In those mouths dull, dark and dumb, I have to give voice; in those tired, dry and broken hearts I must raise the thrill of hope."

Indian nationalists showed a woeful indifference towards these basic needs. And so Tagore recoiled from politics and devoted himself to the work of education and social uplift of his people through the institutions of Santiniketan and Sriniketan.

It is significant that Tagore realized much earlier than many fire-brand Indian nationalists the incipient class differences which have rent society into twain.

"All over the earth, since the beginning of history, we find that one class of men prosper at the expense of another class. They establish their class domination upon the slavery of the other class. For a long time man has been doing this. Still, I must say that this is not human. Man's greatness cannot endure on his dependence upon slaves. This is injurious not only to the slaves, this destroys the masters too. Those whom we insult and trample under foot are hardest obstacles to our steps forward."

Tagore makes the same observations in *Russiar*

1. *Geetanjali*, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London 1919, No. 73.
2. *Geetanjali*, No. 69.

3. *Geetanjali* (Bengali).
4. "Tagore on Gandhi, 1933," *Mahatma Gandhi* (Bengali), Vijnan-Bharati, p. 32.

Chithi (Letters from Russia). He welcomes the solidarity which the poor and the oppressed are forging among themselves. He was struck by the success of Russia in her campaigns against illiteracy, poverty, frustration and social servitude. He agrees that the cultivator and not the landlord is the real owner of land, that land to be productive must be brought under collective farming. But he is against uprooting the human instinct of property by force as the Soviet State is doing. He wants property to remain but would curb its enjoyments in the interests of society.⁵ The only solution of the conflict between the claims of the individual and the society is co-operation, i.e., the co-operative system in every form of economic enterprise.⁶

In the USSR, Tagore found a light in darkness to solve India's age-old problem of social inequality.

NATIONALISM

Tagore is a lover of that kind of nationalism which helps a people to stand on their feet and to attain freedom from tyranny and exploitation. His nationalism is the antepode of the Hegelian variety preaching supremacy of the world historical nation and generating a feeling of hatred towards the weaker people. Society as such has no ulterior purpose except the development of human ideals in co-operation with one another. A nation, on the contrary, is nothing but the political and economic organization which is intended to keep politically inferior people in bondage.

"A nation in the sense of the economic and political union of a people is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose."⁷

It is "the organized self-interest of a whole people where it is least human and least spiritual."⁸

The consciousness of a national feeling develops only when the living bonds of society are breaking up and giving place to merely mechanical organization. The West is under the grip of this type of nationalism. It has forged a tremendous machine of greed and power. The natural thread of morality which holds society together is snapping and the moral man is giving way to professional man.

The nations of the West are trimming their minds, regulating their thoughts, manufacturing their feelings and welding themselves into one uniform mass through their governments. The no-nations like India and China have been victims of their greed. Western nations have become a terror to humanity and to themselves. This organization of politics and commerce whose other name is the Nation is like a father who has become a gambler. The gambler risks his family for chances of game. The nation risks the

community for chances of success. A nation's wisdom lies in distrust. It lives in perpetual fear of others. Fear brings out all that is base in man. Jealousy, theft, robbery and lies become virtues for a nation.

This accounts for the chronic maladies with which society is infected today. The only reason for anarchist movements is that "power has become too abstract—it is a scientific product made in the political laboratory of the nation through the dissolution of personal humanity."⁹ As to the reason for the endless economic war between capital and labour:

"What but that the wealth-producing mechanism is incessantly growing into vital stature, out of proportion to all other needs of society,—and the full reality of man is more and more crushed under its weight?"¹⁰

The West has developed its weapon but has lost its soul. The real power is not in the weapons but in the man who wields them, in the soul. The West has borrowed from science its motto of 'survival of the fittest' which means 'help yourself and never heed what it costs to others.' It ignores to its own cost the fact that men are closely knit together and that when you strike others the blow recoils on yourself.

The history of Europe is not merely a history of conflict for power and preparation for scientific development. During the mediaeval period, the natural man tried to reconcile the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit. Both the material and the spiritual forces acted strongly upon her nature. Europe owes all her greatness to that period of moral discipline. Then came the age of intellect. Intellect is an impersonal abstraction. At this stage man attains power and freedom in the material world. He attains the rapidity of pace but in spite of all these advantages the moral man lags behind because intellect does not deal with the whole reality but only with the laws of things which are impersonal. "Thus man with his mental and material power far outgrowing his moral strength is like an exaggerated giraffe whose head has suddenly shot up miles away from the rest of him, making normal communications difficult to establish."¹¹

Nationalism is sweeping like an epidemic over the West. Unlike India Western countries have no problem of social adjustment. Their only problem is to overcome obstacles in their physical surroundings or the menace of their powerful neighbours. Hence, they have organized power for defence and aggression. Thus in the West the nations have become powerful at the cost of higher social life. National feeling has converted a living people into an automaton led by the power of greed.

5. *Russian Chithi* (Bengali), *Viveka-Bharati*, p. 48.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

7. *Nationalism*, Macmillan and Co., London 1924, p. 9.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10.A *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Some would say that the exploited people should form themselves into nations and resist encroachment. But that is no remedy. "An endless bullfight of politics" is no remedy against exploitation. Tagore is sure that this reckless craze of the machine is bound to break into a crash.

"Whenever power removes all checks from its path to make its career easy, it triumphantly rides into its ultimate crash of death. Its moral brake becomes slacker everyday without knowing it, and its slippery path of ease becomes its path of doom."¹²

Tagore is confident that people who are politically weak, who are not nations, shall live. Man will be reborn in the freedom of his individuality.

"I assert that man's world is a moral world not because we blindly agree to believe it but because it is so in truth which would be dangerous for us to ignore. And this moral nature of man cannot be divided into convenient compartments for its preservation."¹³

BONDAGE AND FREEDOM

Nationalism militates with the spirit of the West. Europe too has spiritual strength which is the fountainhead of her creative art and literature, her great quest for knowledge, her deep love for freedom. The nation is mechanical, but the Spirit is creative, it lives in freedom.

"While the Spirit of the West marches under its banner of freedom, the Nation of the West forges its iron chains of organization which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man."¹⁴

It obstructs the free flow of the inner life of the people and exploits it for its own power.

"In the so-called free countries the majority of the people are not free, they are driven by the minority to a goal which is not even known to them. This becomes possible only because people do not acknowledge moral and spiritual freedom as their object."¹⁵

This centralization of power is multiplying fast and the cry of the oppressed spirit of man is in the air which struggles to free itself from its grip.

Political freedom does not give any freedom unless the mind is free.

"Those of us in India who have come under the delusion that mere political freedom will make us free have accepted their lessons from the West as the gospel truth and lost faith in humanity."¹⁶

Today Europe has lost her soul in the mad pursuit of wealth and power. She is a prisoner of her own vanity:

"Prisoner, tell me who was it, that wrought this unbreakable chain?"

"It was I," said the prisoner, "who forged this chain very carefully. I thought my invincible power would hold the world captive leaving me in a freedom undisturbed. Thus night and day I worked at the chain with huge fires and cruel hard strokes. When at last the work was done and the links were complete and unbreakable, I found that it held me in its grip."¹⁷

Hence, with all his praise for Russia, Tagore did not approve of her regulation of the mind. He did not approve of the suppression of opinion. He observed:

"With the education system they have made a mould. But manhood cast in a mould can never last. If the truth of a living mind is not adjusted with the truth of education then either the mould will break one day or the human mind will be stultified or it will be converted into a marionette."¹⁸

Dictatorship spoils both the ruler and the ruled. Freedom is possible only through a true synthesis of the individual and the society.

The freedom which Tagore seeks for his country and for his people, is the freedom of the mind and of the soul.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arm towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action

Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake."¹⁹

FUTURE: JAPAN AND U.S.A.

Europe is undoubtedly great. But she has stopped half-way in her journey because of her pride of power and greed of possession. Her nationalism is poisoning the fountainhead of humanity. It has infected the East. Eastern Asia which was pursuing its own path, evolving its own civilization based upon the deeper relations of humanity is overtaken by Western nationalism. In this crisis Tagore puts faith on two quarters, on Japan in the East and on USA in the West.

Japan is not a mere replica of the West. She does not indulge in crude display of power and

11. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 32f.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 24f.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

16. *Geetanjali*, No. 31.

17. *Russian Chithi*, p. 6.

18. *Geetanjali*, No. 35.

wealth. Everywhere in Japan there are emblems of love and beauty. She has shown her genius not by acquirement but by creation, not by dominating nature from outside but by realising it in her own life. Hence, he has a mission to fulfil.

"She must infuse the sap of a fuller humanity into the heart of modern civilization."¹⁹

But Tagore has his fears about Japan. He is afraid that from the rude pressure of political ideals of the West she may lose her own. He warns Japan that her acquiring of modern weapons should not go beyond the need of self-preservation.

"My brother, when the red light of conflagration sends up its crackle of laughter to the stars, keep your faith upon those stars and not upon the fire of destruction."²⁰

Japan did not heed and fell grovelling in the dust.

America is a projection of the Western civilization. But while Europe has grown old America is still young and is making experiments. As yet she has come to no conclusion. But in future she will contribute something to the ideal of human unity.

"America is destined to justify Western civilization to the East. Europe has lost faith in humanity and has become distrustful and sickly. America, on the other hand, is not pessimistic or blase."²¹

After thirty-six years of his writing Tagore's words are still a cry in the wilderness. In his expectation that America is the land of future progress Tagore comes close to Hegel. Of course, the outlook of Tagore differs basically from that of the Western philosopher. Hegel thought that in the ages that lie ahead the burden of world's history will reveal itself in America. With her vast economic resources, mechanical power and atomic weapons, she really seems to be playing the role of Hegel's world historical nation. But the fulfilment of Hegel's prophecy is the burial of Tagore's hopes. Is it through the travail of another World War and laborious international reconstruction after that, that humanity will step forward towards the goal of spiritual unity as visualised by Tagore?

DOCTRINE OF SPIRIT

Oriental institutions are built upon a deeper reality than political. That is why they have a longer longevity. While the political civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome lie dead and buried, the civilization whose basis is society and the spiritual

ideal is still alive in China and India. There is the complaint that the East is static, it does not move; but the West is dynamic, it moves fast. It must be remembered that speed and movement are not the criteria of progress.

"If the office cannot wait, or the buying and selling, or the craving for excitement, love waits and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith. And thus shall wait the East till her time comes."²²

The East has viewed politics and business in the larger framework of life. The West and the modern man cultivate the falsehood that business is business and politics is politics. "We must know that man's business has to be more than mere business and so should be his war and politics."²³ If man is to be saved from the madness of national selfishness, pride and greed which is fast leading to a suicidal conflagration "man will have to exert all his power of love and clarity of vision to make another great moral adjustment which will comprehend the whole world of men and not merely the fractional groups of nationality."²⁴

"Some of you may say that such a doctrine of spirit has been in its death throes for ever a century and is now moribund; that we have nothing to rely upon but external forces and material foundations. But I say, on my part, that your doctrine was obsolete long ago. It was exploded in the spring-time of life, when mere size was swept off the face of the world and was replaced by man, brought naked into the heart of creation, man with his helpless body, but with his indomitable mind and spirit."²⁵

Life based on mere science has its glamour which attracts the people as insects are drawn to fire. The effect of such life is fatal to man's nature. It not only deadens his moral sympathy but also his intellectual sympathy which is necessary for the understanding of different races. At the time of her making, Europe had never to face the recurrent incursion of new races. Hence, it easily constituted itself into national states. Europe is one country made into many. India, on the contrary, was naturally many, yet adventitiously one. She had to absorb new races coming again and again on her soil in a vast social organism. Accordingly, she suffered from the looseness of diversity and feebleness of unity.

"The tie has been as loose as possible, yet as close as the circumstances permitted. This has produced something like a United States of a

social federation, whose common name is Hinduism."²⁶

But Europe's solution of race problem was different. She colonised America and Australia after exterminating the original settlers. Thereafter, she has shut the doors there against foreigners, or has accepted them as menials.

Thus India has shown her enormous capacity of Spirit to adjust different races within one body. Through the caste system, she evolved a social unity within which all the different peoples could be held together. As her problem was the problem of the world in miniature she has offered a model to the world with her solution as to how a synthesis of races and nationalities may be achieved.²⁷

But while recognizing difference and seeking unity in diversity, "She has made grave errors in setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between races in perpetuating in her classifications the result of inferiority; often she has crippled her children's mind and narrowed their lives in order to fit them into her social forms."²⁸

She has ignored the law of mutation which is the

law of life. India is to make amends for this mistake and regain her spiritual vitality.

So Tagore, with all his praise for Russia and his hopes on Japan and USA, looks back again to India of hoary antiquity, loaded with heaps of dust and dirt accumulated through centuries, who has to purge herself of these accretions by means of a spiritual revolution. He warns his countrymen again and again not to imitate the West, not to seek to pay evil with evil, not to forget her own and follow other peoples' history.

"When we show nails and teeth we thereby only salute those who fight with tooth and nail. Scorn them, do not imitate."²⁹

"We must show those who are over us that we have in ourselves the strength of moral power, the power to suffer for truth."³⁰

So Tagore's testament to the country is as follows:

"Be not ashamed, my brothers to stand before the proud and the powerful,
With your white robe of simpleness
Let your crown be humility, your freedom the freedom of the soul."³¹

26. *Nationalism*, p. 115.

27. 'Bharattirtha' in *Geetanjali* (Bengali).

28. *Nationalism*, p. 5.

29. *Russian Chithi*, p. 135.

30. *Nationalism*, p. 113.

31. "The Sunset of the Century" in *Nationalism*.

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UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

By DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., PH.D.,
University of Saugar

UNIVERSITY education has been a craze in our country for a long time now and it still persists. What was once a matter of prestige and economic advantage, has now become a mere habitual pursuit, followed by students and encouraged by guardians without any definite aim and purpose. This is why every year a large number of boys are being sent to the universities because their guardians cannot find any other occupation for them, and what is worse, no smaller number of girls is receiving the same education either because they could not be otherwise engaged or because their guardians believe they acquire better prospects of earning or matrimony by being educated in this fashion. So long as we could financially afford this luxury or so long as it helped us in getting even tolerable jobs, the policy of higher education on a large scale without any reference to the capabilities or aptitude of the students, could somehow be accepted on grounds of expediency, but times have now changed and not only a new orientation in the method of education but a definite attitude a propos of our present conditions should be forthwith adopted if we want education to be individually and nationally useful. University degrees these days do not help our young-

men so much in their search for a living, and even prestige, whatever it was worth, is now being usurped by the aristocracy of wealth or political power. And yet we complain of the over-crowding in the universities, inconvenience of many shifts, unwieldy structure of the system and the rest of it. Why does this craze still so blatantly manifest itself in spite of practically no prospects at all? Is it one for a pure love of knowledge? An affirmative answer to the question would be very flattering indeed, but a very real travesty of truth. The reason for this, I think, may be found at least partially in a social complex which we have been cultivating since the very beginning of university education in India.

Educated men in our country are mere degree-holders and our universities have been the constant suppliers of these degrees since their inception. Indeed this has been their most significant function which has also been very efficiently performed. Therefore men without these credentials to sophisticated society are looked down upon not only by the so-called educated, but also by the masses of the people. That knowledge may be acquired without working for degrees or follow-

19. *Nationalism*, p. 68.

20. *Ibid*, p. 92.

21. *Ibid*, p. 103. Cf. Goethe who wrote in a poem in 1837: 'America! Thou art more fortunate than our old continent, thou hast no ruined castles and no ancient stones. No useless memories, no vain feuds of the past disturb thee from living in the present. Make happy use of the present. And should thy children start to write poetry, may a kind Providence preserve them from stories of the romantic past.'

22. *Nationalism*, p. 64f.

23. *Ibid*, p. 85.

24. *Ibid*, p. 102.

25. *Religion of an Artist*—"Contemporary Indian Philosophy," Radhakrishnan and Muirhead, p. 28f.

ing the university syllabuses, is an idea which appeals, if it does at all, to very few in this country. So a Bachelor of Arts or for that matter of Science on the expiry of four years of adventuring in the college or university, begins to consider himself infinitely superior to a man who has undergone say, ten years of arduous training in music or painting under a renowned master. And since these degree-holding bourgeoisie form the intelligentsia of the society and influence, guide and mould the minds of men in general, such fantastic notions continue to prevail. The effects, of course, are obvious: that we are almost Quixotically proud and exhibit about our degree and we have accepted the theory that the only criterion of judgment regarding a man's worth is his academic qualifications. Universities have the right to confer their degrees, but if they send out men to society with a new caste-consciousness, it will be harmful both to the cause of higher education and democracy about which we speak so ecstatically these days in and from all possible places. Yet alas, this is what has actually happened. A university-educated man, generally speaking, is not only boastful and superiority-conscious but also loathes manual labour, suffers constantly from a false sense of prestige, disregards all that is old and past but does not possess any vision of the future, is suspicious of new ideas, worried about an uncertain future but still remains a child of passing fashions—in other words, he is one who has come out of an institution where he did not go impelled by an intrinsic urge or where life to him was either a long holidaying or a term of dreary detention.

Needless to say, this attitude of the average student towards university education has been created by the peculiar need and purpose of higher education in this country and fostered by his circumstances. If he is brilliant in examination, he considers the poetry of Wordsworth or the law of thermodynamics useful and important only for passing the civil service examination; if he is a rich man's offspring, he goes through the course, aided sufficiently by help-books and private tutors for a degree just because he wants to attain a status in his circle of friends and brethren and if he is of the middle class and indifferent in studies, he feels he is wasting his time over Plato's philosophy or Shakespeare's plays because these will not assist him in his work in the Government secretariats or private firms. There may be many such similar motives but the one that should actuate all higher education—the one of pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and for the development of mind and character, is conspicuous by its absence. If our grandmothers thought that higher education was not necessary for a man if he had sufficient means of living to see him through life, we think it is necessary either for securing respectable jobs or for realizing our dream of respectability in society. If the academic attainments of a man bring him rewards in terms of a decent appointment—that is what it should be, but be it remembered that education is neither the

process of fitting the students for professions nor the one of unfitting them for the same. In other words, education has, really speaking, little to do with a man's profession, for only a few hours are given to the means of living, but education is meant for all the hours of his life.

This is the background of higher education in our country; and since it is so vulgarly commercialized, there is, for obvious reasons, no academic or intellectual atmosphere in the university. Faculties are water-tight compartments, and students in their compulsory straying into the university are thrown into these different folds, each keeping as far away as possible from the others except on occasions of general strikes and each growing dogmatic about his subject of study as well. Thus a student and even a teacher of Arts usually fell either inferior or too confident about the scope of his subject of study while their counterparts in Science take pride in their ignorance of subjects which, they think, breed dreamers of idle days. This is why our educated men are not necessarily cultured men and are at best only half-developed. This is why, again, we do not feel the influence of the university at home, in the drawing room or in the parliament. Education is only creating and fostering rigid types and one feels bored with the other.

Then there is the strange notion about scholarship. Whereas in other countries scholarship is judged by the merit of a work, here it is judged by degrees which may be acquired by various methods. Whereas again, in other countries after the minimum requirement is obtained, degrees are conferred as marks of distinction for efficient and original work, we cannot even begin our career without somehow obtaining them. So our scholarship lies buried in the pages of unpublished theses which are usually mere collections of data or other men's views. And therefore we find it difficult to work on a subject without the lure of a degree at the end. But a professor of Cambridge or Oxford will find it difficult even to conceive of such a mentality.

If this is what university education has been or what it has meant to us, we should review the whole situation in the light of our present needs and circumstances, because much will depend upon the universities in the regeneration of our country. To my mind the remedy of all these maladies seems to lie in the proper understanding of the function of higher education and in the rearrangement of the educational structure so as make it possible for higher education to achieve its purpose.

I think it will be admitted that university education should not be universalized, because it is not really meant for all. This is, of course, no reflection on any other type of education—it is merely a statement of fact. So some restriction on the basis of merit or aptitude or potentiality will have to be imposed for entrance into the higher courses of study. But this will be possible only when new avenues and opportunities are made available to our young men, and what is more important, when there is a change in the policy of employment,

governmental and private. At present and for quite some time past employers have been able to insist, owing to a superfluity of graduates, on university degree for posts ranging from those of clerks to those of higher officials for none of which universities provide any special training. Consequently young men are forced to take degrees or adopt all possible means for acquiring them. Academic standards, therefore, go down, education loses its purpose and significance, and universities turn into factories where clerks are produced or training centres for civil servants, which was perhaps originally the function of the universities established by a foreign power for their administrative convenience. Psychologically also this has a very harmful effect: Four years of aimless flirting with books, loss of money (for education is indeed very expensive) and energy, fear of examination and high expectation from life and at the end either unemployment or a negligible job breed a type of cynicism in the young men which is dangerous both for themselves and for the nation as a whole. It has also been noticed that the kind of education that these students receive makes them unrealistic in their approach to life and so when the cosy complacency of the class room is over and they get involved in the struggle for existence, they begin to falter for a power which they have not learnt to find either in themselves or in the world outside. It is indeed gratifying that our Government have become conscious of these anomalies and thinking on the lines suggested above, are trying to introduce the much-needed reforms.

The commercialization of education, therefore, may be stopped if the policy of employment is modified and the employers look for special training in a work for professional purposes and not for university degrees. General knowledge in all important subjects and fairly good educational and cultural background may be obtained from the higher secondary stage of education if it is made self-sufficient and a proper standard is maintained and established, as it is done in other countries. Here also this has been the considered opinion of the commission set up for framing a new policy of higher secondary education. However, if this practice is a little scrupulously observed by the employers, then a student, for instance (it is an actual case) may not be forced to take a degree in Science for entering into subordinate police service, just because he finds Science graduates getting more favour from the selection board than degree-holders in Arts. Needless to say, for all important and responsible professions that demand wide interests, a basic sense of values and discipline of mind and intellect, higher secondary education should be enough, provided of course the standard is raised higher than what it is today. And then for vocational training separate institutions will have to be established. It needs no saying that the responsibility of making this policy effective will ultimately depend more on public establishments than on the Government.

This will certainly give a new direction to higher education in our country. We will have more serious students and more enthusiastic teachers with whose co-operation our universities—the lighthouses of culture—will quietly but steadily show ways of progress which we have yet to make.

It is often argued that the situation was not very much different in the past and yet the academic standards were definitely higher. How could one account for the rapid deterioration of standards in our days? Will a change in the policy of employment or in the system of education solve our problem of falling standards? I think even in the past our standards left much to be desired. A few cases of exceptionally brilliant scholars or a greater earnestness on the part of the students do not speak much about the attainment of higher education in any stage. Pioneer work even on our literature, history, philosophy, etc., has been mostly done by Western indologists. Indian scholarship is still uncertain and our greatest achievements in the modern age have been in fields other than academic. Then, conditions, not only political but social, economic and cultural as well, are basically different in spite of their apparent similarity and it will be unwise to expect similar results from different circumstances.

We should realize that we have now to frame our own policy of education for a free country and keep constantly in mind our peculiar needs and requirements. It is time we gave higher education a chance to come by its own and helped to create conditions in these centres of learning for a disinterested pursuit of knowledge.

Nowadays a new danger in the shape of a popular demand for new universities is raising its head in different parts of the country. It is fashionable to cry for a new university for one's own province or even district town. For this purpose we sometimes indulge in statistical calculation to find out how many universities are there in the United Kingdom or the United States on the basis of their population and cry for more universities just because by foreign standards our ratio is not adequate. But we forget that this comparison stretched further will go against us and that the establishment of new universities will almost inevitably mean a repetition and perhaps a perpetuation of the same folly. The expenses of a full-fledged university may maintain about a hundred schools of different kinds and there is no denying the fact that at the present moment they will be more useful than new universities of the existing type. The ones that we have will easily serve our need if they prefer to become true centres of higher knowledge.

Whatever be the system or medium of instruction, so long as the purpose is not defined and the ideal is vague, nothing substantial is going to be gained. But when we know what we want and need, our ingenuity will not fail to devise methods or systems to achieve it.

MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE

By SUDHANSUMOHAN BANERJI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE once said :

"I love India not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, nor because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons—Satyam, Jnanam, Anantam, Brahma—He is Truth, He is Wisdom, He is Infinite. Santam, Sivam, Advaitam—Peace is in Him, Goodness is in Him, He is the Unity of all beings. Thus we have come to know that what India truly seeks is not a peace which is in negation or in some mechanical adjustment but that which is in goodness, in the truth of perfect union. She does not enjoin her children to cease from Karma but to perform it in a spirit of detachment with the pure knowledge of the spiritual meaning of existence. This is the true prayer of Mother India and

He is who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let him unite us to one another with wisdom which is the wisdom of goodness."

This is the message we are in need of today in an age of inward as well as outward crisis, in every department of our life, mental, moral, social, political, religious and economic. In these days of storm and stress, chaos and confusion we stand to gain, by a revaluation of values which we can only achieve with reverence, questioning and service, the messages and the great lives of the Masters before us. These great teachers are beacon lights to a storm-tossed world and let us in all humility take refuge in them. In these days of scientific and rationalist outlook on life we need not perhaps be dogmatic or pragmatic but the eternal values, the fundamentals are the same and do not change. It is the words that count, the way of life that counts, not the particular 'ism or creed.' It is reverence that counts. What have we done to keep the torch burning, we who are the common inheritors of a fulfilled renown. Year in and year out we may have met on occasions like this and waxed eloquent over his greatness and his towering personality, but have we searched our hearts for a skeleton in the cupboard or paused to stay for an answer unlike a Jesting Pilate?

In the inevitable collapse of creeds we need not perhaps be keen about sounding a new scheme of the Universe, a new dogma of philosophy or policy but about teaching a new sense of duty, an inward change of the heart, a system of self-culture which will not demand an evasion or ambiguity which will reconcile the ideal with the real, satisfy our whole being, our critical intelligence as well as our active aspiration which will impart a gentle quality of equilibrium in our mental and spiritual make-up and poise. Mankind today in one of its rare moods is shifting its outlook. The mere compulsion of tradition has lost its force. It is our

business not only to recreate and re-enact a vision of the world including those elements of reverence and order without which society lapses into riot but to pursue it with unflinching rationality.

Before we take stock of what Maharshi Debendranath stood for and his contribution to it, it has to be realised that he belonged to an epoch in Bengal when old ideas and ideals were having its first shock from the impact of Western civilization and it was Rammohun's and then Debendranath's and their followers' greatness that while accepting the change they irradiated it with a genuine Indian touch and rediscovered its greatness. Though new wine was being poured into old bottle the stirring within was transmuted mainly through a progressive outlook towards a creative idealism not divorced from the basic trend of old achievements yet accepting the new. That was the great contribution which the nineteenth century Bengal made under the inspiring guidance of its stalwarts. Though as a movement it reached the intellectual classes only the fundamentals it preached, the aspiration it brought about, the inspiration it gave, the unity in outlook it forged among the progressives, the bulwark it framed against a complete sweeping and swamping by a vigorous and dynamic West, gave breathing time to India to rethink and to reshape herself.

Maharshi Debendranath stands as one of the beacon lights of this torch race of Indian renaissance. His father Prince Dwarkanath was a name to conjure with in his days. He was a real aristocrat in taste, in intellect, in equipment and when he died young abroad leaving a huge debt, it was young Debendranath who took upon himself voluntarily all his father's debts more than sixty lakhs of rupees and scrupulously repaid every pie of it though not legally required to do so. He stinted himself, the big joint family lived like commoners, simple, austere and resolute. It was in these days when he was mentally unhappy he came across that famous text of Upanishad in a torn leaf:

"God pervades everything. It is by renunciation that you can enjoy. Don't be greedy. Don't hanker after others' wealth."

That was the great Mantra which he got and which he realised in his life.

In more than one sense his great son Rabindranath was not merely a chip of the old block but was a real fulfilment of the Maharshi in a more spiritual and aesthetic way. Maharshi got this olympic torch from Rammohun and he handed it over to his great son in an inspirational way. We read in Abanindranath's "Story of Two Searchers":

"It was a blazing hot summer noon. Maharshideva was proceeding along Birbhum uplands in a palanquin. The bearers had got tired. They placed the palanquin at a particular spot. Maharshideva

found before his eyes a vast rugged expanse of a prairie-like meadow. We do not know what he saw under that spreading Chatim tree. Did he see the one who stands alone like a giant tree? From his innermost depth came the words which are inscribed on the multi-coloured glass temple which he erected there: 'He is the comfort of my life, the solace of my mind, the peace of my soul'."

The second searcher also strove through verse and rhyme, through song and deed to find the same synthesis—where the world becomes one nest, and the abode of peace Santiniketan flowered into Visvabharati with aims:

"To study the Mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of Truth from diverse points of view, to seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West . . . free from all antagonism of race, nationality, creed or caste and in the name of the one Supreme Being who is Santam, Sivam, Advaitam, the All Peace, the All Good and the One."

Abanindranath the master artist gives us in his inimitable style pen-pictures of Maharshideva as he saw him from day to day. This intensely human document, interesting as it is, shows Maharshi the man. I quote Abanindranath's without embellishment (Translation published in the *Hindustan Standard Annual*, 1950):

"I remember my great uncle sitting on a cane chair, his body taut and straight, a cane foot-stool beside him, which he sometimes used and on a three-legged table a volume of Hafiz and a *Brahmodharma*, a few sweet-scented white flowers on a saucer and a fresh white handkerchief. Whenever he drank a sip he would wipe his mouth with his handkerchief and drop it on the floor whence his servants would pick it up and put a fresh one in its place on the table."

In these few words we get the complete picture of the great man all at once and we can visualise him without a conscious effort.

We are reminded of Rabindranath's own description of his father when as a boy he accompanied him to Dalhousie:

"Stars in the dark dim-lit sky, faint flicker of a misty dawn silhouetted in the background, Maharshi in deep meditation facing the east seemed to be one with that serene atmosphere of calm and peace."

Again we learn from Abanindranath:

"Iswar Babu told me how once Maharshi became Kalpataru. The whole household gathered round him and he said to them, 'Take away from my possessions whatever you wish.' In no time the room was empty even the furniture. The Kalpataru sat alone deep in meditation in the empty room."

His last days were aptly described by him. It was a fitting epilogue to a great life. Maharshi's habit was to look at the morning sun and pray. Even on the day when life was ebbing away, his mental serenity and strength overcame his physical ailment, he walked to the terrace, sat erect, watched the sun and prayed softly. He came back, lay calm and quiet. I quote:

"He inclined his head as if he wanted something to be recited to him and Rabi-ka took *Brahmodharma* and read quietly and softly,
From Untruth unto the Truth
From Darkness to Light
From Death unto Life."

"He lay quiet, took in every word intently, his face lit up. Then suddenly he asked for more air and said, 'I am going home . . . I am going home . . . ' as if he was a small child whom the great Mother was beckoning and as the clock struck twelve he breathed his last and slipped into an ocean of peace, as fresh and serene as ever in his eternal sleep."

Though Maharshi did not actually discard ritualism as such and rather simplified and purified it, he believed that spiritual salvation lay more in those silent hours of self-communion which help us to control our character and build up our personality. By it we cleanse our thoughts, purify our emotions and let the seed of spirit grow in quietness, action in non-action. That is still the appointed way to close the gap of opposition between our conscious duty and our inclinations buried deep in the unconscious what the psychologists call conflict and complexes. Heaven is lost or found in the inner self. We brood and build. We energeise and we create. *Tapo Brahmo*. He believed that a dip into the Silence every-day was a great spiritual experience. As Sri Aurobindo says:

"Into the silence, into the silence
Arise O Spirit Immortal
Out from the Silence, out from the Silence
Carrying with thee the ineffable substance
Joy unimaginable, ecstasy illimitable
Knowledge omnipotent, might omniscient
Light without darkness, Truth that is dateless."

There are other aspects of this great life, the doyen of that great family which dominated the intellectual life of Bengal for more than a century. Prince Dwarkanath, Maharshi Debendranath, Bardada Dwijendranath, Visvakavi Rabindranath, and his equally gifted nephews Gaganendranath and Abanindranath—you could get the history of a nation in making in that Dwarkanath Tagore Street, the pulsation of a resurgent national life which had its being there in art, literature, religious reform, social activities, intense nationalism, music and a realisation of a dynamic urge in a static society. The patriarch Maharshi Debendranath was the living embodiment of that urge but who had realised in his life a lofty spiritual detachment which did not mean this or that, not a maimed life of monastic seclusion but a living inspiration of *joi de vivre* where each will meet with each, country with country, race with race, knowledge with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour.
Where the mind would be without fear
And the head would be held high
Where knowledge would be full
When the world would not be
Broken into fragments by
Narrow domestic walls.
Where words would come from the depth of truth
Where tireless striving would stretch its arms towards perfection
Where the clear stream of reason would not lose its way into dreary sand of habit
Where the mind would be led by thee into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom my father let our country awake.



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

HOUSE OF SHIVAJI (Studies and Documents on Maratha History of the Royal Period): By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta-12. 1955. Third Edition. Greatly enlarged. Pp. iv + 343. Price Rs. 5.

When this *Modern Review* was born 49 years ago Prof. Jadunath Sarkar contributed a series of original sources on Shivaji, the great national hero from our very first number. Many of those articles have been preserved in book-form in this *House of Shivaji*. Our readers will probably smile to find that this book (in its greatly enlarged third edition now on our table), bridges the gulf of time from our first number, by including the aged author's latest reflections on the Maratha national character and the place of the Marathas in Indian history first printed in a daily paper in 1952, under the caption, "What Maharashtra Teaches Us."

Three other added chapters are,—Why Shambhuji rebelled against his father (a curious historical repetition of the story of Dasharatha declaring Bharat his heir). The Maratha Court and Government in the Eastern Karnatak under Rajaram (1689—1694), when Aurangzeb was occupying and devastating Western India which was kingless, and How the Tantrik Cult from Bengal found a short-lived ascendancy and royal patronage in Maharashtra under Shambhuji. This book, as its Preface claims, is an indispensable supplement to its author's standard biography *Shivaji and His Times* and a source book, of original historical materials not available elsewhere in one place or in English.

J. C. B.

THE GLAMOUR ABOUT THE GUPTAS: By K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A., Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The Bombay Historical Society, Bombay. 1953. Pp. 72. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a polemical work written with ability and originality and in a vigorous style to combat the generally accepted characterisation of the period of the Imperial Guptas as the Golden Age of Ancient Indian History. It consists of three papers entitled *Samghas in Panini and Kautilya*, *A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy*, and *The Date of Kalidasa*, contributed previously to well-known Indological journals in this country and a new opening chapter called *A New Review of the Gupta Epoch* claiming to present "a comprehensive and radical survey of the whole epoch" (Preface, p. 1). In the space at our disposal it is only possible to offer a few remarks. In the first chapter the author pointedly refers to the significant silence of all writers of classical Sanskrit literature

(including even Varahamihira, admittedly a contemporary) about the Imperial Guptas, which is in striking contrast with the mention "from the earliest times down to the latest of the association of learning with royal patronage, wherever it was magnificent" (p. 10). We know, however, that the courts of the Gupta Emperors and their feudatories were graced by such accomplished poets as Harishena, the author of the *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta and Vatsabhatti, the author of the *Mandasor Inscriptions* and further that Samudragupta was sufficiently reputed for his poetic talents to deserve the title of "King of poets." The author (pp. 6-7) takes Alberuni's reference to the Guptas as "a wicked people" to be a clear proof of the fact that "the Guptas so far from being patrons or champions of a Brahmanical revival, were only odious in the eyes of the learned men with whom the Arabian scholar came into contact." This statement not only lays undue stress on a general observation made by a foreign visitor five hundred years after the event, but it also ignores such evidence as that of performance of the horse-sacrifice ceremony by Samudragupta and his grandson. According to the author, the view that the Puranas were finally recast in the Gupta period "can scarcely stand a critical scrutiny" (p. 12) and "the so-called Puranic Hinduism is considerably older than the first century of the Christian era, and therefore, *a priori*, much older than the Gupta period" (p. 23). We should, however, remember that Dr. R. C. Hazra has recently given good grounds for distinguishing between two main stages in the development of the Smriti material in the existing Puranas, the first stage (3rd—5th century A.D.) being occupied with the narratives of rites and customs after the early Smritis and the second stage (post 6th century A.D.) being filled with the addition of new material relating to pilgrimages to holy places, popular worship and religious vows and so forth. Again, the extreme antiquity claimed for Puranic Hinduism by the author is unwarranted by his evidence. As "a clear proof of the indifferent attitude of the Guptas towards the powerful sects and creeds of their time" the author (pp. 13-15) observes that while the Chalukyas and the Paramaras (of whom the first were "certainly as old" as and the latter were "even older" than the Guptas) are stated to have sprung from the sacrificial fire kindled by the sage Vasistha on Mount Abu, "the Guptas, though their names appear in some Puranas, are not at all invested with any kind of glory." Now apart from the fact that authentic history does not extend the antiquity of the Chalukyas and the Paramaras so far back, it has to be remembered that even the Sungas and the Kanvas and the Satavahanas who were, according to the author, "far more favourably inclined towards

Brahmanism than the Guptas" are not credited in the Puranas with a superhuman origin. The legend of the four Agnikula Rajput clans to which the author refers does not occur in the Puranas but is found practically for the first time in the late (16th century?) work called *Prithviraja-raso*. The author's comprehensive survey of the Gupta epoch is completely silent about the development of art and architecture which is generally held to be one of its chief glories.

In the second chapter the author rightly rejecting the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation of *samgha* in Panini in the narrow sense of a republic, explains the term generally to mean "monarchic clans bound together by ties of federation" (p. 27). This ignores the clear evidence of the Pali and the Sanskrit Buddhist texts about which the author is completely silent. In the third chapter the author (pp. 32-36) has done a good service by correcting the mis-translations of the phrases *Malava-gana-sthiti* and *Malavaganamnata* used in the oldest records of the Vikrama era. But his argument for placing Vikramaditya, the founder of the era in the first century B.C., which rests upon the evidence of the late *Kathasaritsagara* would have gained in weight by his mention of the valuable and much earlier Jaina tradition on the point. In the last chapter dealing with the internal evidence for placing Kalidasa in the first century A.D., the author's arguments are ingenious and valuable but they are not always convincing, as in his explanation (pp. 67-68) of the river-name Vamkshu and the ethnic name Hunas mentioned in the story of Raghu's Digvijaya in Canto IV of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsam*.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE ANNEXATION OF ASSAM (1824—54): By Dr. Rebati Mohan Lahiri, D.Phil., Calcutta. Published by the General Printers and Publishers, Calcutta. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 12.

This monograph consists of five informative chapters, besides a Prologue and an Epilogue. For the period of the history of Assam chosen by the author for his field of research this book is an improvement on the treatment of the same by Sir Edward Gait in his *History of Assam*, though no novice can hope to excel the masterly presentation of that illustrious historian. Dr. Lahiri has corrected several errors of fact committed by Sir Edward Gait and supplied fuller details missing in Gait's general survey.

The author has displayed commendable skill in making out a very readable narrative out of obdurate materials. His introductory sketches of character and institutions of peoples of Assam are graphic. The Brahmaputra valley and the hills of Assam provide a museum of political institutions ranging from primitive democracy to constitutional monarchy, from federal republic to slave-owning oligarchies; and no less of religions too, from Animism to Buddhism and Vaishnavism. Dr. Lahiri brings home to the students of history that the annexation of Assam to the British Indian Empire was no enslavement of a free people but their only escape from chaos and ruin. We fully agree with his conclusion: "The dark age of trouble and violence was over and an era of peace and prosperity returned."

We regret very much that a detailed notice of the merits of this learned work is debarred by the limit of space. It is sufficient to say that his method and approach have been scientific, and that his style has a restraint and grace of its own.

K. R. QANUNGO

BOOK REVIEWS

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KASHMIR THROUGH THE AGES: By G. L. Kaul. Chronicle Publishing House, Srinagar. Pp. viii + 287. Price Rs. 10.

The above monograph is a hand-book that offers a sketch of the Kashmirian history from remote antiquity to the present times. The author who is a journalist introduces the book by quoting the pleasing lines:

"Welcome to the Happy Valley where the world comes to an end and the paradise begins . . ."

and evokes the readers' interest in the first two chapters by an enlivening chapter on the early history and Kalhana's contribution, but the account of the medieval and modern times is anything but a bald list of kings and their regnal years. In such a design of Kashmirian history, the citation of the full text of the *President's Order on Kashmir under the Delhi Agreement* of 1952, and the *Text of Agreement on the Lease of Gilgit* entered into between the British Government and Maharaja Hari Singh, appears to be a very curious insertion and renders a portion of the account incoherent.

The author loves Kashmir with all the ardour of a native of the land and perhaps intended to produce such an impression in the readers' mind. Such a purpose has failed altogether, because of the lack of any plan in the preparation of this work.

N. B. ROY

CENTURY DIGEST OF STATUTORY NOTIFICATIONS, 1854—1954 (in 3 Volumes): By B. L. Goswamy. Jupiter Publications, Delhi. Vol. I. Price Rs. 21-3.

The volume of legislation, both Central and State, has increased of late, and is increasing. Besides the legislation by the Parliament and the State Legislatures, there is an ever-increasing mass of what is called subsidiary legislation by rules, regulations, bye-laws, and notifications. We read the Act, and it is stated there that it shall come into force on such date as the Government by Notification in the official Gazette may put into force. Has it been brought into force? The Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926, for example, has been extensively amended by Act XLV of 1947. But the amending Act is to come into force on such date as the Central Government by notification in the Gazette may appoint. Has it been brought into force? An interpellation in the Parliament was necessary to elicit the information that it has not yet been brought into force. Then again the rules are often amended piecemeal; and it is very difficult to find the amendments, or to know whether they have been amended at all. Rules were framed under the Defence of India Act, 1939, about requisitioning houses or parts of houses. A house was requisitioned. The owner of the house made a gift of it to his two sons. In the meantime a rule was added that any transfer of such houses without the permission of the requisitioning authority shall be void. It came into force only a day before the execution of the deed of gift. The defect being noticed later on the gift had to be re-executed. The loss and trouble to the parties can be imagined. What would have happened if the parties were strangers, or if the father had changed his intention in the meantime.

Sri A. N. Bhandari, Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court in his Foreword, has justly noted that: "It is often a matter of some difficulty to find one's way through the intricate mass of statutes repealed, partially repealed and re-enacted in whole or in part,

but this difficulty is accentuated a hundred-fold when a person is called upon to trace a particular notification out of the myriad of notifications which have been issued under the various enactments—notifications "as multitudinous as the sea and as numerous as the leaves of the tree."

In the volume under review Mr. Goswami has endeavoured to put systematic references to all the notifications which are likely to be required by the members of the legal profession. The author has placed the legal profession under a deep debt of gratitude by digesting not only very old notifications, but also superseded notifications since a few of them are revived later, while a good few retain a posthumous importance for a long time since litigation regarding them drags on in Courts for several years. Rights have to be determined as on the date of cause of action or when an alleged offence was committed. For these a reference to the superseded notification is necessary.

The scheme of the book is to digest Central Government Notifications in 3 volumes. Every year a new part will be added to each of the 3 volumes, and a revised consolidated index shall replace the one in use. State supplements will give notifications issued by those States under the Central laws as also under the State laws.

The printing of the book is good; the types are clear and easy to read even under an oil lamp. The binding is of the loose-leaf system of the latest and most suitable type so that Parts and Indexes subsequently issued may be easily accommodated. This will keep down costs and permit easy manipulation.

We hope every bar-library, every busy lawyer, every big company or firm should purchase a copy. It will amply repay the investment.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

SWADESHI AND SWARAJ: By Bipin Chandra Pal. Published by Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., 41-A, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta-6. Pp. x + 295. Price Rs. 6.

The publication of this volume containing selected writings and speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal, one of the foremost leaders of the Swadeshi Movement, will be welcomed by all interested to know the great awakening and birth of Nationalism in India as a result of partition of Bengal by the Government of Lord Curzon. Bipin Chandra was not only a great fighter for Indian independence but a philosopher with a vision and a man of literature whose contribution to Bengali prose is considerable. As an orator he was a worthy lieutenant of Surendranath Banerjee. But as a speaker in Bengali he was second to none in his time. He was no visionary and his speeches and writings will show that his 'Swaraj' was complete independence for India and not 'Dominion Status' desired and advocated by Moderates of his days. Bipin Chandra suffered for his views and extremes. His differences with Gandhian methods in politics cost him loss of leadership. He stood alone in his brilliance and never submitted to anything short of his ideal.

These speeches and writings during 1902-1907 cover one of the glorious periods of the rise of 'New Patriotism' as Bipin Babu called it. His fine Madras speeches on "The New Movement" republished in this volume were first published in 1907. We congratulate the publishers for bringing out this inspiring volume which deserves to find its way to every public library for benefit of its readers.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU OF BHATTA LAKSHMI-DHARA (Vol. VI, Vratākanda): Edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIII. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 17.

The present volume brings to light a very important and interesting section of monumental work, which was practically unknown to the world of scholars. It is edited on the basis of two manuscripts belonging to Junior Bhonsle Raja's Library at Nagpur and the Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain. Much help has also been derived in this connection from the Vratākanda, of the *Chaturvarga-chintamani* of Hemadri, which has a good deal of matter, common with the Vratākanda of Lakshmidhara. The publication of the volume under review finishes about three-fourths of the entire work. We hope the remaining portion will come out soon completing the huge and valuable work running through the press for the last fifteen years or so, the first part being published in 1941 (noticed in these pages in December 1946). The volume deals with 175 *vratas* most of which are unknown in this part of the country. All-India festivals like *Jannastami* and *Sivaratri* are, however, conspicuous by their absence here. A comparative study of the festivals as mentioned here along with those found in works of other parts of the country will be helpful in investigating the history of the religious and cultural life of different parts of this vast land.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JATIYA ANDOLANE NARI (Women in Our National Movement): By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta. Price eight annas.

Here is another important addition to the Visva-Vidya-Samgraha Series. Sri Bagal has been compiling, with singular devotion, the history of our national progress in all spheres since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

This brochure competently deals with the contribution of Bengali women to the Indian National Movement. The first Bengali women to attend the National Congress as delegates were Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambini Gangopadhyaya. They had first attended the Congress as visitors in its fifth session in Bombay in 1889.

Since that time till the August Movement of 1942 many women dedicated themselves at the altar of Freedom during the different phases of our political struggle. The author has carefully collected all available materials and presented them in a compact form. The young heroic souls of the Chittagong Armoury Raid and Matangini Hazra, the brave old lady of Midnapore, find their deserved place in this short but interesting chronicle. The presentation is attractive and thoroughly systematic. The alphabetical index at the end will prove helpful to the readers.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MUDRA-SHASTRA AUR BANK SHASTRA: By Kedarnath Prasad. Pp. 295. Price Rs. 6.

VYAVASAK SANGATHAN: By the same author. Pp. 333. Price Rs. 6.

Both available from Pustak Bhandar, Patna-4.

The author, who is a Professor of Economics, has to be congratulated on the writing of these two books which deal with the complex subjects of Money and Banking and Business Organization respectively, informatively and lucidly. He has drawn upon a large number of standard works in English on these subjects, thus carrying to the very door of the Hindi-knowing reader, factual wealth from far and near. His is, indeed, a highly commendable venture.

SANTATI NIGRAH: By Raghunath Prasad Pathak. Arya Sahitya Sadan, Shahdara, Delhi. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-4.

In these days when so much propaganda is being carried on in the country, in favour of contraceptives as a desirable check on the population-pressure, the author has done well to present the other side of the shield and to lay rightful stress on the ethics of self-control for achieving the same purpose. He has written both with courage and conviction.

G. M.

GUJARATI

NADIO ANE NAGARO (Rivers and Towns): By Yashodhar N. Mehta. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.

The son of a distinguished writer, the late Diwan Bahadur Narmadashanker Mehta, Shri Yashodhar has sprung into literary fame first by his *natak* called *Ranchhodlal* and then by this little book which describes

the course and career, so to speak, of the four largest rivers in the world, the Danube, the Tiber, the Nile and the Saraswati. They were radio talks, but with a leaning towards literature and imagination. The Tiber, for instance, has been immortalised by Macaulay in his *Horatius* thus:

"O Tiber, Father Tiber, to whom the Romans pray, A Roman's arms, a Roman's life, take thou in charge today."

While the Romans worshipped their Rivers as Father, we worship our Rivers as Mother. We call our rivers as Loka-Mata. The last article in the book is a first-hand description of the Kumaon Hills, the Kurnachal or Uttar Pradesh, of our ancient books. It is a most interesting and informing little book.

SAHITYANE CHARANE: Addresses delivered by the late Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 2-8.

The late Dr. Hariprasad filled many parts in his life-time. A keen follower of Gandhiji, with whom he went to jail, a Doctor, a Congressman, a Legislator and a public citizen of Ahmedabad, a Municipal Councillor and last but not least a lover of literature, which he has enriched by his writings and addresses, he was the life and soul of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha. The Sabha has done the proper thing, in discharge of the debt it owed to him in publishing this collection of his addresses, which range over a variety of subjects, spiritual, material, scientific and social.

K. M. J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Possible Links Between Indian and African Cultures

In an article in *The Aryan Path* N. Court puts forward an extremely interesting thesis, the first part of which is given below :

Many of the happiest years of my life were spent in missionary labours among Indian and African peoples. I have thus been in the favourable position of one able to glean first-hand information in a native environment. Add to this two decades of very close study of history, ethnology, philosophy, mysticism and comparative religion, and it will be appreciated that what I am about to put forward as a theory is the outcome of careful and deep research and not mere guesswork or wishful thinking.

Students of Indian sacred literature are more or less agreed that there are points about the *Iliad* of Homer and the *Ramayana* which indicate a common source for both. The same applies to the *Odyssey* and the Northern European mythologies. We cannot deny the fact, now generally accepted, that the Aryan culture, which had both an Eastern and a Western (European) aspect and manifestation, is responsible for the cult of the great nature-gods of sky and sun, fire, wind, storm and water, of which Thor, the Nordic god of thunder, and the Roman and Greek deities were developments. India is sufficiently akin to be grasped by the English mind and at the same time possesses enough of the elements of another and alien mystic system (of Dravidian and pre-Dravidian origin) to be a source of fascination to us.

Satisfied in my own mind that Western Europe and India are akin, not only linguistically and racially, but culturally as well, I now turn to a deeper and far more subtle relationship, that between India and Africa—not yet fully recognized or appreciated as the European-Indian kinship is, but nevertheless, in the face of the facts, as real and as tangible. This relationship between Africa and India has been the subject of years of painstaking research and, as a result of it, I am firmly convinced that the African culture generally, and the Bantu culture in particular, have both an Aryan-Dravidian and a pre-Dravidian background on which is superimposed a Hamitic and possibly, even probably a Semitic culture.

To make such a sweeping statement needs substantial proof and the proofs are not lacking. Let us set out on an imaginary trip down the continent from Cairo to the Cape and conduct an investigation of its peoples.

North of the Sahara, Africa is inhabited by peoples not markedly different from the South Europeans and the Levantines. The North African may safely be included in the Mediterranean group—a branch of the great white race which is often referred to by the designations Caucasian or Aryan. When we reach the Nubians, however, and enter Egypt, the land of the Copts, and also both Ethiopia and Abyssinia and pass

through Somaliland, the ethnic group we come across is hybrid—a mixture of Hamitic or Caucasian and Negro elements.

To the south and west of these peoples are the woolly-haired group, which includes the Negro, the Bantu, the Hottentot and the almost extinct Bushman. Incidentally, the woolly-haired people are not all black—coloration ranges from the deepest and shiniest ebony to light brown and yellow.

The little yellow man, the Bushman, was at one time the unchallenged master of all Africa. His race is the only one that has the right to proclaim itself aboriginal. All the rest, including the Negro and the Bantu, were immigrants, although much Bushman blood flows in their veins and the early animist religion of the Bushmen and the Hottentots became absorbed by the new arrivals. As in India the Aryan culture took unto itself, as it were, most, if not all, of the earlier civilization, so in Africa Semitic and Hamitic, and, as I believe, Dravidian and pre-Dravidian, influences became superimposed upon the religious beliefs of the autochthonous inhabitants.

We have now reached the area known today as the Central African Federation and we are in the heart of the Bantu world. Here we find the Mashona, Matabele and Barotse nations. The Zulus further south in Natal are an offshoot of the Matabele people even as the Xosas, further south still, are a branch of the Zulus considerably modified as a result of the absorption of Bushman and Hottentot blood, as their language clearly indicates.

In this region are the ruins of the Great Zimbabwe, a prominent structure in the Sabie Valley where over 400 other ruins are to be discovered. Somehow or other it seems to be connected with Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine. The writer is quite convinced, as a result of personal research work over many years, that Semitic culture is also responsible for structures such as Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plains of Wiltshire; the quoits and cromlechs of Lanyon and Penzance in Cornwall; the Great Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, and the ruins at Tiahuanaco in Bolivia. Professor Frobenius, in his investigations in 1929, came to the conclusion that these ruins have a remarkable resemblance to those at Hampi in Southern India, which, together with Zimbabwe, he ascribes to Mesopotamian culture. It is also of interest to note that the whole structure and layout of the buildings in Rhodesia very much resemble those of certain ruins to be seen in ancient Syria, the combination of place of worship and fort being manifest in both instances, and this fact seems to strengthen the belief which some hold that Zimbabwe was the citadel of a Hebrew colony, and the old mines in the vicinity are thought to be the source of King Solomon's wealth. Reflecting on these old mine workings, which have within living memory been reopened after possibly millenniums of disuse, reminds me that not so many years ago a bronze image of an Indian

deity was ploughed up in the Waterberg district in Southern Africa.

The Zimbabwe ruins were probably built c. 1000 B.C., so we must not be tempted to look upon them as the work of the Bantu, as these latter were at that time nowhere in the vicinity and probably not in Africa. It is thought by some that the Bantu people found their way as far south as Rhodesia only about 1500 A.D., by which time the structure was already in ruins, and the newcomers considered it to be the work of the Devil.

The Bantu race spread right into Cape Colony, now the Cape Province of the South African Union, and its territory includes practically all Africa from Kenya southwards.

It must be remembered that, although the Bushman and the Bantu share a common continental home, they differ from each other a great deal physically. The Bantu and the Negroes are on the whole a tall race, black-skinned and physically well-proportioned. The Bushmen, on the other hand, are a very short, yellow-skinned race, with very broad noses and high cheekbones, and their short hair, which the Negro-Bantu immigrants either acquired from them through interbreeding or else received as a heritage from their Melanesian adventures, grows in tiny woolly tufts, often of a rusty hue, here and there on the skull, giving it a patchy appearance. The Bushmen are often characterized by Mongol-like features (the face in many cases having a flat appearance commonly observed among the Chinese) and by their hands and feet, which are of a peculiar smallness and gracefulness. The eyes of these people are often small, deep-set, black and beady. They are long-skulled, as all Africans are. Today the remnants of this people are estimated to number less than 3,500 in all Africa. They are fast dying out.

It is a most suggestive fact—to those concrete thinkers who demand a physical proof of Karma—that the lowest races of men are now rapidly dying out; a phenomenon largely due to an extraordinary sterility setting in among the women, from the time that they were first approached by the Europeans. A process of decimation is taking place all over the globe, among those races, whose "time is up"—among just those stocks, be it remarked, which esoteric philosophy regards as the senile representatives of lost archaic nations. It is inaccurate to maintain that the extinction of a lower race is invariably due to cruelties or abuses perpetrated by colonists. Change of diet, drunkenness, etc., etc., have done much; but those who rely on such data as offering an all-sufficient explanation of the crux, cannot meet the phalanx of facts now so closely arrayed.

Thus writes Madame H. P. Blavatsky in *The Secret Doctrine*, Vol. II, pp. 779-780. Then she quotes the materialist Lefevre as saying :

"Nothing can save those that have run their course It would be necessary to extend their destined cycle." . . . The peoples that have been most spared Hawaiians or Maories, have been no less decimated than the tribes massacred or tainted by European intrusion." ("Philosophy," p. 508).

As has already been hinted, the Bantu is certainly not African in origin. "What! The African not an African?" I hear you exclaim. But this ought not to surprise us. Europe today is inhabited by peoples whose original homes were in Asia. My British and Anglo-Saxon forefathers have been traced to the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea areas. The Norwegians, Swedes and Danes are not aboriginals of Scandinavia. The true native of the North is the Lapp, a race short in

stature, with high cheekbones and snub noses, quite different from the tall, blond, blue-eyed Nordics. With regard to the Bantu people of Rhodesia and South Africa, who are also in the main the racial stock from which the American Negro traces his origin, the numerical factor alone in the populations is evidence against their long sojourn in that area. Anthropologists and statisticians recognize the people as the most prolific race on earth. Had they been in this area during all the centuries that are claimed for them, they would most certainly have been much more numerous. The average number of children—five or six to each mother—indicates a people who, if they had resided in a given area for 1,000 years, should number at least 80,000,000 in South Africa alone instead of around 8,000,000 as they do.

From where then came the ancestors of the Negro and Bantu peoples? Does tradition have something to say? What does history reveal? The voice of history supplies a valuable clue which is worthy of our consideration in this study. Abul Masudi, an Arabian traveller, who may with some justification be termed the Marco Polo of Africa, informs us in his travel records that by A.D. 900 (mark this date) the Bantu were spread as far south as Sofala, which is an area in the modern Portuguese colony of Mozambique (East Africa), a territory on a latitudinal level with the southern part of Southern Rhodesia. Another interesting point brought out in Abul Masudi's writings is that these Bantu were called Makalanga and were a people who had, during the course of their southward march, mixed with the Persians, Arabs, Indians and the Greeks. The true unmixed Bantu followed after them. From whence did they come?

These Makalanga possess an interesting tradition which may be the key to the riddle of the black man's past. They appear to have travelled to the Malay Peninsula from India, which, according to Professor Schwartz, was their home land, and from there to the Pacific archipelagoes, where they intermarried with the woolly-haired Negritos and were the progenitors of the frizzy-haired Melanesians. (Incidentally, many of the Cape coloured people, who are a mixture of Africans and Europeans, tend to have the same fuzzy hair.) Endeavouring later on to make their way back to India, they were forbidden, and then sailed along the Malabar coast, and finally down the African coast, eventually landing on the shores of that continent. Some settled in Madagascar, where they remained free from the ethnic

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influences and mixing with the Bushmen and Hottentots, who, both racially and linguistically, affected those who settled on the mainland.

Madame Blavatsky in Volume II, p. 328, of *The Secret Doctrine* says:

Funnily enough, Haeckel, in his fantastic *Pedigree of Man*, considers "the Australians of to-day as the lineal descendants, almost unchanged (?), of that second branch of the primitive human race . . . that spread northward, at first chiefly in Asia, from the home of man's infancy, and seems to have been the parent of all the other straight-haired races of men. . . . The one, woolly-haired, migrated in part, westwards" (i.e., to Africa and northwards to New Guinea, which countries had then, as said, no existence as yet). . . . "the other, straight-haired, was evolved farther to the north in Asia . . . and peopled Australia . . ." (p. 81). . . . Prof. Haeckel must also have dreamt a dream and seen for once a true vision!

It seems rather likely that this theory is the correct one when we consider Tasmania, whose almost extinct black people differed very little from the Negro and the Bantu. They may have been a branch of the race that made their way eastwards in those early days of our era.

Background of the Split of Surat

Ramesh Prasad writes in the *History and Political Science Journal, Agra College*:

Crisis in political organisations is a natural phenomenon. Institutions, the creatures of human activities, must suffer change; otherwise, they stagnate and die out. Whenever change is obstructed the inevitable result is a crisis. Organisations claiming a national character can ill-afford to neglect popular aspirations and reactions. The split which took place in the Indian National Congress at Surat in 1907 was one such crisis which mundane institutions have to face.

THE LEADERSHIP OF MODERATES

Ever after its inception in 1885, the Indian National Congress held its sessions from year to year in different cities for a score of years. The course of the Congress was a peaceful march devoted to the voicing of public grievances, suggestion of reforms and making entreaties and appeals to the British sense of justice and righteousness. The object of the Indian National Congress had been "to draw attention of both the people as well as the Government to all the grievances from which the country suffered, and which were its avowed objects to remedy by constitutional means and methods." (*Indian National Evolution*: A. C. Mazumdar, p. 98). The Congress annual sessions, at different places, all over the country were like the sessions of a large annual debating society. Long speeches were made and the sessions adjourned after the adoption of numerous monotonous resolutions, copies of which were, however,

despatched to government for favourable consideration.

No effective campaign was organised and no remarkably constructive work was done during the twelve months of a year, on the expiry of which the Congress met for the next annual session. Even a moderate of Gokhale's brand was not fully impressed by Congress methods. "Very few of us" he observed, "have really faith in the work we are doing. When men take up work in a mechanical spirit, without believing in it, you should not be surprised, if no great results are achieved." (*Indian Review*, August, 1904, p. 550). Similar dissatisfaction was expressed by G. Subramania Aiyer. "To some extent," remarked he, "it has even departed from the features that marked it in the earlier days. . . . But it does little more than that at present. The fourth of the objects of the Congress, as stated by its first President, namely, 'the determination of the lines upon and methods which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests,' has now gone out of its sight." (*Indian Review*, December, 1905, p. 830.)

Though the advent of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable change in Congress attitude towards the government, the leadership of the Congress had remained the same and the men at the helm of affairs were fully confirmed in their favourable views towards the British character and their sense of justice. They tried to understand British character from British literary creations. These Indian leaders of the Congress, of whom history takes note as 'Moderates,' were the product of Western culture and education. "They had their Wordsworth and their Browning societies." (*Indian Unrest*: V. Chitrol, p. 24.) They went to all lengths in praising the British nation and British character. Muhammad Rahimat-ullah Sayani, President of the 12th Indian National Congress declared in unambiguous terms that "a more honest and sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English nation." (*The History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, P. Sitaramayya, p. 61.) Similarly, the annulment of the partition of Bengal "led to a gushing praise of the British Government, a renewed faith in its sense of justice and a sense of profound gratitude expressing itself in unmeasured flights of oratory." (*Ibid*, p. 62.) Thus, in spite of the repeated acts of injustice and atrocities, committed by the Britishers in India and the regular draining of its resources, the 'Moderates,' who had been nurtured by Western traditions never faltered in their professions of faith in the nobility of British character. Sri Pherozeshah Mehta was expressive enough when he remarked, "I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call." (*Ibid*, p. 103) and concede the Indian demands. S. N. Banerjee even declared, "We plead for the permanence of British rule in India." (*How India Wrought for Freedom*: A. Besant, p. 357). They believed that to get redress for her grievances, "what India wanted was a lucid and balanced presentation of her case before Englishmen and their parliament." (*History of Indian National Congress 1885-1935*: P.

Sitaramayya, p. 97). They even "loved to parade their loyalty." (*History of I. N. C.*, Vol. I: P. Sitaramayya, p. 62.)

EXTREMISM IN MAHARASHTRA AND BENGAL

Opposed to this set of moderate leaders, were the patriots of Maharashtra and Bengal. The young men of Maharashtra and Bengal, well educated and fully conversant with Western education and culture were principally "inspired by Indian ideals and were proud of their heritage. In an open letter to his countrymen, Aurobindo Ghosh proclaimed the superiority of Hindu over Western civilization. "We reject" he writes, "the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilization inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of a superior fitness." (*Indian Unrest*, Note 2, p. 337).

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the pioneer of this re-awakening in Maharashtra. "He was a born fighter and a typical Marahatta. The passion for freedom was the ruling motive of his life." (*Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*: C. Y. Chintamani, p. 81). He organised Ganpati festival in 1893 and Shivaji festival in 1895. He also started Hindu Lathi club and carried propaganda against cowkilling. Maharashtra nationalism could be roused only by such activities. These festivals were utilised for political purposes. He also carried on vigorous propaganda against the British government through his organ, *Kesari*. In the eyes of the Moderates, his programme was dangerous. But the following of Tilak was increasing day by day. He was acting as a man of the land, to which he belonged, deeply touched by the sufferings and miseries of his fellow countrymen. He voiced what people felt. Maharashtra was ablaze.

In Bengal, the partition project led to a serious outbreak of public feeling, against the Government and dissatisfaction mounted with its repressive measures. *Yugantar*, *Sandhya* and other journals, preached revolutionary ideas and roused the public to action. Though they all acknowledged the debt of Tilak, local leaders of renown were not wanting in efforts. Men, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Ashwini Kumar Dutta, were actuated by the desire of liberating the country from foreign yoke. Religious feelings were roused in Bengal and Shakti-Cult was revived and popularised.

The Extremists were ardent and relentless. They "smarted under a sense of wrong and . . . kept up an agitation through the columns of their papers as well as upon the platforms decrying the Congress and preaching the utter futility of Congress propaganda." (*Indian National Evolution*, pp. 103-104). They had devised new weapons of Swadeshi and boycott and they became very successful in Bengal during 1905-11. The Indian National Congress had also upheld the movement of Swadeshi in its Calcutta Session of 1906. (*Resolution VIII: How India Wrought for Freedom*, p. 460). It would not be judicious to call the work of the Bengal patriots as destructive. A. C. Mazumdar's statement that "theirs was apparently a work of destruction and not of construction" (*Indian National Evolution*, p. 104) is hardly based on justice. The political methods of the extremists were surely surcharged with religious fervour. But they were constitutional and peaceful in action. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose observed in 1907 that "the Extremist is not such a dreadful creature after all, and so far as the safety of the British rule is concerned, is as prosaic and harmless as being as the orthodox congressman is now understood to be." (*Indian Review*, April 1907, p. 252).

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The growth of extremism was not an overnight phenomenon; it took years to mature and many factors contributed to it—the famine of 1896-97 and the plague of 1898; the Anglo-Indian feeling of racial hatred and their attitude of arrogance towards Indians, and the work of religious reformers.

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD CURZON

But the immediate reason for the flaring up of national feelings was the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. He undertook feverish activities and suffered from a zeal for reforms. His hand was everywhere and there was hardly any department which did not feel the impress of his personality. The Calcutta Corporation Act of 1899 and the Official Secrets Act of 1904 were passed and adopted under this enthusiasm for reform, against popular protest. His Indian Universities Act of 1904 turned the universities of India into "the most completely governmental universities of the World." (*Life of Lord Curzon Vol. II: Ronaldshay, p. 193*). The partition of Bengal proved to be the greatest blow to Indian sentiments. In spite of the clear manifestation of public opinion, Lord Curzon carried it through. But it released dormant potentialities and created a wave of indignation throughout India. "No other event in the history of national movement in India gave a more powerful incentive to her political consciousness and awakening than the partition of Bengal." (*The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* by Dr. Lal Bahadur, published by Agra Book Store, 1954, p. 54). These and other official measures of Lord Curzon coupled with the expedition to Tibet and the policy towards Afghanistan gave rise to much popular resentment. Besides, Indian troops were also sent out to China and South Africa. "Indians strongly resented the employment of their troops to further British imperialistic designs." (*Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development, Vol. 1: G. N. Singh, p. 144*). For all these acts of unpopularity Curzon paid the price. He "departed unhonoured and unsung." (*Indian Review, May, 1904, p. 308*).

EVENTS OUTSIDE INDIA

Moreover, continuous news of maltreatment of Indians in South Africa were pouring in the country. Mahatma Gandhi was waging a non-violent war against the atrocities and inhumanity of rules there. The Indian sense of self-respect was deeply wounded. The Indians felt that without independence at home it was not possible for them to get fair treatment at the hands of other people. Nor were other inter-national happenings wanting. The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1904-5 put self-confidence and courage in the hearts of the people of Asia. "Almost for the first time in the history of the world an Asiatic power, hitherto somewhat despised.....humbled a huge European power....." (*Indian Review, January, 1905, p. 1*).

DISCONTENT MANIFESTED

Therefore, when the twenty-first Congress met at Banaras on 27th Dec., 1905, the two wings of the Congress were sharply divided over the resolution of welcome to the Prince and Princess of Wales, which was ultimately carried, extremists absenting themselves from the meeting. The extremists were further disappointed by the absence of the word 'Swaraj' from the presidential address of Gokhale. Much disgruntled, they met in an open session (mostly young delegates) to form the New Nationalist Party, which, however, did not dissociate itself from the Congress.

The differences between the extremists and the moderates had become so alarming that an open breach was feared at the Calcutta session of 1906. To avoid this, Dadabhai who was 82 was invited from England to preside. When he accepted the invitation, the relief was so great that S. N. Banerjee wrote to him, "you have saved us from a crisis." (*Dadabhai Naoroji: R. P. Masani, p. 497*). Dadabhai could conciliate the extremists by declaring that "self-government is the only chief remedy. In self-government lies our hope, strength and greatness." (*How India Wrought for Freedom, p. 447*). A resolution on self-government, which extremists paradoxically called the Swaraj Resolution, although the word 'Swaraj' did not figure in it, was adopted. Such an attitude, however, saved the situation for the time being. But it could not save it permanently. The discontent was real and it made the split inevitable. What happened, therefore, at Surat in 1907 does not surprise us.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Political Writing and Public Passions

In this essay, Sir Norman Angell reflects on his unusual career, which spans more than six decades and numerous countries. Sir Norman, of course, is the author of *The Great Illusion*, first published in 1908 and since then reprinted and translated into twenty languages. For his lifelong fight against war and militarism, he was knighted by King George V in 1931 and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933. Among his score of other books are *The Story of Money* (1929), *Preface to Peace* (1935), *Let the People Know* (1943) and *The Steep Places* (1948). For a dozen years, Sir Norman was a member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and from 1929 to 1931 he also served in the House of Commons. This article reflects his painfully acquired distrust of nationalistic passions, more dangerous in the masses than among small groups:

Any man who has been writing on public affairs for more than sixty years, as I have, ought to take stock and ask himself what events have had to say to the ideas he has propounded. And if he has corrections or recantations to make, he should make them, as an obligation to those who may have read him. I undertook some such stock-taking a year or two ago in the form of an autobiography. But, since then, events have emphasized certain points and clarified others. Since both emphasis and clarification bear on today's most urgent problem, that of defense against Communism without atomic war, a word or two in that context may be in order.

What follows will be better understood if I explain that the sixty years just referred to have been divided about equally among the United States, France and Britain; that the twenty years in the United States included seven (the first seven) as a manual worker, farm hand and what not; that the French period included a year or two on the staff of a French paper, to which I contributed a daily article on international politics; and that the British period has included candidacy in four Parliamentary elections, membership in Labour party committees, and a year or two in the House of Commons on the Labour party benches. There were, of course, other activities, but they need not come into this story.

How does it all add up, in the light of subsequent events? The political and economic prognostications made in books, particularly in the matter of military victory as a means of solving our major problems, have generally stood the test of events. In that connection, there is not much to correct. Yet, I want to avow much failure in the main purpose I set myself more than half a century ago. The story and cause of the failure should be of service to younger political writers grappling with a task

upon the success of which our sheer physical survival now depends.

It was my early life in the United States, that is, among workers on farms and ranches in the West toward the end of the nineteenth century, which planted the seeds of the purpose I was later to follow. Leaving a Swiss university at 17, I became an emigrant to the United States. I had not been in the country long before I was the helpless witness of the beginnings of a lynching: the gathering of crowds, the rumbling of a vague, surly clamor, the increasing domination of the confused and uncertain mob by the most violent and least rational elements with it, the frightening process by which individuals, at other times decent and humane, shed those qualities and any sense of responsibility for the monstrous and evil thing about to be committed.

A year or two after that experience, I was to witness something similar on a national, and, still later, on an international, scale. President Cleveland's virtual threat of war against Britain in his Venezuelan message aroused a violent outburst of Anglophobia in the United States. The U.S., one learned from nearly all the big-circulation newspapers and much of Congress, was suffering intolerable wrongs at the hands of Britain, and American freedom would be put in mortal jeopardy if a British colony in a South American jungle extended its frontier even a mile or two. (An unfortified British frontier, not in distant South America but right alongside the United States for 3,000 miles, had existed for generations without provoking any such fears). My fellow workers were as angry and passionate as the newspaper writers and Congressmen. But not one of them could tell me what the wrongs were, or in what way their country was so threatened by Britain as to justify war. This failure to find an answer made not the slightest difference to their angry patriotism, except, perhaps, to increase it. In a letter to a relative in England at the time, I wrote: "Here is the spectacle of a whole nation moved by sheer hallucination, by delirium."

True, the mood passed because an American ship was sunk in Havana harbor. Then, almost overnight, Spain became the malevolent enemy whose power had to be destroyed and the "British peril" was for a time completely forgotten in the passionate demand for war with Spain, which, in this case, duly came.

When the observer of these events found himself in a French newspaper office in Paris during the Dreyfus affair, he was confronted by what seemed to him a startling phenomenon. The French newspapermen wrote almost exactly as the Hearst newspapermen had written: the Deputies in French Chamber talked almost exactly as the Congressmen had talked. France, too, it would seem, was in deadly peril from the machinations of foreigners, particularly the British, who were plotting with the Jews to undermine the French Army. (French anti-Semitism then had a daily newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, anticipating Hitlerite Germany by thirty years or more).

How came this resemblance in circumstances which were so different? The French case concerned a mis-

carriage of justice. Such errors occur in every country. It was the business of the French judiciary to set things right. Why, then, did the affair dominate French politics for almost a generation? Because it precipitated collective passions of fanatical partisanship—passions which, whether they take the form of nationalism, race prejudice, ideological (i.e., religious) differences or party loyalty, can blind men to the simplest objective fact beneath their noses. In some respects, the emotional epidemics in France were more mischievous than the American kind, because they were much more destructive of Government stability. Political partisanship in France are such that the country is at times unable to agree on any government at all. Quite small groups, though unable to create a government themselves, can make it impossible for any other group to do so, all to the greater weakness and instability not only of France but of the West as a whole.

On the heels of the Dreyfus affair came the jingoism of the Boer War in Britain. The two little Boer republics had to be suppressed as a measure of security for the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal and for the British position in Africa generally. (He talked glibly then of a British railroad from the Cape to Cairo). There were a dozen good reasons for believing that the conquest of the two Boer republics would not add at all to the security of Britain's position in Africa. But to state these reasons in public was as much as a politician's life was worth, as Lloyd George, escaping in policeman's disguise from a Birmingham mob determined to have his blood, soon found out.

Time has now given its verdict on the policy so passionately demanded by the British electorate of that day. The two Boer republics were conquered and extinguished with the result that the whole of South Africa, including the erstwhile British colonies, has become a Boer republic—virtually so today, formally so tomorrow, as the Boer Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa has just announced. The emergence of a new republic might of itself be something at which we could rejoice. But the new republic not merely rejects the last vestige of British authority, but, as part of the heritage of bitterness left by defeat, it rejects also all that is best in the British tradition. And it is substituting a policy of ferocious racial discrimination that may result in the whole of Negro Africa being plunged into chaos and bloodshed.

Thus, at the turn of the century, the three great liberal powers of the world were caught in the grip of fierce, irrational emotions of the mass mind, manifested here as nationalism, there as imperialism, elsewhere as anti-Semitism or racialism or doctrinal fanaticism. This writer found the spectacle frightening. If such passions continued to dictate the policies of nations as politically mature as the United States, France and Britain, then it was the end of democracy or of much hope for any form of society which was stable, free and humane. Perhaps the most frightening aspect was the general unawareness of these forces which threatened to destroy us. The volcano of irrational passion rumbled deeply enough, but no one seemed to hear.

This writer gave expression to his fears in a book (his first) entitled *Patriotism Under Three Flags: A Plea for Rationalism in Politics*. Published in 1903, it had virtually no sale at all, though a good many reviews. Several critics took the line that a people ought to be irrational, impulsive and passionate in defense of its national interests, and that any nation that did not thus act instinctively and "think with its blood" would almost certainly go down before more virile people. Others took the familiar line that there can be no such thing

as "general" madness. If it is general, it is not madness but normal human nature, and "you can't change human nature."

Thirty years after the publication of *Patriotism Under Three Flags* came events which threw light on its main theme and tragically confirmed it. By 1933, no non-German had any doubt whatever that a whole people could be seized by collective madness or hallucination. For by then we were witnessing the spectacle of the most highly educated, cultural nation in the world, one eminent in technology, administration, industry, philosophical speculation and music, preparing for the systematic, efficiently organized extermination of millions of men, women and children for the sole offense of belonging to the race of Jesus Christ, His mother and Apostles, to the people from whom Christendom has taken its religion and its ethos.

Now if we saw a benign, kindly *pater familias* pushing little children and old women into a gas chamber and cremating them for the kind of offense just described, we would have no hesitation in applying the appropriate term to the spectacle. We would say that here was madness, insanity, hallucination, delirium. We will miss the whole significance of the vast Hitlerian episode, the Nuremberg Laws, the Belsen and the Buchenwalds, unless we can face the fact that the individual German is, in the ordinary situations of daily life, as kindly, humane and compassionate as the members of any other nation. And that is precisely the kind of point we have systematically evaded in our interpretation of events of this last half century.

We in Britain usually explained those aspects of German policy which have cost Germany and the

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world such misery by saying that they are all due to "Germanism," that only Germans could be guilty of that kind of abomination, and that if we took measures to clip their power, to "destroy German militarism," disarm Germany, then the world would be safe.

But this conclusion itself involved closing our eyes to obvious objective fact. To the east of Germany there was a state more powerful than Hitler's building up a system as savage, cruel and inhumane as that which Hitler tried to build (the Arctic slave camps yield nothing in barbarity to Belsen and Buchenwald) and much more dangerous. For the Communist state has a weapon Hitler never had: a doctrine which has infected groups in every country of the world, which are prepared to act as the *avant-garde* of Moscow's domination. The arms used in Soviet conquests are not in the first instance military. Russia's conquest of China's six hundred millions has been achieved without the sacrifice of a single Russian division. She has conquered by the exploitation of just those irrationalisms and fanaticisms to which my book in 1903 tried to call attention, the self-same irrationalisms and fanaticisms which she is still exploiting and by which she hopes to triumph. For, of course, they are the source of that lack of unity in the West—the disunity within each nation created by the conflict of rival parties and the conflict between states provoked by the emotions of nationalism—which makes a common policy for Western states so difficult. This disunity arises from, and further stimulates, psychological forces with which military power cannot deal. If a French or Italian Communist party manages to block inter-Allied agreement, it is not going to help matters to drop American bombs on Paris or Rome.

We know from the facts of history that the psychological forces under discussion are neither inevitable nor unmanageable. The wars of religion between the Christian sects which once devastated Western Europe (they would have destroyed it utterly if the antagonists had possessed the nuclear weapons we possess) have come to an end. Heretic and orthodox have learned coexistence. The Christian churches now confer together to discipline, by understanding, the passions that once sent them at each other's throats. Other factors have entered, including the correction of the theologian by the layman.

As much can be done for the passions of opposing political ideologies. But the first condition of dealing with any problem is to recognize that it exists. The usual attitude in democracies is to deny even the existence of the destructive spiritual forces present within each of us—even within that Common Man whose century this is supposed to be. Yet, we flourish such slogans as "A hundred million people can't be wrong" and "The voice of the people is the voice of God." If we give such slogans the meaning so often given, then nothing more can be said or done. One does not presume to correct the voice of God.

We will never make democracy workable until we accept the hard truth (which we asserted often enough when we passed judgment on the voice of the German people) that the voice of the people can often be the voice of Satan. Then we may set seriously to work in the radio....to overcome the Satan of modern politics and improve the character of those collective judgments upon which our future depends.—*The New Leader*, February 14, 1955.

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Nylon and Perlon

Walter Theimer writes the interesting history of the invention of the above-mentioned two substances in *Deutsche Korrespondenz*, March 19, 1955, as follows:

"Nylon" and "Perlon" are world words. No politician and no ideology can dream of ever equalling them in popularity. These synthetic fibres are now the principal materials for ladies' stockings, often just termed "nylons" or "perlons" but men's socks, shirts, and many other things are made of them likewise. Production value in this field has reached astronomic figures. And yet it is only a short time ago that the ideas which gave rise to this colossal industry sprang from the brains of a few research chemists, in part almost simultaneously in Germany and in America—and that is the story we are going to tell. Scarcely one among the fair wearers of "nylons" and "perlons" is aware of the dramatic battle that was fought at the cradle of perlon, fortunately ending in reasonable compromise.

Du Pont, the huge American chemical manufacturers, launched nylon about 1935. Chief chemist Carothers, one of the world's leading authorities on synthetic fibres, had invented it. Dr. Carothers was the first man to make fully synthetic fibres. Rayon had dominated the scene before. But rayon is still a semi-natural product; it is processed cellulose, coming from wood. Its real home is in the forest. The truly synthetic fibre, however, is born in the factory. It is made from chemicals. Carothers synthesized the "polyamides," which are compounds with a structure remotely resembling proteins and, therefore, natural silk (which is a protein). The principal polyamide, nylon, was tremendously successful.

STAUDINGER AS PIONEER

As most synthetic fibres and plastics, nylon is based on the theories of macromolecular chemistry, the new science pioneered by Professor Staudinger of Freiburg, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for it last year. Small molecules are synthesized and joined together to form larger ones, known as macromolecules. The processes of uniting them are known to scientists as "polymerization," "polycondensation," etc.

Now the same ideas guided Dr. Paul Schlack, a German research chemist then with I.G. Farbenindustrie, the chemical combine dissolved after the war, and led him to discover a process known as lactame polymerization about 1937. From a simple cyclic hydrocarbon, cyclohexane, a compound named caprolactame may be made. When heated under some pressure, the molecules

of this substance polymerize. They link up to form perlon. The treasured stocking material is a "high polymer" of caprolactame, which in turn may be made from a hydrocarbon found in petroleum. Perlon is a polyamide and, therefore, a relative of nylon.

PATENTS EXCHANGED

Hence it is not surprising that American chemists had in the meantime developed a similar process. It turned out that Du Pont had filed a patent for perlon one nose-length earlier than the Germans. It was not for the first time that an important invention was made in several countries simultaneously though independently. This was not a question of national pride, but millions of dollars were at stake. An ugly patent dispute raised its head between the two chemical giants on either side of the Atlantic. Yet reason won the day, and shortly before the last war the two companies agreed to exchange their patents. I.G. Farben was authorized to make both nylon and perlon in Germany. Nylon was at the time,

called "Perlon T" by German makers, a name dropped long since. "Perlon proper was known as "Perlon L". The general licence agreement is still valid, and German makers of perlon pay a small licence fee to America. The successor companies formed from I.G. Farben after its dissolution continue to make the fibres.

As materials for hosiery, nylon and perlon keep competing with each other, but their makers no longer compete. They have reached agreement long ago, and leave it to the ladies to decide which fibre they will choose. Perlon is of even greater tensile strength than nylon, but the latter is said to possess some other advantages. Elastic "curled" variants of nylon seem on the advance at the moment, at least in the German market. On an overall evaluation, both fibres may be regarded as equals. Men's socks made of these materials, such as 100 per cent perlon socks, rarely need darning, and have almost done away with an age-old problem that has vexed countless generations of housewives and bachelors, the latter even more so. There are other uses for perlon, incidentally: ship's ropes are made from it, for example.

THE SUIT WAS GONE

Perlon had a German precursor, known as perloran. Like perlon, it was resistant to acids, but sensitive to high temperatures. A young chemist of Hamburg, just working on his doctor's thesis, ordered a lab. suit of perloran, and was delighted to be spared acid splash holes in his trousers henceforward. But one winter day, when he was leaning against the radiator and talking to his colleagues in the lab, he saw their eyes widening. He looked down his body the fine perloran suit was gone! The young scientist was standing in his undies. The heat of the radiator had quietly melted the perloran which had agglomerated into a few small balls. Today's perlon will stand 220 degrees centigrade, and there is no need to fear a repetition of such pioneer-day incidents.

Experts know a group of plastics which used to be called "Perlon U." It is no real perlon. The habit of calling three quite different classes of substances by the common name of perlon and distinguishing them by initials has been abandoned. It was again German-American patent rivalry that stood at the cradle of "Perlon U." I.G. Farben resolved to make something far outside the patent province of Du Pont's in order to avoid further patent quarrel. Professor Otto Bayer, today a leading chemist in a large successor company to I.G. Farben at Leverkusen, synthesized a new class of compounds known as the polyurethanes. These substances are chemically very different from both nylon and perlon, and are made by quite different processes. These "little brothers" of perlon quickly grew into fairly big brothers. They are industrial

materials rather than textile fibres, their domain being plastics, aerogels, rubber-like materials, varnishes, and adhesives.

NEW PLASTICS

Urethanes are chemical compounds akin to urea. Production starts from de-isocyanates, a class of compounds little used in industries before. In Professor Bayer's process, these compounds are reacted with various alcohols. By suitable choice of the other reagent, the properties of the resulting compound may be controlled. Long, chainlike macromolecules may be made—these straight-chain compounds are like fibres. By changing the other reagent and altering the conditions of the reaction, interlacing macromolecules may be made. These are very strong, owing to their net-like structure, and give good resins, varnishes, and adhesives. The degree of interlacing, and hence strength and elasticity, may be chosen at will. So hundreds of different substances are made by applying the same basic principle. The new class of plastics has proved extraordinarily versatile.

The initial materials are mixed at a temperature of 200 degrees centigrade. Urethane molecules form, and immediately polymerize at this temperature. No fewer than 10,000 of them link up to form a macromolecule. Interlacing polyurethanes are known as "Desmophen" and "Desmodur" respectively, and much used for industrial purposes. They do not melt at any temperature and are not dissolved by any solvent. Desmophen varnish solidifies so fast that the usual process of "shooting" the varnish on to the object cannot be applied. It would harden in the air. So the appropriate chemicals are placed on the object, and the varnish is synthesized in position by heating. It is practically indestructible. The new varnishes form hard, soft, or elastic covers on the objects, and other materials can be impregnated with them. Adhesives made from mixtures of the new synthetics are extremely strong. They will cement metals and rubber. One interesting polyurethane is "Vulcollane," a highly elastic, rubber-like substance differing in chemical structure from both natural rubber and "Buna" the well-known synthetic.

World Bank Grants \$10 Million Loan to Indian Corporation

Washington, March 15—The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) yesterday entered into a formal agreement to lend \$10 million to the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India formed to assist India's industrial growth.

The new corporation, sponsored by private investors of India, the United Kingdom and the United States, will make long and medium-term loans to industrial enterprises; purchase shares of industrial enterprises; underwrite new issues of securities; guarantee loans by other investors; and help industry to obtain managerial, technical and administrative advice and assistance.

The loan documents were signed for the bank by Eugene B. Black, its president. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the United States, signed for his government.—*USIS*.

Conquest of the Desert

The 15th March, 1955 will certainly be remembered as a red-letter day in the history of Sind as on this day the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, performed the opening ceremony of a prize project which is destined to turn some three million acres of waterless waste of the province into smiling fields.

The construction of this gigantic barrage, which is now known as Ghulam Mohammed Barrage was taken in hand on 12th February 1950, and Pakistan engineers and workers deserve full credit that within a short span of five years in spite of the hindrances caused by unforeseen events, this barrage which is a vital link of a bigger project, has been successfully completed.

The advantages accruing from this Barrage project are manifold. It will provide assured, adequate and timely supply of water to the districts of Hyderabad, Dadu and Thatta. With this uninterrupted supply not only an area of 1,650,000 acres which is receiving uncertain supplies of water through the inundated canals will be continuously irrigated but also an additional area of about 1,100,000 acres waste land will come under cultivation.

Another important benefit of this project will be that for the first time in the history of the tract, an appreciable area will come under Rabi crops—vegetables, tobacco, sugar-cane invited the attention of authorities concerned to the important point that in distributing the land great care should be taken to give these lands to those who have small holdings and to refugees who have elected to make Sind their home. He uttered prophetic warning that if we will repeat the mistake of distributing these lands among the big landlords, we will be only adding to our difficulties.

"The common man whether the refugee or a local," he said, "is the core of our nation and all our schemes and projects must aim at ameliorating the hardships of his day-to-day life."

It is in the fitness of things that this gigantic project which is bound to contribute abundantly to the prosperity and welfare of the common man has been named after the Head of the State who holds the welfare of the nation's downtrodden millions very dear to his heart.—*Pakistan Today*, April 1, 1955.

WHO Develops Exchange of Medical Publications

Medical libraries throughout the world, which previously offered their surplus publications to other medical institutions for free distribution and exchange through UNESCO, will now offer them through the agency of the World Health Organization's Headquarters, in Geneva.

According to information received this week from Geneva, WHO will inform medical libraries in its Member States concerning the availability of medical books and periodicals offered by libraries. It will not itself collect and make shipments of such material, but will act as a central information service for medical libraries wishing to exchange and distribute material.

All shipments of publications will be made directly from one medical library to another, after agreement has been reached on the exact items required and on the question of transport costs.

WHO, through its Library and Reference Section, is already in touch with a great many medical libraries throughout the world, but will be glad to receive from new medical libraries offers of exchanges, accompanied by lists of the most-needed books and particulars of periodicals.—*WHO Press Release*, February 7, 1955.

Paul Claudel

The great French writer Paul Claudel died in Paris recently.

He was born in 1868 and belonged to that generation of Frenchmen which has given to the world such writers as Paul Valery, Andre Gide, Romain Rolland and Colette, such painters as Henri Matisse, such politicians as Jaures and Leon Blum and such scientists as Pierre Curie and Paul Langevin.

In his youth he was a great admirer of Rimbaud in whom he found the master enabling him to escape from a materialistic world. Suddenly, he awoke to the consciousness of his Catholic faith, which he professed to the day of his death.

He had taken up the diplomatic career (he was Consul in Shanghai, Minister Plenipotentiary in Rio, and later Ambassador in Tokyo and in Washington), and he composed most of his works in the course of his stay abroad: *l'Otage* (1911), *L'Annonce faite a Marie* (1912), *L'Echange* (1912), *Le Soulier de Satin* (1929).

His full and impetuous lyricism is free from all the constraint of classical French poetry: he has preferred to express himself by means of the verse imitating the verse of the Bible.

All his writings, whether poetry or drama, are guided by his Christian mysticism, in regard to which he chooses his subjects, and it is the conclusion of *L'Annonce faite a Marie* which seems to be the key to his work: "The aim of life is not to live but to die, it is not to shape the cross but to ascend it and to give what we possess with a smile."—*News from France*.



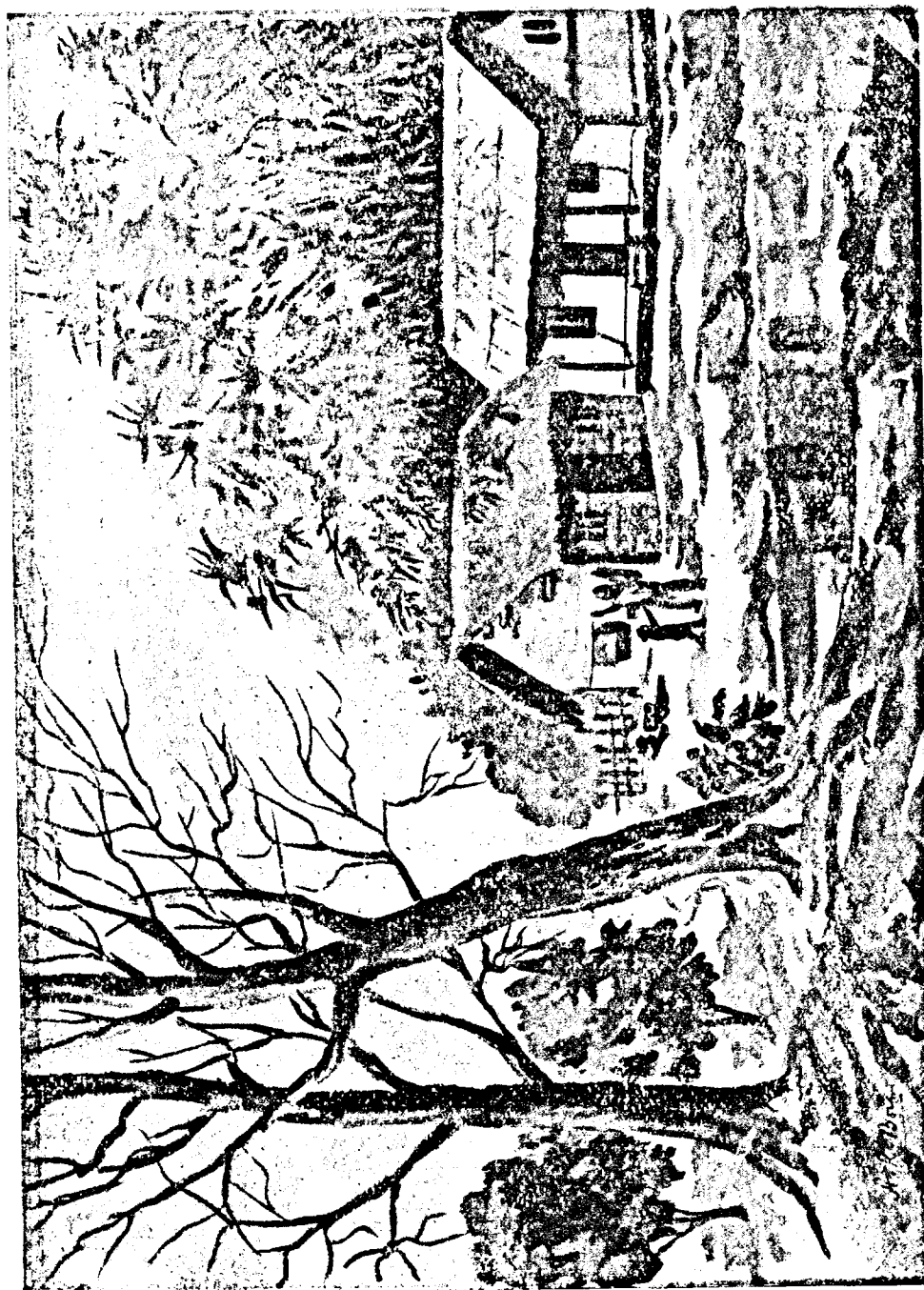
Evening at the Outram Ghat, Calcutta

Photo: Miren Adhikary



Mid-summer noon

Photo: Benoybhusan Das



A VILLAGE IN SUMMER
By Asitranjan Bose

Pubani Press, Calcutta.

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NOTES

Scape-Goats and Escapism

Sixty-four amiable members of Parliament sent representation to the Congress Working Committee regarding the desirability of stricter censorship of Indian and foreign films. Cinema, they said, was a 'social industry'—whatever may that connote—and if it tended to create an anti-social atmosphere "something would have to be done about it." Evidently by "something" was meant this representation and that having been done, the sixty-four *incognitos*, or it may be *incognitas* as well, went back to their quarters, well-satisfied at the fruits of their labours and well-content that they had earned the lasting attitude of the forty-eight millions that had provided them with the sinecures at New Delhi.

We give the newspaper report that appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* elsewhere, but here we have to address a few words to Shri Shriman Narayan, the Congress General Secretary.

We do not know anything about the sixty-four members of Parliament. For aught we know they might be as wise as Solomon or Chanakya, or again they might be of the average run, that is to say the usual lazy yes-man and woman of no consequence beyond party representation. We have still less to say about Dr. Keskar as we have not been able to make up our minds, as to whether he is in charge of the departments concerned or whether those departments have taken charge of him.

But Shriman Narayanji has grown in stature in the shadow of Bapu. He might not be a super-Brahmin of Sarvodaya, with all its austerities, fanticisms and shibboleths, but all the same he has breathed the incense and drank the *madhu-parka* at Gandhiji's feet for years. He has listened to the sermons and has served at consultations with the Father of the Nation. And therefore we expect that he would at least keep the Congress, weak, effete

and infested with profit-seekers as it is, reasonably free from attempts at cheap publicity. For that is what we see in every line of the subjoined report. If it be incorrect, then it should be corrected.

Does Shriman Narayanji really believe that any Censor-Code imaginable would really improve matters? There were laws in England which punished smoking and tobacco-chewing by chopping the culprit's limbs off. Did that stop it? Is there no drunkenness in Bombay, where a mother with an ailing child has to move heaven and earth to get an ounce of absolute alcohol to sponge the child's sores? In the United States of only a few decades back, women used to be fined ten dollars if they exposed a few inches of their legs above the ankle, while getting down from the bus or the tram. What was the effect?

Can the sixty-four members name a dozen or even a half dozen films, produced in impeccable taste and free from all the carnal evils, that have not been financial failures? We can name a dozen that were impeccable, but totally unprofitable.

Does Shriman Narayanji know that sublime passages and ennobling scenes from the pens of Rabindranath and Saratchandra have to be bowdlerized and totally inverted in places before the public would take it?

We know that the Cinema today is a social problem. But that problem is not so easy of solution as the dauntless sixty-four or Shri Shriman Narayan imagine it to be. The real trouble is with the total loss of moral values amongst the majority of our people, cinema-goers and others. The Congress has done nothing and is doing nothing about it. It is useless making a scape-goat of the cinema, for in the book-trade and in fiction magazines we have the same shameful story. Shriman Narayanji should cry *Peccavi* with all of us and then proceed with such conferences.

We are not going to give a detailed criticism of

the Working Committee's opinions or of the representation of the sixty-four guards. They are too absurd for detailed consideration, in the form we have perused. We append the extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* below:

The Congress Working Committee has expressed the view that rules and regulations regarding censorship of films should be more strictly enforced to check degeneration of public morale and prevent exhibition of unhealthy films.

The Committee expressed this view at its meeting on May 4 after considering a representation by 64 Members of Parliament regarding the desirability of stricter censorship of Indian and foreign films together with a note on the subject by Dr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

Communicating the views of the Working Committee in a letter to Dr. Keskar, the Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan, has said it was also suggested at the meeting that censorship should be appointed at the script stage to avoid unnecessary complications and wastage of money at a later stage. It was also pointed out that members of the Censor Boards should be selected more carefully so that they might constantly keep in view the probable effect of films on the morale of the people, particularly those of young men and women.

The Members of Parliament in their representation had stated that in India and America the tendency of film producers appeared to be to try to exploit films for the greatest amount of profit regardless of social consequences. The result had been that a deliberate programme of preparing films extolling crime and sex incitement was going on. 'The effect on impressionable young minds of over-sexed stories or crime pictures depicting bloodshed, brutality and violence need not be described. It will not be an exaggeration to say that present-day cinema has been one of the important unsettling factors of our school and University student's life.'

Cinema, the representation said, was a social industry and if its activities tended to create an anti-social atmosphere, something would have to be done to check it. 'There is an overwhelming public opinion that the cinema, more especially in a country like India with an objective of a Welfare State based on socialistic pattern should be controlled and guided more effectively so that it serves the purpose of social and artistic progress.'

Dr. Keskar, in his note, was understood to have generally agreed with the views of the M.Ps. Certain types of films he felt had 'definitely anti-social aspect'. Preparation of such films in increasing numbers had posed a very ticklish problem both from social point of view and from the point of view of national solidarity and security, Dr. Keskar said.

The Kashmir Princess

The world knows now about the Bandung Afro-

Asian Conference. And it also knows of the narrow escape of Chou En-lai and party who were to have flown in the ill-fated Air-India Constellation plane. 'Murder will out' is a cliché, but fairly true nevertheless, at times.

It is no secret that a great many Americans did not like the Conference. That was well-understandable. But what is un-intelligible to most sane persons is the vicious attitude of some reputed journals of the U.S. to all matters pertaining to India.

In this matter of the *Kashmir Princess* crash the *Time* of Chicago, U.S.A., in its April 25 issue came out thus:

"Murder!" cried the Red Chinese government. "Murder deliberately engineered by secret-agent organizations of the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek!" Retorted the U.S. State Department: "Preposterous."

The Chinese Communists had chartered an Air-India plane (fee \$20,000) to take part of their delegation to the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. The four-engined Constellation flew in to Hong Kong from Bangkok on a regular flight, disembarked its passengers, and refueled. During the 80 minutes it stood on the airfield, it was ringed with security guards. Then the charter passengers were whisked in past customs directly to the plane. Chief among the three Chinese delegates were Huang Tso-mei, head of the official New China News Agency in Hong Kong and rated one of the Communists' top agents by Hong Kong police, and Shih Chih-ang, No. 2 man of Peking's chief foreign purchasing agency. Among other passengers five listed as Chinese newsmen were actually (according to Western intelligence) unsung but important Communist propaganda and intelligence agents.

The plane took off. A few hours later, it crashed into the South China Sea 250 miles east of Singapore.

Without waiting for details, India's Prime Minister Nehru despatched a message of concern to Peking: "This disaster has some very unusual features. Something must have happened suddenly. There must be a full inquiry." Peking did not wait, either. Even before the delegation left, said the Foreign Ministry, the government had learned of a "sinister plot . . . to assassinate the members of the Chinese delegation, headed by Premier Chou En-lai and to sabotage the Afro-Asian Conference," and had warned the British to take special precautions. The Communist government charged the British with "heavy responsibility." The British formally rejected the charge, insisted that they had been warned only against the possibility of Nationalist demonstrations, not sabotage. Therefore no special measures had been taken to guard the plane itself, which was serviced by the regular Chinese crews at the airport. But, the British contended, the possibility of sabotage was "extremely remote."

Only three survivors, all Indians, were fished out of the sea. Engineer A. S. Karnik, taken aboard the British frigate *Dampier*, gave the first authentic explanation of

the crash: a hydraulic fire in the port wing. The plane broke into three pieces when it hit the sea.

This sounded more like a common accident than sabotage. In their first broadcast, long before any survivors had been picked up, the Communists had said that the plane exploded in mid-air—the same kind of wild report that crash investigators on the world's airlines encounter after most crackups. But Peking, which knows a propaganda windfall when it sees one, grabbed its chance, without even waiting for the facts to be established." Thus far the *Time*.

It will be noted that actual facts have been distorted. Of course there is no expression of sorrow at the loss of life of innocent people. That would be too much to expect of the filthy newshound who wrote that propaganda splurge.

We append the communiques and news reports that followed the enquiry.

"New Delhi, May 27.—The explosion of 'a timed infernal machine,' placed in the starboard wheel-well of the aircraft, resulted in the crash of the *Kashmir Princess*, which was carrying Chinese delegates to the Bandung conference on April 11, according to the findings of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government. A summary of the report, released simultaneously in New Delhi and Djakarta today, says there is positive indication of an explosion having occurred in the wheel-well of the starboard undercarriage. This evidence consisted of—

1. The bulging outward of the skin and strut members in the immediate area;
2. Deep pitting by shrapnel of the skin and structural members facing the explosion; and
3. A hole blown inwards into the No. 3 fuel tank.

"The recovery of four parts of a twisted, burnt and corroded clockwork mechanism, which has no relation to any equipment or structure of the aircraft, found in the same area where the explosion took place, 'provided irrefutable evidence of an infernal machine having been placed in this area.'

"The findings of the committee are as follows:

1. The aircraft was airworthy and properly certified;
2. The crew was experienced and held valid licences;
3. The aircraft was properly loaded and had sufficient fuel for the flight;
4. The take-off from Hongkong was normal and the flight uneventful for the first five hours;
5. An explosion occurred on board the aircraft when cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. A fire broke out in the starboard wing and spread rapidly, causing failure to the hydraulic and electrical services;
6. A rapid descent for ditching was immediately commenced and the emergency procedures were carried out efficiently and calmly by the crew members under extremely difficult conditions;
7. The aircraft hit the water with the star-

board wing-tip while under partial loss of control and broke up on impact, and

8. An inspection of the wreckage revealed positive evidence of an explosion in the starboard wheel-well of a timed infernal machine, parts of which were still in the wreckage. This explosion caused puncturing of the No. 3 fuel tank and a fire which spread rapidly and could not be controlled.

"The Constellation took off from Hongkong under the command of Captain Jatar. Routine messages were exchanged by the aircraft with ground stations and the flight was entirely without incident until approximately five hours later, when the aircraft was cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. At this stage a muffled explosion was heard on board. Smoke began entering the cabin through the cold air ducts and a localized fire was detected soon after on the starboard wing behind the No. 3 engine nacelle.

"Rapid descent for ditching the aircraft was resorted to and distress signals were broadcast. In spite of the fire-fighting action, during which the No. 3 engine was feathered, the fire spread very rapidly and caused failure of the hydraulic system, followed by failure of the electric system as well. During the final stages of the descent, executed in extremely difficult circumstances, dense smoke entered the cockpit, reducing visibility to almost nil.

"Only three crew members survived the accident. The aircraft was destroyed.

"Salvage operations to recover the wreckage from the sea-bed were begun on April 25, 1955, and lasted for ten days, during which period nearly 90 per cent of the wreckage was recovered. An inspection of the wreckage revealed confirmatory evidence of a fire having started in the area referred to by the surviving members of the crew."

"New Delhi, May 27.—A search is now being made for a man in Formosa who, according to irrefutable circumstantial evidence, is believed to be responsible for the destruction of the *Kashmir Princess*. It is learnt on excellent authority that the alleged saboteur, a K.M.T. Chinese, is closely implicated in the planting of the time-bomb in the ill-fated Air India International plane and that he has escaped to Taipei.

"Meanwhile, the Government of India is refusing to say anything in the matter beyond the statement that those found guilty must be punished. The full report of the inquiry is still awaited."

The Hongkong Government made the following statement to *Reuter*:

"The report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Government of Indonesia establishes that an explosion in the wing of the Air India International aircraft *Kashmir Princess* which caused the plane to crash into the sea on April 11 whilst on a flight from Hongkong to Djakarta was due to sabotage.

"It seems probable that the explosive device employed was placed in the aircraft at Hongkong. Although it would not be in the public interest at this stage to publish results of the Hongkong police investigations so far made, the Hongkong Government is determined to make every effort to ascertain the facts. If it is established that the outrage was committed at Hongkong it is determined to do all in its power to bring those responsible to justice.

"In a statement issued by the Hongkong Government on April 13, it was stated that it had been informed that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had received information that trouble might be made by Chinese Nationalist sympathizers for a group of journalists leaving for the Bandung conference by an Air India International aircraft on April 11 and it had been asked to take appropriate precautions.

"There was no suggestion in the message from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or from any other source, of possible sabotage of the aircraft. The precautions taken were therefore directed to protection of the passengers from molestation at the airport. Had the possibility of sabotage been mentioned, specified action would have been taken for its prevention, including detailed search of the aircraft, and, if necessary, its detention for a suitable length of time.

"Immediately after news of the crash was received, inquiries were begun as soon as possible. These covered a wide field, including arrangements made for the transport of passengers and their baggage, servicing and fuelling of the aircraft and interrogation of all those that had been in any way connected with the arrangements in Hongkong.

"More than 100 persons were interviewed by the police and statements were taken from all of them. Although there was no evidence at that time to point to sabotage, the investigation was carried out on the assumption that sabotage had taken place.

"As soon as the wreckage of the aircraft had been raised from the sea and had been examined by technical experts, including the Director of Civil Aviation, Hongkong, and the Chief Investigating Officer of Accidents of the British Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, the Hongkong Government was informed that the crash had almost certainly been caused by an explosion in the starboard wing and that this had been caused by a device placed in the wing behind No. 3 engine.

"In view of the time factor (that is because the normal type of time-bomb is set to go off within 12 hours), it seems most likely that this device had, in fact, been placed in the aircraft during its stay in Hongkong.

"This information enabled the field of inquiry to be narrowed, and it was therefore possible to concentrate investigations on those persons in Hongkong

who might have been in a position to place such a device in the Indian aircraft.

"This investigation has been and is still being pursued with the utmost vigour."

According to a message from London the Foreign Office said that the statement issued in Hongkong had the full authorization of the British Government.

The A.I. Radio

In the April Lok-Sabha reports, we had the following item. We are putting it on record.

New Delhi, April 4.—Encouraged by weak criticism in the Lok Sabha's debate on the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's demands, Dr. Keskar today proceeded not only to defend Ministerial interference in the working of A.I.R. but made it clear that there would be "more and more" of it in future.

An officer who wanted no interference, he stated repeatedly, had no place in the organization.

Dr. Keskar said it was the Ministry which was responsible to Parliament for the working of A. I. R. and not the Director-General or any other officer of the organization. It "was utterly presumptuous" for any officer to believe that his work was not open to interference.

He saw no reason for A.I.R. to be treated differently to other departments and failed to make any distinction between supervision and interference.

The importance Dr. Keskar gave to A.I.R. was evident from the fact that he devoted 50 minutes of his hour's speech to it.

It was proposed to distribute 25,000 community listening sets in rural areas in the next two years. The range of medium-wave transmitters had been increased so that they would be picked up by small sets over a wide area.

The reorganization of permanent staff was practically complete. Questions of permanency were being taken up urgently with the Home Ministry.

A. I. R. was giving patronage to more musicians since he had taken over. Songs produced by the light music unit were proving popular.

The quality of programmes had improved and more variety provided. Specialists were being appointed to effect further improvements.

The Akali Morcha

"Ludhiana, May 22.—While the Akali morcha may continue in Amritsar, the chances of its intensification in or extension to other parts of the Punjab appear remote. With most of their leaders and organizers arrested or under detention, there is now an unmistakable sense of bewilderment among the mass of Akali workers. The few leaders who have not been detained are mostly theoreticians with only a limited capacity to organize a movement.

"The Punjab Government's swoop last Sunday in which over 60 Akalis were detained was most unexpected. Not many Akali leaders anticipated that the State Government would act so quickly and firmly."

This seems to put a period to Master Tara Singh's dreams.

Krishna Menon's Mission

We put on record the progress of the mission of hope, so far.

"Peking, May 20.—The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon concluded their talks on Formosa tonight on a note of optimism, cables PTI's special correspondent in Peking. Earlier in the evening, the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, received Mr. Menon. Present at this meeting, which lasted half an hour, were Mr. Chou and the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Chen Yi.

"After tonight's talks Mr. Chou said: 'We can look to the future with hope.' Mr. Menon said: 'I have spent a useful time here.' No communique was issued at the end of the talks, which lasted about 30 hours, spread over 11 days."

India's Balance of Payments

In 1954 India's exports and imports were higher in volume and value than those of 1953. The total value of exports was Rs. 563 crores, which was Rs. 31 crores higher than in the previous year. The volume of exports of practically all commodities was higher in 1954 than in 1953, the only major exceptions being in the case of manganese ore and tea. But in the case of tea, although the volume of exports declined by 51 million lbs., the value of exports was higher by Rs. 28 crores than that of the previous year. In the case of cotton textiles and jute manufactures, there was a fall in export prices; but the increase in the volume of exports more than compensated the decline in prices, and the total value of exports was higher by Rs. 10 crores than in 1953 in each case.

In 1953 the total value of imports stood at Rs. 587 crores and this was higher by Rs. 6 crores than in the previous year. While the import of foodgrains declined by Rs. 31 crores than in the previous year, the bulk of the increase was industrial raw materials like metals, mineral oils, dyes, chemicals, cotton, etc. Further, the prices of imports were generally lower than in 1953. The volume of imports was, therefore, greater than the figures of value would indicate. Owing to the comparatively stable foreign exchange position reached during the previous year, it was found possible to continue and expand the policy of removing or reducing the restrictions on the import of several essential commodities and to diversify the pattern of the import trade. As a result the import of a large range of industrial raw materials and semiprocessed goods increased considerably in value and volume.

The adverse balance of trade was reduced in 1954 to Rs. 22.35 crores from Rs. 54.26 crores in 1953. In post-war years, chronic deficits have been a feature of our foreign trade, the year 1950 being an exception. The foreign exchange position had shown an improvement; sterling balances stood at the end of March 1955 at Rs. 732 crores. Import licences were liberalised and 33 new items of import were added to the liberal licensing scheme. Imports of industrial raw materials rose from Rs. 288 crores to Rs. 329 crores in 1954. Essential consumer goods cost Rs. 159 crores of foreign exchange in 1954 as against Rs. 188 crores in 1953. The import of plant and machinery declined in 1954 by Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 76 crores. Notwithstanding a liberal import policy, the import of essential consumer goods declined in value by Rs. 29 crores. Although lower prices are partly responsible for this decline, the pattern of trade is being shifted towards an increase in imports of industrial raw materials and plant and machinery.

The United Kingdom and the USA continued to be India's principal buyers and suppliers. In 1954, the distribution of India's imports by countries of origin were as follows (1953 percentage being within brackets): UK 24.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); USA 12.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); Burma 7.5 per cent (3.2 per cent); Egypt 4.3 per cent (3.8 per cent) and other countries 51.2 per cent (52.6 per cent in 1953). The decline in imports from the USA, Canada and Australia are on account of greatly reduced imports of wheat from these countries in 1954. The distribution of India's exports by countries of destination was as follows: UK 31.7 per cent (28.2 per cent) and USA 15.3 per cent (16.2 per cent). While exports to Burma and Japan declined in 1954, exports to West Germany and Australia increased considerably.

In 1954 the balance of trade with the dollar area improved by Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 21 crores in India's favour. The export of tea, jute and cotton piece-goods accounted for 58 per cent of India's export earnings. Tea tops the list bringing in Rs. 147 crores on an export of 459 million lbs against Rs. 102 crores on 471 million lbs in 1953. The export of jute goods increased by 74,000 tons to 852,000 tons; earnings rose by Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 124 crores. The export of cotton piece-goods increased by 45 million yards to 815 million yards. Exports of raw cotton were permitted to the extent of 3 lakh bales as compared with 1.75 lakh bales in the earlier cotton season. Exports to South-East Asian countries fell sharply from Rs. 120 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 72 crores in 1954-55. Although there was a higher level of production in the light engineering and chemical industries, export earnings declined from Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 64 crores.

The Reserve Bank of India's figures for our exports and imports are different. It places India's imports in 1954 at Rs. 624.5 crores and exports at Rs. 548.8 crores, leaving an adverse trade balance for Rs. 75.7

crores. The higher imports in 1954 were entirely on account of commercial imports, since those on Government account declined considerably. After taking into account of Official Donations and Government and Private Invisibles, there was a surplus of Rs. 4 crores on current account. But it should be remembered that official donations and invisibles are by way of compensatory official financing which constitute mainly loans and grants and they are not strictly speaking export earnings. Therefore, the current account surplus is apparently a misleading figure, the adverse trade balance being a recorded fact. A happy feature of our foreign trade in 1954 was that India had a surplus of Rs. 4.7 crores in her trade with Pakistan. In 1953, India had a current account deficit of Rs. 2.2 crores with Pakistan. Invisible receipts fell in 1954 by Rs. 18.4 crores to Rs. 79.4 crores. This was mainly attributable to the decline in official donations (i.e., mainly aid received under the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement, the Colombo Plan and the Ford Foundation) by Rs. 13.4 crores to Rs. 5.0 crores.

* Second Five-Year Plan

With the first Five-Year Plan drawing to its close, the second Five-Year Plan is being envisaged. The outlines of the second Five-Year Plan still remain undefined, but its overall objectives have been clearly stated to be as follows: (1) An increase of 25 to 27 per cent in national income during the five-year period, or about 5 per cent per year, and (2) provision of employment for 10 to 12 million people during this period. The detailed Plan is yet to be drawn out. The broad outline is based on three papers prepared by economic experts. Briefly, there will be a total outlay of Rs. 6,300 crores, of which the share of the public sector will be Rs. 4,300 crores and that of the private sector Rs. 2,000 crores; in the public sector is included an expenditure of Rs. 900 crores on non-development purposes. Importance will be given to the development of basic heavy industries for the manufacture of producer goods to strengthen the foundations of economic independence. The development of heavy and capital goods industries will reduce India's dependence on foreign countries for the supply of essential machinery. Emphasis will also be laid on small-scale, cottage and home industries, in order to increase the output of consumer goods and provide employment in rural areas. Large-scale factories producing consumer goods will not be given much importance. Irrigation and agriculture will receive due prominence, but the emphasis will be on medium-sized projects and regional balance. Rural electrification, community projects and National Extension Services will be rapidly expanded.

The second Five-Year Plan will aim at obtaining a rapid growth of the national economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector and in this way to advance to a socialist pattern of society. The Joint Paper of the experts makes the following observations: "The economic development of the country

must conform to the broad social objectives in hand. The development of a socialist pattern of society has already been enunciated as a basic objective before the country. In formulating the second plan emphasis must be placed on the extension of public ownership or control over the strategic means of production, on greater equality of opportunities, on bringing the gap between the haves and the have-nots and on the protection and enhancement of the well-being of the weak and unorganised sections of the society. Men do not give of their best in the absence of a secure and fair share in the fruits of their labour and achievement of social justice is a necessary condition for releasing the productive energies of the people."

If the first Five-Year Plan was mainly agricultural, the second Five-Year Plan is rightly going to be mainly industrial. The Russian economic plans give emphasis to the development of heavy industries and the recent struggle for power in that country accused the opponents, now displaced, of having indulged in the development of consumer goods industries. The authorities in India seem now to have realised that Industrial development is the *sine qua non* of economic planning. Special attention is therefore to be given to the production of machinery to be employed in the other producer goods industries. India possesses the richest iron ores in the world and there is no reason why India should not try to develop herself as one of the foremost countries in the production of machinery. With the establishment of three new steel plants India's capacity of steel production will be expanded to 30 million tons in next 10 to 15 years. Emphasis should also be given for the development of synthetic petrol and this would reduce imports and serve as a nucleus for the development of several other industries.

A suggestion has been made that to increase the production of consumer goods, the household or hand industries should be utilised as far as possible. This is said to attempt at a nice balance between the labour-intensive schemes that constitute household and hand-industries and the capital-intensive schemes that comprise the heavy industries. While recognising the labour-intensive aspect of small-scale and village industries, the experts make it clear that once the economy gets going, employment opportunities become more plentiful and investible surpluses increase, it would be possible and also desirable to introduce more efficient methods of production in the consumer goods industries as well. Indeed, the ultimate justification for developing producer goods industries lies in the need for modernising the production of consumer goods and making it more efficient. Although part of the output of capital goods may be exported or used for further expansion of producer goods industries, a part must be absorbed in the modernisation of consumer goods industries. Thus, the development of heavy capital goods industries is consistent with and requires modernisation of methods of production in other sectors over a period of time. The strategy of balancing the develop-

ment of producer goods industries at one end with encouragement of capital-light methods of production at the other end is justified in the immediate future only because it is hoped that at a later date our savings would rise sufficiently to permit the adoption of capital-using methods over a large area without starving the rest of the economy for capital and without creating unemployment.

In the opinion of the experts, it should be possible to obtain a rise in national income of 5 per cent per annum, with a wise planning and an investment of Rs. 5,600 crores (excluding obviously the non-development expenditure). Doubts are being cherished whether it would be possible for the authorities in this country to raise such a huge amount for the next plan. It may be pointed out that in the first three years of the first Five-Year Plan, only Rs. 860 crores, or 40 per cent of the expenditure proposed over the Five-Year Plan period, were invested. In the last year of the first Plan, a sum of Rs. 710 crores is proposed to be spent, while in the fourth year Rs. 541 crores were scheduled to be spent. It is to be seen whether this large amount could be spent in the last year of the Plan. If the proposed expenditure under the second Plan is to be realised, it will be necessary for the State alone to make investment at the rate of Rs. 860 crores per annum on an average, which was done in three years under the first Plan. To accelerate the rate of expenditure, technical knowledge and strategic materials must have a continuous flow, otherwise the pace of expenditure will be halted. India lacks technical knowledge and for that she has to depend on foreign experts whose supply is limited.

In the second Five-Year Plan, 10 per cent of India's national income will be invested. In the first five-year Plan, 4 per cent of the national income was saved and invested on an average. Therefore to achieve the target of 10 per cent saving, larger efforts have to be made both by the State and the people. At the end of the first Plan, our national income will come to nearly Rs. 11,000 crores. Ten per cent of this will mean Rs. 1,100 crores per year and this will aggregate about Rs. 6,000 crores over a period of five years, assuming a progressive increase of 5 per cent per year in our national income. The policy of heavy taxation which is being followed by the State will discourage private saving and as a result the State shall have to take upon itself the sole charge of creating savings in the public sector. The private sector will be assigned with the task of raising Rs. 2,000 for investment during the five years of the second Plan. This is too optimistic an estimate. During the first Plan, the private sector could not raise by way of saving more than Rs. 20 annually and to jump from this paltry sum to the height of Rs. 400 a year requires too bold an imagination. The private sector will hardly have capacity to invest Rs. 400 a year in the immediate future. The scope of foreign aid is limited and although larger sums have

been estimated on account of foreign aid to be available during the second Five-Year Plan, India shall have to depend mainly on her internal resources for the successful operation of the second Plan.

Another point should not be lost sight of. It is good that the authorities are giving greater prominence to heavy industries. But heavy industries by themselves alone will be fruitless if simultaneous efforts are not made to establish and encourage those industries which can use products turned out by the heavy industries. Consumer goods industries must simultaneously be established so as to absorb the output of the heavy industries. It would be a folly to give too much prominence to heavy industries and ignore the consumer goods industries, leaving them to be developed by small-scale and cottage industries. That would create a condition of unbalanced economy.

Trend of Banking in 1954

Expanding resources and greater activity were, according to the Reserve Bank's latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, the main features of banking in India in 1954 in contrast to the relatively quiet year that preceded it. The higher level of banking activity arising mainly from the broadening of overall economic activity was reflected in the rising trend of bank deposits, on the one hand, and of advances and investments, on the other. The increase in advances was particularly noteworthy as it occurred in the wake of declines in the previous two years. Bank credit recorded an expansion of Rs. 57 crores in 1954, as against a fall of Rs. 66 crores in 1952, and Rs. 10 crores in 1953. Though credit demands were at a higher level in 1954 and though the credit contraction in the slack season was not commensurate with the seasonal expansion in 1953-54, there was no reason to believe, states the Report, that speculative influences were significantly at work; the expansion in bank credit is to be related to the sustained increase in production and business activity, though with a generally declining wholesale price level.

In meeting the increased credit demands, banks had to supplement their increased resources by availing themselves in substantial measure of the facilities for borrowing from the Reserve Bank and in fact, in 1954, the financial assistance provided by the Bank stood at a record level. The annual volume of the Reserve Bank's advances to scheduled banks at Rs. 148 crores under the Bill Market Scheme, whose scope was enlarged during the year 1954, was well over double the 1953 total, while the volume of advances for general purposes was also the largest to-date at Rs. 189 crores.

In 1954, deposits of scheduled banks recorded a sharp rise of Rs. 91 crores, compared with the relatively small increase of Rs. 8 crores in 1953. The rising trend of deposits, the Report points out, confirms the observation made in the Report for 1953 that the post-Partition decline in deposits has been arrested and

that, in fact, a phase of deposit expansion seems to have begun. The rise in deposits consisted of an increase of Rs. 80 crores in deposits with Indian scheduled banks and of Rs. 11 crores with exchange banks.

The trends in investments of commercial banks also indicated, as in the case of advances, a greater utilisation of bank resources in earning assets. Despite the sizeable accretion to the total, the distribution pattern of scheduled bank investments at the end of 1954 hardly showed any change as compared with a year ago. Investments in Government securities formed 86.4 per cent of the total investments as compared with 86.7 per cent in 1953 and the small rise in the proportion of Central Government securities was offset by an almost equal decline in State Government securities. Among other domestic investments, fixed deposits showed a small rise. Foreign investments accounted for 5.8 per cent of the total, of which a little over one-third was held in Pakistan.

The distribution of scheduled bank advances under the main groups does not indicate any marked changes over the year. Industry continues to claim a little over one-third and commerce about one-half of the total. Production credit for agriculture which was at Rs. 12 crores at the end of 1953 declined even further to Rs. 5 crores at the end of 1954; exchange banks, the major purveyors of credit for this sector (which includes plantations), accounted for the largest decline; personal and professional and unclassified advances registered a moderate increase. The profit and loss account of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks (each with deposits of Rs. 5 crores and above) reflects the increase in the turnover of banking business in 1954. Gross earnings of these banks registered a rise of Rs. 2.6 crores to Rs. 31.2 crores, over two-thirds (Rs. 1.8 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. The rise in total expenses of Rs. 2.2 crores was made up of an increase of Rs. 1.2 crores in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc., Rs. 0.7 crore in establishment expenses and Rs. 0.3 crore in other expenses. Consequently, net profits went up by Rs. 0.4 crore to Rs. 5.3 crores in contrast to the fall of Rs. 0.3 crore in 1953.

In 1954, 17 banks went into liquidation or were ordered to be wound up. All of them were non-scheduled banks. Of these, 8 banks went into voluntary liquidation; 4 of them in the Bombay area, 3 in the Madras area and one in the Trivandrum area. Some of the more prominent defects in the working of the banks, as observed by the Reserve Bank during inspections of banks, have been inadequate reserves, meagre liquid assets, over-extended advances, relatively large unsecured advances against immovable property and a large proportion of bad and doubtful debts. It will be realised that the process of developing sound banking methods has not been an easy one, since there were no indigenous traditions in regard to modern banking

methods, and a large number of mushroom banks were started by persons who had no experience of banking whatever during the years 1942-47, when ample funds were available. As a result of the guidance and the instructions given by the Reserve Bank, most of the banks have begun to take steps for the realisation of unsatisfactory investments and the recovery of doubtful advances. The Report also makes a reference to the steps taken by the Reserve Bank in assisting co-operative credit institutions and augmenting industrial credit facilities. In conclusion, the Report draws attention to the role of banking in the process of development. While credit expansion to meet the growing needs of the economy would be permitted and encouraged, the Reserve Bank, states the Report, would necessarily have to keep the situation under observation to prevent any undue credit inflation and to ensure the goal of development with stability.

India and Foreign Aid

For some time past controversy is going on whether India should accept foreign economic aid. Foreign aid is provided in the form of outright grants or as loans at low rates of interest to the underdeveloped countries for the purpose of raising their living standards. In the post-war period the USA emerged as the generous donor to the war-devastated and economically underdeveloped countries. Originally Marshall Aid was given to European countries ravaged by the second World War. Now there has come a shift in outlook and the American aid is being directed towards the underdeveloped countries of Asia. Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that free Asia contains 770 million people, one-third of the world's population. He said:

"Most of them are citizens of newly independent States. Some have been engaged in recent war against Communists. All are threatened. Capital is very scarce. Technical and administration skill is limited. Within the area, however, abundant resources and fertile lands are ready for development."

He however stressed that the major responsibility for economic progress must lie with the countries themselves and foreign aid and capital can only launch or stimulate the process of creating dynamic economics. Describing the economic philosophy of the aid, he observed:

"The other free nations need the US and we need them, if we all are to be secure. Here is a clear case of inter-woven self-interest."

Mr. Eisenhower adds that the US economy cannot be strong and continue to expand without the development of healthy economic conditions in other free nations and without a continuous expansion of international trade. He concludes:

"Neither can we be secure in our freedom, unless elsewhere in the world, we help to build the

conditions under which freedom can flourish by destroying the conditions under which totalitarianism can flourish—gross poverty, illiteracy, hunger and disease."

During the first three years of the Plan period, that is, 1951-54, the total foreign aid received by India amounted to Rs. 131.9 crores, and in 1954-55, the budget figure for external aid was placed at Rs. 48 crores. These include loans from the International Bank, Technical Co-operation Assistance Scheme, grants under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation Scheme, etc. For the year 1954-55, a sum of \$60.5 million was authorised by the US Government as development assistance to India. About 50 per cent of this assistance is being utilised in obtaining agricultural commodities like wheat and cotton. Out of this sum of \$60.5 million, the Government of India agreed that a sum of \$45 million or its rupee equivalent should be a loan.

The Government of India is now hesitant to accept loan from the USA in view of the critical attitude taken by the American public of the foreign policy pursued by India. Of course, the American opposition to loans being given to India is not general but limited to some sections among the people. In view of this opposition from the American people, India voluntarily reduced free gift to about 25 per cent, treating the balance as loan. The sum provisionally earmarked by the USA for India to be given in 1955-56 is \$85 million. Out of this sum, \$70 million are for economic development and \$15 million for technical assistance. Pakistan, which is only one-fifth of India, has been allocated a higher sum of \$92 million, that is \$7 million more than the sum allocated to India. The sum earmarked for Pakistan is divided as under: \$63 million for defence (economic) support; \$20 million for direct forces support; and \$9 million for technical aid.

Outright grants by the USA for the economic development of India have been very limited. The total of such grants utilised during the first three years of the Plan being only Rs. 22.6 crores, including the money allocated by the Ford Foundation Schemes. The total sum allocated for this purpose was, however, higher at Rs. 84 crores. The total outright grants utilised by India comes to only 2.6 per cent in relation to the sum of Rs. 860 crores spent during the first three years of the Plan. The foreign aid issue is being viewed in a different perspective by a section. In the early period of colonial development, India, China and other colonial countries were exploited by their Western masters for their own industrial development. The plunder of Bengal helped the industrial revolution of Britain and the cost of transformation of the British mercantile economy to a highly industrialised one was paid mainly by the people of India in the form of famine and death and unemployment. It is now suggested that

the Western nations, including the USA, have now a moral obligation to redeem their debt to the Asian countries, and this view finds a supporter in Mr. Chester Bowles, the former US Ambassador to India.

India has not much objection in principle to receive foreign assistance provided it comes without any political strings. For an underdeveloped country like India, foreign aid brings plant and machinery and technical know-how from industrialised nations of the West. Barring the question of moral obligation of the Western world towards the underdeveloped countries, it may be asked whether India can afford to dispense with outright grants and gifts. In the second Five-Year Plan, the help from the USA will form an insignificant percentage of the total outlay and India will not be a loser if she refuses such grants. Sri Rajagopalachari poses the question that in time of war, India shall have a moral obligation to side with the benefactor countries. Outright grants are to be viewed as aids in the preparation for cold war among the big powers and the receipt of such grants may entangle India in the power politics of the world. Although this point need not be overlooked, it need not be, in our view, much enlarged.

Rashtra Bhasa

New Delhi, May 5.—The Home Minister, Sri G. B. Pant today announced in the Lok Sabha the appointment of Sri B. G. Kher as Chairman of the proposed Hindi Commission.

One of the terms of reference of the Commission would be the preparation of a time schedule according to and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language.

Sri Pant was making a statement on a motion of Sri S. N. Das calling attention of the Government to the provision in the Constitution for appointment of a Commission for the official language. This is mentioned in Article 344.

Sri Pant said the Government of India proposed to constitute a Commission on Hindi consisting of a Chairman and other members representing different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

It was hoped that the Commission would be able to make their report as soon as possible within a year, the Home Minister added.

In making their recommendations the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the "just claims and interests of persons" belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services, Sri Pant said.

The Home Minister said the terms of reference of the Commission were likely to be to make recommendations as to (1) progressive use of Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union (2) restriction on the use of English language for all or any of the purposes of the Union; (3) language to be used for all

or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution; (4) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union; (5) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union.

We would lay special stress on the *just claims and interests of non-Hindi-speaking areas*, which the protagonists of Hindi are so eager to violate.

English vs. Hindi

Surat, May 1.—Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, said here today that the study of English should not be hindered in the interest of international good, greater knowledge and progress.

Declaring open the new building of the Preparatory English School of the People's Education Society here, he characterized the Bombay Government's policy regarding English as foolish.

"The national language cannot be improved by suppressing English or any other language," he said.

"Every one should be compelled to learn the national language and education must be as far as possible in the mother tongue. But to suggest suppression of English for improving Hindi is an argument that could come only from the uneducated."

Mr. Patil was of opinion that English was not a foreign language. "Like the English system of judiciary, the English language is an asset we have acquired. We have to be thankful to the English for these two legacies as well as the democratic thinking they inculcated into Indians," he said. Indians need not be ashamed of these assets.

Mr. M. K. Dixit, President of the Education Society, said, neglect of English would mean destruction of a national asset.

Sri Patil has not understood the real urge behind all this outcry for the suppression of English and the immediate substitution of Hindi for it in all fields. It is that the Hindi speakers would gain an immediate and immense advantage over the non-Hindi speakers.

Untouchability

Delhi, May 2.—With rare unanimity, the Rajya Sabha on Monday agreed to the Home Minister's Bill to prescribe punishment for the practice of untouchability, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

The Bill which is a penal measure, will now go to the President for his assent.

The Deputy Home Minister, Sri B. N. Datar, who piloted the measure said that even now there were people who believed that untouchability was a part of the religion. Scheduled Caste people were not still allowed to enter to some of the sacred Hindu temples.

Later, replying to the debate, he assured the members that the Government would take strong action against public servants who would be found guilty of discrimination in the discharge of their duties.

During the debate, members stressed the necessity of economic upliftment of the Scheduled Caste people. The Government were also requested to make distinction in the matter of punishment between those who practise untouchability not so much from the consciousness of a wrong doing and the landlord classes who tried to perpetuate untouchability for exploiting the poor.

Moving the Bill, the Deputy Home Minister Sri B. N. Datar, said it was a penal measure and not one for the purpose of giving rights, as such, because all including the Scheduled Castes have been given rights under the Constitution.

Sri Datar said the offences under the Bill were made cognizable as otherwise it might lead to results that would make the provisions negative.

At long last the Government has taken a firm step in this matter.

Buddhism and Ambedkar

Poona, May 13.—An all-out bid to lead en masse his scheduled caste followers in the country to embrace Buddhism, on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha, which will be celebrated all over the world in July next year, will be made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, President of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

It will be recalled here that only recently Dr. Ambedkar has announced his decision to embrace Buddhism on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha next year.

Work on the Marathi translation of the tenets of Buddhism from the original in Pali is being done in Poona. A Marathi Press has also been set up to print the copies.

It is understood that Dr. Ambedkar is planning to undertake a country-wide tour to preach and propagate and persuade and prepare his followers for embracing Buddhism next year, when he himself will embrace the religion. An organisation, called the Bodhi Jan Sangh, has already been formed for the purpose.

And thus it may be that millions whose forefathers were penalised by the Brahminists for their faith in Buddhism, would go back into the fold.

Telephones and Democracy

It seems telephones are a source of worry and anxiety even in the U.S.A., as the following extract from the *Worldover Press* shows:

"Telephone talk has never been completely private. This reporter has been in foreign areas where you have to shout so loudly into the mouthpiece that if the person you're talking to is no farther than 20 miles away, you might as well go out into the street and bellow. And if you're on a party line in some sections of the United States, you know that the juicier morsels of conversation are likely to become immediate topics for kitchen conferences throughout the neighborhood."

"Actual wire-tapping, as we have come to know about it, is, however a very different thing. If it can't be stopped by legislation—which seems rather doubtful—the best alternative might be to have the telephone companies fix things up so any of us can listen in at any time on anyone we want to. Then at least we'd all be more discreet."

"Laws will not work unless those charged with enforcing them set an example by scrupulous obedience. Yet everyone understands by now that the Department of Justice at Washington, aware that wire-tapping is criminal, can't go after the wire-tappers because it has been violating the law itself for many years. It can't bring into court the findings from its wire-tapping because the illegality would ruin its cases. It does, nevertheless, wire-tap to secure leads that can be followed up by a search for evidence more legally found."

In a democracy this has a startling sound. We know how Hitler played back recordings of private conversations to a flustered British diplomat. We've heard the story of the American delegation settling into a Moscow hotel and commenting upon the cleanliness of everything except the corners of the meeting room—whereupon, in less than 20 minutes, in came an agitated maid to attack those corners with a broom.

"What you say may not matter. Many of us are so openly outspoken there is no gulf between what we'd say with the world's ears to hear. But can you control what someone may say to you? If the talk at the other end of the wire should be of a suspicious nature, you yourself are apt to be involved. The first sentence ever used over his experimental wire by Alexander Graham Bell was a somewhat peremptory order to his assistant: 'Mr. Watson, come here, I want you.' If we can't stop this sneaky, anti-democratic wire-tapping somehow and soon, a summons almost like Bell's may one day reach your eardrums from some Commissar-like Big Shot. For along with suspected thieves, race track touts and subversives, thousands of innocent people, somewhere between Satan and Santa Claus, have already been made victims."

We are somewhat safe in this matter. Not that our official sleuths would stop at wire-tapping. On the contrary. Our safeguard lies in the difficulty of obtaining a telephone connection and maintaining an undisturbed talk of over a minute.

First of all the telephone directories are so designed as to be of minimum service to any one below the rank of a super V.I.P. Then the question of getting the number is complicated where there is a dial system, and a total gamble where it is manual. If you get the number you may find three others have also joined the party.

Hindu Marriage Bill

At long last this bill was passed. It is curious that in the public opposition names came out which showed that mere rank, position, political record, or

University education is no guarantee against mediaevalism of the most degenerate type. All's well that ends well, however, and we put the news on record:

"New Delhi, May 5.—The Hindu Marriage Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha today with a degree of unanimity which contrasted sharply with the controversy it has raised in recent years. When put to vote, only one lonely 'no' from the Hindu Mahasabha member, Mr. V. G. Deshpande, could be heard among the chorus of 'ayes'. Since the Bill was adopted in the same form as it was passed by the Rajya Sabha, it now requires only the President's assent to become law."

"As expected from his unremitting support to the Hindu Code, Mr. Nehru made it a point to take part in the third reading. He saw the Bill as the first attempt to shake up the rigid structure of society and said it was essential for social freedom to be integrated with political and economic freedom."

"The Prime Minister paid high tribute to the women of India. He was very proud and had faith, he said, in their 'sense of duty, grace, charm, shyness, modesty, intelligence and spirit of sacrifice.' He was not afraid to allow them to go forward."

"Earlier, the House passed the clause giving the right to claim alimony to husbands as well as wives following an assurance by Mr. Pataskar that he would review it at the first suitable occasion."

Freedom for Austria

We have given a detailed editorial elsewhere. We append below the comment that conveyed the news:

"Vienna, May 15.—Austria became a free independent nation today for the first time since Nazi troops goose-stepped in her territory in March, 1938."

"Church bells pealed the liberty message in every town and hamlet, calling on seven million citizens to pray in thanksgiving before rejoicing with music and flowing tankards."

"The Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Russia, Britain and France closed a turbulent era in Austrian history by putting their names to the long delayed State treaty restoring Austrian sovereignty. Their occupation troops will withdraw from landlocked Austria within 90 days of ratification and in any case not later than December 31 this year."

"Soviet concessions after ten years of intermittent argument enabled the four Powers to reach agreement on the State treaty last Thursday. In return for the concessions Austria will follow a neutral path in the East-West conflict."

Eden back in Power

The subjoined news-item was the first communique on the victory of the Conservative Party in Britain:

"London, May 27.—Sir Anthony Eden was firmly back in power as Britain's Prime Minister tonight

with the strongest House of Commons majority a Conservative Government has commanded for a quarter of a century. His party, pledged to 'prosperity through free enterprise,' won a solid vote of confidence in the General Election held yesterday.

"The nation's verdict means that the Conservatives can govern for the next five years, secure in a majority over all other parties of at least 54. For the past three and a half years since they scraped into power in 1951 they have never had a bigger margin than 13.

"Sir Anthony Eden told cheering supporters in London that he believed that the younger generation had influenced the result. 'There is no doubt that younger people felt there was a national job to be done for their country and they were not much in sympathy with the class hatred on which some people have fought the election. We shall do everything within our power to fulfil worthily the trust of the country, which has treated us with such generosity and also with such confidence'."

The British Labor Party

The Conservative Party of Britain has won the Parliamentary elections with a far more comfortable majority than in the last elections.

The abject defeat that Labor has suffered is explained by various commentators in various ways, the most common being the success of the Tories in the building of a real Welfare State, and the intransigence of the strikers in essential spheres. The following comments, taken from the *Worldover Press* for April 8, gives a vivid background to the Labour debacle:

London (WF).—The British Labor Party has entered the most critical phase of its existence. The immediate threat is not of lost votes, and recent maneuvers—such as Clement Attlee's vote in the Executive that barely kept Aneurin Bevan from utter Party banishment—have postponed any final split. But the whole Party has been made aware of inward and spiritual disintegration. Mr. Bevan has done nothing more effectively than demonstrate how delicate is the substance which holds the labor movement together.

The British labor movement has always contained a contradiction. The most numerous element in it, led by the trade unions, has never been keen on socialism. It has only wanted to get the best for the working class members of a capitalist society. The most vocal element, dominant in constituency parties, has wanted to get rid of capitalism and introduce socialism. These two groups could work together well enough until 1950; then the very success of the Labor Government brought the conflict to the front.

The trade union element now wants no more socialism at any price. The other element does not quite know what it wants. The whole Party was in

fact profoundly relieved when the Tory Government succeeded it, and since 1950 it has failed to agree upon, or even to discover, a vital program for the next election.

Bevan had what looked like a program. On the home front he demanded more socialism. What he meant by "socialism" was not clear, but the emotional appeal of his eloquence covered that up. On the foreign front he had a more definite policy, neutralism. It is still neutralism of sorts which holds together the so-called "left wing" of *The New Statesman, Tribune, Crossman, Driberg, Foot* and the rest.

But even neutralism has come to seem like a moth-eaten policy since Sir Richard Acland broke away on the hydrogen-bomb issue. Acland has a policy that is a straightforward moral repudiation of the Bomb. But what must still be called the "Bevanite" policy is not at all straightforward. It is based on a dislike of the United States, coupled with a fear of Russia, and it recalls the quasi-pacifism fashionable in the 1930's—a refusal to prepare for war combined with a refusal to accept the full implications of non-violence.

The Attlee policy is a more rational one: that of full alliance with America. The trouble is that the Attlee policy is identical with the Conservative policy, and the Conservatives have shown themselves more accomplished in its execution. What is even more awkward for Attlee is that the Conservatives have also shown themselves, to many liberal-minded people, more skilled at administering a welfare state than the Labor Party was.

A majority in both parties now stand for the welfare state, the mixed (part capitalist, part socialist) economy, and the alliance with America; and although the Labor Party introduced the welfare state and the mixed economy, it can no longer offer them as its own platform to the electorate. It has got to persuade people it can run a mixed economy *better* than the Conservatives or invent a new platform—which it has not yet succeeded in doing.

The repudiation of Bevan is a repudiation not only of a "demagogue," but a repudiation of socialism. The left wing of Labor is no longer the most optimistic. Fabians like Crossman are disillusioned with the Civil Service state, because it has decayed into a form of technocracy. The old moral spirit has gone. Ten years ago it would have been unthinkable that trade unionists should try to introduce a color bar, but this is now happening in several places. Gambling, once condemned, is now an accepted source of Party funds.

It is very conceivable that the British labor movement may develop a future on American lines; many trade unions are as pro-capitalist as the big U.S. unions, and the Labor Party may forget socialism as the Democratic Party has forgotten states rights. The machine of the Party is more powerful and efficient than it has ever been. But it has never been so destitute of policy.

Literature, Films and Society

The *Statesman* reports on May 22 that the Government of India had decided to ban the "horror comics." Although the Government already had powers under the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act to take action on the matter, yet, with a view to placing the matter beyond dispute, the Union Government was reportedly considering legislation on the lines of the recent British Act to ban the "horror comics."

This is a very welcome news. The harmful effect such literature exercised over the adolescents is pointedly exposed by the following news from New York. *Reuter* reports: "A 14-year-old boy accused of butchering his seven-year-old playmate with hatchet and knife, said, he got the idea 'from reading those horror comics,' police alleged here.

"Dr. Douglas Kelley, a psychiatrist said, the accused boy, David Drew, was avidly fond 'of comic books that depicted torture and throwing people off cliffs.' Police at Oakland, California, said on May 19 that Drew admitted intentionally killing Stanley Frank there on Tuesday. Earlier he had claimed the killing was accidental."

M.P. Anti-Corruption Board

The Government of Madhya Pradesh recently announced the setting-up of a Complaints Board for the purpose of enquiring into complaints of corruption against Government servants. If the Board found *prima facie* grounds for further enquiry, it would either undertake an enquiry itself or forward the complaint to the head of the Department for making an enquiry and communicating the results thereof to the Board. The Board would then submit its report to the Minister-in-charge of the Board, the *Hitavada* reports.

In an editorial article on the 14th May on the constitution of the Board, the *Hitavada* writes that the notification announcing the setting up of the Board was one of the "most curious which we have read in the *State Gazette*." The preamble of the announcement was not well-worded or sufficiently explanatory.

The newspaper writes that while a case of a policeman taking a few pice from a rickshawpuller in exchange for condoning the latter's breach of traffic rules might be termed technically as corruption it was not that kind of corruption that caused public concern. "It is the corruption in high circles that has spread an eczematous scar on the face of public life in Madhya Pradesh." In this perspective the decision to exclude Ministers from the purview of the Anti-Corruption Board is regretted by the newspaper according to which, without the power to investigate cases of corruption among Ministers "the Board will be ineffective and will be regarded by the public as simple white-wash."

The Central Government bill for the amendment of Indian Penal Code to give protection to Government servants in the matter of defamation was so worded as to give protection to the Ministers also. The *Hitavada* writes: "Ministers cannot have both ways; they cannot claim protection as public servants in one sphere but in the matter of inquiries into corruption claim that as they are not Government servants they should be immune from the investigation of any special machinery set up to investigate cases of corruption."

The newspaper also criticizes the composition of the Board which was proposed to consist of four persons chosen from retired high ranking Government officers to be appointed by the State Government. "There is strong and wellfounded objection to any retired officer being appointed whether he is high ranking or low ranking. The retired official hankering after jobs has become a pathetic spectacle, courtesying and flunking to all and sundry for a job which may help him to augment his slender pension such men, as a general rule, not taking exception into consideration, will not have the courage to stand up to the Ministers or take an independent line which might place their chances of continuing and fruitful employment in jeopardy."

The newspaper suggests that the Board should be composed of a functioning District Judge as the Chairman who was to be appointed on the recommendation of the High Court, another judicial officer chosen by the chairman, and two police officers still in service.

The suggestion for inclusion of two police officers is explained by the fact that they as police officers could take suitable action against persons bringing false accusation against Government servants. The judicial members of the Board would function as the committee authority with the help of the two police officers.

The newspaper writes that every year "a full summary of the Board's recommendations in every case of corruption against Government servants must be placed on the table of the Vidhan Sabha for the scrutiny of the members" and if there was a case of corruption against a minister, "it should be obligatory on the ministry to publish in detail the results of the investigations conducted by the Board together with a report on the action taken."

We are in full agreement with the *Hitavada*. The same remarks, re corruption, would apply to almost all States.

India-Pakistan Talks

A delegation of the Government of Pakistan led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamed Ali, visited New Delhi during the middle of May for talks with the Government of India over the solution of the Kashmir problem. The Pak Premier was accompanied

by the Minister of Interior, Maj.-Gen. Iskander Mirza. Details of the talks between the representatives of the two Governments were not published. The communique issued after the conclusion of the talks said that the talks were "cordial and full" and would be continued "at a later stage after full consideration has been given by both Governments to the various points that had been discussed in the course of these meetings."

Discussing the motives of the Pakistan Prime Minister in visiting New Delhi now, the *Vigil* writes in an editorial article on May 21 that the Pakistan Government, least of all, could have any illusions about the practical use of the talks in moving the Kashmir question from its present position. The necessary initiative lay with the Pak Government. But the Pakistan Government, the newspaper continues, could not take any step, whether it be forward or backward, because "in either case the hazards would be too great for the present Pakistani Government to incur in view of the precariousness of its own moral and political position internally." The Pak Government could not endanger the position by taking a forward step which would necessarily exacerbate their relations with India. Neither they could take any backward step which might look like giving up any previous stand or claim. "So the talks," writes the *Vigil*, "could be nothing more than an operation of marking time. The concurrence of the talks between the two countries' Education Ministers on the disposal of the India House Library and those between the Indian Home Minister and the Pakistani Minister for the Interior on steps for the protection of temples and shrines in both countries and for the prevention of border incidents has somewhat served to hide the emptiness of the note which was allotted to Shri Mohammed Ali to play."

Yet, the newspaper holds, the "play" was not without a purpose inasmuch as it yielded some prestige to the tottering Pak regime. The situation was rather paradoxical. "It is because the position of the Pakistani Government has become politically insecure and that of the Pakistani Prime Minister especially so that the honours of a foreign visit were so desperately sought." In view of the uncertain future of the Pak Government it was not wise to any Government to make any far-reaching agreement or settlement with Pakistan depending on the word of its present Prime Minister who had no popular backing and might lose his present titular position any day in a political reshuffle. "But in a situation like this a show of being received with honour in another country, of carrying on important discussions, etc., is expected to be an aid and a prop to tottering prestige. To impress public opinion at home proofs of being respected and taken seriously by other countries are assiduously sought. It was possibly for this reason that the Governor-General of Pakistan was himself

so anxious to visit India sometime back and would certainly have come if illness had not intervened."

Referring to the political-constitutional tangle in Pakistan the newspaper remarks that the Pakistan Prime Minister's position was the most ludicrous one. "The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on October 24 last on the ground that it had lost its representative character and could no longer function and on the night before the Prime Minister had stated that the Constituent Assembly was functioning quite satisfactorily and was to pass the Constitution of Pakistan by December 25. So much for Mr. Mohammed Ali's authority and sense of responsibility. What prestige can accrue to Pakistan through a channel like this?" the *Vigil* concludes.

We would ask another question. What useful purpose do such talks serve, beyond giving scope to the rulers of Pakistan for bluffing their own people. After every such talk all reports and remarks in the Pakistani press vary from the official hand-out in India, to an astonishing degree.

Nekowal Incident

Twelve persons—six armymen and six civilians—were killed on May 7 when Pakistani police opened fire from across the Jammu border without the slightest provocation from the Indian side. According to a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of Defence, the incident was one of the most serious since the ceasefire in 1948. Most of the horrifying details of the incidents were deliberately withheld from the public by the Government of India. But whatever little was known left no doubt the hideous nature of the crime committed by the Pakistani police.

Major S. R. Badhwar, a spokesman of the Government of India, said, they had been supervising the ploughing of land in Nekowal—a village on the Indian side of Jammu-Sialkot border which was surrounded on three sides by Pakistan territory—accompanied by five civilian tractor drivers and four other civil employees when Pakistani police had opened fire from all sides using a variety of weapons including light machine guns. In self-defence, the Indian Army escort had then returned the fire. After the arrival of the local UN observer team, the firing had stopped at about 5-30 p.m. resulting in twelve deaths. This had happened on May 7.

The Government of India immediately on receipt the news of the incident lodged a strong protest with the Pakistan Government over the incident. The Pakistan Government, at first, though not denying responsibility, attempted to put the blame on the victims themselves. However, Mr. Mohammed Ali, on his arrival in New Delhi, fully regretted the incident and assured of ample steps for the punishment of the guilty and for the prevention of the recurrence of such incidents. The UN observers' team also reportedly put the blame on Pakistan authorities.

The *Vigil* in an editorial note says: "One of the

ready benefits, for the Pakistani Government, of news agency. *Antara* adds: "The coincidence of the Mohammed Ali and his party's visit to New Delhi signing of this treaty and the Bandung Conference was the curb it induced on the expression of Indian feeling over the ghastly affair of Nekowal."

Referring to the initial Pakistani complacency, the newspaper expresses some doubt if the Pakistan Government would accept adverse report of the UN observers' team as final. It fears that no action would be taken unless India pressed for it with vigour and determination. "Speedy action in this matter is necessary not only for the redress of a past wrong but for the prevention of incidents like this in future which spell a grave menace to the people on both sides of the border. If nothing is done about the Nekowal affair soon enough there will be little confidence felt in the agreement just concluded between the Home Minister of India and his Pakistani counterpart on steps to minimise chances of border clashes."

India Blamed for Dispute

Interested quarters in Pakistan are, apparently, trying to put the blame at India's doors for Pakistan's trouble with Afghanistan. This, however, is no departure from customary practice of the rulers of Pakistan. A news-item published on May 23 in the *Star*, a weekly news magazine published from Lahore is significant. The newspaper reports:

"*Star*-man reliably understands that the trouble in Afghanistan has been fomented by Britain and India as a counterblast to American influence in this region. The anti-Pakistani propaganda is being conducted under the joint auspices of these two countries who have in recent months toed the same line and showed unanimity on a number of international problems. This war of nerves, it is understood, is part of a cold-war to weaken U.S.-Pakistan front recently forged for certain common purposes. The suggestion that Soviet Russia is backing Afghanistan is ruled out by the experts as, according to them, it is unimaginable that Kabul rulers who dread even a semblance of political democracy and social justice should flirt with a rabid Communist country."

The Id message of Miss Fatima Jinnah may also be construed to be in harmony with the above. Only she goes further and even accuses her own government.

Sino-Indonesian Treaty

One of the most notable by-products of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung was the conclusion of a treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia on the dual nationality of the Chinese in Indonesia (already briefly reported last month). In this treaty, signed at Bandung on April 22 by Mr. Chou En-lai and Dr. Sunario, "the basis has been laid for a better understanding between Indonesia and the Chinese People's Republic and several other South-East Asian countries with a large Chinese population," writes *Antara*, the Indonesian

news agency. *Antara* adds: "The coincidence of the signing of this treaty and the Bandung Conference has been generally seen as a demonstration of China's desire to establish and maintain good relations between that country and its neighbours."

The Agreement contained a preamble and fourteen articles a summary of which is given below:

By the treaty the two countries agreed that a person possessing at the same time the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia as well as the citizenship of the People's Republic of China should choose between the two citizenships on the basis of his or her free will in two years' time after the coming into force of the agreement.

"Persons considered of age under this agreement are those who are full eighteen years of age, or those who are not yet full eighteen but already married."

Anybody with dual citizenship wishing to retain his or her citizenship of one of the two contracting countries should under the agreement notify his or her desire to abandon the citizenship of the other country to the Government of the country whose citizenship he or she wished to retain.

"Provisions for choosing the citizenship laid down under this Article (3) basically also apply to persons with dual citizenship as mentioned under Article 1 residing outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China."

A person who once indicated his or her choice of the citizenship of one of the two countries would automatically lose his or her citizenship of the other country.

Anybody with dual citizenship who did not express the choice of citizenship within two years would be "considered to have chosen the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia when his or her father's side is of Indonesian descent and shall be considered to have chosen the citizenship of China when his or her father's side is of Chinese descent." When the relation of such a person with the father was uncertain the citizenship of the person would be determined by the descent of his or her mother from the mother's father's side, e.g., if the mother of such a person was of Indonesian descent from her father's side, the person would be deemed to be of Indonesian citizenship and vice versa if the mother from her father's side was of Chinese descent.

Persons not yet of age at the time the agreement came into force should choose their citizenship within one year after coming to age. If within that time such persons failed to express their choice they would be considered "voluntarily to have chosen the citizenship hitherto adopted while still under age."

If a person after adopting the citizenship, say, of China, left that country and settled permanently outside its borders and regained the citizenship of Indonesia then that person would automatically lose

his or her Chinese citizenship. Similarly the other way round.

The citizenship of the children born within the two countries would be determined according to the citizenship of their parents or of the father. A child citizen of one country, legally adopted by a citizen of the other country while still under fifteen years of age would be deemed to have lost his original citizenship and have become the citizen of the country of his foster parent.

Article 10 says: "When a citizen of the Republic of Indonesia marries a citizen of the People's Republic of China each respectively shall retain his or her citizenship before the marriage unless one of them by his or her own will applies and obtains citizenship of the other. When he or she obtains the citizenship of the other, automatically he or she loses his or her original citizenship."

Each of the parties pledged to urge its citizens residing in the territory of the other party "to abide by the laws and customs of the State in which they reside and not to participate in political activities of the country in which they reside."

The treaty would come into force from the date of the exchange of ratification to be held in Peking and would run for twenty years "and shall continue to be in force unless one of the contracting parties desires to annul it" and notified such desire in writing one year before its proposed termination.

Both the Chinese and Indonesian texts would be equally valid.

Diplomatic observers have already pointed the great significance of the treaty as a basis for the solution of the "Chinese problem" of a number of South-East Asian countries.

Mr. Aziz of the Ceylon Democratic Congress recently urged the adoption of the underlying principles of the Sino-Indonesian Treaty for the solution of the problem of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon.

Mr. Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Government of China, says in a statement published in Peking *People's Daily* that the Sino-Indonesian treaty reflected China's desire to solve the problems of Chinese overseas and her consistent policy not to interfere in the internal affair of the countries where the Chinese were residing.

He said: "In accordance with Premier Chou En-lai's instructions we are now considering solution of the dual nationality question with other countries through diplomatic channels on the basis of friendly negotiations, first and foremost, with those South-East Asian countries that have diplomatic relations with China."

He, however, warned those Governments who were persecuting Chinese residents and were attempt-

ing to deprive the Chinese of their right to education in their own language and to pursue their economic activities without being persecuted, and said that China would not give up her responsibility to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residents abroad leaving them to be persecuted. "Resorting to force like this to solve the question of dual nationality cannot lead to any solution," Mr. Ho Hsiang-ning adds.

Austria Regains Independence

Austria regained her independence as a democratic sovereign state after seventeen years, when the Austrian State Treaty was signed in Vienna on May 15 by the representatives of USSR, USA, UK, France and Austria. As agreement of the Powers on the proposed treaty was announced by the Vienna Radio on the 12th May the Viennese shouted and danced on the streets of the capital city, reports *Reuter*.

The treaty followed closely the draft of the Austrian Treaty agreed to by the USSR, UK, USA and France, in 1949, when agreement had been reached on all but five of the 59 articles. Since then however no further progress was made though in the meanwhile the Western Powers and the USSR protested their eagerness to reach agreement.

An Austrian delegation headed by the Federal Chancellor Julius Raab and Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Adolf Schall visited Moscow during the first fortnight of April, 1955 at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Discussions were held between the representatives of the two governments from April 12 to 15, 1955 at the conclusion of which a joint communique was issued indicating their agreement on the terms of a State treaty re-establishing an independent Austria.

The Austrian Delegation gave an assurance of Austrian neutrality and non-alignment to any military bloc as also of her intention not to allow the establishment of military bases on Austrian territory.

The Soviet Union also agreed to transfer to the withdrawal from Austria of the occupation forces of the Four Powers after the entry into force of the Austrian State Treaty, and not later than December 31, 1955. They also agreed to accept deliveries entirely in Austrian goods the equivalent of 150 million dollars which the USSR was entitled to receive under Article 35 of the draft State Treaty of 1949.

The Soviet Union also agreed to transfer, to Austria, immediately upon the coming into force of the State Treaty, the property of the Danube Shipping Company for compensation. It also signified its readiness to cede to Austria its rights, held under Article 35 of the State Treaty, to the oil fields and refineries in exchange for deliveries of crude oil in quantities to be agreed upon.

The Soviet Government also acceded to the

request of the Austrian Government for the release of Austrian war prisoners detained in the USSR.

On April 19, the Soviet Foreign Minister in identical notes invited the Foreign Ministers of the USA, UK and France to a conference in Vienna for the examination of the question of the conclusion of a State Treaty on Austria. The Western Governments accepted the invitation and meetings were held between the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four with the Austrian representatives culminating in the signature of the State Treaty on May 15.

The restoration of Austrian sovereignty is undoubtedly an event of great international significance, and will help lessen the atmosphere of tension pervading the international scene. It shows that given goodwill on all sides agreement on the solution of international problems is not after all an impossible thing. As an instance of agreement between the USSR and the Western nations it will be highly welcomed by the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Commenting on the Austrian Treaty *Pravda* writes on May 16: "The conclusion of the State Treaty is an important event both in the history of the Austrian people and in the development of the relations between the States of Europe. Peace and security in the European continent will be re-inforced by the agreement reached on the Austrian problem, which will help to ease international tension."

The newspaper notes with satisfaction the declaration of the Big Four of their readiness to respect Austrian neutrality and expresses the hope that other States would adopt the same course. Austria would make a declaration which would impose upon her an international commitment to adhere to a permanent status of neutrality on the model of Switzerland.

The Treaty also guaranteed Austria's economic independence, adds the newspaper. The former German assets had been made the property of the Austrian State. The Treaty contained a provision binding Austria not to transfer to foreign subjects the rights to the former German assets, oil fields and to the oil refineries turned over to Austria by the Soviet Union. Another provision guaranteed against the transfer to German capital of the former German enterprises in the Western zones of Austria. "This settlement of the problem of the former German assets is all the more important since it has been fully agreed upon by the Four Powers and by Austria," writes *Pravda*.

Another very important provision of the State Treaty bound Austria to refrain from discrimination in her trade with other countries.

The *News Chronicle* (London) writes under the heading "They Waltz in Vienna" on May 14 that with Austrian independence regained a new page of history opens for that country. "All the world knows the treaty has been made possible by a change of

Soviet policy," but had it not been for the refusal of the Russians to agree to what they had now accepted the treaty would have been signed ten years ago, comments the newspaper.

"The Russians were careful, first, to ensure that although Austria's outlook is Western, she should be made a neutral State, unable to join the Western European union. Next, the Russians created an Eastern NATO, which enables them to withdraw their troops not many miles to legally-occupied bases in satellite countries. The West simultaneously withdraws over the Alps, the West is placed much further away.

"So, having taken no chances, Russia frees Austria; and there is waltzing again in Vienna," the newspaper concludes.

The *Manchester Guardian* writes on May 14 that the Western Powers and the USSR had taken only four weeks to agree on what had kept them at odds for nine years.

The newspaper notes that the four-Power guarantee of Austrian neutrality would not be written into the treaty but would be so worded as to protect rather than to fetter Austria. She would be flanked by members of the Atlantic alliance to the north and south, and she would have a long, uncomfortable frontier with Communist States to the east. "But unless the general European climate should worsen, she can have a free and not unpleasant life. She has learnt in the hard school to fear the dictatorial embrace, wherever it comes from," adds the *Manchester Guardian*.

President Rajendra Prasad in a message congratulated the people of Austria on the achievement of their freedom.

U.S. Aid Policy in Asia and Elsewhere

President Eisenhower in a message to the Congress on April 20 requested authority and funds amounting to 3,530 million dollars to carry out the Mutual Security programme during the fiscal year 1956 beginning from July this year.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, in his testimony before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 5 urging congressional authorisation of the amount recommended by President Eisenhower, defined the policy the U.S. Government proposed to follow in regard to granting of economic and military aid to other countries.

All U.S. aid would henceforth be distributed through the Department of State—all the affairs of the Foreign Operations Administration, so long headed by Mr. Harold E. Stassen, being transferred to that Department except for certain military functions which would be administered by the Defence Department in close co-ordination with the Department of State.

Of the total fund of 3530 million dollars requested

under the M.S. Program, approximately one-half or \$1717.2 million was intended to be used directly to maintain and build up the military forces of Governments friendly to the USA. In addition to that a further sum of \$1000.3 million, about a quarter of the total, was designed for what was called "defence support."

"By direct military aid and 'defence support,'" Mr. Dulles said, "there is made available for the defence of the free world far larger military forces than would be available if the same amount of money was spent on our own military."

Direct military aid and "defence support" thus accounted for approximately 75 per cent of the total fund. The remaining 25 per cent, or \$812,500,000 was designed "for programs unrelated to military purposes." The principal items were: \$337,000,000 for economic aid to Asia, of which \$200 million was for "special fund for regional development." There were funds for technical co-operation in the amount of \$172 million. And \$100 million was designed as a contingent fund for the President. Distribution of the non-military aid would be as follows: Europe (chiefly West Berlin) \$21m., Middle East \$179m., Asia \$337.5m., and others including contingency \$222.5m.

Mr. Dulles said that there was a shift of emphasis from Europe to Asia in the proposed program. "In addition to continuing and in some case increasing present programmes in the free countries of Asia, particularly, the technical assistance programmes, the President has requested a special fund for discretionary use in Eastern and Southern Asia," he added. The United States had joined the sessions of the consultative committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia but Mr. Dulles made it clear that "the United States would retain full control over the use of the fund just as we do in the case of the country programmes."

In a question and answer period following his above testimony, Mr. Dulles told the committee that the U.S. Government had abandoned an earlier policy of earmarking funds in advance on a country-by-country basis. He reminded the committee of the necessity at times to meet acute unforeseen needs.

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration, in his testimony before the committee on May 6, pointed to the "basic shift of emphasis away from the highly developed areas of the world towards other critical areas," in the programme.

He said: "Asia is the focal point of present Communist pressure and the area whose future direction, either towards domination by Communism, or freedom and independence, will be crucial in the long-range struggle of freedom, against oppression. In

addition to direct military assistance in the form of weapons and training, funds are requested in the Mutual Society Program in the amount of \$1,317,000,000 to meet the defence support and direct forces support needs of countries in the area which are under the constant threat of overt Communist aggression as well as internal subversion. A major part of these funds is proposed for programmes in Korea, Formosa, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, all of which are confronted with situations of extreme crises. Funds are also included within this amount for similar types of support to Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines, who have firmly and courageously taken their stand on the side of freedom against aggression and are members in the Manila Pact Organisation."

Mr. Stassen said: "An important new element in the proposed Mutual Security Programme for the coming year is the President's Fund for Asian Economic Developments, a new concept of assistance towards helping to meet the critical needs of all of free Asia for orderly, long-range economic growth."

\$200 million was earmarked for the President's Asian Economic Development Fund. Funds were also provided for the continuation of development assistance to other Asian countries, principally India.

India was to get aid totalling \$85m.—\$70m. being earmarked for economic development and \$15m. for technical assistance.

Recently a ten-nation conference of Asian members of the Colombo Plan consultative committee was held at Simla at the invitation of the Government of India "to consider certain aspects of the problem of utilization of external aid, notably U.S. aid," the participating countries being Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Viet Nam and India. Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak had a common representative. Ceylon refused the invitation to attend the conference. Burma did not attend.

The conference after discussion of a Japanese proposal rejected the idea of an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid and recommended that all additional foreign aid, including U.S. aid, should continue bilaterally as at present and strengthened as far as possible.

The suggestion for the creation of a regional organization for the utilisation of U.S. aid, it may be remembered, was originally put forward by Mr. Harold Stassen during his Asian tour a few months ago.

The conference also pointed to some, mainly procedural, difficulties which had arisen in the utilization of foreign aid. "The aid has to be used within a specified period, but there are problems of the aid not being sanctioned in time or difficulties created by shifting conditions and regulations, on account of which the aids lapse."

Regarding the question of setting up a special regional fund to meet balance of payments difficulties and promote intra-regional trade on the model of the European Payments Union, the conference, while recognising that counteracting the instability of export prices of the products of the region was one of the basic problems, "considered that action can usefully be taken to solve it only when there are clear indications that substantial sums required for the purpose of setting up such a fund are forthcoming."

The rejection by the Asian nations of the suggestion for an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid resulted in a hardening of the opposition in U.S. Congress to President Eisenhower's \$200 million Asian Economic Development Fund, *Reuter* reports. According to Senator John Sparkman, a democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee it was possible "that Congress will either eliminate this fund or cut it substantially."

East European Treaty Organisation

An East European Treaty Organisation formally came into being on May 14 with the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance by eight European nations supported by the People's Republic of China.

In November-December, 1954, a conference of the eight European nations with an observer from China was held in Moscow to consider their attitude to the Paris Peace Treaties. The Moscow conference opposed the ratification of the Paris Treaties, and declared that in the event of their ratification the participating countries would adopt joint measures of defence. It was further declared that the conference nations would meet again to consider concrete measures for a joint defence command.

Accordingly, after the ratification of the Paris Treaties, the eight countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and USSR—which took part in the Moscow Conference, met in Warsaw, capital of Poland, for four days from May 11 to 14, and after discussions concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance and decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the State signatories of the treaty. Each country's delegation was headed by its Prime Minister. Mr. Peng Te-Huai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of the People's Republic of China, attended the conference as an observer from China.

The unified command of the armed forces of the eight countries would have its headquarters in Moscow and would be headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union, I. S. Konev, whose name became famous during the Second World War. The Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commanders-in-

Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The question of participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures pertaining to the armed forces of the unified command would be considered later on.

The Treaty made in four languages contains eleven articles and a preamble.

The preamble while reaffirming the desire of the contracting parties "to establish a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European States" states their conviction of the necessity of taking measures "to safeguard their security and maintain peace in Europe" in view of the ratification of the Paris agreements envisaging the formation of Western European Union and remilitarization of Western Germany.

By Article 1 the parties undertook "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force" and to solve their problems by peaceful means.

The countries declared their readiness sincerely to co-operate in all international actions aimed at safeguarding international peace and security and at the general reduction of armaments and production of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

They would discuss among themselves matters of common interest and would hold mutual consultations for joint defence and the maintenance of peace whenever there was a threat of armed attack on one or more of the signatories.

In such cases of armed threat the signatories would render all help including military help individually and jointly to the State or States thus threatened and would immediately hold mutual consultations regarding the joint measures necessary to be taken to restore peace. The measures thus taken would be communicated to the UN Security Council and would be terminated immediately upon the adoption of any measures by the Security Council for the restoration and maintenance of international peace and security.

Under Article 5, the parties "agreed to set up a unified command of their armed forces," and would also "take other co-ordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defence capacity" for protection against aggression.

Article 6 provides for the setting up of a "political consultative committee, in which each State signatory to the treaty will be represented by a member of the government or another specially appointed representative to effect the consultations" between the signatory States under the treaty and to discuss problems of implementing the treaty.

The parties undertook not to join any coalition, alliance or treaty which ran counter to this treaty and declared that none of their international commitments were against the treaty.

They would promote mutual co-operation for the consolidation of economic and cultural relations among them.

The treaty was open for accession to other States "irrespective of their social and State systems which will express readiness through participation in the present treaty to promote the pooling of efforts of the peace-loving States in order to safeguard peace and security of the nations," says Article 9.

The Treaty would come into force when all the signatory States had deposited their instruments of ratification with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The Treaty would remain in force for twenty years at the first instance and, unless notice of denunciation was given by any party to the Polish Government one year prior to the expiry of that term, for another ten years.

Article 11 adds: "In case a system of collective security is established in Europe and a general European treaty of collective security is concluded to this end, for which the contracting parties shall steadfastly strive, the present treaty shall lose its validity on the day when the general European treaty enters into force."

All four texts—Russian, German, Polish and Czech—would be equally valid.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Otto Grotewohl said that the conclusion of the treaty would help the German people in their struggle for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany which he declared to be the main task of his Government. "In signing this Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance," Herr Grotewohl said, "the Government of the German Democratic Republic proceeds from the premise that a unified Germany would be free of the objections assumed by one or the other part of Germany under the military-political treaties and agreements concluded before its reunification."

Tass says, "The conference received with full understanding and took note of the aforesaid declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic."

The observer from China, General Peng Te-Hwei endorsed on behalf of China the decisions adopted by the conference and said: "I declare on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China that the Government and the six hundred million people of China fully solidarize themselves with and support the newly signed Treaty . . . We are convinced that the success of the present conference will promote the further unity of the peace-loving countries and peoples and will make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security both in Europe and throughout the world."

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* editorially writes

on May 15 that it was difficult "to overestimate the positive influence which the decisions of the Warsaw Conference exert and will be exerting on the international situation." According to the newspaper, the treaty was a defensive one. The setting up of the political consultative committee envisaged in the treaty would be an important step towards strengthening friendship and mutual understanding. It also provided for increased economic and cultural co-operation among the parties.

"In contrast to the closed military alignments formed by the imperialist powers, the eight-power treaty is open to other States regardless of their social and political systems. This feature of the treaty also testifies to its defensive nature as well as to the defensive nature of the organisation which is created on its basis," remarks the *Pravda*.

The London *Times*, in an editorial article on the eve of the Moscow Conference writes that the meeting was political rather than military.

Discussing the implications of a unified command of the armed forces, the newspaper writes that the immediate purpose of unification appeared "to give legal standing to the presence of Russian troops in the satellite countries to allow the East German police to emerge openly as an army, thereby producing a reply to West German rearmament, and to provide the Russians with a diplomatic bargaining counter."

"Now that the West has ratified the Paris agreements, Russia can say, as Marshal Zhukov has already said, that extra steps to guarantee the security of Russia and her allies have to be taken. The Warsaw meeting is, indeed, political rather than military." (10th May).

The *Manchester Guardian* of the same date writes: "The conference at Warsaw, like that in Paris, stands outwardly for the division of Germany and of Europe. Marshal Bulganin will be there to dot the 2's of the 'division'."

"Yet a new Eastern alliance may also enable M. Molotov to make concessions of the great powers ever got down to real bargaining over the mutual withdrawal of power from Central Europe. The proposal might run: 'If you will dissolve West Germany's military alliance with you, we will dissolve East Germany's military alliance with us,' and so on."

"So far as formality went, both sides would then be able to give up equivalent positions of strength. Of course, formality does not mean much. A settlement, if it comes, must make for a real withdrawal of power, not the tearing up of pieces of paper. But formality sometimes helps, especially when prestige is at stake."

Speaking about the significance of the Warsaw Conference one might refer the fact that it was the first occasion since the Potsdam Conference of 1945 that a Soviet Prime Minister travelled out of his country to attend an international conference.

THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D.Litt. (Paris)

THE most important social movement in modern India is that of education. Education attained a very high degree of development in the Vedic, Buddhist, and early Hindu periods. But with the decline of Hindu civilization and especially during the periods of foreign invasions, conquests, pillage, and destruction, there reigned chaos and confusion in the country. Most of the educational centers and universities declined and deteriorated and were even destroyed by the invaders. With the rise of Moghul rule, there was a general revival of culture, especially in arts and crafts, architecture, painting, dancing and music. But between the decline of Moghul rule and the rise of British rule there was another period of chaos and confusion which was followed by the decline of both Hindu and Moslem educational systems. "At the beginning of the 19th century, after a long period of foreign invasions and internecine wars, Indian learning was at low ebb, . . . and there were hardly any printed books either in the classical languages or in the vernaculars."

ENGLISH EDUCATION

The elevation of the educational system from this low level became an outstanding problem of India in the very beginning of British rule. Attempts were made by several organised bodies, especially the Orientalists, the Missionaries, and the Anglicists, to reconstruct India's educational system on a sound and solid basis:

The Orientalists: In spite of great external changes, there had still existed in India a network of indigenous educational institutions coming down from time immemorial, such as the *Tols* or higher Sanskrit institutes for education of the Brahmin students in philosophy, science, and literature and also the *Pathshalas* or elementary schools for the education of the lower castes. Similar educational institutions also developed in India under Moslem rule, especially during the Moghul period, such as the *Madrasahs* for higher education of the Moslems, including Arabic and Persian languages and the Koran, and the *Makhtabs* or the lower schools for the education of the masses. Some of the higher educational institutes in the north are still to be found in Nabadwip, Mithila, and Banaras for the Hindus and in Murshidabad, Patna, Agra and Delhi for the Moslems. After the victory at Plassey in 1757 and the assumption of the Dewany of Bengal in 1765, the East India Company practically acquired the economic control of Bengal and did everything possible to win the goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Moslems. Warren Hastings founded a *Madrasah* at Calcutta for the Moslems in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan, the British

Resident, founded a Sanskrit College at Banaras in 1792 in order to secure trained Moslem and Hindu scholars to serve as assistants to British Judges. Moreover, the East India Company's Act of 1813 provided Rs. 100,000 a year for education, which the Governor-General could spend for the revival of the old learning in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

The Missionaries: Several groups of Christian missionaries have made great contributions to the development of education in modern India. The first group to visit India was the Roman Catholic Missionaries under the leadership of Francisco Xavier (St. Xavier, 1506-52), collaborator of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Jesuit Order (Society of Jesus), who followed the Portuguese military forces, traders and settlers, and founded schools for Portuguese and Eurasian children. With the decline of Portuguese military power and influence, their settlement and educational influence also declined. The second important group of missionaries were the Danish Settlers at Tranquebar near Madras, who learned Tamil and other Dravidian languages, translated the Bible in Tamil, and opened schools for the children of their converts. They were also the first to introduce teaching in English. Early in the 19th century, their schools came under the control of the Church Missionary Society. The third and the most important group of missionaries were the Baptists at Serampur, especially those under Carey and his colleagues, who introduced popular education and vernacular language, though English was also taught. The missionaries were responsible for introducing a new system of teaching with broader curriculum including grammar, history, geography and other subjects; printed text-books for the various classes; well-defined hours and days of instruction, including Sundays and holidays; and also education in religious tenets.

The Anglicists: The most earnest group of advocates for English education was, of course, the Anglicists including such historical personages as David Hare, the humanist and founder of Calcutta High School, which still stands in the centre of Calcutta University buildings; Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Somaj and father of modern India; and Radhakanta Dev, a progressive Hindu reformer. They also took the lead in founding the Hindu College in 1817, which was followed by the foundation of the Serampur College in 1818 and the Bishop College in 1820. That the Orientalists were still very influential was indicated by the fact that a Sanskrit College was founded in Poona in 1821 and another in Calcutta in 1824. For this Orientalistic policy, Rammohun Roy made a bitter attack, in a letter, on Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, for his retrograde step of founding a Sanskrit

1. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, September, 1929; Cmd. 3407, p. 9.

College, which was calculated to keep India in darkness. The country as a whole followed, however, the policy of the Anglicists, who established Elphinstone College at Bombay in 1827, Wilson School (now College) also at Bombay, in 1834, and Madras Christian College at Madras in 1837. In the meantime, professional schools began to rise and Lord Bentinck himself established the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 and similar institutions were also established in other provinces later on. English education was thus well-established through private efforts in different parts of India early in the nineteenth century.

The controversy regarding the medium of instruction between the Orientalists and the Anglicists required the decision by T. B. Macaulay, the legal member of the Executive Council, who sided with the latter and submitted the famous Minutes to Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and also to Lord Auckland in 1839, endorsing his policy, i.e., "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect." Lord Bentinck accepted the Minutes of Macaulay and made the following proclamation in 1835:

"His Lordship directs that all the funds which these reforms leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language."²

The most important step in the establishment of English, especially as the medium of instruction in India, was the parliamentary enquiry undertaken as a preliminary condition to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. The evidence submitted to the committees of the Houses of the Lords and Commons formed the basis of Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, which imposed upon the Government of India the duty of laying down a solid foundation of education in India from the primary school to the university. The despatch prescribed the following measures:

- (1) The constitution in each presidency and lieutenant-governorship of a separate department of education with an adequate system of inspection;
- (2) The institution of a university in each Presidency town;
- (3) The establishment of institution for training teachers for all classes of schools;
- (4) The maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number whenever necessary;
- (5) Increased attention to vernacular schools,

both for secondary and primary education; and

- (6) The introduction of a system of grants-in-aids.

The despatch was immediately followed by the establishment of Departments of Public Instruction, the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and the rapid growth in number of schools and colleges, governmental and private.³ The Secretary of State for India sent a despatch in April 1859, which made possible the establishment of Canning College, Lucknow (1864); St. Xavier's College, Bombay (1869); Oriental College, Lahore (1870); Muir College, Allahabad (1872); Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta (1873); and Anglo-Mohammedan College, Aligarh (1879). The Punjab University was established in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887.

The Education Despatch of 1854 by the British Government to the Government of India formed the corner-stone of India's intellectual development in modern times. English language and literature opened for the first time the vast cultural heritage of the West in general and of England in particular. While India's younger generations began to receive education and training in the newly established colleges and universities for various professions and services, some talented and enterprising young men joined Oxford and Cambridge and Inns and Courts and achieved learning and recognition. Coming in close contact with a young and virile nation in its various administrative and cultural aspects, India found her own self, and began to evaluate her glorious past and to realize the potentialities of still more glorious future. To awaken India into her own self or to help her to do so, was the greatest contribution of England to India. India has thus become the mistress of her own destiny and begun to reconstruct herself in the light of modern science, philosophy, art and technology on the basis of her own intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual values. The most important part played in this national awakening is the higher education as imparted by the universities. Although rather few in number and limited in scope at the beginning, these universities widened their cultural interests and gradually introduced almost all the branches of learning in art, literature, philosophy and science, and have now become great intellectual and educational centers. Advanced learning has liberated the mind of the people from the thralldom of antiquated traditions and helped in the rise of new social values, ideals, aspirations, and aims.

RISE OF THE VERNACULARS

The rise of the vernaculars or languages of the people, on whom depends the stability and develop-

ment of modern democracy, is still another important factor of India's cultural development. Vernaculars in India are very many, but only a few of them have reached the literary stage and may be classified under the following groups:

- (1) The Indo-Aryan, consisting of Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Bihari, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Kashmiri, and Oriya;
- (2) The Dravidian, consisting of Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam; and
- (3) The miscellaneous, consisting of Assamese.

A most important factor in the development of vernacular languages and literatures in India is the religious movement. In ancient times, Buddhism and Jainism, both of which are proselytising religions, utilized the dialects of the people and developed them as languages and literatures. In the Middle Ages, when these religions lost their vitality and spirituality, Vaishnavism took their places and supplied the needs of the people for personal God, such as Rama and Krishna, incarnations of Vishnu, to whom they could offer their love and devotion. Vaishnavism flourished through the teaching of Ramanuja in the eleventh century, of Ramananda in the fifteenth century, and of Chaitanya in the sixteenth century. All of them utilized the languages of the people for the propagating of their creeds. During the period of from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Moslem rule became predominant and oppressive, Hindu civilization declined, and Sanskrit was discouraged and suppressed. The vernaculars found ample opportunity for development. Some Moslem rulers even encouraged the growth of popular languages for the benefit both of Hindus and Moslems. Nasir Shah, King of Gauda for instance, patronised the translation of the Mahabharata into Bengali.

In modern times, there have appeared several new factors in favor of the vernaculars: First, the rise of Christianity, which undertook pioneer work for the development of the vernaculars in most of the provinces. As in the case of the Buddhist and Jain missionaries, the Christian missionaries were interested in reaching the masses, for whom they not only translated the Bible and the hymns into popular languages, but also developed these languages by establishing public schools, writing their grammars, compiling their dictionaries, and founding printing presses. Second, the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 for teaching British civil servants the history and languages of India, which gave a new impetus to the learning of the languages of the people. Third, the founding of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816 which became a centre of culture. Young Bengalis began to learn the principles of Western civilization, including its social values and social institutions under such distinguished persons as William Carey, David Hare, and Rammohun Roy, already

mentioned, as well as professors H. L. V. Derozio and D. L. Richardson. They all realized the need of social and religious reforms in India and utilized vernaculars to bring their ideas to the people.

Among the more immediate factors of the development of the vernaculars must be mentioned: First, the conferment of the freedom of the press in 1835. The vernacular press which, in spite of the restrictions put on it afterwards by the British Government, thrived rapidly and, with its journals, periodicals, and annuals, not only helped in the dissemination of knowledge and information, but also in the development of their languages and literatures. Second, the Renaissance and other social movements, such as those relating to religion, reform, education, politics and industry, have also served as driving forces for the development of the vernaculars, both as languages and as literatures. Finally, the substitution of the vernaculars for Persian in lower courts in 1837 and the introduction of vernaculars as the medium of instruction not only in the primary and secondary schools, but also in high schools, colleges, and even in universities. That the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction stands to reason, inasmuch as it facilitates the understanding of the deeper meaning of a subject and assimilates it into the personality of an individual much quicker than a foreign language. Moreover, the vernacular adds to the dignity and prestige of a group of people, who feel proud that they can derive their knowledge through their own mother-tongue.

The last, but not the least, important factor in the development of modern vernaculars is their contact with European, and especially English, languages and literatures. Their contact has been established in several ways: First, English as the official language and medium of instruction and the predominance of English in the public press in British India. Second, most of the vernacular writers are well-versed in English language and literature, the style and idioms of which they have introduced in their mother-tongues. Finally, the translation and adaptation of European and especially English classics and other works in literature, science, philosophy, and art into vernaculars. As a result of this close contact, all forms of the English language, such as essays, poems, dramas, novels, short stories, criticisms and even punctuations have materially influenced practically all the vernaculars of India. Moreover, new social values, such as nationalism, social justice, democracy, and social progress, have also been permeated through these vernaculars. In short, in contact with the languages of modern and progressive nations of the West most of Indian vernaculars have attained a high degree of excellence both in style and literature.

A most important step in the development of the vernaculars is recognition by the new Constitution of fourteen languages, including two classics,

2. *Selections from Educational Records, Part 1*, pp. 107-17 and p. 130.

3. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, Cmd. 3407, pp. 12-23.

Sanskrit and Tamil, as national and State languages. Sanskrit is extremely rich in vocabulary and grammar as well as in literature, and serves as the source to all Indo-Aryan languages. Sanskrit may thus help in the co-ordination and integration of most of the Indo-Aryan languages into one or two great national languages, such as Hindi and Bengali. In spite of the 24.8 million population of West Bengal, it must also be pointed out that Bengali remained the mother-tongue of 42 million people of East Pakistan. Tamil may help similarly in the co-ordination and integration of all Dravidian languages into a second great national language. They may thus simplify the problem of the multiplicity of languages.

The rise and growth of important vernaculars in India may be described as follows:⁴

Hindi: India's premier vernacular is Hindi, both because it is spoken by the largest group of the people, and because it has been selected as the national language. The origin of Hindi has been traced back to the Apabhramsa, a common language of the people in the second century B.C. It derived both its grammar and vocabulary from Sanskrit. But it took its literary character from the lays of the bards maintained by the Rajput chiefs at their courts to chant the poems about the glorious deeds of their patrons as well as of their clans. The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardi, known for his famous poems on Prithvi Raj Raso. He was followed by Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra. But its greatest contributor was Tulsi Das who translated the Ramayana into Hindi in the seventeenth century, bringing new outlook into Hindi literature. Another important writer of Hindi was Kabir, a weaver of Banaras who attempted at the unification of Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among other writers mention must be made of Davananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, and B. H. Chandra, who wrote as many as 175 books and treatises in Hindi. As the national language, Hindi has the best chance to develop both as a language and literature, representing about one-seventh of the world's population.

Bengali: Bengali is spoken by the second largest group of Indian people (before Partition) and is India's most highly developed language and literature. The origin of the Bengali language has been traced back to Magadhi Prakrit in the eleventh century. The earliest writers of Bengali were the Buddhist priests, but the founder of Bengali poetry was Chandi Das in the fourteenth century. Bengali literature began with the translation and adaptation of Sanskrit literature. The modern period in Bengali language and literature began in 1800 when Fort William College was founded for training Indian Civil Servants in Indian history

4. Of all the references consulted on the subject, the most important are: O'Malley, L.S.S., Editor: *Modern India and the West*, New York, 1941; Carruth, C. T.: *Legacy of India*, Oxford, 1937.

and languages. Of the various factors leading to the development of Bengali, both as a language and literature are, first, the Renaissance and other social movements since the beginning of the nineteenth century; second, the rise of the Bengali Press, especially such periodicals as the *Tattabodhini* of Akshoy Kumar Dutt and *Bangadarshan* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; and Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary, with which it is closely related.

Among the founders of Bengali, mention must be made of Rammohun Roy, the founder of Bengali prose, who translated the Upanishads into Bengali and used Bengali for the propagation of the Brahmo Samaj and other social reforms. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the founder of classical Bengali prose, and author of many Bengali text-books for higher education, who also used Bengali for the propagation of his widow remarriage reform; Madhusudan Dutt, who introduced blank verse into Bengali poetry and modern drama; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who introduced a new concept of novels into Bengali; Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest literary geniuses of modern times, who wrote his short stories and novels and his immortal lyrics, the *Gitanjali*, and won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; and lastly, also Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, another great Bengali novelist.

Tamil: Tamil is a classic rather than a vernacular, rendering the same service to the Dravidian culture as Sanskrit to the Aryan culture. It developed as a language long before the Christian era and there were three *Sangams* or academies of scholars and critics devoted to literature at Madura, the capital of the Pandya Kings, in the second century B.C. Like Sanskrit, Tamil grammar is highly synthetic, but its literature is more virile and responsive to foreign influences. Tamil grammar *Tol-Kap-Piyam*, appeared in the first century A.D. But Tamil literature began with Kural, didactic poems and sacred books in the South like the Vedas in the North, which appeared in the fifth century A.D. Tamil also made considerable progress in religious literature for recital in the temples in the Middle Ages. The European contact with Tamil began in the seventeenth century, when the Christian missionaries learned Tamil and brought the gospel directly to the people. The Reverend Robert de Nabile (1606-56) published several prose works in Tamil; Father Gonsalvez of the Spanish mission printed the first book in Tamil in 1677; and Father Beschi (1680-1742) contributed several works of high rank both in verse and prose. They were followed by Indian authors some of whom began to translate famous works of literature, science and philosophy into Tamil and others made original contributions. Revitalized in contact with Western languages, especially English, Tamil has made great progress in prose, poetry, drama, fiction and vernacular press.

Telugu: Telugu is another important vernacular of the Dravidian peoples. Its origin has been traced to the first century A.D., but its literature began with the translation of the Mahabharata into Telugu in the eleventh century A.D. With the Mahabharata as the foundation, there grew two kinds of literature: (1) The Puranas, the translations of which were highly poetical; (2) the Prabandha, which were highly romantic, i.e., dealing with love and marriage. By the end of the eighteenth century, the life of Christ and doctrines of Christianity were published in Telugu and they made tremendous effect upon the people, bringing new thoughts and ideas into Telugu language. The English education and the public press brought Western culture close to the people. Mr. C. P. Brown, a Civil Servant, made real contribution to the Telugu language and literature (1817-55) and even prepared a dictionary of Telugu language between 1845 and 1853. Modern Telugu language and literature began in 1880, when K. V. Pantulu brought his deep learning to Telugu, founded Telugu prose, wrote the first novel in 1878 and laid the foundation of modern Telugu literature. Dr. C. R. Reddy wrote a critical analysis of the works of a great poet in the Middle Ages and introduced the methods of interpretation into Telugu language. Like other vernaculars, the English language has profound influence upon the structure of Telugu.

Marathi: The origin of Marathi language and literature has been traced to the twelfth century, when they consisted mostly of poems, ballads and chronicles. It attained the literary value through the composition of illustrious songs by Tukaram in the seventeenth century, some of which are sung in many parts of the country even today. The most important factors in the development of Marathi are, first the work of the Christian missionaries who established primary schools, translated the Bible into Marathi, compiled Marathi grammar (1805) and helped in the growth of Marathi prose. Second, the translation and adaptation of European especially English classics into Marathi (1810-74). Third the publication of a series of essays entitled *Nibandh Mala* (1875) by V. S. Chiplunkar, who entreated his countrymen to love their country, history, religion and language. He was followed by a number of other writers, such as B. G. Tilak and N. C. Kelkar in different branches of modern Marathi language and literature.

Urdu: Urdu has its origin in a dialect of Western Hindi spoken near Delhi and Meerut for several centuries. It has been based on Hindi grammar, but the vocabulary has been derived mostly from Persian. Other languages, such as Arabic, Portuguese, French and especially English have also contributed to its vocabulary. It began to develop its prose by the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. John Gilchrist, Principal of the Fort William College at Calcutta, wrote

its grammar and compiled its dictionary. The foundation of standard Urdu was laid by Ghalib of Delhi and its super-structure was constructed by the Delhi and Lucknow schools of Urdu literature. The literary character of Urdu has been established by such men as Muhsinul Mulk, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, Maulvi Altaf Husain and especially by Sir Muhammed Iqbal, a recognized Oriental scholar. It must also be mentioned that Urdu has been adopted by the Osmania University of Hyderabad as a medium of instruction and also by Pakistan as the national language.

Miscellany: Of other vernaculars mention must be made of the following:

(1) **Gujarati** is derived from Prakrit and is an intermediate language between Saurastri and Sauraseni. There is no dialect of Gujarati, but there is a gradation in pronunciation of the languages spoken by different classes of the people. It attained its literary character through the works of Narasinha Metha and the translation by Rewa Sanakar of the Mahabharata.

(2) **Punjabi** or Gurumukhi, is an ancient Hindi dialect, the vocabulary of which has been supplemented by Persian and Arabic words. The best part of Punjabi literature is the Sikh Granth. There are several dialects but modern literature has scarcely begun.

(3) **Malayalam** was originally derived from Tamil in the ninth century, and differs from it now both in idioms and pronunciation. It appeared in 1150 A.D. and the inscriptions of the rulers of Kerala from Travancore derived their literary character from *Ramecharitam*, written in the thirteenth century, and the oldest poem. Another important old publication is a collection of 1000 proverbs in 1868.

(4) **Kanarese** is another language of the Dravidian people. It was represented in the sixth century by the Bijapur inscription written in an alphabet similar to that of the Telugu language and is a highly developed language of an ancient civilization.

(5) **Kashmiri** is an ancient Sanskrit language, but has absorbed many foreign words, especially from Persian and Arabic languages. It is rich in folklores and mythologies. Christian missions have translated the Bible and the Hymns with the old Persian Alphabet, but it still lacks literary maturity.

REVIVAL OF ART AND MUSIC

From the earliest time, India has devoted herself to the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, dancing, and music. Under the influence of the Indian renaissance, some of the arts, especially painting, dancing, and music have been revived; they have made considerable progress almost all over the country.

Since the beginning of the present century, there has arisen a new school of painting under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, a Vice-Principal of the

Calcutta School of Art and founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts. Tagore picked up "the broken threads of Indian Pictorial tradition" and gave "true interpretation of Indian spirituality" (Havell). Other prominent members of this school are Gaganendranath Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose, and Surendranath Ganguly. Among its outstanding productions "The Flight of Lakshmi Sen" and "Exiled Yaksha" (the hero of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*) are regarded as masterpieces both in India and outside.

The revival of dancing is still another achievement of the Indian renaissance. Dancing was practised by respectable women in ancient times but in the course of time, it was taken up first by Devadasis or the women of questionable character in Hindu temples and then by professional women of loose morals, and hence lost its respectability. Rabindranath Tagore took the lead in restoring dancing as a respectable art and it has already become popular. Dancing in modern times has taken three different forms:

- (1) Classical dancing, for which there are special schools both in North and South India;
- (2) Folk dancing, which has been revived by Guru Saday Dutt through what is called the Bratachari movement in Bengal and other provinces;
- (3) Ballet dancing, a combination of Indian classical dancing and music under the influence of the Russian Ballet, which Uday Shankar, a former pupil of Madame Pavlova, has introduced in India with great success.

Music has always been a part of Indian life, both spiritual and recreational. But Rabindranath Tagore gave a new turn and a new meaning to Indian popular music. He combined the lofty divine concept of the Upanishad with the deep devotional love of Vaishnavism, first in his lyrics, such as *Gitanjali* and *Gardener*, and then in his songs, both patriotic and divine, including the present national anthem and some of the congregational prayers. Since the beginning of the present century India has passed through such revolutionary changes as the partition of Bengal, the struggle for national liberation, partition of India, achievement of national independence, and establishment of a democratic republic, all of which affected national emotion and gave rise to patriotic and other songs in the various languages all over the country.

MISCELLANEOUS EDUCATION

Closely connected with institutional education mentioned above, there have also developed other educational systems, both organized and unorganized, by which dissemination of knowledge has been taking place among the people. Of those systems, the most important are the following:

- (1) Scientific and educational organisations, such as those of physics, chemistry, biology, economics, politics, medicine, agriculture,

and education, which meet annually in different centres of the country and discuss various problems on the basis of expert knowledge;

- (2) Social, political, industrial, labor, agrarian, and similar movements that carry on propaganda work in regard to their special interests;
- (3) The press, both English and the vernacular, since the beginning of the nineteenth century;
- (4) The libraries, both circulating and otherwise, which have been increasing in number;
- (5) Theatres, moving pictures, and the radios that have also been reaching an increasingly large number of people all over the country; and
- (6) The platform and the pulpit, which have been propagating various doctrines and ideals to an increasingly large number of population.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that as the prime factor of mental development, education has rendered an immense service to the progress of modern India: First, as the medium of instruction, the English language has educated India in modern science, philosophy, art and technology and opened to her the vast resources of Western civilization in general and British civilization in particular and helped India to find herself, which is the greatest contribution of England to India. Secondly, the establishment of various universities and of other higher institutes of education has prepared Indian people in the social, political, and economic thinking and reconstruction, the best example of which is India's Constitution, a monumental edifice to popular democracy. Thirdly, secondary education, both academic and vocational, as supplemented by high schools and similar other institutions, has begun to stabilize the rising middle classes in modern social order as the custodian and carrier of cultural heritage from generation to generation. Finally, free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14, instead of a few scattered primary schools as at present, is a measure of supreme importance for developing the literate electorate and intelligent citizens of India's democratic Government. It must also be added that India must also preserve the legacy of the English language, which the British introduced over a hundred years ago for imperial purposes and which has now become the most important international language. Like her State-language and the national language, India needs also her international language so that she may perform her duties and responsibilities in the international organizations, the number of which has been increasing as the time passes on.

5. Cf. "Language and Literature in India" by Sonya Ruth Das, *The Modern Review*, May 1949, pp. 403-404.

VIVEKANANDA—HIS INFLUENCE IN THE AWAKENING OF MODERN INDIA*

By G. L. MEHTA,
Ambassador of India to USA

THERE is, indeed, urgent need today for a better appreciation of the ways of life of different countries, for tolerance between peoples and for mutual recognition of our common aspirations. But in no case is such understanding more essential than between India and the United States as on their co-operation and harmony depend the future of democracy in the East and the peace of the world.

The Ramakrishna Mission which conducts several Vedanta Centers in this country is a vital institution that seeks to combine the religious and cultural tradition of India with the gospel of social service of modern times. This Mission was established in Calcutta in 1897 by Swami Vivekananda to honor the memory of his guru or preceptor and master Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

In order to evaluate the contribution which Swami Vivekananda has made to the evolution of New India, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the times in which he lived and worked. India was then in a state of ferment. Vivekananda was born only six years after India's first revolutionary movement of independence in 1857. The national upsurge, however, was much wider than the political struggle. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by activities of social and religious reform. Some reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal laid emphasis on the unity of God and discarded idol worship; it carried on a crusade for removal of social evils and for elevating the status of women. Others like the Arya Samaj in the north sought to go back to the pristine purity of the ancient scriptures and strove to attain the ideal of an Indian nationality. The Indian National Congress which became the spear-head of the national struggle for independence was also established during these days.

It was in these times of turmoil and unrest that Vivekananda came under the influence of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta, and became in due course the standard-bearer of the master's teachings. Shri Ramakrishna had scarcely any formal education and led an intensely spiritual life in splendid isolation. He had deep faith in the inherent truth of all religions and tested his belief by performing religious exercises in accordance with the practice and usage not only of different

Hindu sects but also of Christianity and Islam. His broad catholicity, mysticism and spiritual ecstasy attracted considerable attention of the people. But he lived and died a lonely spiritual devotee, unknown except to small groups of disciples and followers.

But Vivekananda was not only a disciple, he was an exponent and interpreter. His learning, eloquence, zest and energy and his wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers which included the rich and the poor, intellectuals and the illiterate, his own countrymen and foreigners.

Sixty-two years ago, when America was still an unknown land to most people in India and India seemed a distant, perhaps a semi-barbaric country to many in the West, Vivekananda overcoming all the hardships of travel and without adequate financial support came to this country and, indeed, to this city, where on September 11, 1893, he addressed the World's Parliament of Religions. His speech, extempore and brief as it was, created a profound impression on the audience; overnight, he became a celebrity in this country. The keynote of his address was universal tolerance and human brotherhood. Indeed, Vivekananda was the first spiritual and cultural Ambassador of India to America. Sister Christine who heard Vivekananda for the first time in a Unitarian Church in Detroit in 1894, says:

"The power that emanated from this mysterious being was so great that one and all but shrank from it. It was overwhelming. It threatened to sweep everything before it. This, one sensed even in those first unforgettable moments. . . . He was barely thirty, this preacher from far away India. Young with an ageless youth and yet withal old with the wisdom of ancient times."

And, in parenthesis, may I mention what impression Vivekananda himself had of America. In a private letter from Chicago, dated 2nd November, 1893, Vivekananda wrote:

"There is a curiosity in this nation such as you meet with nowhere else. They want to know everything, and their women—they are the most advanced in the world. The average American woman is far more cultivated than the average American man. The men slave all their lives for money, and the women snatch every opportunity to improve themselves. And they are a very kind-hearted, frank people. Everybody who has a fad to preach comes here and I am sorry to say that most of these are not sound. The Americans have their faults too and what nation has not? But this is my summing up. Asia laid the germs of civilization, Europe developed men, and America is developing women and the masses. It is a paradise of the woman and the laborer."

* This is the text of a speech delivered by Ambassador Mehta at the First Annual Vivekananda Memorial Lecture in a series designed to promote the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States of America, at the University of Chicago, on Wednesday, 20th April, 1955. The lectures are provided for by a fund at the University of Chicago, established by Taraknath Das Foundation.

In Vivekananda, patriotic and religious impulses aroused a supreme desire to uplift the manhood of India with a view to restoring India to a self-respecting place in the comity of nations. He believed that India had a definite contribution to make to the peace and progress of the world but before she could do so, she had to win recognition from other nations by raising her own status. India could co-operate for the common good by eradicating poverty, by redressing social wrongs and by developing her inherent strength. For this purpose, the people of India had to draw their inspiration from her ancient heritage. For the first time in the modern age, he boldly proclaimed before the world the cultural tradition and the spiritual qualities of Hindu civilization, the greatness of her past and the aspirations for her future. Instead of being apologetic or exhibiting a sense of inferiority which marked the attitude of many Indians in those days towards Western culture and civilization, a refreshing courage and a consciousness of innate strength marked Vivekananda's utterances. This, combined with a burning patriotic zeal, made him an embodiment of the ideals of a resurgent Indian nation. He was, in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol, "the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her new-born claim to nationhood."

Vivekananda was not a politician. He did not fight any political battles nor did he participate in civic and legislative bodies. He was primarily a religious reformer but he propounded the fundamentals and emphasized the verities which years later were reinforced by Mahatma Gandhi and became in many ways the beacon lights of the national renaissance. As Prime Minister Nehru has observed:

"Vivekananda was one of the great founders of the modern national movement of India, and a great number of people who took more or less active part in that movement later on drew their inspiration from him."

It is not easy to determine the way in which Vivekananda has influenced modern India nor to detail the spheres in which his influence has been felt. Such influence as a man like Vivekananda exercised was subtle and imperceptible, for the work of a spiritual teacher is concerned with the minds and hearts of men, not with institutions and laws. The footprints which a great man leaves on the sands of time are not always visible to the naked eye. Nevertheless, Vivekananda's inspiration and work abide. I shall attempt to deal only with some aspects of the impact of his personality and work.

The national movement of India, particularly after Gandhiji became its leader, has been not merely national in its aims and temper but also democratic and social in its outlook. From 1931, when the Indian National Congress in its session at Karachi laid down the broad principles on which the Constitution of

India was to be framed until its recent session at Avadi in Madras in January this year, the emphasis of the Indian movement has been on the building up of a Welfare State through improvement in the condition of the masses and the evolution of an equalitarian society by democratic means. And here is what Vivekananda, known as the "cyclonic Hindu," had to say on this subject:

X "The only hope of India is from the masses. . . . He who sees God in the poor, in the weak, and in the diseased really worships Him. He who has served and has helped one poor man, seeing God in him, without thinking of his caste, creed or race, or anything, with him God is more pleased than He is with the man who sees Him only in Temples. . . . Do you love your fellow men? Where should you go to seek for God—are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, Gods? Why not worship them first? . . . I consider that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses, and that is one of the causes of our downfall. No amount of politics will be of any avail until the masses in India are once more well-fed, and well-cared for."

Again and again, Vivekananda said that religion had to be translated into our daily life and practice, that it should remove tyrannies and privileges and barriers. He firmly believed that the noblest way to serve God was through the service of men, that temples should not become ivory towers. The term *Daridra Narayan* (to signify the dignity of the poor) which Gandhiji popularized was Swami Vivekananda's expression; it embodied his faith in and compassion for the weak, the humble and the lowly. The most practical form which Vedanta should take, said Vivekananda, was the uplift of the mass of people. In this he was truly the forerunner of Gandhiji. "An empty stomach," Vivekananda once remarked, "is no good for religion." It was he, too, who observed that "God comes to the poor in the form of Bread." I think we should constantly remind ourselves of these words now when we are involved in conflicts of creeds and wars between rival "isms." We have to act up to the ideals of a true democracy, we have to rid the world of dire poverty and want, we have to bring some ray of hope and cheer in countless lives immersed in squalor and misery. And this we have to do irrespective of Communism or Capitalism. The world can no more be half-starving and half-slave. A "free world" cannot be based on hungry stomachs, ignorant minds and idle hands. To meet Vivekananda's challenge in constructive terms is the supreme task of statesmanship today.

India's political system and constitutional structure are squarely based on principles of secularism. The Fundamental Rights laid down in the Constitution prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth and prevent the imposition of any disability or

restriction on such grounds. Complete religious freedom is assured to all citizens of India. This is the corner-stone of new India. Hindu-Muslim unity was one of the ideals for which Gandhiji strove and, indeed, it was in vindicating this ideal that he sacrificed his very life. Throughout his life, Vivekananda laid stress on brotherhood and tolerance. In his famous address to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, he said:

"Sectarianism, bigotry and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long plagued this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization and sent whole nations to despair."

Indeed, he realized that social barriers could not be sanctioned by religious tenets.

"India's doom was sealed the very day the caste system was invented and stopped free communion with one another. . . . No man, no nation can hate others and live."

For, he believed like his great master that different religions are but diverse ways leading to the same goal. As the writing on the walls of the Vedanta Centers in this country proclaims:

"He is one but the sages describe Him differently."

Although a true nationalist, Swami Vivekananda was not narrow in his outlook or parochial in his approach. It is remarkable that over sixty years ago he had what we today call an international outlook.

"Even in politics and sociology, problems that were national twenty years ago can no longer be solved on national grounds only," he observed. "They are assuming huge proportions, gigantic shapes. They can only be solved when looked at in the broader light of international grounds. International organizations, international combinations, international laws are the cry of the day. There cannot be any progress without the whole world being based on Truth and Justice. It is becoming every day clearer that the solution of any problem can never be attained on racial, national or narrow grounds. Every idea has to become broad till it covers the whole of this world, every aspiration must go on increasing till it has engulfed the whole of humanity—I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others. Colonialism breeds exclusiveness. This is the main cause of the degradation of Man today. All nations must get back into the world-current. Motion is the sign of life."

How true these words are today so many years after they were spoken! With Vivekananda, however, internationalism was not a slogan or an instrument of power politics but an expression of his innate sense of human brotherhood.

It is of interest to note that long before Gandhiji, Vivekananda emphasized not only the vital impor-

ance of truthfulness in all human activities but also stressed the need of fearlessness and even the principle of non-aggression. When Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in 1915, what pained him most was a lack of moral strength among people; he was oppressed by the atmosphere of cowardice and fear. Gandhiji thought this to be the worst evil of the foreign rule, worse even than economic exploitation since it corroded the souls of men and women and robbed them of their human dignity: he, therefore, tried to instil fearlessness among his people so that they might stand erect and upright before social tyrants, oppressive landlords and arrogant rulers.

But it is not only individual fear that matters. We live today in an age of fear; the richer are more afraid than the poorer, the more powerful nations are in greater terror than the weaker ones. Measures of security seem only to increase the feeling of insecurity all round. Atomic power accentuated our apprehensions, bringing the whole world under a shadow. Fear is at the root of much of the world's troubles today and has involved us in a terrible race in production of nuclear weapons which, if we are not prudent, can only end in universal disaster. Vivekananda proclaimed:

"Be not afraid of anything. It is fear that is the great cause of misery in the world. It is fear that is the greatest of superstitions. It is fear that is the cause of our woes. And it is fearlessness that brings heaven in a moment."

So, too, about non-aggression. He once said:

"There is no virtue higher than non-injury. Non-injury has to be attained by him who would be free. No one is more powerful than he who has attained perfect non-injury."

This, indeed, has been the teaching of all great religions. This conception of non-aggression was later translated by Gandhiji into the principle of non-violence and its wise application in the international sphere is the only hope for human survival.

Apart from these teachings and tenets, Vivekananda gave an institutional expression to the principles expounded by him. In the tradition of the Buddhist monks or Bhikkhus who went to distant lands carrying Buddha's message of goodwill and love and brotherhood, he travelled abroad and came to this country twice. It was to preach and practise the positive faith and gospel of social service that the Ramakrishna Mission was established. The Mission which has several activities—religious, cultural and social—has been steadily expanding them in various directions. It runs hospitals, dispensaries, industrial and agricultural schools, libraries and publishing houses. And at the occurrence of flood, famine, earthquake, epidemic or any other natural calamity, its members render assistance and give relief. It observes no distinction of caste, creed or religion in this work. The Mission has remained a monastic order, disse-

minating reformatory ideas and engaging itself in social service. It has placed in the forefront of its program the idea of social work not as mere charity or philanthropy but as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life, as a social obligation which we all owe to those less fortunately placed in life.

The first Vedanta Center in this country was founded in this city soon after Swami Vivekananda's visit in 1893. There are today eleven centers in this country where Vedanta philosophy is studied and

expounded. These Centers do not preach a set of rigid doctrines or seek to convert people.

Vivekananda died at the young age of 39. The fire that raged in his mind and heart and which expressed itself in eloquent and ennobling language eventually consumed it. It has been said: "Those whom the gods love die young." But if the gods had spared Vivekananda to live the full span of his life, he would have contributed still more to the cultural renaissance of his country and to the spiritual regeneration of mankind.

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THE MISSION OF BANDUNG

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Twenty-nine-Nation Asian-African Conference, which commenced its work on April 18, at Bandung in Indonesia has, undoubtedly, made history. In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, work done by the Conference was a "considerable achievement." Although there were certain initial setbacks and hurdles, the wisdom of all the Delegates assembled at the Conference made it possible to achieve complete unanimity on all issues. The 5000-word communique issued by the conference at the end of its seven days' work is a document of far-reaching significance. (It shows that the Continents of Asia and Africa are now determined not to be camp-followers or "yes-men" of the Western powers but to meet together and chalk out their own destinies through mutual consultations and co-operation. In the course of his concluding address the Prime Minister of India made it clear that the Conference had not been convened in any spirit of ill-will or hostility towards any nation of the world. He, however, desired that like India, Asia and Africa should not get entangled in any of the Power Blocs and should behave as free and independent nations. Shri Nehru hoped that "in future there would be no yes-men in Asia and Africa.")

In the course of his inaugural address to the Conference, the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno made a fervent call for "surrender to peace" and declared that Asia and Africa were united "by a common determination to preserve and stabilize world peace and by a common detestation of colonialism and racialism." "No task," declared President Soekarno, "was more urgent than that of preserving peace." He wanted the principles of "live and let live" and "unity in diversity" to be the mottos of the Conference, and hoped that "the Conference would give guidance to mankind and prove that Asia and

Africa were reborn." The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Sastromidjojo observed that "those who fostered the illusion that the stock-piling of atom and hydrogen bombs could bring about peace rather than the sponsors of co-existence were unrealistic day-dreamers." The Conference pledged its support to the basic principles of human rights in the U.N. Charter. During the proceedings of the Conference, India expressed the view that "the best foundation for friendship between nations was not political alliances but understanding and respect for the culture, mind and heart of one another." The Communique of Bandung Conference recognizes "the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region, and the general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty." It also emphasises "the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian and African countries." It "deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which forms the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world." "Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man." The Conference was of the view that "disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of whole destruction." The Conference declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." The Bandung Conference was, therefore, in more senses than one, an unqualified success in serving the cause of peace

and good-will among the nations of the world. (The prominent part played by the Prime Minister of India and China went a long way in ensuring the success which the Conference ultimately achieved. We particularly welcome the assurance given by the Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai that China would not encourage Communists in or from other countries, particularly the Five Colombo Powers. This assurance would go a long way in resolving conflicts in the South-East Asian countries.)

It was a happy coincidence that the 18th April was observed throughout India as the day of dedication to the cause of a peaceful and non-violent social and economic revolution through the Bhoodan movement. It was on April 18, four years ago that Acharya Vinoba Bhave got the first instalment of 100 acres as land gift in Pochampalli village in Telangana. During the last four years the Bhoodan movement has spread throughout the country and has rightly become the symbol of a peaceful socio-economic revolution in India. This movement has attracted world-wide attention because of its unique nature in conformity with the innate genius of India. Acharya Vinoba now desires to intensify this movement during the next two years so as to be able to achieve the target of 5-crore acres of land by the end of 1957. Thousands of people must have taken the solemn pledge on the 18th April to rededicate themselves to the cause of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It is indeed inspiring to know that on the same day, 29 nations of Asia and Africa also dedicated themselves to the cause of world brotherhood and goodwill. (India believes that real peace should be established only if individuals and nations solemnly resolve to eschew social and economic exploitation, work for maximum self-sufficiency and bring about a bold decentralization or diffusion of political and economic power through the organisation of village communities. The best way to preserve world peace is to decentralise and disperse power rather than to centralise and concentrate it in the hands of a few individuals or nations.) The Communists believe in the "withering away" of political power but begin by centralizing authority in the hands of a small section of the population. The Sarvodaya philosophy preached by Gandhiji, on the other hand, believes in Panchayat Raj on the basis of self-governing and self-sufficient rural communities or Panchayats. The Bhoodan movement symbolizes this urge and ideal of a non-violent and decentralized

democracy for India and other nations of the world. Instead of bringing about a social and economic revolution through the coercion of the State, Bhoodan or Sarvodaya places more faith on the conversion of the minds and hearts of the people through a process of mutual love and co-operation. Prime Minister Shri Nehru re-affirmed the same faith at the Bandung Conference by asserting that India had accepted the Gandhian ideal which taught the lesson of self-reliance on one's own inner strength. Shri Nehru spoke with "faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs.")

("India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist; whatever the great powers did, India would rely on herself.") It was also a strange coincidence that the world-renowned scientist and humanist Dr. Einstein also passed away on the 18th April. He was responsible for giving to the world the key to the secrets of atomic energy, but firmly believed in the principle of non-violence and world brotherhood. He had deep faith in the inherent goodness of humanity. When I had the privilege of meeting him some years ago in his cottage at Princeton, he gave us a message that "nothing was more important to man than man." He also expressed his full faith in the ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. In the words of Shri Nehru he died as a "beacon of light in the world where shadows darken." We also learn that in the course of his last letter Dr. Einstein advocated the philosophy of "passive resistance" for the defence of a minority. Born as a great scientist who gave to the world the Theory of Relativity and the secrets of atomic energy, Dr. Einstein passed away as a great humanist who sincerely believed in the cause of world peace and friendship.

April 18, 1955, was, therefore, a memorable day, indeed. It was on that day that India re-affirmed her faith in non-violence and world brotherhood; it was on the same day that nations of Asia and Africa resolved to work unitedly for resolving international conflicts and bringing about world co-operation, and it was on this very day that one of the greatest scientists of the age passed away quietly in a hospital with a burning faith in the goodness of man and the futility of atom bombs and other instruments of destruction. We earnestly hope that the mission of Bandung, the inspiration of the Bhoodan movement and the faith of Dr. Einstein in passive resistance and non-violence would usher in a new era in the history of the world.



FOUR YEARS OF BHOODAN YAJNA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

Four years ago today was offered the first land-gift in a small village in the Nalgonda district of the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State. How it so happened at all there, is not only very interesting but also immensely significant. It was nothing like a random donation to gratify a poor mendicant or a subtle action performed with an eye for a name in this world or for a good place in the next. It occurred in an area where the objective conditions were as follows:

- (i) The gulf between the rich and the poor there is wider than perhaps anywhere else in the country;
- (ii) The rich had lost all balance of mind and ran away to big towns for safety;
- (iii) The poor were in such a helpless state as to lend their credulous ear to any one who held out any hopes to them, however mirage-like;
- (iv) The official machinery (both Provincial and Central) had spent about five crores of rupees and taken every step, military or otherwise, to quell the situation and restore peace, but signally failed;
- (v) The political workers adhering to the democratic method could see no possibility of easing the tension between the people;
- (vi) Those believing in the dictatorial technique had, in spite of their unremitting labour of several years, only been able to create a sort of terror but could not at all succeed in their objective of socialising the ownership of land or letting the landless enjoy a secure possession of the same;
- (vii) As people were being ground down mercilessly between the two stones, i.e., by the agents of the official authority in the day and of the violent totalitarian activity at night, they knew no end of their plight, human ingenuity seemed to have totally foundered and all belief in democracy, non-violence, peace or human brotherhood was on the point of collapse.

When the happy event came to pass on 18th April, 1951, it was characterised by some signal facts:

- (i) The most down-trodden people of the village, viz., the Harijans unanimously demanded eighty acres of land to make their ends meet;
- (ii) The demand was not made to any landlord, official authority, politician or power-monger but to Vinoba, to one who had passed literally every moment of his past thirty-five years in humanity's service, had led a strenuous life of restraint and silent meditation and unwearying village work, had never sought for any post or office in any public or private concern or party, and had attained such a supreme control over his nature as to harbour no desire or will to do or undo this thing or that;
- (iii) He had reached the place on foot, walking down all the way from his Paramdham Ashram to Hyderabad and then again to that village;
- (iv) He invoked the goodness of the land-holding people of that village and inquired of

them whether they themselves were not prepared to do something for their needy neighbours;

(v) A young zamindar came humbly forward with an offer of no less than one hundred acres of his fertile land in response;

(vi) The Harijans gratefully promised to make use of that land in a homely manner and lead henceforth a family life of sturdy self-reliance;

(vii) Touched by this amazing drama, Vinoba saw in it a manifestation of the Divine Hand and feeling that Providence had chosen him as His instrument for accomplishing this process, he resolved that very night to take up the new mission and set out upon it from the next day, which he has persistently continued with a sun-like regularity down to this day.

Such auspicious beginnings leave little doubt for the ceaseless progress of the Bhoodan-Yajna. It has now taken the splendid form of the gigantic Ganga sweeping far and wide with tributaries joining it now and then. During his 51 days' tour in Telangana, Vinoba encamped at 51 villages, passed through some 200 villages, settled about 500 village disputes, addressed some two lakhs of people and received 12,201 acres of land for the landless.

Vinoba's endeavour in Telangana was to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor. This Bhoodan Yajna is an application of non-violence; an experiment in transformation of life itself. I am only a tool in the hands of Him who is the Lord of all ages, like even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired by God."

Vinoba returned to his Paunar Ashram on 27th June. On account of the rains he stopped there for two months. Meanwhile he received an invitation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, to come to Delhi in order to discuss the Five-Year Plan framed by the Government. Vinoba decided to go to Delhi on foot and left Paunar on September 12, 1951.

Reaching Nagpur on September 15, he observed:

"Till God keeps strength in me I shall tour the country and beg for land for the landless."

At another place he remarked:

"Those who do not donate land today will do so tomorrow. They cannot help giving the same. In India there is none who would turn down my request for land."

On October 2, 1951, he was at Saugar, a University town in Madhya Pradesh. Addressing the workers there, he placed before the country his demand for five crore acres of land by 1957. He declared:

"Though my own stomach is very small, that of the *daridranarayana* is very big. So if any one asks me what my demand is, I say 'Five crores of acres of land.' I mean thereby cultivable land. If

FOUR YEARS OF BHOODAN YAJNA

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there are five sons in the family, I want to be considered the sixth; if four, the fifth. Thus I claim one-fifth or one-sixth; of the total cultivable land in the country."

On bended knees he implored:

"I appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of *Daridranarayana*. This is real Yajna—sacrifice. I, therefore, beseech every one to come forward and put his shoulder to this task. This will usher in an unprecedented and mighty revolution in the country. I can, even as I stand here, behold it taking place before my eyes."

Passing through Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh as also parts of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, Vinoba entered the capital of India on November 13, 1951. During the 62 days he took in coming from Paunar to Delhi, he obtained 19,436 acres.

Vinoba introduced himself to Delhi's populace as the proverbial *Vaman* who covered the earth in three steps. So also he affirmed:

"What I want the people to do is, first, to part with some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should give up all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

After reaching Delhi, Vinoba met for three successive days the members of the Planning Commission as also its Chairman, the Prime Minister. In the words of Vinoba:

"During these three days of discussion I placed my idea before them. They promised to consider my suggestions . . . However, there is a difference between their approach and mine, though they have also the interest of the country at heart."

After eleven days' stay in the capital in a hut near Gandhiji's *samadhi*, Vinoba left it in the early hours of the morning of November 24, 1951 and launched upon a walking tour of Uttar Pradesh. According to his demand of one-sixth of the entire cultivable land in the country, Vinoba wanted one crore acres of land from the U.P. As a first instalment, however, the constructive workers of U.P., meeting at Mathura on first November and during Vinoba's presence (when he was on his way to Delhi), resolved to collect five lakhs of acres within one year. Except the Almora district, Vinoba covered one district after another of the U.P.

In April, 1952, Vinoba encamped at Sevapuri Ashram for more than a week in connection with the Sarvodaya Sammelan held there on April 13, 14, 15 and 16. This Sammelan registered a landmark in the growth and development of the Bhoodan movement for it was here that constructive workers from all parts of the country decided to collect twenty-five lakhs of acres within two years as a first instalment to fulfil Vinoba's demand of five crores, in order to establish a classless and exploitation-free society on

the basis of truth and non-violence. A quota was fixed for every province. There was thus a clear-cut programme before the workers. The ideology of Sarvodaya had now taken a concrete shape.

On May 8, when Vinoba reached Lucknow, the capital of U.P., it happened to be the Buddha Jayanti Day (Birth Anniversary of Lord Buddha). There he declared:

"I ask people to give the land they have . . . And I have come to believe that God is using, weak though I am, to complete the task which He had commenced through the Buddha."

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*—revolving the wheel of Dharma, which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest: *The land has already come to me, it has already gone to the landless*. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer."

Then he pointed out:

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama: 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor; so awake, Oh Ram!'"

On 4th July, 1952, Vinoba re-entered Benares city after walking through 48 districts of the U.P. In Benares, he encamped at Kashi Vidyapith for 70 days to pass the rainy season. There he also gave a call for the *Swachha Bharat* (Clean India) campaign. On 11th September, on the occasion of his 59th birthday, he made the resolve not to go back to his Paramdham Ashram until the land problem of the country was solved.

During his stay in U.P., Vinoba encamped at 257 places, covered 3,750 miles and obtained 2,95,028 acres. In June, 1952, was made the first offer of all land in a village—Mangroth in the Manipur district of U.P. The total land collections in the country amounted at that time to a little less than four lakhs.

On September 14, 1952, Vinoba crossed the Karamnasa river and walked down from Uttar Pradesh into Bihar. Entering the precincts of Bihar he said:

"As a pilgrim goes to a *Tirtha*—pilgrimage for God's *darshan*—so also I have come out on Bhoodan pilgrimage. I have a desire that the land problem of Bihar should be solved during my stay here. But the far more important thing is working the non-violent method. If we are able to solve the land problem by the method of love and peace, it would earn credit for non-violence. Could non-violence succeed in attaining economic

revolution, what else would it not be able to achieve?"

On 23rd October, he declared at Patna the great resolve—resolve not to leave Bihar until its land problem was solved. Next day, he placed before the people the idea of *Sampattidan Yajna*. He said:

"As the work of Bhoodan progressed it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is up to the people to decide what they can and will give me."

Vinoba entered the Gaya district on 28th October. Three days after he declared that he wanted one lakh acres from this district of Buddha Bhagwan. As Vinoba later said:

"When I entered the Gaya district, I resolved that this district, which was the scene of Lord Buddha's austerities and which is sacred to crores of Hindus as the place for offering *Shradha* to their forbears, should be asked to collect one lakh acres as the first instalment. I expressed this feeling to the workers who approved of it and accepted to work for it."

Thus it was that Bhoodan work was taken up in Gaya district on an intensive basis. On 13th December, 1952, Vinoba entered the Manbhum district in a very weak state of health. On the 14th, he came to Chandil and his condition so much worsened that it was impossible for him to move. He had, therefore, to camp at Chandil for several months to regain his health. The fifth annual session of Sarvodaya Samaj was, therefore, also convened at Chandil on March 5, 6, and 7, 1953, Sri Dharendra Majumdar presiding. The highlight of this gathering was the declaration of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan that he would henceforth devote himself mainly to Bhoodan work. He said:

"Despair had seized our heart after the attainment of Independence. But Vinobaji dispelled our illusions. As the light of Bhoodan Yajna spread out the clouds of doubts and darkness disappeared. Today everybody has accepted that land is the mother of one and all and each has equal right upon it. One who labours to produce from land has the first right. This is the intellectual revolution that has taken place within the last two years. Now the task before all of us is to give this revolution a practical shape, make it a reality and accomplish this mission."

Vinoba placed some very striking ideas before this Sammelan. He urged upon the necessity of building up what he called in his inimitable language स्वतन्त्र जनशक्ति (*Swatantra Jan-Shakti*). He said:

"Our work should proceed on the basis of—one, Vicharshasan (विचार शासन) or peaceful conversion of people to our view by making them think about it, and two, Kartritva-vibhajan, (कर्तृत्वविभाजन) or distribution of work among the individuals without creating an administrative authority."

To achieve this objective, Vinoba placed the four-fold programme: (i) Integration of constructive work institutions into one homogeneous unit, (ii) collection of five crore acres of land in Bhoodan Yajna by 1957; (iii) Sampattidan Yajna; and (iv) Yarn offering.

On 12th March, 1953, Vinoba restarted on his Bihar trek.

On 18th September he encamped at Baidyanath-dham, Bihar's most important pilgrimage centre. He also stayed there on the 19th on account of the meetings of workers from all over Bihar. In the evening of the 18th, he was requested by the head priest of the temple to pay a visit to the holy shrine. When he was told that Vinoba could enter a temple only if Harijans were also allowed to have the *darshan*, he gave his consent to Harijans accompanying Vinoba. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th, Vinoba, accompanied by some Harijans and his colleagues, went into the temple. But hardly had he gone a few steps the *pandas* of the temple fell upon Vinoba and the party with *lathis* amidst cries of "*Dharm ki jai ho! Adharm ka nash ho!*" (Long live religion! Down with ir-religion!). Members of the party surrounded Vinoba, but he was slightly injured at the ear. Calmly and quietly he came out. Some members of the party were seriously hurt and beaten. Next day when he reached Pardi in Bhagalpur district, Vinoba issued a statement to the press in the course of which he said:

"I would like to say at the very outset that those who have indulged in this act of assault did so only out of ignorance. That being so, I do not want them to be punished for this. Those who indulged in the assault were seized with anger, so much so that they made no distinction between man and woman. I trust this will prove to be the last curse of Bhedasur, i.e., the devil in man that discriminates between one man and another."

"I have already said that I do not want anybody to be punished. But the constitution of free India has been clearly violated. Small retributive measures cannot make up for that violation. What is needed is to provide against any recurrence of such incidents in future. This is an age of science. Every faith is being tested on the touchstone of reason. If our society keeps this in view and behaves accordingly, everything will go on well."

Passing through the districts of Purnea, Saharsa, Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur, Vinoba reached Patna

On 10th January 1954. Addressing the Patna citizens he observed:

"Land problem would be solved in one way or the other all over the world. Hence I do not worry about how much land I get. My only concern is the depth to which the right thought finds place in the heart of the people."

From 30th January to 4th May, Vinoba toured the Gaya district. On April 18, 19, and 20, 1954, was held at Bodh Gaya the sixth Annual session of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*, presided over by Srimati Ashadevi Aryanayakam. The most important event of this Sammelan was Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's address on the 19th. As a Bihari, he expressed his regret at the said fact that Bihar had not yet fulfilled Baba's (as Vinoba is known in the countryside) demand. He felt certain that Bihar could do it. But neither the members of the Congress party nor those of the Praja Socialist Party, both of which had passed resolutions supporting Baba's call for 32 lakhs of acres, had taken up the work with proper zeal and spirit. He added that personally his faith in the efficacy of the movement was growing day by day. Law would not unite hearts. Nor could any party pass a law making land a social property. Of course, that could be done by the sword, but the sword gave rise to more problems than it solved. Sri Jayaprakash pleaded for speedy action as urgency was essential and time waited for none. He said that the paramount need was to dedicate one's whole life to this cause and he called upon his countrymen, specially the youth to come forward and donate their life to it, Jiwan Dan or gift of life. He closed with the solemn announcement of offering himself for the cause.

Next day, the president announced that Sri Jayaprakashji had sent her two letters—one his and the other from Vinoba. She read them out. Sri Jayaprakash's letter said:

"I enclose a letter received from Baba. I have no words to comment on the donation of life to a small fry like me by a man who has inspired us all. I shall say only this that I am totally unfit for accepting such an invaluable donation. On the contrary, we have to donate our life in the name of God to Baba himself. Yours in humbleness, Jayaprakash."

Vinoba's letter was:

"In response to your call of yesterday here is the offering of my life for a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan-Yajna and with village-industries as its mainstay.—Vinoba."

Then began to flow the Jamuna of Jiwandan-Yajna. One after another, men and women offered themselves. About 500 names came then and there. Then followed the only resolution of the Sammelan, read out by Sri Shankarrao Deo. Expressing joy at the collections of 26,15,101 acres from 237,022 donors within two years, the resolution asked all those who

were anxious to establish human values in the society to come ahead and devote themselves to make the movement a success. In his valedictory address, Vinoba appealed to all political workers to forget their differences and take to producing *Jan-Shakti* through the common medium of Bhoodan. He claimed that the same would result in changing the whole administration, convert our power politics (*rajniti*) into popular politics (*loka-niti*) and help in the establishment of *shasan-mukta* (State-free) society.

During the rainy season of 1954, Vinoba covered the flood-ravaged districts of North Bihar—Darbhanga, Saharsa and Muzaffarpur—and waded through knee-deep and chest-deep waters, using a boat only when inevitable. In spite of the floods his meetings were crowded and often they attended the prayer as also his speech in showers. How deep a place has Bhoodan Yajna found in the heart of Bihar peasantry can be gauged from the fact that at one village in the district of Purnea they received Vinoba with a song at once original and unique:

"Sita Sita Ram Bolo!

Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo!"

At another village, in the Santhal Parganas district, they greeted him with the words:

"Baba, Zamin Lo! Zamin Lo!"

In the closing week of 1954, coal-miners of Bihar donated some 15,000 tons of coal for manufacturing bricks required to prepare wells on the Bhoodan lands distributed to the landless. Vinoba remained in Bihar up to 31st December, 1954. During his stay of 839 days he was donated with 22,32,474 acres of land.

In the small hours of the morning of the New Year's Day, 1955, Vinoba stepped out from the Bihar of Buddha and Mahavir into the *Vihar Bhoomi* (pilgrimage-land) of the Vaishnava saints and seers. It was his first visit to Bengal, the land of devotion and piety, of music and dream. He spent there 25 days, eleven in the Bankura district and fourteen in the Midnapore district, labouring to go deep into Bengal's soil and sow the thought-seed. He made it absolutely clear that Bhoodan sought to transform the whole society and was nothing short of *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*. He stirred Bengal to its very depths by calling upon it to supplement its legendary *Bhakti* with *Ahimsak Karma-Yoga* (non-violent activity). For *Bhakti* without *Karma* was bound to lead to inertia and *himsak karma* (violent action) was alien to the genius of her soil. Hence the paramount need of the Bhoodan Yajna for Bengal.

On 26th January, 1955, when Vinoba set his foot on the Orissa soil, he was presented with about a lakh and a quarter acres of land as also 93 villages donated in toto. Accepting the gift, Vinoba pointed out the great task to be accomplished in Orissa. He remarked:

"The work to be done now is that of *Bhoomi*

Kranti (Land Revolution). Merely giving land to the landless is not sufficient. Private land-ownership has to be abolished. Land can only be God's or of the society. If the people at any place live this idea, it would amount to the *poornata* (completeness) of Bhoodan Yajna. Thereafter the work of obtaining five crores and distributing it would become very long. I, therefore, expect a *paripoorna darshan* (wholesome view) in Orissa."

He also added:

"My hope from Orissa is not small. I am quite confident that now when the Bhoodan current has flowed on to this place, it would widely expand even as is done by your Mahanadi near the sea. I learn that Sri Mukund Deva tried to bring the Ganga to Orissa. Perhaps, he failed to earn the prestige. But you would now earn it. This, Bhoodan Yajna's current is the Ganga's. May you march with it right to the sea, the sea of humanity."

These days Vinoba's *yatra* goes on in Orissa. On 2nd February, they donated him 22 contiguous villages. On February 26, when he was at Manpur—a village which has been entirely dedicated in the Bhoodan Yajna by its people—he expressed the hope that the Bhoodan Yajna movement would make the land-revolution a living reality in the whole of India.

On March 25, 26 and 27 last, Vinoba was at Puri where was held the seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan. Therein he, giving a clarion call for land-revolution, called upon all public workers to donate two years for the Bhoodan Yajna. He appealed to them:

"Let all of you put your shoulder to the wheel for two years. This call of mine is not addressed to the people of India alone or merely to Sarvodaya devotees, but to one and all. I urge upon the whole world to leave no stone unturned for two years so that an arms-free society may come into force by 1957."

He further declared:

"It is not only a matter of tackling the land-issue. We have, in fact, to wipe out all Governments the world over for they cannot succeed in limiting the sphere of armed activity. We have to found non-violence. I ask for land-gifts for the sake of world-peace."

Thus has the Bhoodan-Yajna movement grown up during the last four years. About 37 lakhs of acres of land from more than four lakhs of donors have been so far offered in it as also some 150 whole villages. Also about 1500 workers, hailing from different parts of the country, have offered *Jivandan*. What is far more important, however, is the new enthusiasm the movement has created as also the energetic forces it has released. Persons belonging to various shades of life and subscribing to different political ideologies are participating in it. One of its no less considerable achievement is the great opportunity it has provided for our womenfolk to come out and play their part in the building up of India of the morrow,

The new awakening brought about by Bhoodan Yajna can also be gauged by the rising sale of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature. Weeklies or fortnightly in this connection are appearing in the twelve important languages of the country. Another evidence of the cultural and spiritual awakening that the movement is bringing about is the inspiration that it is providing to our poets and men of letters. Folk-songs and popular *Bhajans* in the various languages and dialects are a common feature. Also it has attracted wide attention abroad.

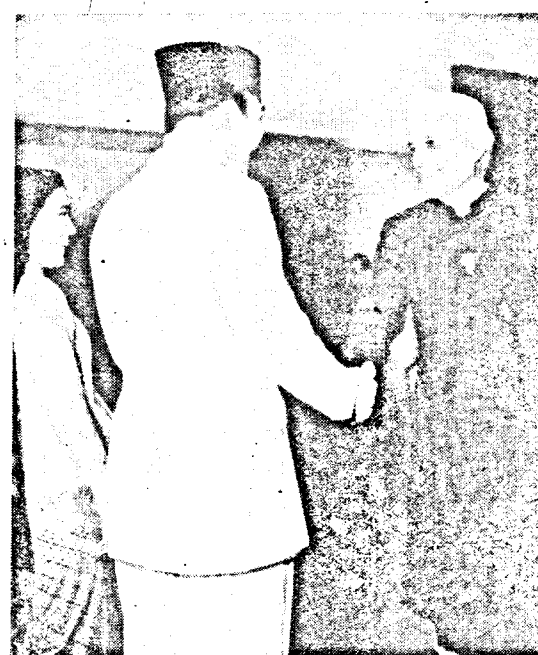
In fine, Bhoodan Yajna is not merely a movement for land distribution but for sharing of life as such. It recaptures, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan puts it, 'the social order as the family writ large.' Virtually it aims at re-discovering the dormant quality of man and make the same a social force with wide wings. Bhoodan is a march in the further evolution of the human kind. It is just paving the way for the quicker and greater development and prosperity of the society. It is an endeavour to direct man's course from the rails of distrust, aggression and bloodshed to those of trust, self-suffering and love. Bhoodan's is to set up a new world, to create a new man. It has a message for every country, for every citizen of the world.

Old times are changed. Old order is crumbling. A new one has to take its place—but if it be done on a weak and false foundation more harm would be done to our people during the next one or two decades than has been done during the last two or three centuries. The lines of the new order must be the same as suit our genius and are native to our soil. Needless to state that 'plans' or 'projects' depending on foreign capital and experts or internal combines shared by foreign interests would result in throwing us all from the frying pan into the fire. India has to be built from below. But how? I can only reproduce what a seventy-eight years old Kisan in Darbhanga district told me. When I asked him what, according to him, could actually help us at the present juncture, with a beaming face he replied:

"Bhoodan is the way to *Sachcha Swaraj* (or true freedom) and I want to assure you that I would refuse to die until *Sachcha Swaraj* is established."

This is the voice of our India, real India, and Bhoodan Yajna is the way to build her truly as also to uphold world peace. It is just in keeping with the path chalked out for us by Gandhiji who led us to political freedom. It opens the door for economic liberty and social equality. May we, the youth of India, rise to the height of the occasion and march together on the noble path with steadfast and devoted steps to mould new India and a new world and establish *Ram Raj* or the *Kingdom of God* on this very earth!

BANDUNG CONFERENCE

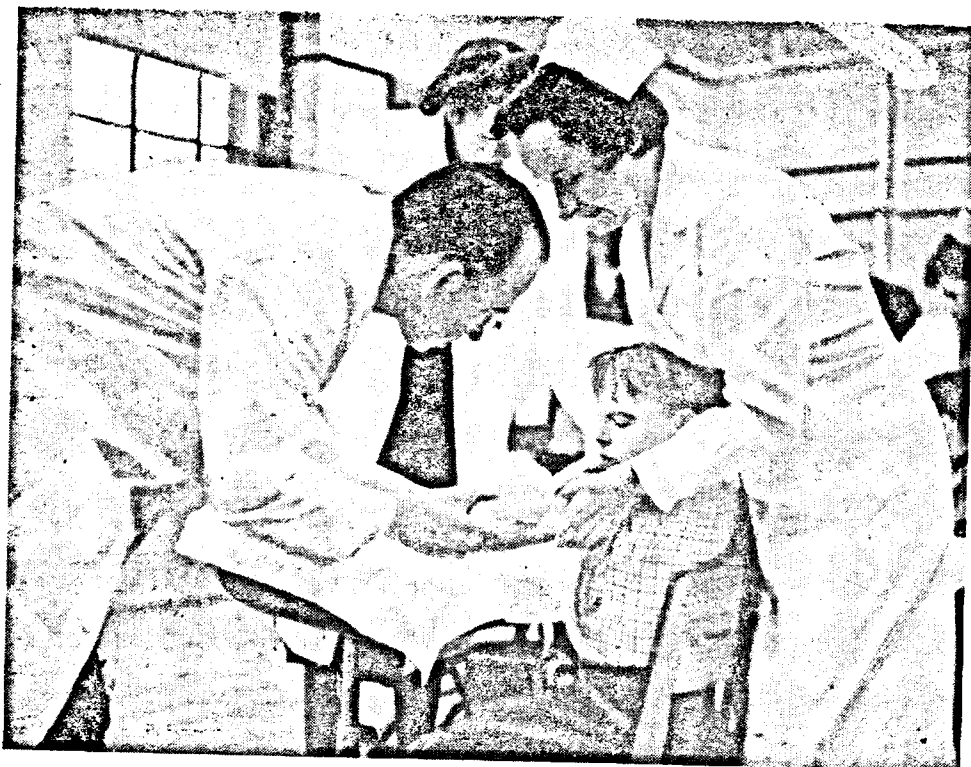


Above: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Palam airport, Delhi, accompanied by Lt.-Col. Gamal Abd El Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt and Sardar Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan

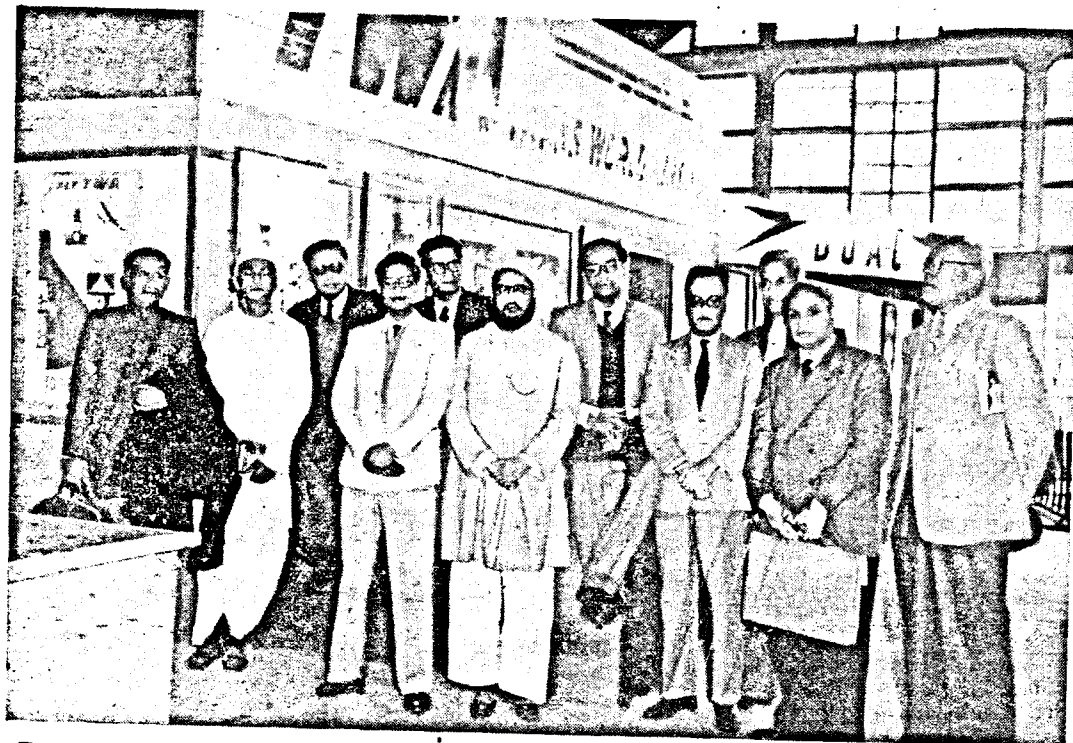
Below: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, being received at Bandung by Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia

Above: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and U. Nu Prime Minister of Burma, at Bandung

Below: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali Prime Minister of Pakistan, at Bandung



Dr. Jonas E. Salk inoculating a child with the anti-polio vaccine, discovered and developed by him



The group of eleven Indian librarians who left Bombay by plane, on February 9, for five months of study in the United States

THE YUGOSLAV CULTURAL HERITAGE

By M. PANIC-SUREP

For centuries, one part of Europe could only be discerned through a haze of smoke and conflagration. Since the 14th century, only the cries of insurgents and the wails of victims were heard, while for the past 150 years or so an uninterrupted and unquenchable struggle against the Turkish Sultans, the Austrian Habsburgs, the Bulgarian Koburgs, the German Hohenzollerns, Hitler, Mussolini, Horthy, culminating in the resistance to Stalin was waged on Yugoslav soil. It would seem as if fate had decreed that all European dictators and conquerors should break their spears against the same bastion. That is why there are countless families in Serbia and Macedonia where natural death among men is just as rare as drownings of peasants in the sea. To be killed in battle was regarded as a natural death for a man.

And when the smokes of war dissolve, does one only find charred ruins and crops in these regions? Apart from innumerable and deep scars, these areas will show us one of the most wonderful surprises of our civilisation. European culture, particularly in the field of arts sometimes marked its highest achievements here. And, however paradoxical it may seem, these masterpieces actually survived all ravages and depredations.

Little is known of these Yugoslav treasures abroad. This is also understandable. The liberations of 1804 and 1918 were only partial. The greatest part of the people, the workers and peasants were forced to continue the struggle for their most elementary rights, while efforts of the ruling class were concentrated on the exploitation of the people and preservation of its privileges so that the entire cultural heritage remained in the dark.

The pattern of the material monuments of Yugoslav spiritual culture is no less vivid, varied and colorful than that of countryside mountains and rivers. These monuments stem from the earliest stages of mankind, from its pre-history. The Krapina site near Zagreb (*Homo sapiens Crapiensis*) is doubtless one of the most important in the world. This site gave science decisive data on the diluvial man in Europe, his physical characteristics and the tools he used in his fight for subsistence. His fireplace with the remains of ten human skeletons speaks of the fire on which the future master of Nature was created and tempered. Other Paleolithic sites have also been discovered in Yugoslavia; another such site was found in a cave near Kragujevac only two years ago.

The man of the Neolithic era has left countless traces and relics in this country. Some of these are unrivalled in Europe, as for instance, Vinca and the Starcevo site near Pancevo. While the former is famous for its numerous human and animal statuettes, the latter won universal distinction with its painted earthenware with beautiful black and white ornaments on a red background; both together represent the earliest fruits of creative inspiration, the quality which sets man apart from the other beings.

With the advent of metals the number of human settlements increased notably. Over 2,000 have been registered so far in Serbia alone, of which hardly twenty have been systematically studied and explored. Groups of archaeologists are now enabling sunlight to penetrate into ancient homes, thus lifting the veil from the life and work of their inhabitants. The Illyrians and Celts were once masters here: their memories are preserved with respect.

The Yugoslav territory gave several emperors, statesmen and great men to the Roman Empire. Let us mention only Probus of Sremska Mitrovica, Diocletian of Solin, Constantine the Great of Nis, Justinian of Carcin Grad. They mounted the Roman thrones as representatives of territories distinguished by an extraordinarily intensive cultural activity and economic prosperity. We find evidence of this throughout the country. The walls of the fortifications of that time, the foundations of palaces, temples, theatres, mosaics, sculptures make their appearance from day to day, and testify to the efflorescence of these regions.

But all this intensive life in the remote past was to be overshadowed by the Yugoslav cultural achievements in the Middle Ages. The Dalmatian ornaments, the reliefs on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stecci (tombstones) and above all, the Serbian and Macedonian mural paintings, mark the triumph of a mature and advanced medieval culture which, as an integral part of the European heritage, is impressive by its originality and the strong imprint of its ethnical milieu. If the Gothic style marks the culmination of the art of that time in sculpture, the Serbian 13th century frescoes are certainly the highest achievement in the field of paintings. The refined and sure draughtsmanship, the rich and mellow colouring, and the constant warm human quality of these murals, made some people speak of a Renaissance on the Balkans which preceded that in Italy by a century or so. However such an affir-

mation is far from true. Studenica, Zica, Milesevo, Sopocani are no initial steps, but the mature fruits of the century-old activity of a people whose achievements culminate in these monuments. They were contributed to the treasury of civilisation by the feudal era as its most precious gems. The Italian Renaissance will be the herald of the next chapter in History. Architecture, particularly literature, developed parallel with the monumental Serbian paintings. This is not a case of exceptional giftedness of a period and a society for any particular branch of spiritual life; on the contrary, they have proved themselves consummate artists in all fields. Whether this is realised depends only on the interest and sympathies of the successive generations.

Brilliant rays of light often prevent us from noticing the warmth of hues and the unassuming beauty of other secondary features which ensure the entity of the main work. Therefore, the exclusive focussing of one's attention to mural paintings could easily lead to neglect and a superficial attitude as regards the architectural symphonies of the Serbian monasteries, the monumental medieval fortresses which seem an integral part of the surrounding landscapes, particularly the overwhelming beauty of the small objects in treasuries. How many icons, miniatures, fabrics, metal ornaments, carvings each of which represents a masterpiece in itself! On this occasion they can only be indicated as a numerous ensemble which gave birth to and is at the same time overshadowed by the genius of the main protagonist.

For the first time in history, the immense cultural heritage of the Yugoslav peoples is systematically studied, selected and classified today. Particularly important work is being done on its conservation. Although destroyed and plundered through the cen-

turies, during the numerous invasions of the national territory, it remained essentially indestructible. Its creators, the people, even uncouth warriors, knew to preserve and defend what was most important. Unfortunately they did not know or were unable to preserve it in the best condition. The prime task of the present generation is therefore to restore it.

What strange tricks fate played with some of these monuments! Imagine, for instance, that the windows and portals of Charters or Versailles had been built in, that new alien parts, say a minaret, had been added to the building, and that all had been covered by yet another thick coat of plaster which completely concealed even the minutest detail of the original reliefs and decorations. Imagine also that these barbarian acts were committed so long ago as to have fallen into oblivion. This is exactly what happened with St. Peter's Church near Novi Pazar (8th century), St. Sophia in Ohrid (9th-11th centuries), the Ljevinška Madonna in Prizren (15th century), and also partly with Studenica, the Pec Patriarchy, Diocletian's Palace in Split, and others. The Yugoslav conservation experts are performing genuine heroic feats in liberating these works of art from their stone veils. During the past two or three years alone, over a thousand square meters of old frescoes have been brought to daylight again, while the wonderful reliefs of the old styles again gladden the eye of the observer. If the medieval man believed in resurrection, this belief has been partially fulfilled in this case. His works are really coming to life again after many centuries of the mildew and darkness of the grave.

All these delicate and expensive works have been made possible only by the fact that the country's cultural heritage is at present the concern of the whole social community. We consider time as a link in the long and powerful chain of human life and progress.

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JOURNALISM FOR GIRLS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

JOURNALISM as a career is very much fascinating for anybody and specially for a girl. In these days of advanced civilization and culture journalism plays an important part in the daily life of an average man or woman. In Western countries journalists of different categories, such as Reporters, Sub-Editors, Editors, etc., have secured for themselves a high status in society. In our country also people are gradually realising the part played by journalists in educating the masses, building their national character and improving their general standard of living, and the degree of esteem and honour shown to them is consequently increasing. Up till now

very few educated girls have been attracted to the profession of journalism in our country where there is a great scope and possibility for their employment and better conditions of service. Recently Calcutta University has started a course in journalism which a girl student after her graduation can join. Of course, the best training which she can get is from a newspaper or a news agency office where working side by side with experienced journalists of long standing she can gather a fairly good knowledge, both in theory and practice, of the particular branch of journalism in which she is more interested.

To be a good journalist the first qualification needed is that a girl should have a good general knowledge with a background of some acquaintance with the social, political and economic developments of the countries of the world. She must have a fair knowledge of geography and history of her own country as well as those countries in particular which get "news prominence" in the pages of daily newspapers. She should not be affiliated to any political party or group as in that case there might be a possibility of the news items from her pen being influenced by her own thoughts and ideas and thereby lose the quality of independent and impartial news. Above all, she must be smart, tactful and courageous and must possess presence of mind and ready wit to face a difficult situation and can avail of a "news scoop."

In order to be a Reporter it will be to the advantage of a girl if she possesses knowledge in Stenography. If she has got a workable speed in English Short-hand and Typewriting she can somehow manage taking down important points of the proceedings of a meeting which she is required to attend, even if the proceedings are conducted in any other language than English, such as Bengali and Hindi, if of course she knows these languages. It will be comparatively easy for her to approach a leader or a prominent person and get an "exclusive interview" on behalf of a paper she represents as in modern society more courtesy is shown to a girl and naturally a girl reporter can get the advantage of it. She has an additional advantage of coming into closer contact with this leader or prominent person if she is a lady herself and the girl reporter can secure more news for the paper she represents. If she requires any detailed personal information about a particular leader, she being a lady can come in touch with a lady member of his family and can get material for writing an account of that gentleman's nature, habits, temperament, etc., which is not possible for a male reporter to gather so easily without causing annoyance and trouble to the leader himself.

In another branch of journalism, viz., sub-editing, a girl journalist's proficiency in the language of the newspaper will be of great help to her. Of course, in addition to this proficiency in the language of the particular newspaper to which she belongs, she must have a good knowledge in English, which is still occupying and will occupy, perhaps for many years to come, an international position of advantage. In a news agency or a newspaper office if she is engaged as a Sub-Editor under training, she has got to go through a large volume of press telegrams and news letters from correspondents. She needs patience to go through each one of them very carefully and minutely and insert the 'articles' or 'verbs' that are wanting and correct the

grammatical errors, if any, or re-write a particular portion if it lacks its full explanatory nature. If of course she is under training in the office of a weekly or monthly magazine her task is comparatively easy as she gets more time to go through the articles or stories of which she is expected to make preliminary editing before these are finally checked by the Editor. With the increased appreciation of readers of the newspaper or weekly or monthly magazine her work will also be appreciated more and more by the Editor. This will no doubt lead to her promotion in rank or increment in pay as a matter of course without much delay.

There is another independent field of journalism, viz. 'Freelance,' where a girl can secure a position for herself by her own industry, perseverance and originality. In this branch of journalism she has got to labour hard to improve her knowledge in different subjects and got to maintain her patience at the beginning of her career when she may find unexpectedly poor appreciation to her writings. However, her continued writings on a subject liked by her most, such as stories, articles, etc., will no doubt bring reward to her at not a very distant future. Besides the fame which she will attain as a writer will bring to her a great mental satisfaction and secure for her an honourable position in society.

Either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor a girl will enjoy her profession of journalism more than any other profession because whatever passes through her in manuscript stage will ultimately appear in print and when she will read these herself she will feel a sense of satisfaction and contentment, which she cannot get in any other profession of life. This joy and satisfaction can be compared with that of a teacher or a professor when he finds his own student succeeding in life or that of a Director when he finds the artiste he coached doing very well on the stage or in the picture he has produced.

The emoluments at the beginning which a girl can expect to receive in this profession of journalism either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor will in no way be less than the emoluments she can earn from any other profession. Besides, she has the great possibility of becoming one day an Editor of a weekly or monthly magazine or a daily newspaper, as the case may be, and thereby get fame and money all at a time, which she can never expect so quickly and easily in any other profession, provided she is honest in her labour and can keep her head high above party squabbles. Lastly the service she can render to the society and the country through this profession is not inconsiderable. Through her writings she can guide her countrymen, specially the youth, to the right path of attaining progress and prosperity to cope with the development of other free countries of the world.

AN ANALYSIS OF SALES-TAX

By M. MANIKYESWARA RAO, M.A.

THE Indian Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report has been recently released. While reading the detailed summary in newspapers I paused over the summary chapter on sales-tax.

These days sales-tax has come to be the mainstay of States' finances especially because of the inelasticity of other sources of revenue. It has well-developed in Part A and B States. Land revenue has paled into insignificance. With the abolition of Zamindari system agricultural income tax has gone down. States' excise duties are also becoming less important as the States are embarking on policies of prohibition. The States today shoulder many responsibilities for ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the people with such poor finances. The States consequently found a good source of revenue in sales-tax.

Sales-tax falls into the tax jurisdiction of the States. Sales-tax in our Constitutional phraseology means a tax on sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers. Even the Government of India Act, 1935, assigned the taxes on sale of goods to the provinces but the sales-tax then corresponded to excise, a central subject. In view of the powers conferred on the provinces, the C.P. passed the sale of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act 1938. The Central Government made a reference to the Federal Court which gave its opinion that the Act of the C.P. was not *ultra vires*. For the first time this decision opened up a new reliable source of revenue to the provinces. Gradually all the States imposed this tax.

Two varieties of sales-tax have come into existence; General Sales-tax and Selective Sales-tax. Selective sales-tax was first introduced in 1938 in C.P. But soon after general sales-tax came into vogue. This was divided into multi-point and single point sales-tax. Almost all the States now conform to either of these models. Single point and double point taxes were usually levied at high rates. In the multi-point system, the rate is relatively low and exemptions are few. Even the list of exemptions vary from State to State. Most States levy high rates on luxury goods. The schedule of these goods and the rates vary considerably. Thus there is an utter lack of uniformity in rates and exemptions. This has led to the necessity of all-India co-ordination. Certain States in their anxiety to tap more revenues interpreted the term 'sale' in various ways. Some of these measures involved taxation of raw materials and goods entering into inter-State trade more than once. Our Constitution says that the legislature of a State is prohibited from imposing or authorising the imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of any goods where such a sale or purchase takes place in the course of

inter-State trade or commerce. This Article 286 with its sub-clauses opened the flood gates of controversy. The levies of sales-tax by certain States were questioned in Courts of Law. In two cases—The State of Bombay *vs.* The United Motors (India) Ltd., The Travancore-Cochin Government *vs.* The Cashewnuts Factory—the Supreme Court gave its judgment on 30th March, 1953, that in case of inter-State sales transactions only that State in which goods had been delivered for consumption had the power to such sales. The administrative complexities involved in such a judgment were seriously thought of by all States. To circumvent these difficulties various proposals were put forward of which the introduction of purchase tax was one. But nothing tangible resulted. Public attention was focussed on it. Suggestions ranged from enlarging its scope to its virtual abolition.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission having examined various views submitted their recommendations. It has been pointed out that the future of the system of sales taxation demanded decisions on major issues of policy. The States cannot do without sales-tax and the sales-tax cannot do without the Union. There is an insistent need to give a place to the Union in the system. The Commission lays the broad considerations of policy as basic for the future development of sales-tax as follows:

- (1) The power and responsibility of the State must end and those of the Union begin when the sales-tax of one State impinged administratively on the dealers and fiscally on the consumers of another State.
- (2) Inter-State trade should be the concern of the Union.
- (3) Sales of goods should be divided between those not in the course of inter-State trade and commerce and those in the course of such trade and commerce.
- (4) The Union's power of levy and control should be so exercised that there is no avoidable duplication and there is incentive for co-ordination between the States; subject to this each State should be free to evolve the system of sales-tax best suited to its conditions.

Inter-State trade becomes a subject of Central Legislation. The Commission points out the various legislative and administrative details and vests the Inter-State Council with recommendatory powers in matters that call for a clarification. For raising substantial revenues they recommend to the States a general sales-tax with a low rate and a multi-point system.

They admit that in the administration of sales-tax there is a constant need for exchange of information

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between one State and another. The Report says that the Inter-State Taxation Council (to be created) should undertake the task of introducing as much uniformity as possible in matters of sales-tax laws, regulation, procedure, exemptions, etc.

They say that with the growing importance of public finance in the national economy it is important to develop an integrated national approach to problems of taxation and of expenditure. For this purpose they recommend the setting up of an All-India Taxation Council. It is a correct appraisal of basic economic policy for any modern State. But it is not understood why the Commission rejected so easily the suggestion of centralising the sales-tax and distributing the proceeds between the States on an agreed basis. The grounds on which they reject the suggestion are: (1) The sales-tax has become an integral part of the States systems which would be dislocated if so important and flexible a source is taken away. They observe that centralisation is inconsistent with its elasticity. (2) They point out that there is an enormous difficulty in administering the tax from a central place.

These objections do not seem to be very serious. They suggest a system which by no means is less difficult. It would have been better had they recommended the centralisation of the tax. The Central Government can administer effectively inter-State and intra-State sales-tax by making a list of important commodities for such taxation. The tax should be a single point tax with varying rates, luxuries and semi-luxuries being taxed heavily and necessities lightly. The Central Department need not concern itself with all commodities. It is enough if they take into consideration only commodities of importance capable of yielding large revenues. This becomes almost a system of selective sales taxation. This eliminates all duplication of work, confusion of tax jurisdiction whether the sales of goods should be included in inter-State jurisdiction or not, imposition of the tax by the Central Government and delegation of powers of assessment and collection to States, etc. The collections of the tax can be distributed among States on an agreed formula keeping in view a national economy consistent with programmes for an even development of the country.

Superficially this suggestion hampers the revenue yielding capacity of the tax. As it has been suggested that the Central Sales-tax authority should concern itself only with selected commodities the States can be allowed to devise purchase taxation. This cautious blending of sale and purchase taxes put the States in good stead. Much care has to be bestowed to see that serious cases of double taxation do not arise and that this taxation does not impinge heavily upon poorer sections of the society. This proposal is pro-

ductive and eliminates tax evasion to a large extent. The Central Government can declare different sets of commodities as essential for different States. The Central Government may advise the State Governments with regard to levying of purchase tax on goods on which sales-tax has been levied by it. Thus a sort of selective sales-tax by the Central Government and a general purchase tax by the States would overcome many difficulties.

As the Commission says there is a good case for the creation of an Intelligence Section for maintenance of statistics, pattern of trade, consumption, etc., in the State and assist in checking evasion of the tax by getting the necessary information from railway authorities. This would be possible only under the Central Government.

From this analysis it follows that sales-tax would work well under Central Government. In formulating the general economic policy for the entire country they lay emphasis on a co-ordinated and an integrated approach and when it comes to a question of centralising sales-tax they emphatically refute it on the one hand and entrust the administration of inter-State sales-tax to the Central Government. Thus there is an air of artificiality about their refusal. The Commission points out that all the States are up against the tax being centralised. The Commission seems to be imbued with this peculiar complex that the States may have to lose their autonomy in fiscal affairs. India is a federation. The orthodox theory of federalism, "the rights of the Centre *versus* the rights of the States" has gone to winds. People like Wendell Wilkie emphasise upon the unitary and co-operative spirit of federalism. I very much agree with persons like Prof. R. N. Bhargava when they characterise present-day federations as co-operative federations. Our federation certainly conforms to the spirit of present-day theory of federalism. There is much truth in Prof. K. C. Wheare's statement that our State is a unitary State with subsidiary federal features. The proposition to centralise sales-tax is made not shutting the eyes to the currents of time, time that is craving for a thorough decentralisation of administrative set-up. This is suggested only to help foster a spirit of co-operation and endeavour to take a correct interpretation of State's autonomy in a federal set-up. The real significance of federalism is lost when co-operation finds no place in it. Administrative decentralisation there must be for the dispersal of democratic ideals but it can follow with a bit of centralisation in financial matters. No fears need be nursed that the State may become an "Hobbesian Leviathan." Instead this new pattern in fiscal relationships in a federation points out the possibility of plasticity of an orthodox concept of federalism.

AN ECONOMIC INCONGRUITY

By AROON KUMAR GHOSH

THE outstanding fact in the Indian economic situation today that strikes even a casual observer as most queer and baffling is that although the air is thick with talks about increase in production, the economic condition of the people does not show the least sign of improvement. The common man seems tottering under the burden of the mounting cost of living. Even by drawing upon his little fund of past savings, he finds it a tough job to make both ends meet. He hears a lot about the Five-Year Plan and the grandiose schemes undertaken by Government, but these big promises sound like empty stunts in his vacant ears as they do not give him any relief from the worries and anxieties of the morrow. There is no doubt about the fact that there has been a remarkable fall in the purchasing power of the people which accounts for the low effective demand resulting in slumpy condition in trade and business. The question, therefore naturally arises, if business outlook is dull, and there is low purchasing power while production has increased as is claimed by Government spokesmen, why the price-level is not showing a downward trend. On the other hand, if production index has registered a rise and the price-level is high, why there is business stagnation and unemployment. As Dr. John Mathai, Chairman of the Taxation Commission (Enquiry), posed the question on August 28, 1953:

"No period since the end of the war has presented economic trends so difficult to determine and to interpret as the past twelve months. Although the level of purchasing power and consequently the demand for goods is lower, and although industrial and agricultural production has not merely been maintained but has increased, the price movement is showing an upward trend. That rising prices and increased production would presume better employment, but instead unemployment was increasing."

Referring to prices the former Finance Minister said that if purchasing power was lower, it must be presumed that the effective demand for goods was weaker. But the estimated production of food-grains in 1952-53 showed a substantial increase. "If the demand is less, and the supply is greater, how does it happen that the prices of food-stuffs have risen?" It seems that the economic facet has presented a puzzling conundrum. How to solve this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty?

THE DIAGNOSIS

There is no gainsaying the fact that the present situation is a legacy left by the war. During the war, the Government in order to meet the war-expenditure had to resort to excessive note-issue. This over-issue of currency inflated the credit structure in the market, and brought about an all-round inflation. In the aftermath of the War, Government took measures to

counter the inflation, and the situation to some extent improved. The present economic situation is, however, fundamentally different from the phenomenon experienced during the War. Due to the abnormal rise in effective demand caused by War expenditure and its multiplier effect, business recovered from the pre-War depression, and unemployment was greatly reduced. If inflation then was considered as a curse by the fixed income-groups, it also proved to be a boon as it gave jobs to all, and removed business stagnation. But the present economic situation shows different economic trends. Though the price-level shows no sign of falling and production is rising, business outlook is not at all bright, and there is unemployment. To look at the picture from the other angle, it would seem paradoxical that although the production is rising and there is fall in effective demand due to the weakening of the average purchasing power of the people, the consumer price-index shows no downward trend. The cause of the malady, therefore, should be sought elsewhere than in the fact of inflation brought about by the last War.

DEFICIT FINANCING AND PRICE BEHAVIOUR

Some people think that the present high level of prices is maintained by the policy of deficit financing pursued by the Government. Under certain circumstances deficit financing may boost up the price-level, but this is not always true. Let us briefly consider the effects of deficit financing on price behaviour.

Deficit financing literally means incurring expenditure in excess of income, the resulting deficit being met by borrowing. During the last Great War, Government indulged in deficit financing in order to meet inflated defence expenditure. Surplus budgeting, on the other hand, means restricting expenditure within the revenue in such wise that it leaves a surplus. The real sense in which these two terms are understood in Economic Science is, however, different. Deficit financing as an instrument of economic policy means levelling up of public expenditure so as to stop the gap in private spending (both on consumption and investment) which has caused a deficiency in effective demand resulting in business stagnation and unemployment. Similarly, surplus budgeting means framing the budget in such a way that the public expenditure is retrenched so as to remove an excess in private spending raising the effective demand above the optimum par, and leading to boom and inflation. The level of prices, income and employment in a particular community at a particular time shows the state of effective demand, and is a barometer of action for the Government. Thus we see that deficit financing may be resorted to by Government, temporarily to offset a depression, or permanently to compensate a deficiency in private

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spending on consumption and investment as a contra-cyclical fiscal policy. This latter policy is also known as the policy of pump-priming. Deficit financing may lead to a rise in prices if the funds spent on investment does not yield a proportionate return in the shape of higher production, and the time-lag involved in the process of production is long. If, on the other hand, the amount spent on capital formation quickly yields a rich harvest in the shape of higher production, income and employment and the time-lag is short, and no wastage occurs in the process, deficit financing does not prove inflationary. Where deficit financing brings about a rise in prices it proves that either the funds have not been properly utilised, or that there is bungling somewhere, or wastage occurs which has prevented the increase in production from materialising, thus frustrating the very purpose for which deficit financing was resorted to. Where deficit financing proves successful there may be a rise in prices in the short run due to time-lag, but in the long run such price fluctuations smoothen out.

In the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the Government of India had to resort to deficit financing, and this may raise the price-level in the short run until the target of higher production is reached. This may, therefore, be considered as a contributory factor in maintaining the price-index at the present high level, but this is not the whole picture of the situation. Moreover, already agricultural and industrial production have been stepped up, and this might have the natural effect of reducing the price-

level, but the rise in price-level still persists with dwindling purchasing power of the people and mounting unemployment.

THE REAL CAUSE

The cause for the malady has, therefore, to be sought elsewhere. The real cause is to be found in the presence of anti-social elements which are thwarting the operation of the normal economic laws of demand and supply, and are creating conditions which make competition imperfect with a view to maintain their margin of super-profit. This evil is difficult to root out because it is inherent in the capitalist system and until the economic framework is changed, the trouble-shooters will continue to spread their tentacles so as to paralyse any attempt of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the masses. This is why many people are still pessimistic about the success of the Five-Year Plan or any plan whatsoever, within the capitalistic framework.

CONCLUSION

We may, therefore, conclude that the present high price-level and inflationary condition in spite of increase in agricultural and industrial production are partly due to the policy of deficit financing pursued by Government in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, and partly due to the anti-social activities of racketeers and black-marketers, and unless Government takes an iron hand in the matter, the corruption and moral degeneration which are eating into the vitals of our body politic cannot be eradicated.

FODDER: THE HEADACHE OF THE DAY

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,

Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

THANKS to the Government of Pandit Nehru that our struggle at the food front has almost been brought to a successful termination. But every picture, however nice, has its two sides. Victory at the food front has simultaneously placed us face to face with the scarcity of fodder and in an agricultural country like India this is undoubtedly a serious problem.

Even a casual visitor in the village, particularly in the north-eastern region of India, must have noticed that thousands of cattle roaming on the scorched fields with their emaciated bodies searching for a mouthful of green grass in every possible and impossible corner. The first talk he may expect from an intelligent farmer is how to feed the bovine population—an indispensable partner to our agricultural economics. The writer of this article who is a student of village economics has often been accosted by his farmer friends as to the way of a gainful approach in this direction but alas he is no Messiah for them! What the writer has to say is incorporated in

this article with the hope that it may be of some use to his friends who have no direct access to him.

Mechanisation of agriculture is no reply to our query. For years to come India must adhere to labour-extensive ways of planning if she really desires to tackle her enormous and ever-increasing unemployed and under-employed resources. You can replace the cattle by tractors overnight only to your peril.

There is no denying the fact that these dumb millions were never well cared for in our land. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, characterised the Indian cow as a poem of pity. While distributing the prizes at the All-India Cattle Show held in Delhi in 1948, Pandit Nehru remarked that

"India is a strange country where people worship the cow, but nowhere is she so much neglected as in this country."

The partition of the country has farther aggravated the situation. With the influx of the unceasing streams of uprooted humanity from behind the borders, the already

existing food problem assumed a gigantic dimension. The "Grow More Food" campaign was launched without paying any heed to other considerations whatsoever. The result was as could be expected. Besides converting the fallows and the jungles to agricultural purposes, the long-standing practice of giving the fields rest at every alternate year was totally abandoned. The problem of fodder was never pressing so long there existed fallows, jungles and uncultivated plots. Again, if the withdrawal of these pastures could be counteracted by a proportional reduction in the number of cattle, it is obvious that the question of fodder would never be a headache as it is now. But in actual practice the contrary has happened. When a reduction in the bovine population was desirable, the number actually increased to cope with the vigorous exertions to produce more food and other cash crops. This was possible by the transfer of cattle from areas which now form Pakistan as well as by the lesser incidence of death as a result of the spread of general knowledge in veterinary science among the general public. Decrease in the intake of beef, etc., as human food has also some say in the matter.

Food crops, of course, supply a good quantity of dry fodder, but that is barely 50 per cent of our requirements. Assuming the average weight of a cattle to be 5 mds. (a not very unrealistic assumption) the food requirement per head comes to about 81lbs. of dry stuff per day. For hard-working and milch animals, an increased quantity is necessary. Let us now see if this required quantity is available from the dry fodder at our disposal. It has been estimated that India possesses about 215 million heads of cattle and she produces only 15,54,90,470 tons of dry fodder. An easy calculation will show that this provides only 4.4 lbs per capita thereby leaving a deficiency of about 45 per cent of this stuff alone. This deficiency must be covered by green grass if the maintenance of cow, etc., is to be made an economically sound proposition.

A good quantity of hay, etc., is used by the low income groups in the villages for making their dwellings and it is, therefore, desirable that a good substitute for the purpose should be found out and made available to the villages at a nominal cost so as to release the fodder for more essential purpose, namely, subsistence for our bovine population, who cannot be banished from our economics for generations to come. Though no accurate statistics is available, yet there are reasons to believe that straw etc., also forms an important item in the packing of our bottled industrial produces and other fragile objects. This quantity can easily be withdrawn without any hardship.

Again it is a known fact that more than 20% of our cattle are unserviceable and do no other good but consume a huge quantity of fodder in exchange of which they, of course, provide us with a certain amount of manure. In the interest of the efficiency of our farms these lives should be destroyed or deported to the inaccessible regions of the country thereby minimising the

burden on our too acute fodder problem. There should be no place of sentiments in economics. Moreover, the skins and bones can be more profitably utilised for other purposes.

The writer is far from advocating that the above measures are sufficient to solve our problem. What is necessary is that over and above all these, we must take active interest in the cultivation and propagation of green grass for our cattle as we are keen in producing more food for our increasing population.

Napier, Makai, Guinea, Barseem, etc., are the most common species of green fodder having quick-growing and heavy-yielding capabilities. They are nutritious too. In this country, however, Napier is the most well-known variety and its propagation is found to be encouraged by some enlightened State Governments including the Government of West Bengal. There is no reason why it should not be extensively grown by all and sundry once they are told of its importance and given demonstrations as to the actual process of its cultivation.

Assuming that it may be of some use to the readers of this journal, I may venture to lay down briefly the salient features in this respect. Vigorous-growing Napier is a perennial crop. It can be sown any time preferably excepting the winter days when its growth remains dormant. Monsoon months are ideal for sowing but it must be remembered that though extremely fond of water, Napier cannot stand water-logging. High alluvial or loamy soils are well suited for its purpose. Heavy manuring—about 80 mds. of cow-dung per bigha—in a well-pulverised soil is necessary to yield the maximum result. Plants grow as high as 10,12 feet and for fodder the first cutting can be obtained within 3 months of the sowing when the crop assumes a height of 3½ feet. One can expect 5 or 6 cuttings a year in a well-cared-for plot giving an yield of about 600 mds. per bigha.

It is, perhaps, known to all that Napier looks like sugarcane when matured in view of its having hard stem and prominent nodes and internodes. Its propagation is also like sugarcane done through stems cut into sets. It can, however, also be propagated by roots without any inconveniences whatsoever.

To reduce operational costs, it should be sown in rows so that the subsequent inter-cultures can be given with a simple hand-driven appliance called the wheel-hoe. Frequent inter-cultures benefit the plants abundantly. Every cutting should preferably be followed by hoeing, manuring and irrigation when possible. Raw cow-dung can also be used at this stage without causing any harm to the plants.

If the average body weight of a cow is about 5 mds. the per capita requirement of grass cannot then exceed 16 srs. a day. It is, therefore, obvious that per capita requirement of food is 144 mds. (16×30×12) for the whole year. Now if the average yield of Napier is 600 mds. per bigha, one can conveniently feed more

than 4 heads of cattle from a tiny patch of land comprising an area of 33 acres if only proper planning is done beforehand. As the sowing can be extended till October, a section of the idle labour forces—both human and cattle—at the end of jute harvesting and paddy (Aman) transplanting can be most profitably utilised for the purpose.

No sane man will disagree when it is told that

in the present economic set-up of India, Cattle is indispensable for our agricultural operations and there is hardly any indication to show that the situation will be otherwise in the near future. So it is high time that we should look earnest in the matter of improving the health and vitality of these dumb partners of ours. The slogan of the day should be not "Abolish Cow-slaughter" but "Improve our Cattle Wealth."

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WAY BACK FROM DARJEELING

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

DARJEELING district I have visited often enough but whenever I go to that side I make it a point to go to Darjeeling town and peep at Kanchanjanga if weather permits, and a short rest at the Mall in the hope of meeting old acquaintances follows as a matter of course. The conquest of Everest, which is invisible from here, and a reference to Tensing are yet interesting topics. I had been to Kurseong for a change and visited Darjeeling on the last day of my stay. I moved about a lot but rather early in the day and long before a bus was due to start I took a seat beside the driver for a comfortable journey down. But at the last moment, an Anglo-Indian girl asked me to give my seat to her. The tortuous journey would make her sick and a side seat would be handy for her. Although old myself, a sense of chivalry prompted me to move in. But the excuse was only a pretext. She carried on a lively conversation with another girl in the second row of seats—no sign of sickness. I purposely abstained from any conversation but when I heard that it was her father, who constructed the admirable railway line from Siliguri to Darjeeling through hard rocks and precarious slopes, I could not check myself. Could she only in her teens, have a father active in 1870, when the line was built? I blurted out that I had heard that same story at least twice before, as indeed I had. I hoped that this would put a stop to further wild talk. But I was mistaken. In two or three minutes I learned that she was preparing for Senior Cambridge at Bombay and that she devoted her spare time as an apprentice with the Salvation Army for the good of the country. In the long speech that followed, the word "Gentleman" escaped her and I came to the conclusion that she was doing her work well and had a good memory to repeat her usual lecture. I felt relieved, at Kurseong, when I got down at the foot of St. Mary's Hill.

St. Mary and Dowhill on the hills of Kurseong are very quiet but are close to Darjeeling. People

fond of company or society prefer Darjeeling, where in close residential quarters they flock during the two milder periods of the year, when heat scorches the plains. But I enjoy such delights only occasionally and prefer Kurseong where one may take a morning journey to Darjeeling and return by evening.



Tensing, conqueror of Everest

Kurseong is situated to the north of the level plains of Bengal. The south winds from the seas, after traversing 300 miles of flat terrain suddenly meet the rising hills here and moisture they contain condenses into water particles from the cold and falls as rain. The annual rainfall here is about 170 ins., which is rather heavy compared to Darjeeling's 126 ins. and Calcutta's 62 ins. A similar situation at Cherapunji in Assam with abrupt higher hills nearer to the sea gives the place the highest rainfall in the world—over 400 ins. The regular South wind from the sea during the summer months is one of the precious gifts of nature to Bengal, which in the plains, as in Calcutta is very pleasant towards the evenings. Water takes longer to heat (than land) when cold and longer to cool when once heated. During the day the

air in contact with the earth gets heated by sun's rays, becomes lighter and flows upwards. This occurs more slowly over water than over land. So the comparatively cooler air from the sea moves towards the land by the afternoon to take the place of the air moving upwards there in large quantities. It is evident that during early mornings, the contrary happens and cold air flows from the land towards the sea.



The city of Darjeeling, Kanchanjanga in the background

One hundred years ago, the whole region on this side was a vast wild. Darjeeling area with a portion of the plains belongs to the Raja of Sikkim. The site of Darjeeling was first sighted by General Lloyd in 1828 during an expedition to settle differences between Nepal and Sikkim. For decades there had been invasions by Nepal Gurkhas reaching as far as Sikkim and Darjeeling areas and culminating in war with the East India Company in 1814. The Company restored the territory to the Raja of Sikkim, all under the paramountcy of the Company. Lloyd and Grant had been urging Government to start a sanatorium and established a military outpost at Darjeeling. In 1834, the Raja again received help to counter a Lepcha inroad into Sikkim. This was followed by a deed of gift of the region between Darjeeling and Siliguri, against a yearly tribute of Rs. 3,000, subsequently raised to Rs. 6,000 (to save face!). Dr. Campbell, the British Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Darjeeling as Superintendent in 1839. He developed the district by opening out roads including the military road from Pankhabari to Kurseong and on to Darjeeling over the Sinchal hills between 1839 and 1842. He established law and order in the then lawless country. There were only 100 inhabitants in Darjeeling but in ten years the number swelled to over 10,000, as refugees crowded into the place from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, when slavery was prevalent. Then the rise slowed down; by 1869, there were 22,000 souls.

The vast tea industry is based on Campbell's

experiments with acclimatised China stock from Assam. Twenty years later, one of his plants had developed to 20 ft. high and 50 ft. girth. The tea industry was established commercially by the year 1856 and drew individual Europeans. In 1861, for convenient transport, the old military road to the hills being narrow and steep the ingenious cart road was hewed out of the rocks. The Ganges-Siliguri Road was also constructed by 1866. So long it involved a long tedious journey in boats, horses, palanquins bullock carts, etc. The railway was built in 1881. The tea industry grew by leaps and bounds; there were 38 gardens in 1865, which increased to 170 by 1900. At first it had to be kept in check to prevent reckless deforestation. It is today restricted owing to over-production. With the introduction of machinery and large demand of timber for packing and fuel, there was a great influx of labourers, mechanics, and the population grew enormously, fully two-thirds being employed in tea. There was general economic development but the expansion necessitated Company management, individual purses being insufficient. Only small unpretentious concerns under Indian management started later nearer the malarious plains.



Zigzag railway, Darjeeling

So, Dr. Campbell had not experimented in vain. Cinchona experimental plantations were started in 1864 at Mangpu, east of the Sinchal hills. Since quinine was indispensable and foreign products were costly, it was continued as a Government concern, although it was not lucrative. Coffee, tobacco, rubber, camphor have also been tried and abandoned.

There was trouble in 1850. Dr. Campbell was held in detention in Sikkim but was soon restored after a punitive expedition. Full administration of the area up to Sikkim Doars was taken over by the Company. Difficulties however arose again but were finally settled in 1860 on the Sikkim side. But in the early sixties, inroads from Bhutan started another war and resulted in annexation of Kalimpong and adjacent hills and Doars in the plains.

Darjeeling has always been a part of Bengal, though for 6 years of the Bengal Partition, Darjeeling was tagged to Bhagalpur Division, Rajshahi Division had been made a part of East Bengal and Assam. Bihar had no separate existence as a Province any time before 1912. It has always been the summer resort of high officials and pleasure and health seekers.



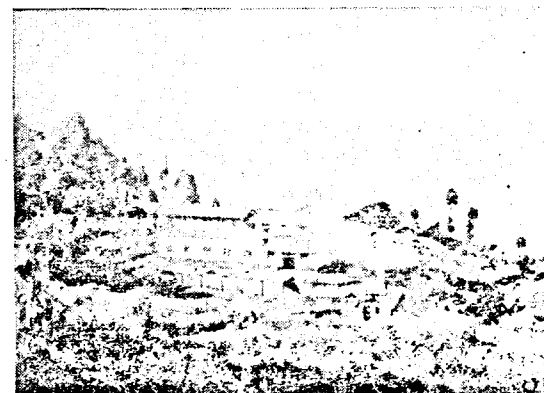
A looper in the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway

A school for girls, St. Mary's College and an Industrial School for boys were started at Kurseong in 1889. Much earlier in 1846, the Loretto Convent at Darjeeling, the first missionary institution there and a seminary were established but the living and lodging conditions there were so severe that it is said that a lady committed suicide. The St. Paul's School at Calcutta, after many vicissitudes had been transferred by Government in 1861 to Darjeeling for the education of the children of Government servants. The Dowhill School was started in 1879 by Government also for the same purpose at Kurseong. For education in a suitable climate on the lines of the English schools, many well-to-do people now-a-days send their children to the schools here. Near about Kurseong, catering for over 600 boarders and day-scholars there are the Dowhill, Victoria, St. Helen's and Goethal schools of a high standard.

The history of missionary activities in this area practically started in 1879, when Dr. Goethal, Archbishop of Calcutta, purchased Woodcot, not far from Kurseong from a planter and gave it over for the use of sick and tired missionaries. It was occupied in 1884. Loretto Convent at Darjeeling, as already stated was started in 1846. On the question of jurisdiction, whether Bengal or Bihar should control activities, further expansion was held over for long years, in spite of individual enterprises for promoting education. At the time, visitors from Calcutta (1861) were urging Government to open a sanatorium and a college at Darjeeling ("remarkable for its strange beauties"). The Roman Catholic Fathers were also urging higher authorities to get the mission under the Calcutta Archbishopric. Administration of Darjeeling

District was transferred from Bihar to Bengal in 1881. St. Joseph's Seminar was taken over after acquiescence of authorities from the Capuchins (a Roman Catholic Order) of Patna in 1886 and is now widely known as "North-Point."

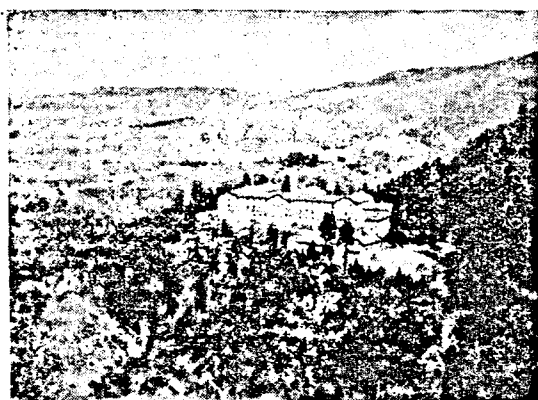
In the year 1887 the Maharaja of Burdwan, in need of money, sold 117 acres of land near Kurseong for Rs. 3600 to the Roman Catholic Fathers. It was not a bad bargain. It stands on an incomparable site known as St. Mary's Hill in a building which has been added to from time to time; the extension of central and two side wings were undertaken for much needed expansion as well as a measure of protection from earthquakes. The fine Grotto close to the College begun in 1897, was finished in 1924 with great care under difficulties. The mansion Woodcot has also kept pace with the improvements of the College. The College may be said to have started in 1889 when the scholastics from Asansol were transferred to this cooler place.



Farmhouse attached to St. Mary's College

The College number about 100 teachers and students in all. They come from Bombay, Madras and other different States in India, as well as from foreign countries, having severed all connections with their homes. They do not like to discuss their previous history on principle. They are graduates of Indian, European and American Universities in various subjects: literature, philosophy, science, mathematics, etc. All have undergone after leaving their homes, at least ten years of training, before starting the Divinity course which lasts for four years here. After ordination, they become priests and begin educational and religious work. If necessary, these graduates are sent to various places for even further studies. In this way the scholars are specialised in different subjects. After ordination, they go out to Calcutta side (St. Xavier's College, for example), to Patna, Ranchi, Madras (Loyala College), Trichinopoly and many other places. By 1939, 587 left the college as teachers' priests and missionaries, of whom 275 were in Bengal

and Ranchi, 169 in Madras and the rest distributed throughout India. The incomparable library of the place, containing mainly the sacred books of all religions for study, has a varied collection, including complete works of Rabindranath, Bankimchandra, Saratchandra and other writers in Bengali and covers the various subjects of philosophy, science, history, mathematics, geography, etc. There were 20,000 volumes in the library in 1939 and the present figure is 48,000, the yearly addition being roughly about 1,500.



St. Mary's College, Kurseong

The farm connected with the institution is wonderful. About 50 cows, 100 pigs and 200 fowls are well-lodged, cleanly kept and well fed. Some foreign cows give as much as 20 to 25 seers of milk per day. They live in a spacious shed and the maintenance cost is Rs. 3 per head. Fowls of selected breeds are kept segregated within separate enclosures with open grounds. The eggs are bigger than ducks' eggs. In spite of their dirty habits, the pigs are cleanly kept. In adjoining grounds, various vegetables are extensively grown. The produce is utilised in the kitchen of the Institution and any excess is accessible to the public. All these are under the whole-hearted superintendence of Brother Smidth, a hard-working, experienced Brother, who left his home in Tito's country, 27 years ago.

The social work for improving the standard of living of the local people excites admiration. The old Doctor Brother Buysse would be often seen tramping down the hillsides at dead of night to succour needy people. Patients flock from distant parts, including Darjeeling to consult him. He left his home in Belgium over 50 years ago. He is known in the bazaar as the great man of St. Mary's. The maintenances of the establishment, such as building new structures or repairing the old and the running of the institution are all carried on by the members themselves with occasional engagement of local people. The example of simple life and sense of dignity of

labour, ought to be an eye-opener in this country. Beyond various kinds of help the Fathers are rendering, their work is aimed at raising the standard of life. If one or two are converted to Christianity in this connection there is nothing to grudge in this land of neglected humanity, handicapped by caste restrictions. The Hindu Gita recognises all religions as paths for salvation as opposed to forcible conversions which were often accompanied by unspeakable horrors in olden times. After all, the record is rather poor. The first Baptism of two took place at Kurseong in 1876 and by 1905, 200; by 1932, 300 altogether were converted. For the background of the education and culture derived from this source, we should be grateful. There is no fear of missionary first, trade next, followed by occupation and exploitation. Was there not, in no very distant past, mass conversions in East Bengal and Southern India through the influence of the ruling power? This was easy owing to suppression of humanity from a Brahmin superiority complex. Yet the conversions did not produce complete social equality as was professed. But the present village squabbles and communalism and trek towards towns owing to partition are inevitably levelling the social inequality.



Poultry reared in the farmhouse

As an institution of Missionaries vowed to poverty and celibacy, women are not allowed inside the compound of the college, except the family of highest officials, e.g., the Governor. After many years our present Governor's wife paid a visit to the institution last year.

For me it was a problem to distinguish between Fathers and Brothers for a long time, though it was evident that Brothers were not sons of Fathers. Now it has been clear that Brothers undertake all kinds of secular work in running the institution, while Fathers study and preach on the religious side. To obey superiors without question, obedience is a cardinal principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope

of Rome is the supreme Head, the representation of God on earth. Matters are not decided by democratic vote in religion but there is ample scope for expression of honest opinion. If Jesus Christ had to take votes for religious tenets, there would have been no Christianity, which would have been a calamity for the world.



T. B. Sanatorium, Kurseong

As to the industrial school, various attempts had only been preparing the ground, which Father Wery as Parish Priest of St. Mary's gave a practical shape in 1932. During an official inspection about 20 years ago, the writer visited a tailoring class of Father Wery in a room in St. Alphonsus' Primary School, below the college, opened in 1905. Father is an old enthusiastic worker in whose hands with the help of Brother Robin, the huge establishment of the St. Alphonsus' (1937) Industrial School and High School has grown up, year by year on the site of the old Clarendon Hotel, where, earlier in life, the writer had stayed for a while. It was through Father Wery that he settled here and became known intimately to the Fathers and Brothers, for which he is ever grateful.

Parish work at St. Mary's consists of looking after the welfare of the local Catholics, over and above running an Orphanage School. After the removal of St. Alphonsus School to the town of Kurseong a primary school continued under the name of St. John's School. Originally looked after by Fathers of the college the combined work became too heavy and Father Wery was succeeded by other Fathers, Henrichs, Daly and Farrell, the present incumbent. The writer is a next door neighbour and is indebted to all of them for their kindness.

The famous T.B. Sanatorium at Kurseong was started by Sri S. B. Dey on the hills over the railway station in 1937 with his large contributions in land and buildings. In 1942, Government granted further land for extension of the institution at a nominal revenue and up to 1951 donated over 5 lakhs of rupees for further expansion. The total amount spent was over 9 lakhs, the balance being secured from the public. To the original 20 beds and subsequent additions in cottages, 111 more were available in a new

commodious building. At present there are 172 beds and the long waiting lists show that many more are in demand. Some beds are maintained by public bodies and others by the Sanatorium including 25 free beds, at the instance of the Government, for the poor local patients, who are specially liable to T.B. There are also 7 more free beds and 15 half-free beds; besides help of various kinds is given to sufferers. The patients come mostly from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts and some from Calcutta. Provinces outside Bengal also send patients. About 300 patients are treated yearly under the competent and undivided attention of Dr. Guha and each patient lives on the premises for 9 months on the average. About 90 per cent fully recover now and the percentage is rising. Most gratefully the patients leave with a new lease of life. Even in this healthy station, fresh and strengthening diet is essential and so the overall expenditure per patient reaches nearly Rs. 100 to Rs. 275 per month. The usefulness of the institution and the necessity of enlarging it should be realised by all, as we constantly hear of the extending inroads of the fell disease.



The Kurseong Industrial School

My friend the late Kiron Shankar Roy was instrumental in starting this institution. I remember an incident in the early years of his life, when he, after referring to the friendship of our two families for three generations, claimed my vote in the Council elections. Shouts of "vote for Kass Roy" from a crowded lorry still ring in my ears.

From Kurseong, we get a good view of the plains, of which the main feature is the Teesta valley. The Teesta starts from Kanchanjangha and flows for over 100 miles through Tibet and Sikkim and then along the boundary of the latter. The little Rangit river, as can be seen from Darjeeling to the West and North, turns round and falls into the great Rangit, north of Darjeeling. The combined waters then run into the Teesta between Darjeeling and Kalimpong, almost east of Darjeeling, on its way south to the plains. The last gorge 300 ft. broad at the Coronation

bridge at Sevoke widens to 800 ft. within 700 yards at the new Sevoke bridge and to 4500 ft. or 6 times within a mile from the bridge. The Teesta then divides into several streams and flows south-east to the distant Brahmaputra by Jalpaiguri.



Flood in Cooch-Bihar

The name Teesta is derived from *trishna* (thirst) or from *trisrota* (three streams). While a mythological story that it was brought down from the Himalayas by Mahadeva, as was the Bhagirathi or Ganges, to quench the thirst of a demon, one of his favourites, fighting with Parvati, is based on the former, the actual course points to the latter. In no distant past, this wide river was frequented in its lower reaches by trading and pleasure boats, when its banks were thriving. Bankim's *Devī Choudhurani* gives some idea of the past prosperity.

There is a railway station called Mahanadi about five miles to the east of Kurseong. The Mahanadi river rises close to this place but instead of running towards the Teesta nearby, to the east, turns west and flows between the new and old stations of Siliguri. It meets the Balasan river a little to the south and west of the situation. From Kurseong is seen the Balasan river before it falls into Mahanadi, running its circuitous course and separating Kurseong and its western hills, just as the Mechi river on the other side of those hills separate Bengal from Nepal. The Mechi also meets the Mahanadi further south above Kishengunge referred to later. Known as Mahananda, it flows by Maldah and falls into the Ganges near Godagari, almost opposite to the source of Bhagirathi as it flows past Murshidabad, Navadwip and Calcutta to the sea.

After spending the night at Kurseong, it was convenient for me to take lunch at the Station and to wait for the afternoon train. Most unexpectedly there arrived my old friend, Mr. Sudhir Sen of Messrs. Sen-Raleigh & Co., and his talented wife

with two foreign experts for a short visit to Darjeeling for a glimpse of the snows. They also took their lunch and proceeded upwards. And downwards by the long tortuous railway line along the hill-side I duly reached the new Siliguri Station at dusk. The first journey on this line is most fascinating for a visitor. The waterfall known as Paglajhora excites admiration amongst the varied scenery all along the way. Although eternally in a state of repairs, owing to constant landslides during the rains, the road is wonderful with several loops and zigzags, by which considerable amounts of altitudes are negotiated. There is a story that the Engineer in charge of first laying down the line was in despair at a certain point, when he could not proceed further. His wife rather pleasantly said, "why not go back" and this gave him the idea of zigzag. After the glorious snows at Darjeeling these somewhat lose their charm.

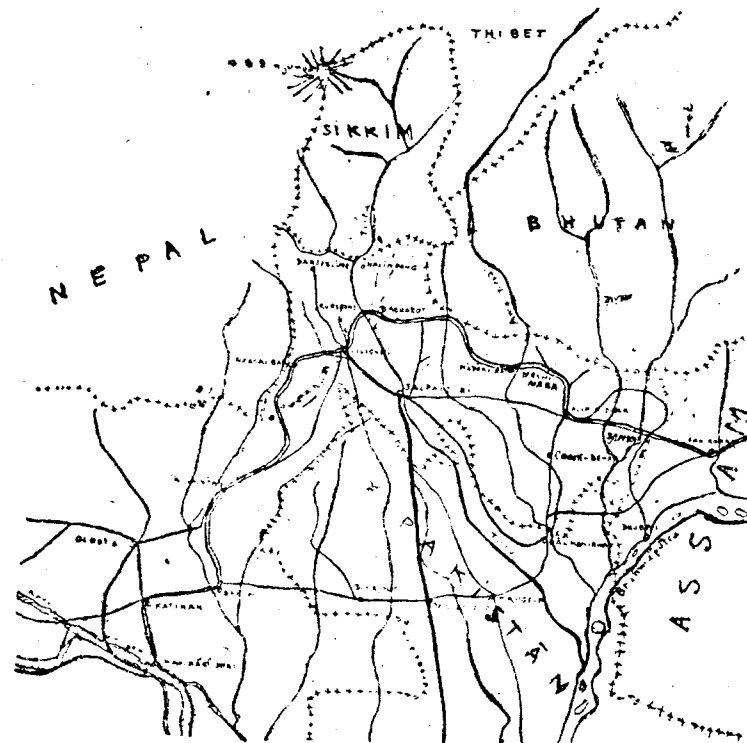
Before the Partition of Bengal, three narrow (2 feet between line) and one broad (5 ft. 4 ins.) railway lines terminated at Siliguri. The narrow lines



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy discussing Cooch-Bihar flood

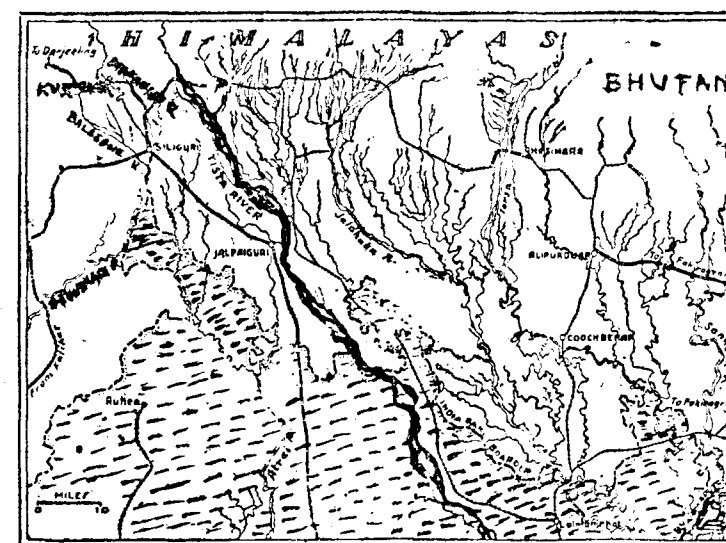
were from Darjeeling, from Kalimpong bridge and from Kishengunge (where the former Oudh and Tirhoot line terminated). The other ran straight from Calcutta through present Pakistan. There was also another line, the Bengal Doars Railway (constructed in 1902) of intermediate width (1 metre, nearly 40 ins.) from the east up to Bagrakot within 22 miles from Siliguri, the river Teesta obstructing junction with Siliguri. From the necessity of becoming independent of Pakistan, consequent on the sudden partition of Bengal and for direct connection between two parts of West Bengal and also with Assam, the present Assam Link (metre line throughout) was constructed in a record time of 2 years replacing the narrow line from Kishengunge to Siliguri and filling up the gaps

for a direct route to Assam. It was projected towards innumerable streams descending from high hills on the end of 1947. Construction started in 1948 and one side of the line, (ii) Geological formation of hills trains ran by 1950. It may be noted that the narrow —the fragility of the hills on one side of these hills.



New Assam Link. North Bengal under flood

line to Darjeeling remained as it was and a metre line replaced the old broad line of 25 miles to Jalpaiguri and extended 13 miles to Haldibari on the Pakistan border near Parbatipur. Formerly the route from Bengal to Assam was through Parbatipur and Lalmonirhat and branch lines ran north from Lalmonirhat. One such terminated on one side at Bagrakot already mentioned, near the Teesta, and on the other side at Madarihat on the Torsa (another difficult river for bridging) from Tibet through the Bhutan hills after its 160 miles course. Another branch went through Cooch-Bihar and Alipur Doars to beyond Hashimara. The steep banks of the Teesta, narrow inside the hills, and suddenly widening in the plains made the construction of a bridge difficult. Difficulties and dangers to which the Assam Link Railway Mahanadi to Sevoke and 8 miles from Sevoke (Teesta is susceptible are: (i) Periodical breaches caused by bridge) to Bagrakot as well as 5 miles from Madarihat



The Tista river

Difficulties and dangers to which the Assam Link Railway Mahanadi to Sevoke and 8 miles from Sevoke (Teesta is susceptible are: (i) Periodical breaches caused by bridge) to Bagrakot as well as 5 miles from Madarihat

(Torsa bridge) to Hashimara had to be made to complete the line, which is unique in that within a few miles of most of the line at an elevation of about 400 ft., the lower ranges of the Himalayas rise to 8 to 10 thousand feet high.

The area, 60 miles long and 20 miles broad between Teesta and Torsa at the foot of the hills is known as the Bengal or Western Doars, thriving in tea industry. Owing to the difficulty of access, it is not widely known in Lower Bengal. In this area lies the famous educational centre of Cooch-Bihar, the sphere of activity of Professor Brojendra Seal; a place where poor, but eager and meritorious students used to flock for a rather inexpensive higher education.

The population of Siliguri (784 in 1901) numbered 20000 in 1948 and rose to 45000 by 1950. At present it is much higher, the place expanding in various activities.

Among passengers from different directions, i.e., Darjeeling, Assam, Bihar, North and West Bengal, I entrained at Siliguri for Moniharighat. Though my seat was reserved, newcomers without reservation had to be accommodated by negotiation (according to our highest authorities) although after some altercation, at the price of some unwilling self-sacrifice. In the course of the conversation it was soon known that we were all refugees from East Bengal and this aroused considerable sympathy. As the conversation went on, we learnt that not only were we co-villagers but were also relatives. Dispersions from our original homes had made us complete strangers. Now followed an welcome seat distribution at willing self-sacrifice because realisation of relationship endears one creating a desire to please and be pleased. I have had similar experience at least twice in my life when as an official I had to do much travelling. Perhaps, I was over-insistent on my rights in resisting encroachment.

Due West, Bagdogra, the famous airport of North Bengal, was reached after 7 miles and Naxalbari after another 7. This is within a mile of the Nepal border. The line then turns south and after 14 miles

passes Galgalia, less than 2 miles from Nepal and after a slight bulge to the east reaches Thakurgaon. 7 miles to the south-west. Here the line runs parallel to and inside the boundary of Bihar, now subject to a controversy. Mount Everest is visible from here. Had it been clear and daylight I would have attempted a peep. A branch of the Tagore family is said to have once settled here, whence the name. The place, on a plateau, overlooks Mahanadi in the south. The dense Nepal forests are on the west and the *terai* starts from the north. Thirty-one miles to the south-west lies Kishengunge where as already stated, the O. T. Railway terminated. Now all is the same railway. Barsoi junction lies 35 miles below. In pre-partition days the railway connection with Assam, of Central Bengal lay east from Barsoi, 33 miles inside Bengal, through Dinajpur, Parbatipur, Rangpur and Lalmonirhat.

We reached Moniharighat early in the morning. The actual crossing of the Ganges in the steamer takes less than an hour but the transshipment of the mails, goods, etc., involves four hours. This delay forcibly reminds one of the former overnight journey from Calcutta to Siliguri. The steamer was rather crowded but offered a chance for a good wash and tea. After crossing, a fellow passenger, to whom another was complaining of the delay, very aptly expressed surprise at his eagerness to taste the smoke and heat of Calcutta, instead of the pure air of the Ganges. As, many passengers were bathing in the Ganges, I also had a dip. While not exactly admitting the efficacy of the Ganga bath, I felt much refreshed after the crowded night travel.

Almost along the route taken by Mir Kasim, the last of Bengal Nawabs to leave Marshidabad, we reached Bolpur by 1 P.M. My relation there, previously informed, treated me to a sumptuous meal and once more I paid a visit to Santiniketan to offer my homage to the world poet Rabindranath's place. The evening train brought me to Calcutta and nothing special happened in this familiar journey.



KUMARI CHANDRALEKHA AND HER ART

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

A new star has arisen on the horizon of South Indian Classical Dance. Kumari Chandralekha, in the course of a few years, has suddenly leaped into fame and is already considered one of the few fine dancers who possess an enviable mastery over some of the most intricate numbers of Bharata Natyam. And the credit is the greater since, while she does not belong to the South she has yet so steeped herself in its culture and its art, that it is difficult, both in her daily life as well as on the stage, to believe that she was not born and brought up in the South and its great traditions.

A rare personality, vivacious and brimming over with grace, she combines high culture with remarkable modesty which have won the hearts of thousands of admirers and well-wishers not only in her own country, but in countries outside India. Besides being an outstanding danseuse, destined for greater and greater achievements with time and continued work, she is a serious student of literature, law and politics, a fine hostess and brilliant conversationalist. But her chief interest in life is the dance which she considers most urgent in the life of the nation. She believes in using her art in the service of her people and dreams of working new creations out of old traditions, dances touching the life and problems of the people and interpreting them. During her tour in China, hardly a year and a half ago, she danced the theme of War and Peace, an item which won great applause from Chinese audiences and which still lingers in their memories. She won a prize two years ago at the International Dance Competition held in Berlin at which a hundred and four countries competed: and her art brought her encomiums from thousands of people in the Soviet Union including artists, painters, musicians and dancers. She received a beautiful gift of old Uzbek jewellery from no less a dancer than the world-famous Tamara Khanoum, in appreciation of her rare art.

Kumari Chandralekha danced at the Rashtrapati Bhavan recently. It was a performance at which the elite of Delhi were present, including the President himself, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other high officials of the State. Both her *guru*, Ellappa Pillai, and herself received great praise and appreciation as also medals from the President.

In Kumari Chandralekha's art we see a great tradition at work in its purest form; at no point of her dance do we find any attempt at mixing it with lesser forms in order to make it popular—an unfortunate habit which one finds creeping into the dances of several fine artists who hardly realise the damage they thereby do to classical tradition.

What Chandralekha has already achieved is unique achievement, thanks to her own genius and hard work, as well as to the meticulous training which she has

been undergoing under the guidance and care of her *guru*, Sri Ellappa Pillai of Conjeevaram, who hails from a family of well-known Tanjore *Nattuvannars*. Ellappa's *guru* was the famous Kandappan, Balasaraswati's *guru*; unfortunately, he died early in life, but fortunately for him, he has left behind him at



A dancing pose of Chandralekha
Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

least two worthy exponents of his art: Balasaraswati and Ellappa Pillai who, in turn, are doing their best to preserve it through younger artists like Chandralekha who promise to fulfil the ambition of their respective *gurus*. Yet, it is not every day that one comes across genius which is again different from talent. Talent may achieve what the average cannot achieve; while genius achieves what talent cannot. And it is obvious that Chandralekha must be classed in the latter category.

There is a difference in style between the Pandanallur school and the Kandappan. The former is represented by Rukmini Devi and Shanta Rao and the latter by Balasaraswati and Chandralekha. In the

former we see broad movements and severe sculptural poses; while in the latter there is intricate footwork



Another dancing pose of Chandralekha

Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

and rhythm-pattern combined with breath-taking tempo. Both these styles, however, occupy their

distinctive places in the great art of Bharata Natyam.

Chandralekha's repertoire is rich and varied; she dances Alarippu in more than one rhythm, several Varnams, Tillanas . . . Natanam Adimar is one of her most successful and breath-taking numbers. Padams in Telugu, Tamil and Canarese are rendered by her with grace born of individuality. But her greatest numbers are Useni Swarajati Varnam and Tana Varnam which she renders with almost enviable mastery.

Useni Swarajati Varnam was first danced at the court of the Chola Kings in the ancient Tanjore style, since when it had been lost and forgotten. It was revived by Sri Ellappa Pillai and taught to Kumari Chandralekha who danced it a few months ago in Madras, before a large and distinguished audience of artists and critics, including Musiri Subramania Ayyer, E. Krishna Iyer and Balasaraswati who gave her unstinted praise and blessings.

Useni Varnam is a long and intricate dance-number. All told, it covers about two hours and covers, as well, the seven difficult *talams* of Carnatic music, which, with lightning speed, change from one to another with the quality almost of a spiritual feat! One such number is enough to establish any dancer in the realm of the classical dance, and there is no doubt left in the minds of those who had the privilege of seeing Chandralekha rendering it, that she is already a danseuse who has to her credit great achievement and a great future.

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SULPHUR SPRINGS OF VAJRESWARI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

MINERAL waters, thermal springs, spas and geysers of Europe, America, New Zealand, Japan, Tibet, India and other countries are of vital interest for geologists, hydrotherapists and millions of patients suffering from rheumatism, arthritis, synovitis, gout, high blood pressure, skin diseases and very many other ailments. Volcanic regions like Japan, New Zealand and Italy abound in mineral springs, hot and cold. Thermal springs are found not only in volcanic and mountainous regions, but also in icy cold regions like Iceland, Tibet and the snow-capped Pyrenees, Alps and the Himalayas.

The most cosmopolitan thermal spring in the world today is Karlsbad, a city located 116 miles north-west of Prague in Czechoslovakia where over 1,000 doctors go to study and practise balneotherapy every year, and millions of patients throng to receive water treatment for various rheumatic, muscular, cutaneous and nervous affections. When Emperor Karl of Austria visited those hot springs, some 200

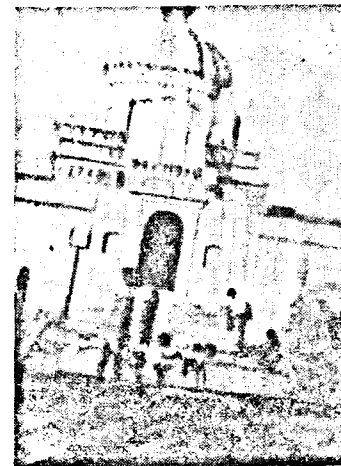
years ago, it was a negligible village of about 200 persons. But today this classical hydrotherapeutic centre has a floating population of half a million, and permanent population of about 30,000. Pistani spring is the second best in Czechoslovakia.

Although today the word "Spa" is used for any hot mineral spring where treatment for diseases is carried out, the original "Spa" is situated in Belgium, in Leige Province. The French, the Italians, the British and the Americans so fully developed their mineral water resources that they usurped the name of "Spa" to their own watering centres. Today "Spa" means any hot mineral spring used for treatment.

India's mineral spring resources, compared to her big size and also compared to most other countries, are poor. On the Indo-Tibetan border, in the Punjab and Sind, in Gujarat and Maharashtra are found hot mineral springs. But India's No. 1 mineral spring for therapeutic use is the two groups of sulphur springs at Vajreswari which is destined to become something

SULPHUR SPRINGS OF VAJRESWARI

like the Karlsbad of India. This superb mineral spring resource in Maharashtra, lies at a distance of about fifty-three miles north-east of Bombay city, about seventeen miles east of Bassein Road Station on the B.B. & C.I. Railway and twenty-seven miles north of Thana on the Central Railway. From Bassein Road or from Thana one can reach Vajreswari by Bombay State Transport bus. All those who cannot afford the luxury of a private motor car or taxi avail themselves of the bus service to reach Vajreswari. Literally thousands of visitors, sick people, tourists and holidayers throng to Vajreswari at the week-ends and holidays.



Sulphur springs in front of the Vajreswari Temple

BATHING TANKS

Vajreswari sulphur springs are situated inside or on the banks of the river Tansa which winds round from the Tansa Lake at Vaitarna. If Tansa Lake is the reservoir for Bombay and its suburbs for drinking water, then Vajreswari sulphur springs inside Tansa river is the hydrotherapeutic healing centre for the whole Bombay State,—nay, for the whole Indian sub-continent, as there are patients coming from distant U.P., Madras, Bengal and other parts of India to undergo water treatment there.

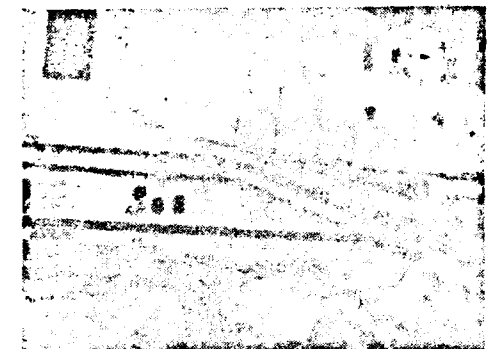
There are eighteen hot springs in the area, eight of which are at Vajreswari proper, and the other ten at Ganespuri, which is only two miles west of Vajreswari. The hot springs, slow-winding Tansa river and the picturesque hillocks and jungles all around make the villages of Vajreswari, Akloli, Ganespuri and Vajrakund, a nice little holiday resort, a first class Spa and also a place of pilgrimage for devotees. Tansa river is almost dried up in the area of the springs, except during the monsoon when its shallow water begins to swell drowning all the twelve springs in its ravaging rush. During the rainy season only the six springs near the river banks are used for bathing.

The chief bathing tanks are the two large pools in front of the Siva Temples at Vajrakund and Ganespuri, the *Surya-kund*, *Chandra-kund* and *Subhas-kund*, at Vajreswari, and the two large ponds formed



Bathing in Puspa Kund

by the gushing hot waters of the *Agni-kund* on a raised plot of ground, inside the Tansa river, near Ganespuri. The rich and the poor, the sick and the healthy, Indians and foreigners, the young and the old sit around these tanks to bathe. Only the tanks in front of the temples are large enough for about sixty persons to get in and bathe at the same time, as the temple tanks are about 30 feet long and 15 feet wide and 3 feet deep. There are two partition walls of the tank which keeps the same water of the same spring at three different temperatures, the hottest pool

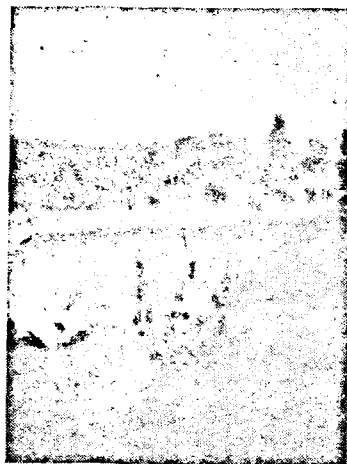


Large temple tanks

in the temple tank being about 110 deg. F, the second tub at 107 deg. F. and the third at 99 deg. F. *Agni-kund* which is the hottest of all the Ganespuri group of springs is 142 deg. F. at the surface, while its temperature at the immersion point is 150 deg. F. It is so hot that one cannot keep his hands for more than a few seconds inside.

The temperature of the springs varies from day to day and from season to season, as also the quantity of the water they give out. The thermal springs range

from the lowest temperature of 98 deg. F. in *Subhas-kund* to 126 deg. F. in the *Surya-kund* and 146 deg. F. in the *Agni-kund*. Some of the springs give out one gallon of water per minute, while some others give out fifteen to twenty-five gallons of water per minute. The Geological Survey of India on February 7, 1955, estimated that the *Agni-kund*, the hottest among the springs, give out 15 to 20 gallons of water per minute.



Tansa River at the Vajreswari sulphur springs

and that its temperature at the point of immersion, on that particular day, was 140 deg. F. *Surya-kund* which is the second hottest in the group gives out over 10 gallons of water per minute. But both the quantity of water and the temperature are both variable according to atmospheric and lithospheric conditions.

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS

The curative power of the Vajreswari springs, as, indeed, of all mineral springs throughout the world, is derived from its radioactivity, its mineral salt contents and high temperature. German scientists have conclusively proved that the source of all thermal springs could be traced to 15 miles down the earth which has a crust of about 50 miles deep. The temperature at 15 miles is well over 3000 deg. F. where everything is in a molten state. Some geologists and scientists have tried to prove the link of such thermal springs with some volcano, active or extinct. Certainly, some geysers and concentrated sulphur springs in Japan are definitely of volcanic origin, while thermal springs like those we have got at Vajreswari are outlets from high gaseous and liquid pressure inside the earth, carrying with them waters with radioactive powers, impregnated with mineral salts and high temperature useful for healing purposes.

The medicinal value of the Vajreswari springs is derived from the presence of mineral salts like sulphates, carbonates, chlorides and phosphates of calcium, sodium, magnesium, iron, lithium, potas-

sium, etc. The hydrotherapeutic clinic, the only scientific water treatment of its kind in India, conducted by Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, after a long experience of the last 25 years, has proved that the Vajreswari and Ganeswari group of sulphur springs are even better than most European 'Spas', because of the better quality of sodium present here. While in all the public tanks and *kunds* at Vajreswari the primitive method of sitting together, at times under unhygienic conditions, continues, it is at the hydrotherapeutic clinic of Dr. Kothavala at Ganeswari that one gets purest sulphur water, canalised into hygienically constructed tubs, each with a capacity of holding 80 gallons of water, with four taps for hot, cold, lukewarm water and for shower bath. Certainly, the pioneering research and experiences of Dr. Kothavala can be of great help when the Vajreswari sulphur springs will be developed by the Bombay Government as is envisaged in India's Second Five-Year Plan.

Any natural thermal water containing hydro-sulphuric acid is generally called sulphur water. Although pure sulphur springs are to be found only in Japan, a certain quantity of sulphurated hydrogen is found in Vajreswari springs for which reason they are to be classed among the sulphur springs of the



Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, the two Indian pioneers in Hydrotherapy

world. The very smell of the Vajreswari thermal springs bespeaks of sulphides of sodium, calcium and magnesium which are of great medicinal value when combined with radioactivity. The chemical analysis also reveals that the Vajreswari springs contain gases like sulphurated hydrogen, chlorine and carbondioxide and some other gases which act upon human body as curative elements.

TREATMENT

Bath treatment or balneotherapy, and water treatment or hydrotherapy, like heliotherapy or sun treatment and dietetic treatment, are all parts of Nature Cure. The specific treatment for all types of rheumatic pains, including lumbago, arthritis, synovitis, whether

they are of metabolic or of toxic origin, is always bath in sulphur springs at Vajreswari. Many cases of paralysis, neuritis, skin diseases of all kinds, including eczema, gout, high blood pressure, locomotor ataxia have been cured radically or partially relieved at Vajreswari springs. In all organic and functional diseases at least 10 per cent improvement is always guaranteed in hydrotherapy.

As radioactivity of the sulphur springs is the main curative power, great care should be taken to take bath under hygienic conditions. Any contamination or impurity diminishes the medicinal quality of the sulphur springs. Even moss, dilution with the river or rain water, and impurities diminish or neutralize the radioactive power of pure natural sulphur springs.

At present the hygienic conditions at the sulphur springs are miserably poor, except at the spotlessly clean scientific clinic of Dr. Kothavala. Instead of allowing patients with infectious or contagious diseases to enter the tank, the spring water should be canalized into bathing tubs fixed in bath rooms, where water used by one patient may not be used by a second person. If the existing eighteen springs of Vajreswari are canalized, there will be enough water for several hundreds of patients to be treated daily in fresh sulphur water.

Ignorant and superstitious people now take bath in the sulphur springs for an hour or two or even more, and that sometimes four times a day, little knowing that prolonged baths in too hot sulphur springs wash away their vitamin deposits from the skin, adversely affect heart and kidneys. Too much of even the best things is always bad. Bath should not exceed 20 to 30 minutes. The temperature should be the body temperature or a little above, up to 100 deg. F. In the cases of rheumatism and allied ailments needing heat application the temperature of the water could be raised to a maximum of 110 deg. F. While for rheumatism two baths a day are sufficient, skin diseases may need three, while high blood pressure need only one. All these mean that treatment of various patients at the sulphur springs must be carried out under medical experts and hydrotherapists, and not to be left to the wild fancy and vague imagination and hearsay information of ignorant patients.

Now that the Bombay Government have taken in their hands the task of developing Vajreswari sulphur springs by building sanatoria, baths, roads and clinics in and around the sulphur springs, we may reasonably look forward when Vajreswari will become the Karlsbad of India, a blessing to the citizens of Free India and a soothing balm for the suffering millions.

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PUERTO RICO EXEMPLIFIES DEMOCRACY

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

GOVERNMENT in Puerto Rico today is an answer to Communist and other extremist charges of American imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. This island of nearly 2,000,000 people, which enjoys more autonomy than any territorial possession of the United States, is an eloquent example of the fact that, given intelligent leadership, this island's people are eminently capable of maintaining self-government and progressing under it.

On January 2, 1949, the Puerto Rican people inaugurated Luis Munoz Marin as their first elected island-born Governor. The island's new chief executive was chosen in a contest that was as democratic and peaceful as a gubernatorial campaign in any State in the United States. Eighty percent of all the eligible voters, men and women, went to the polls and cast their ballots.

In Puerto Rico officials and leaders are out to woo American capital, industries and factories from all parts of the United States. They hold out every kind of tempting inducement. Any manufacturer who will come to Puerto Rico, establish a business, employ Puerto Ricans and pay reasonable wages will be free of all taxes for 12 years. Puerto Rican banks will help him

to finance his machinery and equipment. The insular Government will even erect factory buildings and other facilities and rent them to him for a nominal sum. Almost everything is being done to create work and production for Puerto Rico and its people.

The man who conceived and sponsors many of these ideas and policies is one of the most interesting personalities, in the entire West Indies today. Luis Munoz Marin is the son of Luis Munoz Rivero, known as the George Washington of Puerto Rico because he helped to ease the transition from Spanish to United States rule after the Spanish-American War. Munoz Marin, or "Don Luis," as he is known to the jibaros—the mountain folk and little farmers of Puerto Rico—and most of the other people on the island, is a graduate of Harvard University. As a young man he spent most of his time in the United States and went through all the stages of youthful radicalism. For a while he toyed with Marxism, eking out a precarious existence as a radical poet and writer for leftist magazines in New York City's artistic and literary colony, Greenwich Village, until mental and spiritual maturity set his feet on other paths.

With this out of his system Munoz Marin returned to Puerto Rico and entered politics, or rather into conflict with the old, existing parties, finally building his own political organization in the Popular Democratic Party. Today Munoz Marin is Puerto Rico's leading exponent of a moderately liberal, slightly right-of-center democracy. He is a huge man, with a sagging black moustache, raven hair, an almost dreamy, kindly expression and great patience and tolerance.

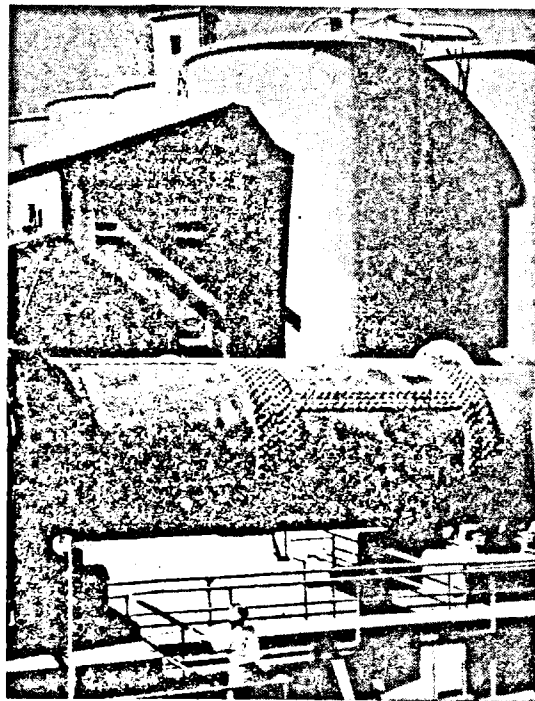


Luis Munoz Marin, the first elected Governor of Puerto Rico, who took office on January 2, 1949, addresses an audience in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico

When the writer reached San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico, recently, Munoz Marin and his family were up the mountains in the very center of the island, where he was enjoying his first vacation in more than 10 years. As the founder and active head of the Popular Democratic Party and as president of the Puerto Rican Senate, he has fathered and personally championed most of the island's progressive legislation since 1936. Day and night his office in the Capitol Building and his small suburban bungalow in San Juan are crowded with political leaders and jibaros, rich and poor, farmers, carpenters and others from all walks of life. The jibaros often tramp all the way across the island to pour their troubles into Munoz Marin's sympathetic ear, and they are never turned away without an attentive hearing.

To relax and rest for a few days before taking over the governorship, Munoz Marin chose a cottage in one of the most remote parts of the island and on the very top of a mountain. There Munoz Marin talked to the writer of the past, and of his party's plans for the future welfare of the people in his island homeland.

Munoz Marin has led the Puerto Ricans through periods of acute economic distress and sheltered them from political extremists of all stripes. Communists tried to bore from within, to infiltrate various labor groups and political parties, including the Popular Democratic Party. Munoz Marin maneuvered them into organizing their own party and coming out into the open. "There, at least," he said, "we could show them up and make them ridiculous in the eyes of people." In the recent campaign they



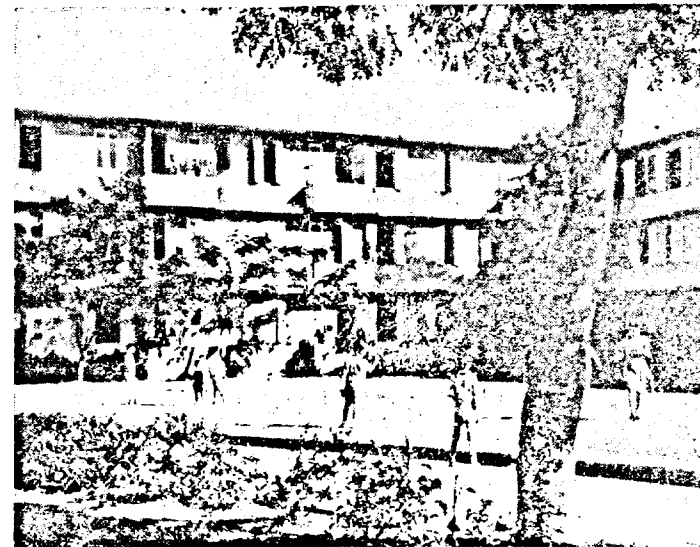
The kilns and storage elevators of the Puerto Rico Development Company Cement Plant in Catano, Puerto Rico

turned their guns against him and the Populares. As Munoz Marin phrased it, "We not only disowned them, but made them disown us, which is what we wanted."

Most Puerto Ricans do not want any drastic changes in their present political ties with the United States. The recent elections demonstrated that. The two chief opposition parties and candidates asked for clear-cut, definite and immediate action along these lines. One party insisted that the island be made a full-fledged State of the Union, with all the responsibilities and obligations of a State. The other advocated complete independence, and with them voted the Communists. But the people turned both factions down for the middle-of-the-road policies of the Popular Democratic Party and Luis Munoz Marin.

"Why," Munoz Marin asked, "be compelled to seek either independence or complete statehood, instead of something else, say, the status of a commonwealth?"

Why not travel a step at a time, making sure of what we are doing as we go along? We are not interested in paper freedom; we want freedom in the everyday lives of people. First we want freedom from fear and want; freedom to think, to say what is in our minds and hearts, freedom to elect our own administrators."



The San Antonio housing project in San Juan

The island has enjoyed steady progress toward political freedom and self-rule. As early as 1900, two years after the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was authorized by the United States Congress to elect representatives to the lower house of the insular government. This was followed by the right to send elected Commissioners to the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

Since 1917 the Puerto Rican people have had their own bicameral legislature, a Senate as well as a House of Representatives. Meanwhile, they were granted the full rights of American citizenship. In November 1948, they elected their own Governor. The democratic processes have been put into practice gradually, until today the only island officials who are appointed by the President of the United States are members of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court and the auditor of Puerto Rico,

Besides granting the Puerto Ricans increased freedom and the right to run their own affairs, the taxpayers of the United States have supported the island generously. Direct Federal aid extend to the island between 1898 and 1945 amounted to \$580,000,000. Puerto Rican veterans have enjoyed all the benefits and opportunities accorded those on the mainland. The U.S. Veterans Administration has paid out \$100,000,000 to more than 60,000 Puerto Rican ex-servicemen. Thirty thousand Puerto Rican student veterans have received more than \$50,000,000 in GI Bill of Rights (Veterans Rehabilitation Act) benefits. Some 50,000 veterans have received medical advice or services, and more than 30,000 have received treatment in government hospitals.

"All this," said Munoz Marin, "the United States has done here in Puerto Rico at a time when Americans were being called political and economic imperialists in nearly every part of the world."

In keeping with his policy of step-by-step self-government Marin asks only one further political concession from the United States at this time: The right of the people of the island to write their own constitution

just as any State of the Union has the right to do. Munoz Marin feels that a constitution drafted by responsible Puerto Ricans would differ very little from the present one. "But," he believes, "it would be the people's own constitution. It would be another demonstration of self-government in a community of American citizens."

"We are making progress," Munoz Marin went on. "We are building more schools, gradually extending rural electrification and irrigation. We are bringing about healthier conditions among the people. Vigilance in sanitation is becoming a popular habit. Between 1940 and 1947 our population increased 14 per cent, but our total production rose 30 per cent in the same period. That is a substantial gain anywhere."—From *The (Washington) Sunday Star*.



ERNEST HEMINGWAY

Nobel Prize Winner

By Prof. P. P. MEHTA, M.A.

THE thrice-married tough-guy Hemingway seems to be a man with the proverbial nine lives. From his youngest days to the present day, he seems to have the knack of intentionally walking into tough spots, and still escaping death. During the last days of the First World War he was wounded while he was cycling from his canteen to the frontline trenches. At that time he received two hundred and twenty-seven separate wounds from the mortar, over and above being hit simultaneously in the leg by a machine gun round. He has described this experience when he wrote to his family from Milan:

"My feet felt like I had rubber boots full of water on (hot water), and my knee cap was acting queer. The machine gun bullet just felt like a sharp smack on the leg with an icy snow ball." Later on, many years later he wrote:

"When you go to war as a boy you have a great illusion of immortality. Other people get killed; not you. . . . Then when you are badly wounded the first time you lose that illusion and you know it can happen to you. After being severely wounded. . . . I had a bad time until I figured it out that nothing could happen to me that had not happened to all men before me. Whatever I had to do men had always done."

Since then he has led a colourful life and many legends have been told about the physical courage and hardihood of Hemingway. There is one told by John Groth which can bear repetition. "On the way back to the farmhouse we stopped at a regimental command post. The colonel was briefing his officers at dinner. With more men and material coming up, the outlook was good. There was warm food; they had been on K rations. It was pleasant inside. Pictures had been enough by Hemingway, and they were being passed around when an explosion battered through the window, breaking it, and cutting loose the lamp from the ceiling. Eighty-eights were coming in. When candles were lighted we were all—officers and correspondent—on the floor, making ourselves small and groping for helmets. All, that is, except one: Hemingway was still seated at the table, his broad back to the window, helmetless, eating."

Thus Hemingway has a habit of poking his nose into dangerous corners. The climax of it came when his aeroplane crashed in the African jungles. A second relief plane which came to pick him up also crashed and for one day the world had taken Hemingway for dead. Some of the papers actually featured stories

on his life, but he escaped alright though fairly badly wounded. Thus this tough American has lived dangerously and has revelled in dangerous tasks. In fact, he is scarred from head to foot.

This rough tough fighting literary man was born in 1898. He was the son of an Illinois doctor. At the age of 15 he bade farewell to books and studies, led a wandering life and once was a dish-washer in a hotel. He has described his boyhood in Michigan woods in his first book *In Our Time*. Then he joined the staff of the Kansas City *Star* as a cub reporter. There also he was a man bubbling with energy. He could turn out more copies than any two reporters. From there he managed to get into an ambulance unit in the Italian army and thus served with the Italian units where he was wounded. About the need of war experience to a writer he writes:

"I thought . . . about what a great advantage an experience of war was to a writer. It was one of the major subjects and certainly one of the hardest to write truly of and those writers who had not seen it were always very jealous and tried to make it seem unimportant, or abnormal, or a disease as a subject, while, really, it was just something quite irreplaceable that they had missed."

Hemingway was not so lucky in his career as an author as he was in getting badly wounded in Italy. His stories were more or less sent back with rejection slips and success like a shy bride was slow in coming to him.

These are the days in which so much is being written that it is difficult for a writer to achieve distinction in the field of letters. Commonplace subjects do not easily attract public attention, but Hemingway had cut this gordian knot by putting his stories in stupendous and bizarre backgrounds. He has avoided, as Mr. Cunliffe says, "the orthodoxies of the American scene," has put his characters in the atmosphere of war, sometimes in the world war first stories and sometimes in the war-torn mountains of Spain. Thus his stories have a different flavour, a different context and so they have sometimes jarred the nerves of the critics.

His earlier stories "In Our Time" (1924); "Men Without Women" (1927); "Winner Take Nothing" (1933); and others clearly showed his remarkable gifts and so much was his influence upon other writers that many imitations of Hemingway were produced. His real break came with his famous novel *A Farewell*

to Arms which really made him world-famous. In this book he had drawn upon his war experiences to provide a background for this story of love and war. "It is a novel of great power by an extremely talented and original artist." (*The Times Literary Supplement*). Its ending is quite unforgettable in its pathos. Its nihilism is a convincing statement of the mood of war of the post-war years. His first important novel is *Fiesta* (1926) in which war is treated as a disaster which nobody cared to talk about. The characters in the book—Jake Barnes or Lady Brett or Rover Cohen or Mike are living mouth-pieces of Hemingway who love and hate and treat their disasters in a light way.

In the post-war years Hemingway met Ezra (Pound) and Gertrude (Stein) in Paris. These two had a lasting impression in shaping the style of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a writer who believes in loading his stories with violent love, violent action and very often, violent death. *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) is a story in which the frustration and disillusionment of the lost generation are portrayed. *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) and *The Green Hills of Africa* describing big game hunting are full of brave deeds of matadors and hunters. But his most famous novel is *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) in which is described a fine portrait of an American intellectual Robert Jordan who goes on a dangerous mission in Spain and joins the Spanish partisans in the days of the Spanish Civil War. Here he shows himself the master writer, describing gripping situations in a realistic way. Pablo Anslemo and other guerrillas are beautifully portrayed. But a very touching character is the close-cropped girl, Maria, who had a bad time at the hands of General Franco's mercenary soldiers. The powerful end of the story in which Robert Jordan, badly wounded, leans upon the machine-gun and waits for the enemy cavalry to fight and die is a powerful and magnificent ending for the great novel. His clipped dialogue and his treatment of the subject had reached maturity in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Then came a period of relapse for Hemingway. His book *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950) was poorly received by critics, who began to consider him a back number. But Hemingway does not accept defeats like that. He staged a classic comeback by his short novel *The Old Man and the Sea* which won him the Pulitzer prize in 1953 and Nobel prize for literature in 1954. *The Old Man*, in fact, is a small novel in which Hemingway describes a Cuban fisherman who is a simple soul. His fight with a great fish is an epic of description. It is a work of freshness and perfection. Its plot is quite straightforward and there is only the sub-theme of a fisherman who sailed to catch a giant marlin, but ultimately the sharks ate away the marlin except for its spine

and tace on the way back. It is a struggle in which the old fisherman defeats the great male fish after a prolonged fight. John Arkins considers this little book to be "Hemingway's essay on human understanding."

Once Hemingway had told an interviewer:

"In writing I have moved through Arithmetic, through plane Geometry and Algebra and now I am in Calculus."

It sounded arrogant at that time, but *The Old Man* has justified his pride. Hemingway does not worry about art or artifice, though he actually submits himself to a rigid professional discipline. He emphasizes clarity, fidelity to realism, authenticity and immediacy in writing. About writing he once said:

"You have got to see it, feel it, smell it, hear it." "This is how I would do (it). For instance, I knew I always received many strong sensations when I went into the gym to train or work out with boxers. I didn't know what the things were that made the sensations, so I would think when I was wrapping my hands and remember. First there was the smell of wintergreen in the liniment where guys were being rubbed. Then there were the different sweat smells; the smell of the crowd that paid two bits ten to watch the workouts and the smell of individual people like Eddy McGoorty, Tommy Gibbons, Johny Wilson, Jack Dillon, Greb and others. Then the sniffing that tightens the gut that boxers make as they shadow box. Then the noise of the rosin crunching under foot in the corner as you scuffed your shoes on it and the squeak it made against the canvas. When I would get back from the gym, I would write (the sensations) down."

"Clearly he was not merely indulging in comforting talk when he told Don Wright that a writer must see it, feel it, smell it, hear it." (Atkins).

A good writer must know as near everything as possible. He has no sympathy with critics or criticism. It may be that critics have not been very kind towards him and that critics have not given him his due. Once Arthur Koestler said:

"Don't underestimate your Hemingway. It is banal, but he is still the greatest living writer."

And to-day John O'Hara has called him the outstanding author since the days of Shakespeare. About critics Hemingway says:

"If they believe the critics when they say they are great then they must believe them when they say they are rotten and they lose confidence. At present we have two good writers who cannot write because they have lost confidence through reading critics. If they wrote, sometimes it would be good and sometimes, not so good and sometimes it would be quite bad, but the good would get out. But they have read the critics and they must write masterpieces. They weren't masterpieces, of course. They were just quite good books. So now they cannot write at all. The critics have made them impotent."

This certainly is not likely to be appreciated by the big highbrow critics.

All the novels of Hemingway are a great saga of human endurance, human bravery and human courage. Like tragic heroes the characters of Hemingway fight although very often the dies are heavily loaded against them. But they stand unbowed beneath the blows of fate. Death to them is not a very sad experience but is a natural and so a brave epic that is called life. Hemingway thus is a natural man who enjoys bull fights, hunting and war though they may involve death.

Some writers complain that Hemingway is an unsatisfactory alternative because he reduces the human figure to a muscular jelly of principles without values. He is also called an anti-intellectual, an intellectual who has renounced intellectualism.

Hemingway does not like politics and therefore he has no political attitude. He can think of the only political philosophy and that is the philosophy of bread. Everywhere his characters are realists who know that their main concern is "to eat as long as anybody eats." His hero, Robert Jordan fights because he loved Spain and believed that a Fascist victory would make life unbearable for those who believed in the Republic. But he had no political doctrine. Mr. Atkins describes one incident about Hemingway:

"Anyway, whether Hemingway was an intruder in the dust or not he is said to have raised \$40,000 on personal notes to buy ambulances for loyalist armies, and paid for them by newspaper work in Spain."

Such was the generosity of Hemingway. He himself said in an interview:

"All the contact I have had with it (politics) has left me feeling as though I had been drinking out of spittoons. The self-confessed patriot, the traitor and the regulator of other people's lives, beliefs, etc., and the regimentator all run in a photo-finish. The Senate may develop the picture if they can find a photographer who can photograph a photo-finish."

When Mr. Atkins asked Hemingway something about the future of sensibility, he replied:

"There is a future for little else except the fundamental conception of individual freedom and liberty and the universal brotherhood of man."

This even today is the opinion of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a novelist who is corrupt in his values to the extent that his age is corrupt. He faithfully tries to represent the modern society with all its defects, its war-weariness and its disillusionment. He proves that many of the poor are vicious simply because they are poor. In his story "To Have and Have Not" he has given a very disgusting picture of society, which is nauseating in general. That novel is an utter picture of "brutality and fear of a society on the edge of an abyss."

Hemingway is lucid, frank and does not hesitate to call a spade a spade. To him money is the only thing without which a man can be in real despair. The following dialogue taken from "A Clear Well-lighted Place" illustrates the point:

"Last week he tried to commit suicide," one waiter said.

"Why?"

"He was in despair."

"What about?"

"Nothing."

"How do you know it was nothing?"

"He has plenty of money."

Hemingway does not theorise. He merely shows man fighting in action against the enemy, against poverty, against animals and against his own sexual lust.

The style of Hemingway is unique inasmuch as it truly carries conviction to our mind. His dialogue is always clipped and witty. We never come across a single dull sentence in Hemingway's stories. Even the descriptions are well planned and there is never any feeling of strain, e.g., in the "Snows of Kilimanjaro" he describes a dying man and says, "Death has come and rested his head on the foot of the cot and he could smell its breath." Here is his amazing imagery that has raised him above his contemporaries. He uses words to bring about subtle effects.

There is one peculiarity about Hemingway and that is that Hemingway can please the learned readers as well as the unlearned readers. John Lehmann wrote that you do not need a university education to get a full flavour from Hemingway. He writes from the senses and his words make us see and hear.

Hemingway's characters are alive and clearly distinguished. Yet it must be admitted that characterisation has never been Hemingway's strongest point. All his heroes talk the language of Hemingway, have the same nonchalance of Hemingway and are prepared to face great dangers, like Hemingway. They are, in fact, Hemingway himself more or less. Hemingway himself admits:

"When I wrote the first two novels I had not learned to write in the third person. The first person gives you great intimacy in attempting to give a complete sense of experience to the reader. It is limited however and in the third person the novelist can work in other people's heads and in other people's country. His range is greatly extended and so are his obligations. I prepared myself for writing in the third person by the discipline of writing *Death in the Afternoon*; the short stories and especially the long short stories of "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" I put in and deliberately used what could have made many novels to see how far it was possible to concentrate in a medium."

Hemingway in a smooth running style notes

minute things, smells and sees even the colour of clothes—all with the end of breathing the spirit of life into its characters. Hemingway's characters are not averse to sex. He does not believe in love, he does not believe in sex, but he believes in love based on sex. He knows men as they are and does not quarrel with fate because they are not superior or ideal human beings. He is not, led away by cheap idealism and allows his characters to have their full quota of sex and love. His attitude to sex is very realistic, e.g., in his story "An Alpine Idyll," a peasant's wife died; the body could not be taken out for burial because of snow. When the farmer worked at nights, he hanged his lantern from the mouth of the dead wife. This may appear horrible to us. The peasant did love his wife but when he wanted to hang the lantern and looked down for a place, it did not occur to him that he was outraging his wife's body by hanging the lantern from her mouth. About love Hemingway makes his characters speak in his story: "To Have and Have Not":

"Love is just another dirty lie. Love is ergo-pil pills to make me come around because you were afraid to have a baby. Love is quinine and quinine and quinine until I'm deaf with it. Love is that dirty aborting horror that you took me to. Love is my insides all messed up. It's half catheters and half whirling douches. I know about love. Love always hangs up behind the bathroom door. It smells like lysol. To hell with love."

It may be remembered that Hemingway himself was thrice married. He married Hedlev Richardson in 1919 and was divorced from her in 1926. In 1927, he married Paline Pfeiffer and divorced her in 1940 and then he married Martha Gellhorn in 1940. Hemingway is not overawed by sex and is not a green lover idolising love. He is a matter-of-fact realist who looks upon love and sex for whatever they are exactly worth.

Hemingway is essentially a writer of war and his novels have given some of the best war literature. It is true that his stories are quite different from a novel like *The Cruel Sea* or *The Young Lions* but if a really big artistic pattern of war is to be seen, we have got to turn to Hemingway's war classics. He has written about war because he loved war, loved the smell of powder, the noise of bursting shells and the thrill of fear that it brings. Perhaps, he also loves war because the real emotions of man come out from under the veneer of civilization, when man is face to face with death. Hemingway thus shows the naked man, the real man, under situations of stress in his novels. That is why his men make love freely, use abuses freely, and fight each other freely. Mr. Bishop has written that Hemingway has portrayed the disappearance of human soul.

"The chorus of approval reaches its peak with John O'Hara who calls Hemingway 'the outstanding author since the death of Shakespeare.' Without considering that, we may at least consider his status as a literary personality, owing less to his actual written work than to the legend that has accrued. . . ."

Hemingway belongs to those few spirits like Trelawney, Wilde, Shaw and Byron whose personal myths have overshadowed their work. A public discussion of Hemingway's work is impossible; unless it is confined to the privacy of the study we are certain to be disturbed by the intrusion of the "Big Game Hunter and War Correspondent." The spread of the legend, resulting in an expanding reputation among people who never read his books, really dated from the Spanish War and came to full status during the World War.

There is one more aspect of Hemingway's work and that is the basic sensation of fear—fear when death is looking straight in one's face, the fear which you would have in the ring with a bull. Fear also is an emotion under which man shakes off every external false feeling and becomes the natural elemental man. It is, like war, an emotion which shows man in his true colours.

Fear and war, the two elements which give the real glimpses of death naturally bring out the best in man and thus stories of such struggles are stories of abounding interest and when such a story is handled by an author of the calibre of Hemingway it becomes classical literature.

Hemingway himself is more or less like his own heroes—brave, fearless, tough guy with a knack of stirring up the hornet's nest. Mr. Atkins has described Hemingway thus:

"... he is a big man with the kind of body that can be used for busting through tough spots. His body is enormous and oddly proportioned. Most of his 215-odd points are in his upper torso and extremities. His legs are thin to the point of being delicate, but his barrel chest, shoulders and arms are huge. So are his hands; shaking hands with Hemingway is a good deal like bumping into a door. A boxer named Harry Sylvester with whom Hemingway used to spar told John McCaffery that he was the strongest man that he had ever known. He used to box at 199 pounds. He has become known as a fisherman, not of small fry but of giant marlin and tuna."

In his life he has faced more hazards than the heroes he has drawn. He has been a good boxer and had once his nose broken in a boxing contest. He does not easily despair. In fact, in his teething period as a writer, he had received many rejection slips from various editors to whom he had sent his stories. He enjoys his 'damned good life' and he thus is a great chronicler of the great moments of life.

In spite of the two air crashes, Hemingway is still strong enough to write and still enjoys life and thus we have reason to believe that many more books of the calibre of the *Old Man and the Sea* will come from his pen. He is reported to have said that he wrote *The Old Man* because he was broker, which may not be literally true. He has already about four novels in stock which he has locked up in the safe deposit vault of a bank. According to his habit, he will polish them and re-polish them before he releases them for his publishers. He is thus an artist who takes pains over his words and sentences. He very often reads out his dialogues to anybody upon whom he can thrust them and very often asks, "Is that the right way to speak?" etc. This is the keynote of the spontaneity, realism and freshness of his dialogues.

It may be argued that most of the novels of Hemingway are the works of the hour and the works of topical interest. This will be a misleading slant on Hemingway's ability. He uses no doubt the events

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WARREN HASTINGS AND THE ADALAT SYSTEM OF BENGAL

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., LL.B., W.B.C.S.

INTRODUCTION

THE bitter invectives of Burke, the poisoned calumnies of Mill, the cruel extravagance of Macaulay, the arrogant misjudgments of Beveridge and perhaps the inexorable verdict of history have tarnished the memory of the first Governor-General of Bengal almost beyond recovery. The celebrated works of Stephen, Strachey, Trotter, Lyall, Malleon, Forrest and others have by their searching examination of the different aspects of the life of this great 'Man of Action' vindicated him to a great extent, but the over-all picture is perhaps still the same. Through their pages one can see Hastings in all his moods, follow him in almost all his public actions, mark his policy of conquest and aggrandisement and note the events that eventually led to his recall, impeachment and ultimate acquittal; but in none of them can one have a clear and faithful account of his contributions to the law and justice of the provinces placed under his charge.

LAW AND JUSTICE WHEN HASTINGS CAME

The general practice is to look to the regime of Lord Cornwallis for the beginning of the legal system of modern India. It is difficult to find fault with it, but then justice requires that Hastings' share in its evolution must as well be properly appreciated. The grant of the Dewani in 1765 marked "a turning point in the Anglo-Indian history" not only from the

of the hour but they are not trivial events. They are the events like the World War or the Spanish Civil War or the bull fights where his heroes stare straight in the face of death and out of those critical situations arise suspense and interest. They are the events of great catastrophes in which the fate of nations is decided. Thus these events are not topical or temporary but are eternal, if not actually historical.

In the last analysis, even his worst critics admit that Hemingway's stories are powerful, gripping, stirring, stories of breathless suspense. They are stories superbly and artistically told by a man who almost draws from his personal experience and so in spite of the critics, Hemingway is great. His novels describe human beings, grappling with death, fighting for life and surely our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought. Hemingway is thus a chronicler of human greatness, human endurance, and human nobility.

political but also the legal point of view. In that year as many as seven Courts were functioning in the Presidency town of Calcutta, but the administration of justice in the Mofussil was in a most wretched condition. Might was right and justice remained with whoever had the power to enforce obedience. The eighteen months of Clive's administration witnessed no judicial reform; indeed, tackling with such a problem was no forte of the founder of the British Empire in India. The criminal justice in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa remained with the puppet Nawab of Bengal and, in spite of some sort of loose supervision by the Company's servants, it continued to be mismanaged till 1790 by his deputies and other officers of justice. The Dewani, however, put the civil justice in the hands of the English, since it was closely connected with the collection of revenue. Yet for the first three years nothing was done. In 1768, some writers in the Company's service were appointed 'Supravisors' (Supervisors) in some Mofussil towns for superintendence of collection of revenue and administration of all sorts of civil justice. Their control was, however, not effective. The chaos continued and the Committee of Secrecy found the administration in a deplorable condition (1770).

FOUNDATION OF THE ADALAT SYSTEM

When in 1772 Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal the Company had already

announced their intention "to stand forth as Dewan." In order to enable Hastings to carry it into effect a Committee was appointed. One of the results of the deliberation of that Committee, (consisting of the Governor and the four members of the Council), was the adoption of a plan by the Government (1772). The Supervisors of the former administration became the Collectors of the several districts into which Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided. In each district there were established a Dewani and a Faujdari Adalat, names which still subsist. The Dewani Adalat was to decide

"all disputes concerning property, real and personal, all cases of inheritance, marriage and cast (caste) and all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts and demands of rent."

It was presided over by the Collector who was assisted by the Provincial Dewan and other officers of the Collectorate. The Faujdari Court tried

"all cases of murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, forgery, purgery, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery and every other breach of the peace or violent invasion of the property."

The Provincial Qazi was the President of this Court and Mufti the expounder of law. The Collector of the district was

"to attend its sittings and see that the decision was passed in a fair and impartial manner, according to the proofs exhibited."

These Courts were placed under the control of two superior Courts, the Sadar Dewani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. The Sadar Dewani Adalat consisted of the President and Council, assisted by Indian officers and was to be the final Court of appeal in all civil suits. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was to consist of a Daroga appointed by the Nazim and assisted by a Chief Qazi, a Chief Mufti and three Maulvis; its duty was to revise all proceedings of the Provincial Criminal Courts in capital cases and those involving fines exceeding Rs. 100 and "to refer the former with reasoned approbation or disapprobation to the Nazim for sentence."

A CAUTIOUS MEASURE

Hastings was thus careful enough to maintain the authority of the Nazim, although no one knew better than he that the latter wielded no real power having practically abdicated it by the agreement of 1765. This he did out of policy, as any violent change might jeopardise the territorial and commercial interests of the Company. Indeed, he was cautious and would not go very far. The administration of civil justice, too, still remained mostly in the hands of the Indians and the Pargana's Courts, presided over by Head Farmers (Zamindars), were not disturbed at all. Only the general supervision vested in the Collec-

tor of the district. This union of the fiscal and judicial authority in the same officers did not, however, conduce to justice in many cases. In those days of all-pervading corruption, difficult communication and general ignorance of the ways and habits of the people it was next to impossible for the European Collectors to exercise effective control. When in two years' time these functionaries were withdrawn and the supervision of civil justice was vested in the six Provincial Councils set up in Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpore and Patna, the condition further deteriorated. Criminal justice was left to the Darogas, Faujdars, Thanadars and the like without any supervision from district headquarters.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

To add to the bewilderment and miseries of the people the Supreme Court of Calcutta frequently directed their processes against these Mofussil Judges whose authority the Court was little disposed to recognise, far less honour. According to the Judges of that Court, the Indian Magistrates appointed by the Provincial Councils had no legal existence and were liable to damage in suits of persons affected by their proceedings. This led to clashes with the executive and the acme was reached in what is known as the Cossijurah Case. In utter consternation the British inhabitants of Bengal sent to the authorities in England a petition, couched in the strongest terms, requesting interference.

"Unless relief was given," it was said, "the Company would have ports without trade, possessions without revenue and laws without inhabitants."

The relief came in 1781 through the Act of that year (21 Geo. III.c. 70) but before it did, Hastings devised and executed an arrangement for reconciling the differences. Sir Eliza Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed the Chief Judge of the Sadar Adalat on a proposed salary of Rs. 6000 a year. It was thought that this would be the means of lessening the tension and an instrument of conciliation. It was a master stroke of policy but the authorities in England rejected it as being against the very spirit of the constitution of the Supreme Court. Blind adherence to tradition triumphed over reason for the moment but time and circumstances were to show that Hastings was right. For the time being a patchwork was made; the powers of the Supreme Court were curtailed and all civil causes in the Mofussil were made cognisable by the Dewani Adalats whose authority was recognised by the Parliament. Eighteen such Courts were set up in different parts of the country. Except in four districts the functions of the Judges of the Dewani Adalats were separated from those of the Collectors, and even in those districts where the Civil Judge and the Collector were one and

the same person, they held the posts in distinct capacities. Thus the foundation was laid of the modern Adalat system. Efforts were made in later years for betterment of the system but the basic principle was never abandoned.

LAWs ADMINISTERED BY THESE COURTS

When Hastings assumed the reins of government the laws administered by the few subsisting Courts in the Mofussil were very uncertain and perplexing. On the civil side, the Hindu and Mahomedan Laws applied to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Presidency, and the *fatwas* and *vyavasthas* of the Maulvis and Pandits were the only guide of the Judges who were mostly laymen. These opinions were most often unreliable because the sources of law were varied and intricate and to this must be added the natural infirmities of the propounders. On the criminal side, the Mahomedan law was the law for both the Hindus and Muslims and the *fatwas* of the Maulavis were the guide. This law was cruel, antiquated and sometimes inconsistent.

In the Presidency town of Calcutta, the English criminal law prevailed with all its technicalities and age-old rigours and that was extremely galling to the Indians. For example, in 1762, an Indian detected one of his wives in an act of infidelity. He, therefore, punished her by cutting off her nose. When arraigned at the Calcutta Sessions he admitted the fact but pleaded that

"He had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the woman was his property; that by such custom he had a right to set a mark upon her for the infamy; and that he had never heard of the law by which they tried him."

"Do you believe," he asked, "if I had known the punishment to be death, I would ever have committed what you now call a crime?"

The man was, however, hanged, for "if the Courts possess jurisdiction they must proceed according to the English laws." Six years later Radhacharan Mitra, grandson of Holwell's old enemy, Govindram, was sentenced to death for forgery;

"but so extravagant did the sentence appear, where experience had never suggested the principle, such was the disproportion in their eyes between the punishment and the crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expressed their astonishment and alarm in a petition to the Governor and Council and upon a proper representation, Radhacharan received a pardon."

The position of civil law was still more anomalous. The Charter Act of 1753 having declared that the suits and actions of the Indians should be determined amongst themselves unless the parties submitted them to be tried by the Mayor's Court, their civil justice was brought to a stand-still.

HASTINGS' LEGAL REFORMS

Notwithstanding these anomalies the prevailing opinion of the Europeans was that

"For the peace and prosperity of the country the laws of England in so far as they did not oppose prejudice and usages . . . should prevail."

Hastings, however, saw the distinct advantage of ruling the Hindus and Mahomedans as far as practicable with their own laws. His plan provided that in the provinces the Hindus and Mahomedans were in certain matters to be governed by their own laws, namely, those relating to inheritance, marriage and caste and other religious usages and institutions. In furtherance of his plan he wrote to the Court of Directors in March, 1773:

"In order to render more complete the Judicial Regulations, to preclude arbitrary and partial judgments and to guide the decisions of the several Courts, a well-digested Code of Laws, compiled agreeably to the laws and tenets of the Mohametans and Gentoos and according to the established customs and usages in cases of the revenue, would prove of the greatest public utility."

Again in a subsequent letter, covering a specimen of the Hindu Code drawn up at his instance and sent to the Directors, he observed:

"From the labours of a people, however intelligent, whose studies have been confined to the narrow circle of their own religion, and the decrees founded upon its superstitions, and whose discussions in the search of truth have wanted that lively aid which it can only derive from a free exertion of the understanding and an opposition of opinions, a perfect system of jurisprudence is not to be expected. Yet if it shall be found to contain nothing hurtful to the authority of Government or to the interests of society and is consonant to the ideas, manners and inclinations of the people for whose use it is intended, I presume that on these grounds it will be preferable to any which even a superior wisdom could substitute in its room."

These are pregnant words uttered by one bent upon doing what he felt was in the best interest of the country. The Plan as well as the spirit behind it received the sanction of the Court of Directors.

ACTS OF ENLIGHTENED POLICY

It was a momentous step and the substance of this Plan regulates even to this day the greater part of India. Although the principles of English laws have since struggled into our Codes it is because they are of the essence of any enlightened jurisprudence. The repudiation of English law brought upon the Governor-General censure of observers like Alexander Dow and John H. Harrington but Hastings stood firm and the wisdom of the step he took was recognised even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great Sir William Jones being one of the upholders of his policy.

Another act of enlightened policy was that the Hindu and Mahomedan laws were placed upon the same footing, a thing which the greater part of India never saw during the preceding five hundred years. In course of time, these laws, found scattered in numberless treatises, were compiled and translated into English for the benefit of the English Judges. Thus there came the works of Baldaeus Halhead, Charles Hamilton and others: though not quite satisfactory they did, yet, make those laws more intelligible than before.

A third act of wisdom was that Regulations were issued from time to time mitigating the rigours or removing the angularities of the Mahomedan criminal law which still, and for many years to come, remained the general law of the land. The uncertain title of the Company made Hastings slow to effect any far-reaching change in the criminal law; but in exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor-General and Council by the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Act of 1781 some Regulations were passed for more "effectual and regular administration of justice" in the Mofussil Civil Courts. Lastly, at his instance, the civil procedural laws for those Courts were framed by Sir Eliza Impey during his short incumbency as the Chief Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat. These were in 1781 issued as a revised Code.

REFORMS IN POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Closely connected with the criminal administration were the Police in those days, as they are now. Before the time of Hastings the Zamindars were responsible for public safety and maintenance of public roads. This did not prove satisfactory; as a matter of fact, many of the officers of the Zamindars were proved or suspected to be in collusion with the breakers of law; therefore, in 1772, the Faujdari jurisdiction of the Zamindars was taken away and vested in the Adalats. Two years later Hastings divided Bengal for Police purposes into fourteen districts. These were placed under Thanadars and the landholders were directed to assist them. Faujdars

were appointed to apprehend all offenders against public peace. A few years' working showed that this system too was a failure. Therefore, in 1781, it was abolished and the Judges of the Civil Courts, as Magistrates, were given the power of apprehending the offenders in their districts. For punishment they were forwarded to the nearest Daroga who presided over the Nabab's Court. By special permission the Zamindars were sometimes vested with similar powers. This arrangement did not last long and, like the Adalat system itself, was remodelled by Lord Cornwallis. It nevertheless shows Hastings' anxiety to maintain law and order by all means.

HIS PLACE IN LEGAL HISTORY OF INDIA

No legal or administrative system is unalterable and has remained unchanged for ever. As society progresses, law tries to keep pace with it. Sometimes it is tardy and then comes the accusation, "Law is the everlasting malady of mankind." But in every progressive society the malady is eventually removed. So it was in India under the Company. In the hands of Hastings' successors his Plan and the Adalat system received all necessary treatments, and their regime is, therefore, justly important in the legal history of India. They had, however, an advantage over Hastings. They were not trammelled by scandalous disagreements of their colleagues in the Council. A Francis, or a Clavering or a Monson could make no history during the times of Lord Cornwallis and his successors; none but the Court of Directors and the Parliament could undo the plans of those Governor-Generals. Such was not the privilege of Hastings who was buffeted by storms from all directions. In spite of that it was he who first knocked at the prejudices of a tottering past and laid a sure foundation of the great edifice of modern law and justice in India. His was the work of a pioneer and it had the inevitable defects of such a work. Even then it was great and deserves being remembered by those who are interested in it.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for April, 1955: "Jalianwallah Bagh," p. 298, col. 2, line 2: Read 9th for 10th.

WATER AND THE COUNTRY-DWELLER

By A. SAYOUR,
Director, "Comité Hygiène et Eau," Paris

In France, during the last 25 years, water supply systems have been provided for 8,000 rural communes, bringing to 14,000 the number of those which are as well served as the towns in this respect.

Much however remains to be done, for 20,000 communes with a total of around 12 million inhabitants still have no public supplies. This figure does not include the three million people scattered in remote parts of the country who depend for their water on their own individual installations.

Our time is rich in contrasts. When jet planes bring the most distant continents closely together, it is paradoxical that in the countryside over which they are flying peasants are still engaged in the ancient task of fetching water. The problem of water for drinking has not yet been satisfactorily solved in many rural areas. This situation has many unfortunate consequences especially in the field of public health.

WATER AND HEALTH

As shown in a study by M. Baccino of the National Institute of Hygiene (France), when the mortality rates from typhoid and paratyphoid fevers in 1913 and 1934, and the general mortality rates in 1913 and 1936 are placed side by side with figures showing the growth of water supply systems, it is immediately evident that the considerable drop in the mortality figures in every department of France is in direct ratio to the percentage of the population supplied with potable water.

Similarly, Dr. P. Chassagne, head of the epidemiological section of the same body, made certain observations following the recrudescence of epidemic typhoid which occurred in France in 1949. Dr. Chassagne showed that out of 7,000 cases of typhoid fever recorded in France during 1949 and preceding years, more than half could be traced to the consumption of polluted water.

Consequently, in order to prevent the return of the epidemic, Dr. Chassagne advocated that

"Every consumer should be provided with a water supply subjected to frequent and strict bacteriological tests, he should be given a supply suitable for drinking and—another important precaution—for the washing of vegetables eaten uncooked, for butter-making, etc. Indeed, it would seem that more than one epidemic has been due to the consumption of butter washed with contaminated water."

Hydro-geological surveys carried out by the rural engineering service have shown that the mortality rate in a locality without a drinking water supply system is, on the average, two to three per cent higher than the corresponding figure in communes which have been suitably equipped for some years.

Let us now consider the case of India, the main breeding ground of cholera, whence epidemics have spread throughout the world, causing frightful ravages.

We quote below the conclusions of a study published in December 1947 in the periodical *Eau* by Dr. M. Monnerot-Dumaine, of the Institut d'Egypte:

"A study of the Indian epidemics shows that they proceed upstream along the watercourses and not in the direction of the current. Consequently, running water does not play an important part. On the other hand, well-water is dangerous. In villages in the endemic zones of India, the wells which supply the drinking water for the inhabitants regularly contain *koch vibrios*. When wells were dug along the Ganges so that the local inhabitants could draw their drinking water from them instead of from the river, the ravages of cholera rapidly increased, and the wells had to be hastily filled in. One of the conditions favourable to cholera is satisfied wherever the people drink well water or any standing water. On the contrary, water which is collected in accordance with the classical rules of hygiene cannot harbour the vibrios."

Another striking example is that of Egypt, where the last cholera epidemic, in 1947, was particularly deadly in the rural areas whose population drew drinking water from canals and the Nile. On the other hand, the large cities, such as Cairo and Alexandria, supplied with purified water, escaped the epidemic.

It will be felt, no doubt, that these observations illustrate sufficiently well the importance of a drinking water supply system for the health of the rural population.

Of course, in the more advanced countries, a satisfactory water supply represents only a contributory factor, the decrease in mortality being also due to preventive measures and advances in treatment. Nevertheless, it plays a by no means negligible role.

In the less developed countries, drinking water supply systems together with vaccination, occupy an important place in the control of epidemic diseases.

The provision of an ever-increasing number of suitable installations will make it possible to reduce mortality rates, as part of the programme of work undertaken by the great international organizations.

THE COST OF SAFE WATER

The health aspect of a rational water policy in the rural areas is not the only one worthy of attention. Mention should also be made of the arguments in favour of such a policy from the economic viewpoint. A supply of safe water may indeed be considered as an essential part of the equipment of a farm, because of the saving in time it makes possible and the improved output, particularly as regards milk production and stock-raising. Although it is doubtless wise not to place too much reliance on statistical estimates, nevertheless the financial benefits which may be expected from the generalization of water supply systems throughout the countryside in France are of considerable interest.

According to these estimates, the increase in milk production would bring in an additional 15,000 million francs per year, and the increase in meat production an additional 22,000 million francs. Thanks to the use of running water in washing out stables and cowsheds, nitrogenous products to the value of 3,000 million francs could be recovered. The increase in market-gardening output would be equivalent to 8,000 million francs. To these sums must be added those resulting from the saving in time from better organisation of fire-fighting measures, and from the development of anti-parasite treatments. All these savings have been calculated and come to a total of 80,000 million francs a year.

If, instead of this overall picture, a single agricultural undertaking is considered, then the results are just as conclusive. Let us suppose that the nearest water point is 30 yards from the farmhouse (an average distance in the case of many farms). Then the water carrying necessary to supply a family of six persons, would involve, in one year, a total weight of 51 tons, a total distance covered of over 95 miles and a loss of eight full working days. As regards livestock, the daily watering of four cows, two calves and two horses would result in the loss of 36 working days per year.

When it is remembered that it is the wife who must generally fetch the water for the family it will readily be seen that the removal of this burden would enable her to devote more time to the children and to look after them better, without mentioning the additional comfort for all the occupants of the farm.

WATER AND THE COMMUNITY

These above considerations logically bring us to

the third aspect of the water problem, namely, the social aspect.

It is clear that by improving the living conditions of the country-dwellers water supply systems play a large part in maintaining the balance of population between town and countryside and slowing down the exodus towards the cities. This balance cannot but foster increased exchange between industry and agriculture, and contribute to the general prosperity which is a feature of socially privileged countries. In addition to this, a rural population in good physical and moral health is a factor in maintaining the vitality of a people.

THE PLACE OF HEALTH EDUCATION

At the conclusion of this brief outline of the problem of water supply in the rural areas, the question arises as to how the present position can be remedied, and how collective water supply systems can be improved.

It is here that the importance of health education becomes clear. Not a day goes by without some mention of the investments necessary to put new life into the national economy. Part of these investments are devoted to building, in which water supply finds a place, unfortunately an all too modest one.

Public opinion must be convinced that this policy is sound. This requires appropriate civic education, stressing the part which the rural water supply systems must play in a balanced economy.

Although such health education is already given by many bodies on the international or national level, even greater efforts are called for. In particular, fruitful work could be done in the country by social workers, who are specially qualified to inculcate healthy and hygienic habits among the rural inhabitants.

People should also be made to understand that nothing can be achieved without paying for it and that a financial effort is necessary, either by direct participation of the users through a loan, or by a tax, or by paying a fair price for the water.

In short, what is required is a substantial effort in information and propaganda work. This cannot fail to reinforce the universally expressed desire of country-dwellers for better conditions, more comfortable and healthier housing, and the lightening of needlessly burdensome household tasks. It should not be forgotten that in the many surveys carried out the women questioned were almost always the first to be in favour of a domestic water supply.

Everything possible should be done to develop and multiply the water supply systems, which help to improve hygiene, to give a fresh impulse to agricultural production, to raise the living standard of the farmer and to attract workers to the land.

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

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY (Vol. IX, Parts I-II, 1952-53): Edited by V. L. Devkar. Published by V. L. Devkar for the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. March, 1955. Pp. 96. Price not stated.

The present number of this well-known periodical maintains the high standard of the previous issues. Among the seven papers comprising this number the place of honour belongs to the very valuable article of Dr. H. Goetz entitled *The Early Oudh School of Mughal Painting: Two Albums in the Baroda Museum*. Introducing his paper with a short critical account of the evolution of Mughal painting from the "Classic Age" through the "Aurangabad period" to the times of the later Mughals, the author describes two sets of miniatures originally forming as many albums with separate book-covers which "shed a most revealing light just on the critical transition period from the last years of Muhammad Shah to the reign of Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh." The description consists of a detailed examination of the miniatures under two heads, namely, the older miniatures and the copies and the miniatures of the early Oudh type arranged in five groups, and it concludes with a survey of the general characteristics of the pictorial art of the times. "The Oudh School under Shuja-ud-daula," the author sums up, "represents the last Golden Age of Mughal painting, a late, second-hand mannerism but of a greater decorative effect than the classic style of the 17th century, and with a genuine contribution both in the symphonic composition of complicated scenes and in the romantic interpretation of nature. The Baroda albums show its genesis . . . its flourishing . . . and even its decay." In another paper, Dr. P. H. Pott of the Ethnological Museum, Leyden, gives us a bird's eye view of the Tibetan and Nepalese collections of the Baroda Museum, dividing his subject-matter under six heads, namely, the Tibetan painted scrolls (*thangkas*), the three-dimensional Mandalas, the bronze figures of gods, saints, and demons, the sculptures in stone, wood and ivory, the industrial arts, the decorative panels from Nepal. A set of the Ramayana illustrations of the Pahari School representing scenes from the Rishya-Sringa legend which agree curiously enough with the Bengali version of Krittivasa, forms the subject of another interesting paper from the pen of Sri O. C. Ganguly. A group of seven Jaina bronzes unearthed from a site in the Panch Mahals district is dealt with by Sri U. P. Shah. Of more general interest are the papers of Sri V. L. Devkar entitled *A Scheme for the Municipal Museum of Amreli* and of Sri B. L. Mankad called *Different Modes of Exhibiting Coins in*

Museums. These are followed by the report on the working of the Baroda Museum for the year 1952-53. In between the last two we have a list (which is singularly inappropriate for a first-class journal of this nature) of the opinions of visitors as well as those of scholars and the Press on the activities of the Museum. The frontispiece and the concluding pages are adorned with a number of superb illustrations which add greatly to the value of this issue.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LAND REFORM IN NEW CHINA: By Dr. B. N. Ganguli. Published by Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.

People's China has been making history almost from its birth in October, 1949. The Agrarian Reform Law promulgated on June 30, 1950, is one of its most remarkable achievements. The Law does not abolish landownership as such. It abolishes "the land-owning system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class" (Article I). China's land policy is not a blind imitation of Soviet Russia's. Fortunately for the former, her new rulers are not lotus-eaters. They are, on the contrary, matter-of-fact realists endowed with a sturdy common sense. They "seem to be anxious to avoid blind mass action which had led to economic chaos and dislocation and destruction of property, agricultural equipment and livestock in the Soviet Union."

Land reform is but the first step towards the reorganisation of agriculture. The peasantry must pass through various stages "in order to reach higher and higher levels of per capita productivity as the result of more and more intensive co-operation." These stages are those of (1) Temporary Mutual Aid Association, (2) Permanent Mutual Aid Association, (3) Agricultural Producers' Co-operative and (4) Collective Farming.

Surplus agrarian population is the basic problem of China's rural economy. The problem is being tackled by (a) the removal of technical handicaps to progressive agriculture, (b) the creation of better employment opportunities, and (c) the absorption of the surplus agrarian population in the tertiary sector of the economy and in occupations which offer supplementary employment to farmers. Results obtained are encouraging.

Prof. Dr. B. N. Ganguli, the author of the volume under review, has placed the reading public under a deep debt of gratitude by producing a readable volume on New China's land policy, its character and its goal.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

THE BOATMAN BOY AND FORTY POEMS: By Sochi Raut Roy. Published by Prabasi Press, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. December, 1954. Pp. 158 + x. Price Rs. 6.

It is only poetry that can stir the hearts of people. Gandhiji was a poet, not of words in the usual sense of the term but of action. And it is because he was a poet that his words which came out of the depth of his heart could call forth response in the breasts of the millions.

We have seen a movement of modernism in literature. It is a reaction against the ideas and ideals of the nineteenth century, against the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorian period. The modernists are in revolt against romanticism and idealism. They try to be objective and realistic. Their approach to any subject is more or less intellectual.

This movement of modernism has found its way from West to East. The modernists of India are almost a replica of those in Europe, though the condition of the country at the time modernism was imported into India was very different from that of Europe. India has indeed suffered tremendously from, but was only indirectly hit, by the world-wars. A great revolutionary movement was in the offing and India was trying to break the shackles of a tyrannical foreign rule.

As a result of the two world-wars, there was almost a complete change in the outlook of life. The modernists were cynical and satirical. They were against tradition. They were against social evils. They were against the social system that tended to oppress the poor and the down-trodden. The old order of society must be changed, and they were speaking of new values in life and literature. The modernists of India were up against everything, but the strangest part of it was that the political struggle that was going on in the country and reaching a climax could not arouse any corresponding feeling in their heart. The literature that the modernists produced at the time, with some rare exceptions, will bear witness to the fact. It was rather the romantic poets who sang of the wonderful revolution that was going to make India free and establish her in her pristine glory.

Sochi Raut Roy hails from Orissa. "He has spent so many years of his creative life in Bengal that he is a veritable adopted son of Bengal," Dr. Kalidas Nag writes in the Introduction. "Raut Roy is interpenetrated with the genius of Bengal while he remains the outstanding Oriya poet of the new age." Sochi writes in the language of the people, in Oriya, the language of Orissa. He also composes poems in Bengali. Dr. Nag observes, "Such bilingualism is very rare amongst modern writers." As is evident from this book of verse. Sochi also writes in English. Hence, he may be said to be trilingual.

There is also an introductory note to the first section of the book, "The Boatman Boy," by Harindranath Chattopadhyay, under the caption of Translator's Notes. Sri Chattopadhyay holds some strong views about poetry and the mission of modern poets. Wordsworth had his opinion about poetic diction and the subject-matter to be dealt with in poetry. Wordsworth was a great poet in spite of his theory. His theory has been exploded but his poetry remains. Harindranath Chattopadhyay has his own opinion about the new values and false values of art. Whatever views and opinions he may have of art, he is a real poet. The poet-leader, as Dr. Kalidas Nag calls Harindranath in the Introduction, greets Sochi as "a young bugler of art."

The shooting and bayonetting of Dhenkanal boatmen, who were carrying on a peaceful and non-violent agitation for the assertion of their elementary civil rights, took place in 1938. Baji Raut, a boatman boy of barely twelve, born in the Native State of Dhenkanal, Orissa, fell a victim to British bullets. Sochi sang of this young martyr, and "this song," in the words of Harindranath, "caught on—even as flames catch on in a forest—lighting up all the night with its lurid glare."

The poems celebrating the martyrdom of the Dhenkanal boatmen from Roy's books *Baji Raut* and *Ahijan* were rendered into English by Harindranath Chattopadhyay. The volume published in 1942 under the name *The Boatman Boy and Other Poems* introduced Sochi Raut Roy to the wider public of India. These poems form the first section of the book. The poems included in the sections 'Pandulini,' 'Abhigyan' and 'Apocalypse' were rendered into English by B. Sinha, and two other poems were translated by Protap Bonnerjee. The book under review contains Raut Roy's original poems in English as well as these translations.

Growing up in an age of disillusionment Sochi Raut Roy speaks in the accent of modern times. He breathes the modern spirit, but he is not wholly a modernist, even as Harindranath Chattopadhyay is not wholly a realist. The latter sees the vision of a new humanity, and an idealist must have an undercurrent of romanticism in his poetry. It is good that a poet should identify himself with the common suffering man, but it is the way he expresses himself that makes him a poet. It is not because he deals with such subjects as 'Bread,' 'Food' and 'Gallows' that Sochi Raut Roy is a poet, but because he writes such lines of poetic intensity as the following that he is a poet:

I stand and dream of the day to come
When men shall rise out of martyrdom,
Rise in the dawn of freedom when
A new red sun and my poet's pen
Shall sign the charter of Man for Man.

In his 'Ode to Man' he sings:

All hail!

Greetings of the Dawn.

I sing the epithalamium of darkness and light,
To man I inscribe my muse.
His ardent love of man and nature makes his
poems instinct with beauty. In 'Overture' he writes:
Over distant tree-tops

come the sweet strains of the new rains;
In sudden bursts of the crashing drums,
cymbals untold, clanging,
an overture that tugs at the heart.

'A Crossing Over' is a poem with beautiful imageries:
We are a shooting star,
From earth catapulted
Faster and yet faster

To a new horizon,
A bigger life.

A dream unravelled.

The poet brings in a new vision of life in 'Cloud-burst.' In 'Apocalypse' he says:

I wait for the diapason word.

The Signature—

Soham.

I am He and Everything.
The origination and the end.
The seed, the fruition eternal,
Alpha and Omega.

Symbolism is a trait of his later poems. Like other modern poets Roy makes use of symbols very skilfully. His poetic philosophy of life and death has been expressed through symbolism. His love-poems border sometimes on the sensuous, sometimes on the sublime. His emotive power makes his poems pulsate with life. His phrases are sometimes very exquisite. He does not generally twist language to make his phrases vivid.

The liquidness of diction and the rhythmical throb in such lines as

The angling merlin's silver call
drops from the dark blue heaven
Like pearls falling into a deep dark well,

Or
In the ballet of moonlight and midnight-shade
The tree murmurs,
Whispering notes in low octaves,
will easily enchant the reader's heart.

Such pieces as 'A Crossing Over,' 'Apocalypse,' 'Cloud-burst,' 'Cloud-symphony,' 'The Fisherman,' 'Overture,' 'Music of the Spheres' and 'The Joy of Living' have poetry enough in them to satisfy any fastidious connoisseur of poetic art.

Sochi Raut Roy is already regarded as a leading poet of Orissa. Through these verses he will find an international recognition of his poetic talent.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

TALKS ON JNANAYOGA: By Swami Iswarananda. Published by the author from Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, The Vilangans Trichur, Cochin. Pp. 123. Price Rs. 1-8.

Swami Iswarananda is a learned and thoughtful monk of Sri Ramakrishna Mission and the present President of the Mission Centre at Trichur. Many years back we lived together for a pretty long time as members of the Philosophical Study Circle at Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Mysore. There we noticed that he is very fond of philosophical thinking and values thinking much above reading.

The book under review is his maiden work and contains a series of talks on the rational interpretation of the Jnanayoga. The author confesses in the Preface that he presents the Upanishadic Brahma-Vidya shorn of the mystical and theological accretions. There is a school of thinkers in Mysore and other parts of South India who hold that *mula avidya* or original nescience ceases to exist in *sushupti* or dreamless sleep. The present author belongs to this school and attempts to show in this book that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are identical and supports his statement by suitable quotations of the Upanishads with commentaries of Shankara thereon. The Brihad-aranyaka, Chhandogya, Taittiriya, Prasna and Mandukya Upanishads are repeatedly quoted to prove that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are similar states of non-dual experience of the Absolute or Brahman.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains twenty-one expository talks on the subject and the second one supplies profuse quotations from the five Upanishads mentioned above. The quotations are given in original Sanskrit followed by English renderings to enable the readers to understand the textual significance. There is an apophoristic statement in the Chhandogya Upanishad which means that the philosophy of deep sleep is the key to the realisation of Brahman. In the lengthy introduction to my English translation of the Brihadaranyaka

Upanishad published by Sri Ramakrishna Math at Madras, I have clearly shown that Sankara and his worthy disciple Sureswara both hold that ignorance does exist in deep sleep in the seed-form.

We may or may not agree with the author, but we must admit the novelty of his interpretation and the boldness of his presentation. Even the orthodox scholars will hold their breath to challenge him and will hesitate to contradict him. It is left to the readers to read the exposition and speculate for themselves. The book is sure to stimulate philosophical thinking in a quite new way.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS AND POLITICS: By S. K. Lahiri and B. N. Banerjee. Published by A. Mukherji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is the sixth edition of the book with additional sections based on the Constitution of Free India and the Charter of United Nations. Civics and politics are now very popular subjects with the students of our Universities. Many text-books have been written on these subjects. The present book unlike ordinary text-books deals with the subjects in a manner suitable for studies by persons other than students as a preliminary study to understand and interpret current political trends including international affairs. The book contains twenty-three chapters and touches about all aspects of political thought and theories from individual and society to world order—the United Nations. We would commend this book to the public interested in politics.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

DESHER KATHA: By Bimal Chandra Sinha. Published by Apurbakrishna Chatterji, 59, Barrackpore Trunk Road Calcutta-2. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 3.

The author in six chapters, viz., 2nd October (Mahatma's Birthday), 26th January (Independence Day), Congress Bengal and the Bengali, Our Draft Programme of Work and Gandhism, and Hindu-Muslim Problems, discusses various burning topics of the day. India today, particularly West Bengal, has a good many problems to tackle and solve but many attempts have failed to arrive at solutions. But there must be solutions if the nation is to survive and march ahead with other progressive nations of the world. Although a Congressman, the author is not blind towards the faults of the Congress, be it ideological or organisational, but he deprecates any attempt which confines its activities to criticism only. He discusses every problem as a realist and wants people not to be satisfied with adverse criticism of the present but to apply themselves to work and activities so as to improve the condition of the masses. He tries to bring an impartial mind to discuss and decide all burning political and economic questions now facing the country and its people. The author, though young, has already taken his place among the builders of Free India and his contribution to literature is happy and the present book maintains his popularity and reputation as a thinker of young Bengal. Printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

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GUJARATI

PRALAYA: By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 433. Price Rs. 5-8.

Shri Ramanlal Desai has two dozen novels to his credit. The one under notice adds one more to it. It is concerned with the coming annihilation of the world (*pralaya*). The first Global War of 1939 gave him the idea and his imagination based on National and International Policy—he calls it *Idiocy*—leads him to forecast wholesale destruction of humanity if we are to proceed at the present rate. The International background is a new element introduced in the novel-writing craft of Gujarat. Whether it takes on or not is a question, as few writers study these matters so well as Shriji Desai has done.

BRAHMA ATITHI: By Prof. Hasit Buch, M.A. Published by Jayadev Brothers, Baroda. 1947-1950. Paper cover. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1.

Prof. Buch has struck out an original path in honouring the Kavi Nanalal, the premier Poet of modern Gujarat who died a short time ago. He portrays a conference of souls of all writers of eminence, old and new, in the court of Brahma, where Nanalal is sent for twice, but the messenger returned with the message that he said that he had yet to complete his *magnum opus* and is not ready to come to Paradise. The third call, however, was successful and he came to the conference, never to return. It is a promising and a unique work for a beginner and deserves great credit.

K.M.J.

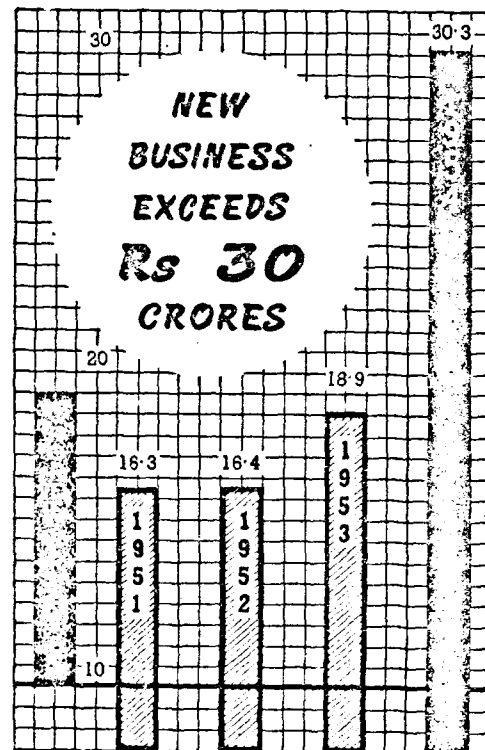
GITA-PRAVOCHANO: By Vinoba Bhave. Published in translation from the original in Marathi by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 12 + 292. Price: Unbound Re. 1, Bound Re. 1-8.

Vinoba has sought, as none else except Jnaneshwar, to reach the Gita to the common man. And he has succeeded eminently. His is a commentary for the lay man. But none the less original, none the less erudite. He has avoided scriptural terminologies as far as has been possible without sacrificing the scriptural approach. Vinoba has given *vikarma* a meaning other than the accepted one. All the recognized commentators have interpreted *vikarma* as *pratisiddha karma* or prohibited work. Vinoba interpreted *vikarma* as *vishesh karma* or tuning the inner man with the external action. The interpretation is unique as it is revealing.

Take Slokas 24, 25 and 26 of Chapter VIII. "This allegory baffles many," writes Vinoba and then proceeds to give an illuminating commentary. It satisfies reason. It gladdens heart. Vinoba's key is not tuned to a particular note. Life to him is not a single-stringed harp. He does not subscribe to *keval-vad* or 'Only'-this view. He says, "I don't like subscribing to the view that regards life only as action, only as devotion or only as realization. . . . I would rather say, 'What is action is devotion, and what is devotion is realization'."—Chapter XVI, paragraph 11.

I may not multiply such instances. That is for the curious to seek, find and enjoy or reject. The book is nowhere heavy and reads like a romance. It gives the soul peace and tranquillity—lasting peace and tranquillity. A great book. The translation is faithful and printing tidy.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA



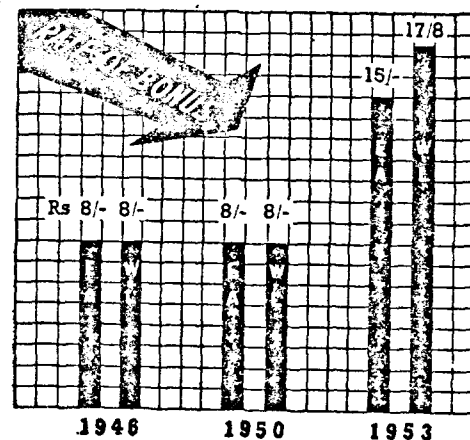
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Jagaddala Monastery

A SEAT OF LEARNING IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

Mahesh Kumar Moondhra writes in *The Indian Review* :

Taxila, Nalanda, Valabhi, Vikramsila, and Jagaddala were some of the most distinguished seats of learning in ancient and mediaeval India. Having a reputation for their high academic activities in the contemporary world these monasteries attracted the students and scholars from every nook and corner of our vast country. Even the students from abroad also visited these institutions.

The rulers of the Pala dynasty of mediaeval Bengal and Bihar were great patrons of art, literature, and education. They patronised a large number of monasteries of the Buddhists which included, apart from Nalanda and Vikramsila, Traikutak, Devikota, Sannagar, Phullahai, Pattikeraka, Vikrampuram, Jagaddala and many others.

In the year 1897, the late MM Pandit Haraprasad Sastri discovered in Nepal the manuscript of *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi. This work was written during the reign of Madanapala Deva, the second son of Ramapala Deva. It helps us to know the history of Bengal and Bihar between the years 1070 and 1120 A.D. Sastri edited the manuscript for the first time and the Asiatic Society of Bengal published this work in 1910. Afterwards in 1939 a new edition of it was published with English translation and notes under the joint editorship of three competent scholars, viz., Drs. R. C. Mazumdar, R. G. Basack, and Pt. Nanigopal Banerji, by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

According to Sastri, Jagaddala monastery was situated in the town Ramavati. But other scholars hold that according to *Ramacharita* (8/7) the monastery was at Varendri. It has been maintained that Ramapala Deva, the famous ruler of Pala dynasty, had established this monastery. As regards the period of his reign scholars hold different views. The date which is now generally accepted by the authorities is that he ascended the throne in the year 1077 A.D. and his death occurred in the year 1120 A.D. when he was about seventy years old. Thus he ruled for nearly forty-two years.

The Palas were the followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism and had close relations with Tibet. The art and literature of this period is stamped by the Tantrism which prevailed in the land of the Lamas. Scholars of both the countries crossed the frontiers frequently. The Jagaddala monastery under the royal patronage became one of the centers of gravity for the scholar and the student alike who wanted to study the Mahayana philosophy and Tantrism specially. Many books were translated in this monastery from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

The scholars of Jagaddala were famous for their writings on various subjects. Among the large number of professors who worked there four names are out-

standing—Danasila, Vibhootichandra, Mokshakar Gupta, and Subhakar Gupta. Their fame was not limited within the frontiers of our country but it spread far and wide. These scholars earned a great reputation even in Tibet. Short sketches of the activities of the four great pillars of Jagaddala monastery are given below :

(1) Acharya Danasila : Acharya Danasila was a resident of Bhagal in the eastern part of India. Mahapandit Rahula Sanskritayana, a modern scholar, holds that Bhagal was the modern Bhagalpur. The mediaeval writer Taranath in his famous work *History of Buddhism in India* has expressed that Danasila hailed from Kashmir and was a contemporary of Mahipala. However, it is beyond doubt that he lived and worked at Jagaddala. He was honoured by the titles of Mahapandita, Upadhyaya, and Acharya. He had a good command over Sanskrit as well as Tibetan. He is said to have translated nearly sixty books into Tibetan which had greatly influenced the Buddhist religion in that country. His translation also included a small book named *Pustak-Pathapaya* in which was shown the way of starting reading.

(2) Mahapandita Vibhootichandra : He was another famous scholar at Jagaddala. He received the famous book named *Jnan-chakshu-sadhan-nama* from Sakya Srihadra, the reputed logician of Vikramsila, who after the destruction of that monastery sought refuge at Jagaddala. Having stayed there in the monastery for a short period, he went to Tibet, probably accompanied by Vibhootichandra who had a good knowledge of Tibetan language. Vibhootichandra translated many important works into Tibetan.

(3) Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta : He had to his credit the titles of Bhikshu as well as Mahapandit. He was at home in logic and wrote a book entitled *Tarka-Bhasa* in Sanskrit which was translated into Tibetan later on. Perhaps this Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta is the same person who had annotated *Doha-Kosha*, an Apabhramsa book.

(4) Subhakar Gupta : He is said to have been the teacher of Sakya Srihadra. He wrote *Shiddhayakavira-tantratika* which was rendered into Tibetan also.

The successors of Ramapala Deva could not enhance the cultural activities any more. About 1203 A.D. the monastery was destroyed by the Moslem invaders.

Thus we see that Jagaddala monastery could continue its activities nearly for a century only. But the work done by its giants and jewels which it produced are more than enough to maintain the glory of the monastery in the annals of Indian letters and culture.

African Cultures

Possible Links Between Indian and

The concluding portion of the suggestive article of N. Court in *The Aryan Path* is published below :

Students of anthropology believe that in early times the Negroes lived in southern Asia, between Indo-China in the east and Persia in the west. They were agriculturists by occupation. As time went on other people notably the Aryans—of the great white race who came from the Middle East—entered the area, bringing with them that culture which is still, except where it is affected by Dravidian influences, the heritage of India. Hindi and many other Indian languages are related to European ones, Sanskrit being accepted by many philologists as the mother tongue, as it were, from which the languages of the West—Teutonic, Celtic, Latin and Slavonic—are derived. It is also believed that there is a strong link between English and Hebrew, and Welsh and Hebrew, especially the latter.

The Negroes, or rather their remote ancestors, were pushed out to east and west, when the great Aryan drive southward took place. One branch, it is believed, proceeded to Melanesia (the Islands of the Black People) in the Pacific Ocean and to New Guinea; the other, to Africa. Were these people Dravidians or pre-Dravidians? I am inclined to the belief that they were pre-Dravidians who had for some considerable period lived in a Dravidian environment. This is evident from a study of comparative religion in India, where we observe that pre-Dravidian theology or mythology, call it what you will, became absorbed quite naturally into the Dravidian culture. After the Aryan invasion, this new combination, which in the course of centuries had become blended as it were, wedded itself to the faith of the conquerors to produce the Hindu system as it is today.

In support of the Indian (pre-Dravidian) origin of the African we have a fair amount of ethnic proof, e.g., little groups of Negro-like people known as Negrillos and Negritos in Malaya and the islands in the Indian Ocean exist as separate and distinct entities to this day. This fact alone ought to set us thinking.

I would state here that two significant facts indicate the non-African origin of the Negro, namely, that there is not extant among the paintings of the Bushman or pre-Bushman peoples of Africa one single portrayal of the Negro; and it is known that, before 3000 B.C., there were no Negro burials except in Egypt, where the body of one, said to have lived 5000 B.C., was discovered by the side of a lake. It is believed that groups of Negroes became mixed with the Mediterranean peoples living in north Africa, giving birth to

the Bantu (the name means "The People"), who, on moving gradually south, broke up into tribes, until they met and clashed with the early European colonists in the Cape territory.

In the folklore of the Southern Bantu people there are several very significant animal personalities possessing divine or devilish potentialities. One of these *Impundulu*, a bird which, besides its sadistic inclinations, is alleged by Africans to be the most powerful carrier of witchcraft. Having the ability to change its appearance at will, it is also able to make itself invisible on occasion. It often, more often than not, associates with *Tikoloshi*, the god of witchcraft, described as a dwarfish little man with short limbs and a powerful, thick-set body. This mythical creature is said to ride through the sky on *Impundulu's* back, carrying in his hand the *Ingumbane* (evil snake) and the *Uganya* (charmed snake), collectively called *Inyoka* (snake).

Now, it seems that *Impundulu* is the counterpart of the Indian divine bird *Garuda*, the attendant of Narayana, on whose back Vishnu rides. *Garuda* belongs to that older and more "childlike" mythology of the earlier inhabitants of India, a culture steeped in symbolism, in which the animal largely figured. *Garuda* seems to have been either Dravidian or pre-Dravidian in origin. In Indian sacred art, which I deeply appreciate, *Garuda* is portrayed as a man-bird in whose one hind claw is grasped the snake. As Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is spoken of in *Psalms* 18, 10 and 104, 3 as moving on the wings of the wind, the great God of the Hindus, Vishnu, "clad in yellow robes, bearing mace, discus and conch," is described in the *Ramayana* as riding upon *Garuda*.



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In *The Secret Doctrine* (I, p. 421, a likeness between Vishnu and Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is brought out. Madame Blavatsky in Vol. II, p. 253, asks the pertinent question:

"Were the highly philosophical and metaphysical Aryans—the authors of the most perfect philosophical systems of transcendental psychology, of Codes of Ethics, and such a grammar as Panini's, of the Sankhya and Vedanta systems, and a moral code (Buddhism), proclaimed by Max Muller the most perfect on earth—such fools, or children, as to lose their time in writing fairy tales; such tales as the Puranas now seem to be in the eyes of those who have not the remotest idea of their secret meaning?"

Vishnu's and Krishna's vehicle, the great bird *Garuda*, the cherub of Jehovah, the *Impundulu* of the Bantu, have a significance of universal application.

Now, the Secret Doctrine furnishes a key which reveals to us on indisputable grounds of comparative analogy that *Garuda*, the allegorical and monstrous half-man and half-bird,—the *Vahan* or vehicle on which Vishnu (who is Kala, "time") is shown to ride—is the origin of all other such allegories. He is the Indian phoenix, the emblem of cyclic and periodical time. . . . (*The Secret Doctrine*, II, p. 564).

The Bantu "dowry" system known as *Lobola* establishes the truth that the woman is loved and cherished by the African. In India the Mother Cult is well known, and I shall refer to it presently in another connection.

The rite of circumcision amongst the Bantus, known as the *Abakweta* or Male Initiation Ceremony, has elements of Hamitic and Semitic customs as well as those of the ancient Phallic religions known as the Nature Cults. But curiously enough a link with pre-Aryan India seems to be indicated in the *ubulungu*, a necklace made from the long hair of the cow's tail which is placed round the neck of each initiate. It is regarded as a charm against evil because it comes from the cow, the emblem of purity, health and virility. As the cow is symbolic of motherhood also, the Bantu believes that the possession of this token will ensure his sexual potency when at this ceremony he reaches manhood. Need the writer mention in much detail what the cow means to the Hindu? All the world knows this. By many millions God is worshipped as the Mother and all these worshippers speak of God as She. Says Shankaracharya of her with whom Shiva seeks shelter:

It is She,
Whose words are sweet,
The Destructress of ills,
Ever and in all places pervading,
Tender creeper of intelligence and bliss.
The Mother exceedeth a thousand fathers in the
rite to reverence, and in the function of teacher.
(*Manu*)

Whosoever has seen the feet of woman, let him worship them as those of his teacher. (*Kubjika Tantra*)
In both the Hindu-Indian and the Bantu-African cultures, then, women are regarded as worthy objects of respect and reverence.

I am quite unaware whether or not any other exposition of this theory has ever been put forward, but that Africa is as much linked to India as western Europe is, is my conviction based on a study of ethnology, mythology and comparative religion for many years. I present it for what it is worth, dedicating it to my Indian and African friends.

Mountainous India

C. Vishwa Nath writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The mountains in India can be classified into (1) mountains of Peninsular India, and (2) mountains of Extra Peninsular Region. The mode of origin in either case is different. Starting from the south let us go ahead in our survey.

RANGES OF PENINSULAR INDIA

The mountain ranges of the Peninsula comprise the following :

- (1) The Western and the Eastern Ghats,
- (2) Aravalli mountains,
- (3) Vindhyan ranges,
- (4) The Sethpurus.

The *Western Ghats* flank the western shores of India, and run in an unbroken range of hills to the south of Malabar, where they merge with the Nilgiris. Their mean elevation is 3,000 feet above sea level and are formed out of the Deccan lavas which poured forth over nearly half a million square miles towards the close of the middle ages, or about the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history or about the same time when the Himalayas were first uplifted from the bed of the sea. These hills present a "ghat-like" or landing-stair aspect and build flat-topped hills so generally seen in Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere.

They have a very important influence on the climate of the western shores of India. They help to precipitate most of the moisture present in the south-west monsoons blowing from the Arabian Sea during summer. Consequently, this coast has very heavy rainfall and its forests therefore are evergreen. The plateau of the Deccan, which is situated on the leeward receives much less rainfall, just enough in certain places to support grasslands.

Eastern Ghats : They flank the eastern coasts of India and are a much lower range of hills which are broken at places and are irregular. These, unlike their Western counterparts, have a broad coastal plain fringing the hills. The lowly region is, however, more than fertile, where groundnuts, rice, cotton, tobacco and other crops are grown creditably. In fact, on this plain depends the prosperity of the States of Madras and Orissa.

Aravalli Mountains : The Aravallis are three-fold mountains which were elevated to existence in the early ages of the earth's history. They stretch towards north-east for about 400 miles in Rajasthan. Their general altitude ranges from 1,000-3,000 feet above the sea, the highest peak being Mount Abu within an elevation of 5,650 feet lying in the south-west extremity. These hills are generally bare with scanty population. Large areas, that is, the intervening valleys are covered with sandy deposits. Rocky ridges are to be observed near Alwar, Jaipur, etc. Their northernmost extension is to be found in the low isolated quartzite hills seen in the environs of Delhi.

Vindhyan Ranges : The Vindhyas form an interrupted range of hills 2,500 to 4,500 ft. in height. They go to form the northern part of Madhya Pradesh and separate the gangetic basin from the plateau of the Deccan. On the west they rise in Gujarat and fringe the southern edge of the Malwa plateau. They extend further in the Kaimur range and terminate in the Ganga Valley near Banaras. They are composed mainly of sandstones of red and other hues, which are largely used in architectural structures of all dimensions in India. The beds are a little disturbed; on some places they are almost horizontal.

The Satpuras : The Satpuras literally seven folds, form a range of hills between the Tapti and the Nerboda in Central India. The high plateau of Amarkantak is the starting point and the range continues in a westerly direction along with the West Coast. The average elevation is above 2,500 feet above sea, but the Amarkantak plateau is 3,500 feet high above sea. Some of the places however, are still higher. The rail from Bombay to Jabalpur runs through a break in the range just east of the famous hill fort of Asirgarh, the range here is as low as 1,248 feet above sea level. They are about 600 miles long and are composed partly of Deccan lavas and partly of granite etc.

THE HIMALAYAS

Starting from the Naga and Lushai Hills in the east and ending in the Baluchistan range of hills on the west is indeed one mighty chain of mountain ranges.

They are not a mountain chain in the ordinary sense of the word. Immediately to the north of the plains of India, there rise the highest ranges of the world. The southern position of this mass is represented by the Himalayas, while Keunlun represents its northernmost range. In between these mountains is enclosed the bleak plateau of Tibet, about 15,000 to 16,000 feet above sea.

The Himalayas proper are a mighty chain over 2,000 miles in length and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. It has already been remarked that this chain of mountains was first upheaved towards the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history. These mountains were raised by stresses acting from the Tibetan plateau in the north. The slopes of the mountains facing the plains are therefore steep, while those facing Tibet are gentle. These stresses in the form of waves were checked by the Deccan Plateau, the Aravallis and the Salt Range. These ranges actually have been responsible for the bending of the Himalayas. Our knowledge of these mountains is still quite imperfect though in recent years the various Everest and other expeditions have greatly helped in unravelling the geography and history of their evolution.

In general, the Himalayas are a series of parallel but converging ranges intersected by Valleys and big plateaux. It is noteworthy that the Eastern Himalayas rise abruptly from the plains and peaks like Mount Everest and Kinchinjunga are visible from there.

The Western or the Panjab Himalayas rise gradually from the plains and the high peaks being so distant, are hidden from view.

The Himalayas are geographically classified into :

(1) *The Great Himalayas* :—This chain comprises the highest portion of the Himalayas with an average elevation of 20,000 feet. It is therefore, always snow-covered. The highest peaks in this region include the Mount Everest (29,040 feet); Godwin Austen (K 2), Kinchinjunga, etc.

(2) *The Lesser Himalayas* :—The Lesser Himalayas or the middle ranges, which occur below the great Himalayas, comprise the ranges whose elevation does not exceed 15,000 feet above the sea.

(3) *The Outer Himalayas* :—This range of hills, lying between the Lesser Himalayas and the plains, is also called the Siwalik hills which form low foot-hills of the Himalayas, 3,000 to 4,000 feet in elevation above the sea level.

It is very remarkable that the Himalaya possesses a great variety in climate, vegetation and natural products and its inhabitants include different, interesting and varied hill-tribes possessing customs, manners and cultures of their own.

4. *Trans-Himalaya* :—A fourth size still, that is the Trans-Himalaya, is recognised by some geographers. It was discovered by Sven Hedin in 1906 and its central part is 140 miles in width which lessens to about 20 miles at the eastern and western ends. Its length is 600 miles. S. Hedin stated that the mountain ranges are ill-defined and confusing. This region forms the watershed draining into the Bay of Bengal and those flowing to the north into the enclosed drainage depression. It is crossed by a number of high Passes, their average altitude being 17,500 feet, although Ding La is higher than 19,000 above the sea.

WATERSHED

It may be noted that the highest peaks occur on the southern side of the watershed between India and Tibet and are about 100 miles from the plains. The average elevation of the watershed is more than 18,000 feet above sea, whilst the passes linking India with Tibet about 16,000 above sea level.

Himalayan Valleys :—The Himalayan chains are separated by longitudinal valleys, sometimes hardly 3,000 feet above sea. Thus from the valleys at about that altitudes almost with tropical heat to cross with perpetual snow exceeding 25,000 feet above sea level, is stretched a complete range of vegetation of the world from the tropics to the polar regions. From these valleys a panoramic view of some of the stupendous peaks of the Himalayas, about 25,000 feet or more in elevation and unexcelled in the whole world, is to be had. Two valleys, in this connection deserve special mention : (1) The beautiful vale of Kashmir, and (2) the valley of Kathmunda in Nepal. They are extensive fertile valleys both in length and breadth, and especially in the case of Kashmir it is surmised that it originally represented a lake, the waters of which have desiccated in recent times the shrunken remnants of which are represented by the Wular and the Dal Lakes.

REGIONS OF THE HIMALAYAS

Sir Sidney Burnard has sub-divided the Himalayan range into the following four regions :

(i) *The Assam Himalaya* :—from the Tista to the Brahmaputra river. This comprises the region between the peak of Namcha Barwa, 25,445 feet above sea in the Mishmi country, where the Brahmaputra forms a bend to cut across the Himalayas and the Tista river. It is 450 miles in length and includes the Kula Kangri

group of peaks 24,784 feet above sea and the Chano Lhari, 23,997 feet only. The geological and structural features indicate that the Himalayas extend beyond Namcha Barwa and take a sharp turn to continue southwards into Burma. It is noteworthy that the Assam Himalayas have a very rapid rise from the plains; the foot hills are narrow and the Sub-Himalayan region is comparatively lower than in the west.

(ii) *The Nepal Himalaya* :—This region extends for a length of about 500 miles and represents the portion between the Tista on the east and the Kali on the west. It includes some of the notable peaks like Kinchinjunga (28,146 feet), Mount Everest (29,040 feet), Makabe (27,790 feet), Annapurna (26,992 feet), Gosainthan (26,291 feet) and Dhaulagiri (26,795 feet) above sea level. It is noteworthy that the Great Himalayan range has a southward curvature and Kinchinjunga makes the southern most point of the Nepal Himalaya trend to the W.N.W. while to the east of it, the bend of the Assam Himalaya is E.N.E.. At the Brahmaputra, the trend almost becomes north-easterly. Near Dhaulagiri the range bends and bifurcates and a branch extends towards the north. Near Nampa there is another bifurcation of the ranges. It may be stated that in all the other Himalayan bifurcations, the more northerly extension has been considered as the continuation of the great range, but in this case, the southerly branch with the peaks of Nanda Devi and Badrinath has been regarded as the Great Himalaya, while the northerly branch with Kamet and Riwa Pharyul has been called the Zaskar range.

(iii) *The Kumaun Himalaya* :—The region has a length of 200 miles and is bounded by the Sutlej on the west. The range bifurcates at Badrinath and at the Sutlej, and the highest peak is Nanda Devi, 25,645 feet in altitude. It includes the well-known districts of Naini Tal, Almora and Garhwal. It is said that once this region had about 360 lakes, some of which have completely or partially desiccated. There certainly seems to be some truth in the legend because even today, a number of well-known lakes like the Naini Tal and Bhim Tal occur. Some of the well-known peaks of this region comprise Nanda Devi 25,645 feet, Badrinath 23,190 feet, Kedarnath 22,770 feet, Trisul 23,360 feet, Mana 23,862 feet, and Gangotri 21,700 feet above sea level. The Dhauladhar range constitutes the southerly bifurcation of the Kumaun Himalayas. It is in this region that some of the noteworthy and sacred rivers of Northern India like the Bhagirathi, the Yamuna, etc., take their source.

(iv) *The Punjab Himalayas* :—This portion lies between the Sutlej and the Indus and is about 350 miles



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in length. Owing to curvature the Kumaun and the Punjab Himalayas do not follow the same trend. Towards the west of the Sutlej the altitude of the range diminishes. To its east there are peaks like Kedarnath and Badrinath, both 22,000 feet in altitude. The Sutlej cuts across the Himalaya at its southernly branch named the Pir Panjal bifurcation, to follow its course in the plains. There are few peaks exceeding 20,000 feet in altitude in this portion and the Zoje La Pass is only 11,300 feet above the sea. It is noteworthy that the northern slopes of this range are bare and rugged and enclose plateaux with lakes while the southern slopes are covered with forests and do not enclose any high plains. The Punjab Himalayas are comparatively much dry and consequently the snow-line is much higher. The Jhelum, after following through a very deep gorge, cuts across the Himalayas and follows a somewhat remarkable southerly course through the Potwar plateau. The Himalayas appear to end here in the Indus Valley, but recent researches have shown that they continue across the Indus into the ranges of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The formation on either side of the bend, too, prove the same.

The Snowline—The snowline is a summer isother of 32° F and marks the lowest limit of perpetual snow. Its height depends on (i) temperature and (ii) amount of precipitation, i.e., the greater the snowfall, the lower the line. The study of the snowline is important because it is the snow which replenishes glaciers, and they are economically important to mankind.

The height of the snowline in different parts of the Himalayas facing South is given below: (A) The Nepal Himalaya 14,700 feet, (B) The Kumaun Himalaya 17,500 feet (C) The Punjab Himalayas 17,000 feet.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HIMALAYAS

It is certainly true that if these mountains had not existed the Indo-Gangetic plains, which constitute some of the richest parts of India, would have been a desert. It is the Himalayas which intercept the moisture-laden winds coming from the sea and bring about the precipitation of moisture in the form of rain and snow. The latter gives rise to gigantic glaciers which constitute the source of some of the important rivers of Northern India and make them perennial. For the same reason the snowline on the southern slopes is much lower than on the northern slopes of the same mountains. Very little snow will be found in the summer even at an altitude of 20,000 feet on the northern slopes as the air is so dry that no snow can be precipitated, while on the southern slopes the altitude of snowline varies from 14,700 feet in the Eastern Himalayas to about 17,000 feet in the Western Himalayas. But for these mountains, the economic geography of Northern India would have been entirely different. In fact, it would not at all be inapt to remark that just as Egypt is styled the gift of the Nile, the Indo-gangetic plains may be called the gift of the Himalayas and its rivers.

Except on the north-west, the Himalayas form practically an impassable barrier between India and the rest of Asia. With the exception of the north-west, the Himalayas have offered protection to India along her lengthy frontage of about 2,000 miles. Without the Himalayas, the bitterly cold winds blowing from the plateau of Tibet and Central Asia in winter, which happens to be one of the coldest regions of the earth at this time of the year, would have swept over the plains of Northern India. Had it not been for the Himalayas, India would have experienced an extremely cold climate in winter.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of Evil

Leo Hirsch gives the reader ample food for thought and reflection in the following article in *Unity*, January-February, 1955:

Why should there be evil in the world? Why should there exist evil impulses in the human heart? Why should the world be the playground of good and evil forces? We know that there is kindness on this planet but there is also cruelty. The important question is: what can we do about it? Criminologists tell us that many a person commits evil and does it deliberately, knowing that it is evil; that the most wicked crimes are committed with a full realization of the horrible consequences to the victim.

Man, from the time he attained reason and conscience, was deeply concerned with the problem of evil. All the old scriptures have remarkable examples of how seriously man probed and studied this problem and tried not only to find an answer to that riddle but what humans could do about it.

The classic tragedy of Job is an outstanding portrayal of a man who suffered all the tortures of physical pain, loss of material treasures, and the pain of spiritual confusion and instability. He could not understand the loss of health, of his earthly goods, and the loss of children and friends. Job, as interpreted by orthodox thinkers, is a man who was tormented by Satan at God's behest, so that he would learn something about life and, in the end, be rewarded for his suffering. There are passages in the Book of Job that go deep into the soul because they express with magnificent finality thoughts about evil that have always harassed the mind. During his anguish he cursed the day of his birth and complained of life in general. It was not until he clearly realized the challenge of evil, accepted life with all its conditions and responsibilities in a spirit of humility and reverence that he was able to emerge into a state of wisdom and faith.

Christ gave us new insights in regard to evil in man's nature. Christ warns his disciples to be humble and harmless; to avoid offenses and not to despise little offenses. He taught them how to deal with offenders when they offend us and how to forgive them. To him, forgiveness was a supreme virtue.

There is nothing more despicable than the evil displayed by a person who deliberately and coldly betrays his country or a benefactor or a friend.

Much of evil in man's nature can be explained by a lack of development of his spiritual faculty. When man will be granted the fullest freedom of thought and expression and equal opportunity in his political and economic life, then much of that recalcitrant nature will be eliminated.

Euripides, the great Athenian dramatist, wrote tragedy because he saw the eternal conflict between good and evil in the lives of men. He expressed his faith in man by his belief that man in the very nature of his being had the ability to conquer the evil in his breast. In probably one of his greatest choruses he symbolized that faith by "the apple tree, the sunshine, and the gold."

In all periods of great crises, evil is brought to the surface and becomes more violent. We see cruel types of characters and situations, human and social relations, which appear abnormal and subhuman. These events and the men who dominate them generally end in catastrophe.

Men of genius and spiritual insight who lived in these soul-trying times invariably made some contribution to bolster the morale of mankind.

The finest minds in every period of man's life on this planet were concerned with the problem of evil and bore a kind of prophetic relation to the situation of the time. These spiritually minded men recognized as clearly as we do that at times evils multiply in our world and threaten from moment to moment to engulf us—the evils of violence, tyranny, persecution, hatred, bigotry, lust.

From this we may readily infer that the moral order, as we know it, was not revealed to man as the myths of religion declare. Man found his way to the moral order haltingly, by the stern method of trial and error. He discovered through his experience that there are lines of conduct which are good insofar as they made for health, happiness, and life, and other lines of conduct which are evil insofar as they create disease, disintegration, despair, and death. It is through trial and error, through infinite painful experience, that we have learned the intrinsic importance of the individual, of human dignity, the conception of human freedom, the conception of spiritual and moral values. From these hard-won concepts, we have learned that evil in its ethical meaning is to offend against the worth attached to human beings. To deny this worth in man is to deny religion, democracy, and the moral law.

The moral law in the spiritual world, like the law of gravitation in the physical world, is the law which reigns throughout the spiritual universe and is universal in its jurisdiction. Our duty as human beings is to apply more and more the universal spiritual law in our human relations and thus enlarge our destiny and our culture.

In the United States there have been many leaders who were deeply concerned with the problem of evil.

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Some attacked evil in the religious field and some attacked evil in the political and economic areas. Such men as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, William Ellery Channing, Wendell Phillips, Lincoln Hawthorne, Henry George, Veblen, and others made valuable contributions to this perplexing problem. Phillips and Lincoln had a profound influence in destroying the institution of slavery. Henry George, through his *Progress and Poverty*, left an indelible impression on the American mind for the need to remove poverty from the democratic scene.

Then, too, we must not forget Herman Melville. In *Moby Dick*, Melville took the problem of evil and placed it within the environment of nature and within the framework of industry. He recognized that there were certain cruelties in nature that disregarded the worth in man and that there were certain dictatorial types of men in industry that made of human relations a hollow mockery.

As against these positive forces that have combated evil, America has produced a paradoxical religious movement which denies the very existence of evil. I refer to the Christian Science Movement whose central thesis is that sin does not exist, that there is no such thing really as moral evil, that moral evil, too, like bodily disease, is mere appearance, a mere illusion, and that it, too, can be expunged by stout negation. The same position which the mental healer takes with regard to sickness he likewise takes with regard to sin or moral evil.

If this faith were to spread, it would prevent the mitigation of moral evil in the world, just as their attitude toward disease would prevent the possible cure of physical ills. We ought to recognize that just as there is a medical science based on the assumption that physical disease has physical causes and that these causes may be known and understood, so there is a moral science based on the conviction that moral evil has causes and that by scientific investigation these causes may be ascertained and thus removed. The mental healing method would lead to the abandonment of the medical profession as well as of the social sciences, and to the ignoring of this causal side and it would hinder the most important efforts that can be made for the moral betterment of the world. It is not right to say that moral evil does not exist. Moral evil does exist; it is real, as matter is real, and you cannot get rid of it by denying it.

The cure of the evils of the world, the evils of the slums and poverty, racial discrimination, the religious bigotries, the hatreds, the lies and cruelties cannot be achieved by denying their existence. The Christian Science Movement denies what to me is undeniable: that matter is real and that moral evil is real, and hence all such religious movements are socially

dangerous, unproductive, and sterile on the side of social reform and impede human progress.

We live today in a period which has much in common with the Dark Ages—with its chaos, ceaseless wars, its nightmarish fears, its unbelievable cruelties, its horrible bigotries, its homeless men, women, and children. In one respect we surpass the horrors of the Dark Ages because man has succeeded in creating the most fiendish weapon of destruction in the history of man. It is the therefore of the greatest importance to know and understand who generated the enmity, the hostility that poisons the atmosphere in which we live and is deliberately aimed to destroy the democratic way of life that has been won over a long period of time and at tremendous suffering and sacrifice.

The defiant, self-proclaimed enemy thus far has been the Soviet Communist party. Under Stalin's regime, he was the supreme, absolute ruler, and the Politburo was the principal source and channel of the decisions which

demanded and commanded the blind obedience of the hard core of loyal Communist Party members everywhere in the world. These Communists have absolute despotic political power in Russia and in other parts of the world through their fifth columns. Their method and technique thus far to achieve world domination have been fraud, terrorism, violence, the big lies, and any other diabolical means to promote their ends. Stalin's recent death brought a new dictator into power, viz., Malenkov. He and his advisors have decided on a new course and a new strategy. They have launched new peace gestures. Are they sincere? We have to take these peace gestures at their face value until we ascertain what they mean by them. To the writer they seem to be booby traps deliberately set so as to lull the democratic peoples into a sense of security and thus entice them to lower their guard, decrease their defense measures and their aid to the allies, and thus create a world-wide economic depression that will enable the Russians to deal a death blow. A leopard cannot change his spots and Communism will not overnight change its plans to destroy democracy. The Russians are the victims of their dogmas, their cruelties, their crusading fanaticism, and these cannot shed easily. The habit of men's indoctrinated minds is not easily changed and overturned. Nothing short of a cataclysmic upheaval from within can bring about the drastic changes that will bring world peace.

Soviet Russia is our enemy without. Within our nation we have plenty of enemies who threaten to destroy our way of life by ignoring individual rights and concentrating their activities mainly on material privileges and profits.

In the recent steel strike, we have had evidence of the power of these disintegrating and disorganizing elements. They showed a complete indifference to our boys fighting in Korea, to the stability of our economic structure and to the welfare of our citizenry. From the very beginning, it was known that the major issue in the strike was the price of steel. Management for months pressured the government and its stabilization agencies to accede to industry's demands for higher prices, regardless of the fact that the increase they demanded would let loose another spiral of inflation. They cared little what effect such a strike would have on our economy and our defense program.

Management also created the false issue of the union shop. The union shop was the issue on which the steel magnates chose to hold ground until they had received the assurance of higher prices. Labor and government fell into this trap.

Labor, too, is not entirely guiltless; they, too, ignored the rights of millions of other workers by forcing them into unemployment. They, too, were indifferent to the survival of our economy or the welfare of our soldiers. They could have passed up their demand for the recognition of the union shop until a calmer and more favorable atmosphere prevailed. So the steel strike

was lost by labour, by the government, and by the consumers, and won by the superior power and shrewdness of the steel magnates.

As long as labor and management distrust one another, so long will collective bargaining fly out of the window. Labor through its economists realizes that management is opposed to labor organizations and is unwilling to have labor accountants or government accountants go over their books to reveal to stockholders, workers, and government the exact situation so as to be able to determine profits, prices, and wages. As long as all accountants are not placed under government license, so long will accountants fail to abide by ethical standards. Prices, wages, and profits must always be in equilibrium. When profits are made paramount at the expense of wages and prices, so long will you have strikes and discord. The same applies to labor when it demands a wage at the expense of fair profits and the additional cost to consumers. Human relations must be made the paramount issue.

A democratic labor organization must repudiate its right to paralyze a whole industry and the entire nation by coercive measures. The paralyzing power now exercised by the union should not be possessed by any minority group. That holds true with management as well. In a democracy, ownership and management must not be permitted to paralyze the entire industry because it is determined to force labor to accept its arbitrary decree. In the final judgment, the 160 million Americans ought to decide what is right or wrong in industrial relations.

The democratic idea demands that we distrust great power, whether of an overwhelming majority or an aggressive minority, or the power of an overwhelming concentration of wealth. The democratic idea demands that justice must be the basis of the good life. Enlightened Americans recognize that a new era in industry must replace the traditional conflicts of the past; that strikes and ceaseless warfare must be replaced by co-operation and teamwork.

Strength does not come from physical capacity or material power. It comes from an indomitable spiritual will to do the right. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. It is this permanent, spiritual element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full ethical expression in our human relations. It is because Soviet Russia recognizes no such spiritual nature in man that it completely ignores moral law. To them the material world is primary. To them individuals have no inalienable rights, and the individual personality has no sacredness. Dictatorship in the modern world is a monstrous, hideous evil, whether it resides in the Politburo or industrial management or in undemocratic labor organizations. Dictatorship rests on a sea of blood, an ocean of tears, and a world of suffering. How can fear, force, lies, and misery

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(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY
KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

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make a better world? Morality consists, above all, in respect for means, man, and truth.

Another enemy within our borders is the racist, the isolationist, the hater of a foreign people. This enemy respects neither law nor life. He rejoices in seeing people of different color segregated and compelled to accept low standards of living. He fails to recognize the sacredness of human life and its interdependence. Such individuals cannot by any stretch of the imagination be Americans or internationalists or advocates of world government based on law.

To state these evils does not mean that we must become pessimistic or fatalistic or to assume that nothing can be done about them. In a world where "cold" war is exterminating human liberty and where "hot" war might be waged with atomic bombs, fatalism or complacency is criminal. The recognition of these evils should act as a challenge to urge us to the utmost effort to counter and control them.

To meet Soviet Russia's challenge, we must become and remain militarily strong and at the same time have faith in our spiritual resources and work with the utmost dedication to strengthen the United Nations.

At present, we are aiming at an intensive preparedness to meet the emergency and then hoping to relax that effort. It seems to me that it would be wiser to have a military program that could be maintained indefinitely without in any way undermining our economy or our basic freedoms. All this does not mean a third World War but it does mean convincing Soviet Russia that a third World War could not be won by anyone; that it is beyond the strength of any nation to conquer, subjugate, and annex the entire world; and that such an attempt would only mean the annihilation of the civilized world.

Russia's political rulers are deadly afraid of the spread of the democratic idea among her people, and they need the constant prodding of the U.N. to aid them to do away with totalitarianism; and we of the democratic West need to see ourselves in the false and exaggerated eyes of the Russians to keep us up to the mark of our democratic ideals.

So, in the final analysis, evil whether on the international or domestic scene, is the compelling force that challenges us to create finer human beings and thus build a nobler civilization. To the individual, evil is a foil that develops and sharpens his moral fibre, his spiritual nature. Good affirms itself through evil.

It has been said that man is born into trouble, as the sparks fly upward. Humans are so constructed that they cannot grow and develop without suffering, without sorrow and frustration, without the challenge of evil.

Man's effort to overcome evil with good is simply an effort to project the infinite into the finite; an attempt to substitute the perfect for the imperfect; an attempt to fulfill the moral law and thus to carry out the spiritual relations in finite terms. The spiritual gains thus achieved are incalculable and make way for spiritual freedom.

BBC Records Wild Life

Now that the recording of the voices of wild birds and animals has become almost a commonplace, people

can stay comfortably at home and listen to the results of other men's labours in the field. In Britain this job is ably done by the BBC's Natural History Recording Assistant, Eric Simms, and his accompanying engineer Bob Wade, and the two of them have lately experimented with a new method of recording.

Sound recording of the voices of birds and animals is comparatively new and really began for B.B.C. listeners when Ludwig Koch introduced them to his recordings. He used the wax disk method, far more laborious than the modern techniques now adopted, and took his heavy gear into a selected spot and waited there for his subject to turn up, cutting numerous disks, each lasting from four a half to five minutes, while he waited, sometimes for days. On some occasions the bird was obliging but often it failed to co-operate and Koch had to start work all over again somewhere else.

The next method was to use the magnetised tape which recorded every sound a bird or animal made over a period of thirty minutes, and if nothing of value had been 'said' the tape could be quickly demagnetised and used again. The tape recorder worked from batteries in the recording van which lasted for a maximum of two hours but when it was possible to link the van to a mains supply of electricity recording could go on indefinitely. A length of cable had to be run from the microphone to the van and four hundred yards was the maximum that could be safely used, a drawback which greatly limited the choice of site.

The newest method of all is to broadcast the bird's voice by means of a portable transmitter and record the broadcast in the B.B.C. van, either using the batteries or linking it to the mains. With a small portable transmitter strapped to his back Simms recently broadcast the sound of his own voice to Wade, who recorded it in the van at a distance of two hundred yards. The second test was made when he took the transmitter over several badly waterlogged fields to where wild geese were flying in to feed: a magnificent broadcast of their cries was recorded in the van nine hundred yards away. The third experiments was to broadcast the sound of a mixed flock of finches and buntings to the van lying more than a mile off. With three successful recordings made over progressively greater distances the time has now come for Simms to take his transmitter to many places that were previously unapproachable and the B.B.C.'s library of recorded sounds of wild creatures should be proportionately increased.—B.B.C. London Letter.

Circulation of French Daily Newspapers

The circulation of the French daily newspapers is not as large as those in Great Britain or the United States, but it is still very large. The following figures indicate the average circulations between June, 1945 and June of 1954.

Aurore: 425,811; Le Croix: 152,153; L'Echo: 476,641; France-Soir: 1,072,526; France-Tireur: 1,087,765; Humanite: 168,056; Liberation: 126,801; Le monde: 167,820; Parisien Libere: 652,042; Paris Presse: 158,599.—News from France.

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

The Modern Review

July

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Harold Laski and Property:

Joint Declaration at Moscow:

The Law of the Indian Constitution:

The Problem of Employment and Investment in Rural Areas:

Employment Opportunities for the Middle Class in the Second

Five-Year Plan:

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The Vellore Mutiny:

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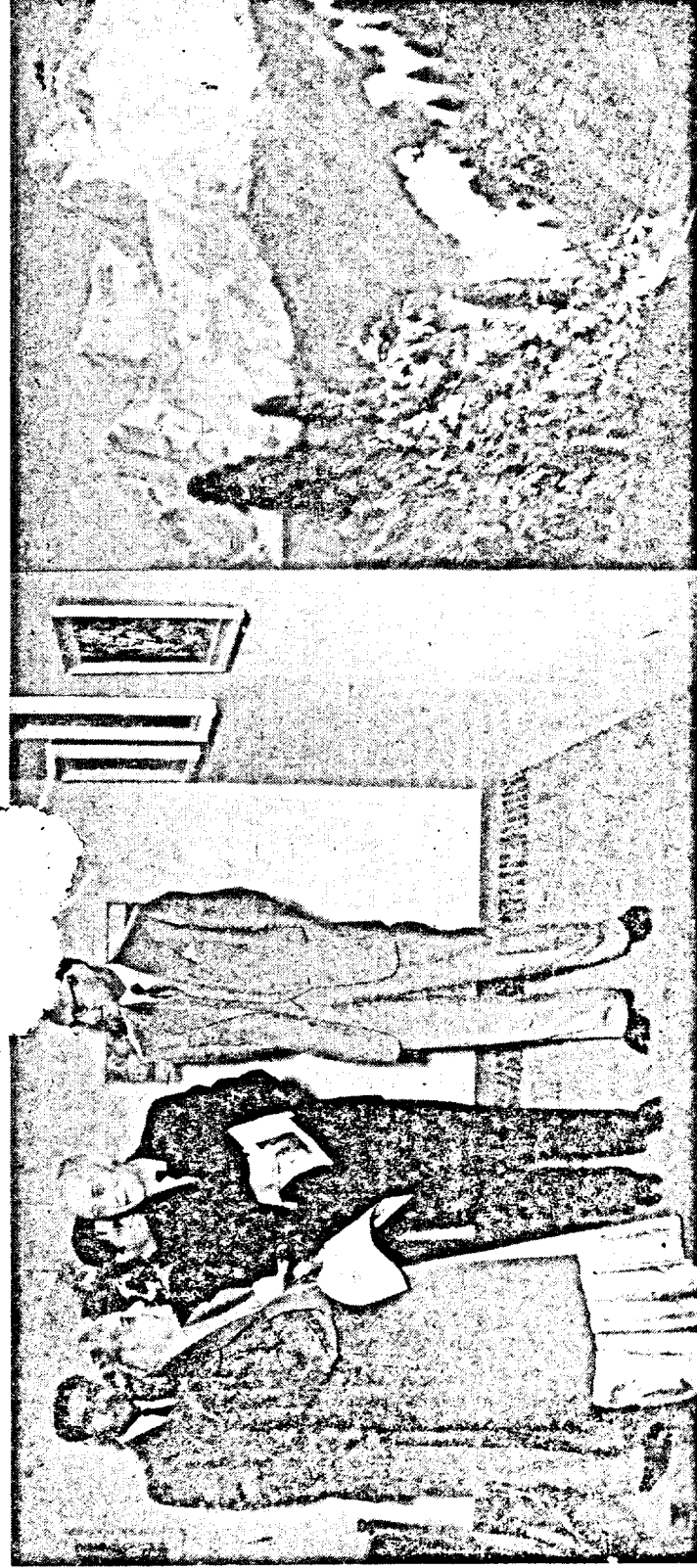
Manindra Bhushan Gupta

Khagendra Chandra Pal

K. V. Raman

O. C. Gangoly

Editor — KEDARNATH CHATTERJI



The opening ceremony of an Exhibition of Paintings by Sri Niren Ghosh at the Imperial Institute of Art Pavilion in London
Left: L. to R. Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner for India, the United Kingdom, who opened the Exhibition; Sir William Barton and Sri Niren Ghosh
Right: Morning Hue on Mount Everest, a painting by Sri Niren Ghosh, on display at the Exhibition

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NOTES

Planning for the Future

The First Five-Year Plan is coming to a close and there is a great deal of active drafting for the Second Five-Year Plan.

Much has been said about "substantial achievements" in terms of progress of the First Five-Year programme, and masses of statistical figures have been put forward in support of that claim.

But measured in the terms of relief to the suffering masses and in the lowering of the strains on the man in the street, the results as yet are lacking in concrete substance. The index of cost of living—in itself a deceptive and illusory figure—does not show any substantial decline, nor do the vital statistics show any hopeful signs. Unemployment has increased very substantially, which is the most disturbing factor in all assessment of progress.

In the terms of yards, tons and cubic yards of ferro-concrete, and likewise in the astronomical figures of money spent, we are asked to accept the tokens of progress. That is all very well for those who can afford to live in "Ivory tower" isolation, away from the misery that is apparent on all sides, and from the ignorance that is permeating the very soul of the masses, resulting in the lowering of moral values all round. We cannot afford to do so.

The First Five-Year Plan has meandered along, for four years and more, amidst blunders, waste and muddle and has come at last near its very modest, inadequate and disjointed targets. Much of the muddle and waste has been sought to be justified on the grounds of lack of statistics and survey facilities on the one hand and tremendous pressure on the Government's time and resources due to acute shortages of vital necessities.

In reality most of the blunders were due to ignorance on the part of those who were at the head and slackness, dishonesty or inexperience on the part

of the senior executives. As a result very moderate progress can be recorded up to now. So moderate that the common man can hardly feel the effects thereof.

The Plan, or plans, for the next period is still in a nebulous state. Rough approximations have been made to date, regarding the balances of supply and demand for electricity, coal, steel, cement and heavy chemicals. In all other items there is nothing more than guess-work. That such approximations and guess-work do not constitute real planning, need not be emphasised. On the face of it, it is apparent that if the targets be blurred and misty, the actual work would be erratic, wasteful and inefficient.

Then comes the question of the actual plan of work. So far the Planners have exercised their brains—and that along hypothetical or rule-of-thumb methods—on the question of money, and money alone. From all sides it is apparent that this Plan is also an exercise in theoretical economics, lifeless, soulless and abstract. If anything comes out of the nebulae, it may be taken as a gift of the gods.

Are the Planners taking the Nation along with their schemes, on the upward path of progress? No, most emphatically no! The man in the street and the man in the field, with their families and dependants must wait and see. If the Planners succeed, after ten years of blundering, then, like good little children who have taken the castor oil of patient suffering, they might have the sweets. The unemployed might become employable, factory labour might become even more efficient, ignorance might assume catastrophic proportions, but we must possess our souls with patience and hope for the miracle.

As yet we see no Second Five-Year Plan, in concrete shape, nor do we see the assemblage of knowledgeable persons who constitute the body that could get on with the actual work.



VASAKA-SAJJA NAYIKA

By Ram Gopal Vidyavargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Nehru in Moscow

An editorial with the above caption appears in the *New York Times* international edition Weekly Review of June 12. We append a fairly full extract as being indicative of sober American opinion:

"Moscow has never gone in for public demonstrations for foreign statesmen. Visiting dignitaries generally are whisked from the airport to their official residence in a Zis limousine through back streets. The populace often learns about the visit only after it is completed.

"Last week Moscow drastically changed the script. Huge throngs greeted Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as he rode through the capital in an open car at the beginning of a two-week State visit. Children deluged the Indian leader with flowers, trained white doves wheeled overhead, bands played, and the entire top hierarchy of the Soviet Government turned out for the occasion. While it was evident that careful planning had preceded the demonstration—for example, school children and factory workers had been given time off to attend—Moscow observers said the enthusiasm for Mr. Nehru as a symbol of hope for peace was unmistakably genuine.

"The Kremlin's efforts on Mr. Nehru's behalf were clearly a new chorus in the serenade it has been playing lately to the 'neutrals.' But the Russians quickly made clear that it also had significance beyond that. At a dinner for Mr. Nehru Thursday night, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin paid special tribute to the Indian leader's efforts to mediate between the United States and China in the Far East. He said:

"The Government of the Chinese People's Republic together with our Government is taking all possible measures to ease tension off the east coast of China. . . . Lately the news has come to us of the representations made by the Indian representative Krishna Menon. Let us hope that our joint efforts ease the tension."

"This fresh evidence of close co-ordination between Moscow and Peiping on Far East policy underlined some of the problems that may soon face the United States in that area. The Formosa Strait conflict, which less than two months ago seemed on the point of explosion, has become stabilized. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said at a press conference last week that it was fair to describe the situation in the Formosa Strait as a *de facto* cease-fire. He said further that this may be the most that can be achieved in the way of a settlement at the moment and that 'things might best be left as they are'."

The Nehru-Bulganin Declaration

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* commented as follows, regarding the joint declaration:

"New Delhi, June 23.—By laying emphasis on economic co-operation, the Five Principles, admission of China to the U.N., the importance of the Bandung Con-

ference and the need for disarmament, the joint declaration, signed by Mr. Nehru and Marshal Bulganin, comply with the views already expressed by both Prime Ministers.

A few phrases of the text, released simultaneously here and in Moscow this morning, indicate, however, that the Soviet Government has pledged itself to non-interference in more specific terms than had been anticipated.

The principle referring to non-interference in each other's internal affairs has been significantly amplified by 'for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character.'

Though few observers here believed the reports that an explicit abandonment of the Cominform would be included in the declaration, the express assurance of ideological non-interference can be interpreted in this way."

The following is the full text of the joint statement:

At the invitation of the Government of the U.S.S.R., Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has paid visit to the Soviet Union. During his stay in Moscow he had several talks with M. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and other members of the Soviet Government.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. The Prime Ministers are resolved that these relations shall continue to be informed and guided by the following principles:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political, or ideological character; (4) equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles, which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition, are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by nations in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and thus of lowering world tensions.

The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations, and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation.

Both Prime Ministers recognize that in various parts of the world there is, on the part of the smaller and weaker States, a vague and possibly unreasoning fear of bigger Powers. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here again the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of co-existence enunciated above.

The Prime Ministers acclaim the results of the

Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April last. The conference was of historic importance as being the first of its kind at which independent nations of two continents with differing political and social systems, met together for the common purpose of devising ways and means of achieving fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

The results of the conference have been noteworthy and are of deep significance not only to the participating countries themselves but generally to the cause of world peace. The Prime Ministers wish to commend in particular the declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the conference, which embodies and elaborates the concept of peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers recognize that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation. In particular they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the keener and more general appreciation, now discernible everywhere, of the dangers of war in an atomic age. Nevertheless, in large areas fear and suspicion dominate the minds of men and nations and vitiate international relations. In the Far East while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes of tension still remain.

It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. At the same time the Prime Ministers wish to reiterate their conviction that the continued refusal to admit the Chinese People's Republic to the U.N. lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere.

They consider it essential that the Chinese People's Republic should be given its rightful place in the U.N., whose role as an authority would thereby be enhanced. They also think it important that all States qualified for membership in terms of the Charter should be admitted to the U.N.

The Soviet Union as the country which provided one of the two co-chairmen of all three international commissions in Indo-China has undertaken special responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These agreements constitute a notable example of the use of the method of negotiation for solving international conflicts and the degree of success achieved in the practical implementation of these agreements will be regarded as a measure of the value of the method of negotiation as a means of resolving international disputes.

The Prime Ministers, therefore, gave special consideration to the situation in Indo-China. In spite of difficulties which have occasionally been of a grave character, the implementation of the agreements has on the whole so far, been satisfactory. The progress of

implementation is now in some danger of being obstructed by new and unexpected developments.

The Prime Ministers desire to exhort the Governments concerned with the carrying out of the provisions of the agreements, to do their utmost fully to discharge their obligations so that the purposes of the agreements may be completely achieved. In particular they would strongly urge that where elections are to be held as a preliminary to a political settlement the efforts of the Governments concerned should be directed to the full implementation of the provisions of the agreement.

Of the international question of deep concern to nations, none is more pressing or fraught with graver consequences to the issue of war and peace than that of disarmament.

The tendency to build up arms and armaments, conventional as well as atomic, has increased the prevalent fear and suspicion among nations and has had the effect of diverting national resources from their legitimate purpose, namely, the uplift of the people.

In the opinion of the Prime Ministers nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation, and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war. At the same time they consider that there should be simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained. To implement such disarmament and prohibition in this connexion, the recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to peace.

The Prime Ministers believe that under the aegis of the Five Principles enunciated in the statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between their two States. The fact that each country is following a system which is moulded by its own genius, tradition and environment should be no bar to such co-operation.

Indeed, the essence of true co-existence, in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that States of different social structure can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good. Already aided by a trade agreement concluded some time ago there has been a marked development in co-operation between the two countries in the cultural and economic spheres. The recent agreement in regard to the construction of a steel plant in India with the assistance of the Soviet Government is a notable example of such co-operation.

The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such co-operation, will seek to promote and strengthen the relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields, as well as in that of scientific and technical research.

Both Prime Ministers are gratified at the opportunity they have had of personal discussion and exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to them and are confident that the results of their talks and the friendly

contacts which have been established will further strengthen and develop the relations between the two countries and their peoples and will serve the interests of world peace.

Signed by: Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., and Prime Minister of India.

The "Kashmir Princess" Sabotage

The long-awaited statement of the Hongkong Government, has been released, regarding the sabotage of the ill-fated Indian air-liner.

Mr. A. C. Maxwell, the Police Commissioner of Hongkong, said in an official statement issued today: "It has been established beyond doubt that the 'Kashmir Princess' met its end through an explosion caused by some form of time-bomb. It is regrettably almost equally certain that this time-bomb was placed aboard the aircraft in Hongkong.

"No effort is being spared to bring to justice the perpetrators of this ghastly crime which must offend the conscience of all humanity.

"The Hongkong police are dealing with this case as one of carefully planned mass murder. All our investigations, which we have been patiently and steadily pursuing ever since news of the loss of the aircraft first reached us, point this way. We have now arrived at a stage when we must ask the help of the public to complete our investigations. We believe that there must be members of the Hongkong community who, if they will only come forward, can assist the police in their inquiries.

"I am therefore asking anyone who thinks he has any information, no matter how seemingly trivial or unimportant, which may throw light on the case to let the police have it.

"A personal letter addressed to myself or the Director of my special branch, will be treated entirely confidentially."

The Hongkong police today offered a reward of \$ (H) 100,000 (about £6,250 or approximately Rs. 83,000) for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person responsible for the crime. The offer of the reward and Mr. Maxwell's statement is being advertised in all Hongkong newspapers tomorrow under the heading "Sabotage."

Usually reliable sources said the police have established that the disaster had been caused by a sabotage ring working in Hongkong. The police believed the person (or persons) who put the time-bomb in the Constellation was not the "brains" of the ring but probably a lowly worker of little intelligence who might not have realized the implications of what he was doing.

One police theory was that the sabotage ring included a People's Chinese informer. They said this might explain how the Chinese had two days before the disaster been able to warn the Hongkong Government vaguely of the plane's possible sabotage.

The absence of specific details in the warning appeared to indicate that the informer was not an important member of the ring and knew few details.

One unconfirmed report said that after the disaster a Chinese stowaway on an airliner had reached Formosa. This report has been denied by the K.M.T. Government.

What Asians Ask

In the *New York Times* international edition of June, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, the noted Philippine leader, gives a very clear exposition of the problem facing Americans regarding their attitude to Asians and Africans:

"To see Asia through Asian eyes and Africa through African eyes—that is the prime requisite for American policy toward Asia and Africa. You cannot assume that a policy which works satisfactorily in Europe will work equally well in Asia and Africa. Nor, on the other hand, can you do one thing in Asia and Africa and then cancel that by promptly doing something contradictory in Europe. There must be a judicious adaptation of methods and parallel planning that will avoid discrimination, confusion and waste.

"The American tendency to brand any nationalist movements whatever in Asia and Africa as communistic rests on another of those assumptions which urgently need to be examined. There are unquestionably nationalist movements in Asia which are Communist-led or which are abetted by the Communists. But this fact does not necessarily invalidate the intrinsic quality of the genuine nationalist movements in the region.

"What has often happened is that those movements, though originally sprung from a people's natural aspirations to freedom, were subsequently taken away by the politically sly and ruthless Communists from the hands of the timid and confused liberals who lacked prompt and effective support from their friends in the United States and the rest of the Western world. We lose battle this way by default, and will continue losing them until we stop condemning all those movements indiscriminately and dissociating ourselves from them.

"Time has assuaged the bitterness which colonialism has bred among the Asian and African peoples. The Bandung conference has shown that.

"It is also true that we of Asia and Africa would rather keep our old friends than risk new ties with strangers. The peoples of Asia and Africa must be shown, however, that the old friends are friends indeed. And they must be shown this against the background of the irreversible march of nationalism in Asia and Africa and against the insistent clamor of their peoples for more decent standards of living."

How the lower type of American thinks about these problems is clearly indicated by the following piece of special news to the *New York Times*. It concerns a "brave" murderer of Africans fighting for their birthright:

"Nairobi, Kenya, June 7—An American who has been fighting the Mau Mau terrorists of Kenya is under State Department pressure to return to the United States.

"William W. Baldwin, 28 years old, has been told by United States Consular officials here that his activities have caused the United States Government considerable embarrassment. They want him to go home. So far he has not gone.

"The State Department has informed Mr. Baldwin, and its representatives have announced publicly here, that his membership as a combatant in the Kenya Police Reserve must be classed as unwarranted participation in the affairs of another State."

Communist Organisations in Vienna

The Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has caused the Austrian Government considerable embarrassment (according to agency reports from Vienna) by applying for legal registration as an association.

The WFTU set up its headquarters in the Soviet sector of Vienna in 1952, after its expulsion from Paris. But the move to Vienna was made without Austrian consent. The present application for registration has, presumably, been made in order to legalize the WFTU's position in view of the imminent end of the occupation of Austria.

London observers note the Austrian Government's fears that its neutrality might be prejudiced by the continued presence in the country of an organization whose real intention is to promote labour discontent, and that if other international Communist-dominated organizations (similarly established in the Soviet sector of Vienna without Austrian consent) follow suit, the Austrian capital might remain a centre for Communist propaganda.

Other organizations with headquarters in Vienna are: the World Peace Council, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and the World Congress of Doctors. All are active, London observers point out, the World Peace Council being the organizer of the "World Peace Assembly" now meeting in Helsinki, Finland.

The Future of Indian Shipping

The scheme for the expansion of Indian Shipping in the Second Five-Year Plan, was given in *extenso* by Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri in his speech before the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association at Bombay. We append the full report for record:

Bombay, June 21.—Mr. L. B. Shastri, Union Minister for Railways and Transport, today told the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association here that the Government of India was confident of achieving its target of a million tons for Indian shipping in the second Five-Year Plan.

Mr. Shastri said: "There can be no two opinions about the imperative need of a far more rapid pace of tonnage expansion, specially in the overseas trade.

"Planning must, however, take into account financial resources and the time factor necessary for the consolidation of new routes."

The Minister said that the recommendations of the study group appointed by the Consultative Committee of Shipowners were well balanced and could be attained. He hoped they would be included in the final framework of the second Plan.

The study group, he said, contemplated a net addition of 72 ships totalling 445,000 tons gross of shipping at an estimated outlay of Rs. 80 crores. The private sector would contribute Rs. 10 crores and the balance would be advanced by the Government.

Mr. Shastri assured the shipowners that the Government would give the fullest consideration to the question of making attractive loans to shipping companies to ensure the targets are achieved.

On overseas trade, Mr. Shastri said that the completion of the first Plan, India's overseas tonnage was expected to reach 280,000 tons. The second Plan envisaged a net addition of 37 ships totalling 270,000 tons gross to this fleet.

He said: "Fears have been expressed about the possibility of securing full employment for the increased tonnage to be acquired. Apart from loans at a concessional rate of interest for the acquisition of new fast ships, Government assistance has taken the form of sponsoring the companies for admission to various conferences, of helping them to secure a reasonable share of cargoes owned and controlled by the Government and of providing suitable clauses in trade agreements with foreign countries to ensure that a proportion of cargo arising out of such agreements moves in Indian ships."

He said that although Indian shipping companies have been operating in the overseas field for only about seven years, these companies had gained a "stable footing" in important overseas routes.

He, however, expressed disappointment at the decision of "one of our oldest companies" to withdraw from the India-U.S.A. trade and passenger-cum cargo services on certain other overseas routes. He hoped that this company would reconsider its attitude in regard to these services and re-enter them with more suitable tonnage for which, of course, "it can legitimately expect the Government to grant it necessary loans."

"I am also hopeful that our Indian companies will not only be able to give more regular and faster services on existing routes but also expand the area and scope of their activities, and I wish to take this opportunity of extending the assurance that the Government will continue to render all possible and necessary assistance and support towards the achievement of these objectives."

"FLAG DISCRIMINATION"

On the question of Government cargoes and flag discrimination, he said that the Government would continue to assist Indian overseas ships by allotting to them as much Government cargo as feasible.

"I am aware that in foreign shipping circles, this assistance has been sought to be dubbed as 'flag discrimination.' The same circles have also taken exception to our trade agreements under which we seek to assist Indian companies to secure part of the cargoes that are exported or imported under such agreements.

"I feel there is a genuine misunderstanding of our position regarding this matter, and the misunderstanding arises entirely from the difference in approach as to what constitutes 'flag discrimination.' Throughout, our attitude has been that the Government of India does not favour any form of flag discrimination against foreign ships. The Government cannot, however, forego its right to nominate ships for cargoes moving on its own account—a right which is enjoyed by all shippers.

"We do not accept the proposition that the exercise of this right is an instance of flag discrimination, nor can the clauses in our trade agreements be characterized as constituting flag discrimination. Our ports are open to ships of all flags and they receive the same treatment and facilities as Indian ships.

"No one can accuse us of resorting to any devious methods to put foreign shipping in a disadvantageous position as compared with Indian shipping. It is somewhat surprising that, leading maritime nations which carry, or aim to carry, 50% or more of their national trade in their own ship, should complain of unfair practices by India when our shipping carries less than 50% of the country's overseas trade, in spite of the so-called discriminatory measures.

"On the other hand, Indian companies have just cause for complaint that commercial conferences discriminate against them in the matter of participation in various intermediate sectors in the routes over which they ply their ships."

He hoped that the various foreign shipping conferences catering to the overseas trade of this country would take a realistic view of the aspirations of the Indian shipping industry. They have held a dominating position in the trade of this country for decades, and they may continue to do so. "We do not wish to place any impediments in their way, and all that we seek is the opportunity to carry a reasonable share of the trade from and to this country in our own ships."

Referring to discriminatory freight rates charged by foreign shipping lines, the Minister said that serious allegations were made from time to time by Indian shippers that foreign shipping followed a discriminatory policy and charged higher freight for cargoes shipped from Indian ports than for similar cargoes to the same destination from other countries. Several instances were cited to prove these charges.

The Government of India has appointed a special

officer to study the specific cases of alleged discrimination.

"If these investigations do establish that there is any substance in the charge, the Government will have to take serious notice of the position and to devise measures to combat this unfair practice."

On the question of imposition of surcharge threatened by overseas shipping conferences, Mr. Shastri said the Government felt it was not right that responsible bodies like shipping conferences should have come forward with threats of surcharges on freight at a time when the Government itself was taking all possible steps to improve working conditions in ports.

He was glad to note that the India-U.K. Conferences had since decided to call off the surcharge, while the U.S.A.-India Conferences had merely deferred consideration of the matter until July 15.

Award on Bombay Port Labour

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* gives the following report on the first part of the award given by the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to go into the disputes relating to the Bombay dock labour. It is of very great significance, being fully illustrative of the attitude of labour unions regarding the responsibilities of labour.

"New Delhi, June 13.—The failure of the existing wage and incentive bonus scheme to secure a fair output and quick turn-round of ships in Bombay Port is due to various factors, such as indifference of labour to work, unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours, a tendency on the part of workers at times to work on two shifts or excessive overtime instead of turning out adequate work in one shift, and the system of paying "speed money" to certain workers.

This is the conclusion of the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to adjudicate the disputes relating to the Bombay docks. The first part of the award was announced today, and Mr. M. R. Meher, President of the Bombay Industrial Court, who constituted the one-man tribunal, proposes to deal with the question of providing amenities for dock workers in the second part of his report to be published later.

"GO-SLOW POLICY"

The Tribunal has concluded that there was strong evidence that Bombay dock workers had been going slow and, at times, they adopted an "intensified go-slow policy." The contention of the trade unions that the fall in production was due to such factors as congestion in sheds, defective cranes, change in the tally system and delays in customs examination had little substance in view of the fact that new sheds had been erected and conditions in the docks in regard to storage and clearance had greatly improved.

The Tribunal maintains that a large number of electric tractors, mobile cranes, electric cars and forklifts have been installed and the equipment of ships

has been improved to facilitate quick loading and unloading of cargo.

It rejects the unions' argument that lower production and unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours was due to the absence of adequate amenities like canteens. It agrees with the Bombay Port Trust that the time-rate system of payment has resulted in slowing down work.

As regards wages of Port Trust workers, the Tribunal is of the view that it would not be justified in increasing the time-rate. But assuming that, under a piece-rate system, workers would be reasonably efficient and punctual, the Tribunal has processed piece-rates on the basis of an increased time-rate and has fixed piece-rates for various categories of workers.

Adequate safeguards have been laid down while fixing the piece-rates. Payment would be made on the time-rate basis in case labour was rendered idle on account of circumstances beyond their control. Workers reaching 90% of the datum line would be entitled to payment at not less than the time-rate. For production in excess of the datum line, payment would be at double the usual rates. Besides, certain minimum wages at a rate higher than those provided by the Minimum Wages Act have been guaranteed; workers, whose output could not be measured, would be paid at these rates.

The Tribunal hopes that with the increase in wages given in this award and the opportunities for earning premium under the piece-work system, the method of paying "speed money" to crane drivers and certain other categories of workers would eventually disappear.

It has directed the appointment of a committee (consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, with an independent chairman, for the proper administration of the piece-rate system and for the settlement of disputes. It has also recommended that the Port Trust Act should be amended to provide for such a committee. Until the Act is amended disputes should be settled mutually or by reference to the Central Conciliation Officers.

The Tribunal has rejected the demand of the Transport and Dock Worker's Union for the framing of a scheme for the decasualization of workers in the lines of the Bombay dock workers' (regulation of employment) scheme which is at present applicable to stevedore workers only. The matter will be examined by the committee appointed by the Central Government for the purpose."

Rehabilitation of E. Pakistan D.P.

The following report appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for June 28. We append a comprehensive extract below, as the problem is exceedingly complicated. We do not think it will ever be solved unless the authorities concerned take a firm attitude towards the disturbing elements, consisting of rapacious and dishonest fake refugees, who have been making capital of human misery all these years.

NOTES

However the scheme in itself is intrinsically sound.

An objective approach in assessing the magnitude of the rehabilitation problem in the eastern region, while keeping in view the sporadic nature of the influx from East Pakistan and the element of uncertainty inherent in the situation in dealing with an essentially human problem, was advocated by the Central Rehabilitation Secretary, Sri C. N. Chandra, in his presidential address at the two-day conference of Rehabilitation Secretaries of six Eastern States which commenced in Calcutta on Monday.

Sri Chandra revealed that the Rehabilitation Ministry had already succeeded in securing nearly 5,000 acres of cultivable land in a compact area with fairly congenial climate and surroundings in Hyderabad State, by the side of the Godavari river, where nearly 1,000 Bengali displaced families would be rehabilitated on a planned basis.

In addition, Sri Chandra stated, a large number of displaced families would also be settled on land near Chota Nagpur in Madhya Pradesh when the land was made available for development. Displaced agriculturists would also be resettled on a huge block of land covering an area of nearly fifty square miles in the Araku Valley in north Andhra and South Orissa. Government were also exploring the opportunities available for locating lands in Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and certain other States. State Governments, he added, were fully co-operative in these negotiations for making the planned dispersal programme a success during the next year.

This was the result of a decision taken by the National Development Council to send a team of officials representing the Planning Commission, the Union Rehabilitation Ministry and the West Bengal Government to discuss the question of dispersal of Bengali refugee families in other States outside West Bengal, and to create congenial surroundings with agricultural and employment opportunities for them in close co-ordination with local authorities. This team, consisting of Sri S. V. Ramamurti of the Planning Commission, Sri A. D. Khan, Relief and Rehabilitation Secretary of the West Bengal Government and Sri C. N. Chandra, had already visited Hyderabad and will be visiting other States towards the end of July.

Outlining the mode of estimates of expenditure to be incurred on rehabilitation during the Second Five-Year Plan, as initiated by the Central Rehabilitation Ministry, Sri Chandra referred to the difficulties in drawing up a plan with precision in view of uncertainties inherent in visualising the exact nature of developments after a few years. There were many fluid factors connected with influx, dispersal, administration and the psychological set-up, with the result that the outlines of the structure of financial involvements had to be drawn up with the utmost care and objectivity, while taking into account all relevant factors and the

over-all urgency of speeding up physical as well as psychological rehabilitation of the three million refugees who had already come from East Pakistan.

Sri Chandra said that the changing pattern of the blue-print of rehabilitation programme was indicated by the fact that they had urged the Planning Commission to make more provision than of Rs. 10 crores in the Second Plan for setting up new industries in order to absorb displaced persons and to stimulate subsidiary economic activities for expanding employment opportunities, especially in refugee townships and colonies. Again, in the matter of house construction also a policy of direct construction of tenements as well as Government-sponsored colonies was being increasingly favoured.

In conclusion, he hoped that it would be possible to prepare workable estimates of the expenditure involved in getting under way the various schemes of rehabilitation in the eastern region during the second Five-Year Plan period, for holding high-level consultations with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance at a later stage.

Rise in Industrial Production

The year 1954 witnessed a substantial increase in India's industrial production. The general index of industrial production, which stood at 135.3 in 1953, rose to 145 in 1954, while the general index of prices dropped from 399.6 in January 1954 to 367.8 in December 1954. In cotton textile and cement industries, the target set out in the Five-Year Plan was exceeded. Steel production reached an all-time record of 12,26,000 tons of finished steel. The only major industry which recorded a decline in production was sugar. In the engineering industries, 56 out of 62 industries achieved a substantial rise in production. The chemical industry recorded an all-round increase in production. In 1954, 110 licences were granted under the Industries Development and Regulation Act for the establishment of new industrial undertakings and 226 licences for the expansion of existing ones or the taking up of new lines of manufacture. In 1953, 182 licences were granted for the setting up of new undertakings.

Special measures were adopted for the development of small-scale and cottage industries including the production of Khadi. Following the recommendation of the Ford Foundation Team, four regional institutes of technology for small-scale industries were set up. A Marketing Service Co-operative and a Small-scale Industries Corporation have also been set up. A Small-scale Industries Board, under the chairmanship of a Development Commissioner, has been set up to co-ordinate the activities of these institutions and also to carry out a programme of development.

In 1953, controls over distribution of cotton textile industry were lifted and prices were decontrolled. As a result, the industry returned to a state of normalcy, and production continued to rise progressively. In 1954, the total production of cotton textiles was 5,000 million yards of cloth and 1,560 million lbs. of yarn. The pro-

duction of cloth by the handloom and power loom industries in 1954 was placed at about 1,600 million yards, giving a total availability of over 6,000 million yards. Consumption of textiles increased considerably and so also the exports thereof. Exports of cloth continued to be freely licensed and in 1954 805 million yards of mill-made cloth were exported as against 593 million yards in 1953. The UK is the largest single buyer of Indian cotton textiles. In October 1954 a Cotton Textile Export Promotion Council was set up with a view to promoting exports of Indian textiles, studying our markets abroad, laying down quality standards, etc. A scheme has been introduced by the Council for the inspection of textiles for export. Many of the present textile mills are handicapped with worn-out machinery and as a result they suffered loss and some of them had to close down. The Working Party on the cotton textile industry had taken a survey of the obsolete machinery in the textile industry and stressed on the need to rehabilitate old machinery. In order to compete with world market, rationalisation on modern lines is imperatively needed, but the Government of India is still undecided on the point.

The production of paper has gone up by nearly 50,000 tons over the past four years. The production of paper in India in 1954 was 1,55,328 tons, as against 1,08,907 tons in 1950. The requirements of paper in this country have been placed at 2,00,000 tons per year and the balance has to be imported from abroad. In the near future, however, India is going to be self-supporting in paper production. Following the implementation of the expansion schemes of existing units and the setting up of new ones, the capacity of the paper industry will exceed 2.87 lakh tons by the end of 1956. The paper industry at present employs over 26,000 people, including 2,100 as technical personnel. The block capital invested in the industry is estimated at Rs. 21.72 crores. A further capital of Rs. 14.3 crores is going to be invested with the implementation of new schemes and the expansion of the existing ones. There are at present 21 paper mills in India; seven of them are in South India, five in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh, three in the Punjab and UP area and six in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A paper and pulp expert of the FAO, Mr. Sundelin, recently came to India and surveyed the industry. He has estimated that the demand for paper, including newsprint and board will increase to 4,81,000 tons by 1961-62.

The Indian jute industry had a stable year in 1954. The demand for Indian jute goods in world markets improved and exports reached up the high figures of 8,42,000 tons as compared with 747,000 tons in 1953 and 736,000 tons in 1952. By the export of jute manufactures, India earned Rs. 120 crores of foreign exchange in 1954. In order to meet the growing overseas demand for jute goods, the working hours in the jute mills in the membership of the Indian Jute Mills Association were raised from 42½ hours to 48 hours a week. The output of jute manufactures increased from

9.05 lakh tons in 1953 to 9.49 tons in 1954. But on account of increasing offtake, stocks with mills considerably decreased. The USA continued to be the largest single consumer of Indian jute goods by taking over 180,000 tons. Although Argentine curtailed her purchases of Indian jute goods, our exports to the UK, Canada, Australia, Indonesia, Burma, Cuba, Egypt and Nigeria considerably increased. A notable feature of the export trade in jute goods is the higher offtake of sacking. But India need not be over-complacent over her jute exports on the present prospects. Japan is coming out as a formidable rival in this respect and she is already challenging the supremacy of Indian burlap in US markets. The manufacturers in France, Holland and Belgium have formed a federation of European Jute Manufacturers and Germany is also expanding the capacity of her jute industry. The Government of India and the Indian jute industry are, however, alive to this danger and they are taking appropriate measures to maintain India's overseas markets. Two representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association have already left for the USA with a view to retaining existing markets in that country and developing new contacts.

Chemical industry has made a considerable headway in recent years. The installed capacity of heavy chemicals—as for example, sulphuric acid, soda ash and caustic soda, fertilisers, sheet glass and dyestuffs, was increased in 1954. Sheet glass (10-12 oz. gauge), penicillin, chloromycetin, glacial acetic acid and acetic anhydride and bismuth salts were produced for the first time in this country during the past year. Efforts are being made to manufacture chemotherapeutics and dyestuffs from basic raw materials rather than from intermediates. A scheme for the manufacture of sulphuric acid from gypsum made progress during the last year.

As regards the small-scale industries, the National Small Industries Corporation was set up in February 1955 with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs, divided into 10,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 100/- each, to be subscribed entirely by the Government of India. For its working capital requirements, the Corporation will receive loan from the Government of India. The main objects of the Corporation will be to assist, promote, finance and protect small-scale industries. Industries ordinarily employing less than 50 persons working with power, or less than 100 persons working without power, and having capital assets not exceeding Rs. 5 lakhs, will come within the scope of the Corporation. It will secure a reasonable share of Government orders for small-scale units by accepting contracts from procurement departments of Government and issuing sub-contracts to small-scale units. The small-scale units will receive loans and technical assistance from the Corporation for the purpose of fulfilling such orders and for the manufacture of articles of the type and standard required.

The tariff policy played an important part in promoting industrial developments, either through increase of import duty on foreign articles competing with indigenous products or through reduction of duties on imported raw materials and components utilised by domestic industries. During 1954, consent was given for the issue of capital aggregating Rs. 94 crores, and of this Rs. 84 crores related to industrial companies. Of this amount, non-residents have been permitted by the Government of India to invest Rs. 26 crores.

What we would like to emphasise is that the consumer in India has not benefitted an iota as yet, in spite of all this expansion. Paper has been taxed in a most inconsiderate fashion, to the serious detriment of all educational schemes.

Investment and Financial Resources

In the first Five-Year Plan, two concepts were used to denote the size of the Plan, namely, net investment and developmental expenditure. Thus, the net investment in the public sector was expected to be of the order of Rs. 1600 to Rs. 1700 crores, whereas the developmental expenditure which includes outlay of a capital as well as current nature was initially estimated at Rs. 2,069 crores. Since outlay on the Plan included only a portion of the outlay on certain developmental heads such as health and education, an additional concept of total developmental outlay (as distinguished from that included in the Plan) has also been used at times to indicate the size of the Plan. In the case of 42 organised industries in the private and the public sectors, the first Plan considered the requirements of gross rather than the net investment, inasmuch as allowance was made for part of depreciation, replacement and modernisation. Similarly, the requirements of working capital were taken account of in the case of industries, but not for other sectors.

The tentative framework for the second Five-Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission envisages total outlay of Rs. 5,600 crores for the achievement of the targets. This estimate is made up by aggregating wherever possible, the capital requirements of the individual targets. However, this procedure cannot be adopted uniformly for two reasons, because the targets do not cover all the items of production. And in several important sectors, particularly in agriculture, investment is multi-purpose in the sense that only a complex of products can be related to a complex of investment.

Non-monetised investment is not, therefore, included in investment by the Planning Commission. In a predominantly rural community of self-supporting persons, a significant amount of investment must be done by the application of personal labour and by using locally available materials. With the efforts to mobilise voluntary labour for various nation-building activities, such as flood control, investment in non-money terms must play an important part. In view however of the highly con-

ectural nature of the imputed value of such investment the Planning Commission proposes to disregard it at his stage.

There are two distinct aspects to the question of raising financial resources needed for the second Five-Year Plan. First, the savings needed for the capital formation envisaged must be available in the aggregate. Secondly, the financial resources must be available and utilised by each sector and for each purpose in accordance with the priorities set out in the Plan. This second aspect requires a policy of directioning investment.

If net investment of the order of Rs. 5,600 crores is to be realised over the next Plan period, savings of the same order must be forthcoming. With increased incomes, the volume of savings is bound to increase. For initiating a process of higher investment and higher incomes by fuller utilisation of unemployed and under-utilised resources, it is not necessary that savings come first and only these are invested later. Credit has to be taken in advance for the additional savings that are likely to arise, as incomes and investment increase. Some initial credit creation, therefore, is an essential part of a development programme. The Planning Commission is however cautious and warns that if planned investments are to be realised without generating serious inflationary pressures, the initial credit creation must be limited with reference to what savings are likely to be available, or can be created by suitable policy measures.

An investment programme of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan cannot be carried through without a considerable increase in the rate of savings in the community. Assuming that sterling balances can be drawn down by some Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 crores and foreign assistance of the order of Rs. 500 crores is available during the second Plan, domestic savings of the order of Rs. 5,000 crores must be available. The Taxation Enquiry Commission has estimated that total savings in India in 1953-54 and total net investment (at home and abroad) amounted to some 7 per cent of national income. Their concept of net investment is not strictly comparable to the one used by the Planning Commission in arriving at the net investment of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan. Thus, unlike the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the Planning Commission has excluded non-monetised investment. At the same time, the Commission has made some allowance for investment in stocks and in small enterprises which have been disregarded by the Taxation Enquiry Commission. Again, a sizeable increase in public investment is expected for the last two years of the first

Plan. On the other hand, the Taxation Enquiry Commission's estimate of net investment abroad of Rs. 70 crores in 1953-54 must be regarded as rather exceptional. Normally, the Planning Commission would expect a deficit in our current balance of payments (not taking credit for donations), with the result that the total investment in the country must be higher than domestic savings. Taking these considerations into account, it is reasonable to expect that, comparable to the figure of Rs. 5,600 crores or the second Plan, net investment in the country in 1955-56 would be of the order of 6.75 per cent of national income and corresponding domestic savings of some six per cent of national income. On this basis, the growth in investment and savings over the second Plan would have to be somewhat as follows, so suggests the Planning Commission:

The phasing over the five years of savings and investments given below is intended to be illustrative. The essential point is, says the Planning Commission, that in order to achieve a total investment of Rs. 5,600 crores, the rate of investment must increase from 6.75 per cent of national income in 1955-56 to 11 per cent of national income in 1960-61, and domestic savings from 6 to 10 per cent over the same period. If foreign resources are not available on the scale envisaged, the savings effort at home would have to be correspondingly greater.

Whether an increase in the rate of domestic savings from 6 per cent in the beginning of the next Plan period to 10 per cent by 1960-61 is likely to take place in response to a voluntary increase in savings resulting from additional incomes cannot be judged in advance. The increase in savings envisaged here is not very large in relation to the rates achieved in other countries. But considering the current low rate of savings and the large margin of unsatisfied needs, the Planning Commission assumes that savings of the order required would not be forthcoming without special and persistent effort at restricting consumption through fiscal and other devices.

In an underdeveloped economy, where there are idle resources, increased investment need not imply a reduction in current consumption, according to the Planning Commission. It would however imply austerity, that is, preparedness to hold down consumption, especially of luxuries in the face of rising incomes. A check on the consumption of non-essential commodities, domestic as well as imported, is necessary in order to release additional resources for the production of essential goods. Shortages of essential goods are

(In crores of rupees)

	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	2nd Plan 1955-57 to 1960-61
National Income	10,800	11,300	11,825	12,375	13,000	13,700	62,200
Net Investment	730	810	930	1,060	1,300	1,500	5,600
Domestic Savings	650	680	800	930	1,170	1,370	4,950
Foreign Resources	80	130	130	130	130	130	650

dealt with better in this way than by direct limitation of consumption. However, if resources released through restriction of luxury consumption are not of much use for increasing the supplies of essential goods, controls over consumption of essentials would become unavoidable. The Planning Commission thinks that the question of controls must in other words, be judged in terms of the particular real resources, which are in short supply. Foreign exchange resources have to be conserved with particular care, in that they can be converted into whatever commodities became scarce within the country. In the present world situation in regard to food and cotton, the Planning Commission hopes that a plan of the magnitude contemplated can be seen through without having to impose controls on necessities like food and cloth.

The above contentions of the Planning Commission, have much fallacious premises and may give rise to much misgivings. How could they assume that reduction in consumption would automatically lead to larger investments? There are many slips between falling consumption and rising investments. The falling consumption may lead to the rise in price level, in so far as austerity will be enforced by rationing and price control. With the dreadful memories of rationing and price control during the war period and thereafter, one should most certainly be reluctant to think that a reversion back into the hands of the black-marketeers and profiteers could again be contemplated by the authorities. In that case they would be playing into the hands of the anti-social elements, as they did until recently. The simple truth should not be overlooked. The huge amount that is going to be spent in the period of the second Plan is bound to generate inflationary conditions and unless consumption goods are available in a rising proportion, inflation will take away much of the expected savings. One man's expenditure is another man's income and forced savings imposed by compulsory curtailment of consumption will compel the larger money incomes of the community to run after the limited supply of consumer goods, resulting in an upward spurt in the price level. Higher prices would automatically increase the cost of investment and so also the cost of Planning. Increased consumption will encourage larger investments, both in consumption goods industries as well as capital goods industries. Unless consumption is stepped up, industrial prosperity cannot be expected to rise, notwithstanding much vaunted expenditure on Planning. It is another fallacy to distinguish between essentials and the so-called luxuries. What is a luxury to one, may be an essential to another. There can hardly be any clear distinction between these two types of needs, saving a few ones.

The Planning Commission admits that up to a point, the emergence of some inflationary pressures or a sellers' market is necessary, since the object of the Plan is to push ahead as far as possible in the direction of utilising our resources. Essentially, inflationary

pressures—or insufficiency of savings—arise as a result of inelastic supplies of goods against which people direct their demand. The elasticity of supply is not equally great in the case of all commodities. With effort and organisation, it can be altered favourably at least in selected sectors. The Planning Commission thinks that if we are to stop at the first bottleneck in supplies for fear of a rise in prices in that sector, even though supplies in other sectors are elastic to some extent, we are likely to stop short of the full potential for expansion of the economy. Short supplies in some commodities shall have to be tackled, and in doing so, whether we would be able to prevent a general and cumulative rise in prices depends, obviously upon the measure of shortage and the organisational efficiency in dealing with it. In an expanding economy, the efficiency of savings cannot be predicted in advance, but, since the overall suggested by the Planning Commission is not excessive and is required for making an impact on employment, the practical problem is one of watching overall economic trends and of correcting, through fiscal and other measures, any shortages in resources in particular sectors as they rise.

From the standpoint of finding resources for the public sector of the second Plan, the Planning Commission observes that it is necessary to consider not only the outlay on the Plan but also on the total outlay. Expenditure outside the Plan has an obvious significance to the realistic appraisal of the financing of the Plan. The outlay on the Plan in the public sector includes, first of all, all expenditures which result in the creation of new capital assets (directly in the public or indirectly in the private sector). In addition, it should include that part of the current expenditure on specific developmental heads which represent an increase over the level reached at the end of the first Plan. This would give a clear idea of the lift the authorities would give to the developmental effort during the next Plan. This is the concept which has been kept in view in arriving at the Plan outlay of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector. As a rough approximation, the budgetary position of the Centre and the States combined may be outlined as follows:

(In crores of rupees—estimates)

	1955-56	1960-61	Over Second Plan 1956-57 to 1960-61
Outside the Plan—			
Non-developmental	625	725	3,400
Developmental	200	225	1,100
Sub-total	825	950	4,500
On the Plan	600	1,100	4,300
Total	1,425	2,050	8,800

It is assumed that public outlay on the Plan will increase from Rs. 600 crores or so in 1955-56 to Rs. 1,100 crores in 1960-61, that is by about 80 per cent in order to make up a total of Rs. 4,300 crores over the Plan period. Expenditure outside the Plan is assumed to increase by 15 per cent over the five years

or by Rs. 25 crores every year. The total outlay on developmental heads is envisaged to be of the order of Rs. 5,400 crores—Rs. 4,300 crores in the Plan and Rs. 1,100 crores outside the Plan. The question is how a total Government outlay of Rs. 8,800 crores (Rs. 4,500 crores outside the Plan and Rs. 4,300 crores on the Plan) is to be financed. Assuming that the Government takes some 8.5 per cent of national income in taxes and in non-tax revenue as has been the case on an average over the past four or five years (7 per cent in taxes and about 1.5 per cent in non-tax revenue) the total revenue receipts would amount to about Rs. 5,200 crores. Borrowing from the public may possibly yield another Rs. 1,000 crores (about Rs. 600 crores from loans and Rs. 400 crores from small savings). Contribution from railways may be put at Rs. 200 crores over five years. These items aggregate a total sum of Rs. 6,400 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores.

As against the gap or deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores, the Planning Commission assumes credit for some Rs. 400 crores of foreign assistance. (In addition, foreign assistance of Rs. 100 crores is envisaged for the private sector). The remaining gap of Rs. 2,000 crores cannot be filled up by deficit financing or creation of money. As a first approximation, the Planning Commission assumes that such money creation can be resorted to to the extent of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores by Government. Allowance must also be made for credit creation by banks for the needs of the private sector, say, Rs. 400 crores, or so, bringing total credit creation from Rs. 1,400 to 1,600 crores. A part of this credit would be withdrawn from the system as our accumulated sterling balances would be used up. Making an allowance for a decline in our foreign exchange reserves by some Rs. 150 crores, the Planning Commission assumes that even then, total money supply in the economy might increase by some Rs. 1,300 crores during the second Plan. A larger money supply will be needed as the monetised sector expands relatively to the non-monetised sector. Even then, with a 25 to 27 per cent increase in national income, an increase in money supply by some Rs. 1,300 crores on a base of some Rs. 2,000 is regarded by the Planning Commission as a sort of outside limit. If then, for the reasons just stated, deficit financing by the Government must be restricted to some Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores, it would be necessary to raise at least Rs. 800 crores by increased taxation, or by compulsory borrowings, or through increased profit of Government enterprises. In fact, a combination of all these will be called for.

Water Supply in India

Reports of acute distress caused by the shortage of drinking water which pour from all parts of our great country remind us of the utter inadequacy of water supply in our country. According to the statement of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Minister for Health, only 10 per cent of the total number of

towns in India had protected water supplies serving only 6.15 per cent of the total population of India or 48.5 per cent of the urban population. About 80 per cent of India's population lived in the rural areas and they relied mostly on an unpiped water supply from wells, tanks, springs and streams. As could be expected under such circumstances, cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea, which were mainly water-borne diseases, claimed annually 220,000 lives in between themselves. The total number of deaths from all causes in India was 38 lakhs.

The much appreciated recommendations of the Environmental Hygienic Committee appointed by the Government of India went largely unimplemented on account of financial stringency. In April, 1954, the Health Ministry put forward a proposal for a National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme which was approved in principle by the Planning Commission. Both the urban and rural parts of the programme were eventually sanctioned and communicated to the State Governments by September, 1954. The Union Government sanctioned a loan of 12 crores of rupees for the urban schemes and an outright grant of 6 crores to meet 50 per cent of the cost of sanctioned urban schemes of the State Governments. Most of the schemes sent in by the State Governments were approved by the Union Government.

Commenting on the condition of water supply in India and the Government of India's policy in that regard "M.P." writes in the *Harijan*, June 11:

"Is this not one of the items of topmost priority in the eyes of our planners? It is a matter of national shame indeed to learn that India under Swaraj does not still provide clean potable water to her citizens. Big talks of bunds and electrification pale into insignificance before this state of affairs."

West Bengal Municipalities

Sri Biswanath Basu, General Secretary of the West Bengal Municipal Association, discussed a number of problems facing the municipal administrators in the State in his report to the 18th session of the West Bengal Municipal Conference, held at Calcutta on April 16 and 17, 1955, shortly after the passage of the Bengal Municipal Amendment Bill by the West Bengal Assembly.

Referring to the passage of the West Bengal Municipal Amendment Bill he regretted the fact that while introducing vital reforms in the constitution of the local bodies Government had not thought it proper to consider the views of the Association—the only representative body of the Municipalities of the State. The passage of the bill, Sri Basu said, had bade good-bye to the "elementary democracy that was still existing in these local bodies." Moreover, although in the statement of objects of the bill reference had been made to the financial difficulties

faced by the municipalities "no attempt whatsoever was made in the Bill to solve these difficulties."

Sri Basu then proceeded on to examine specifically some of the charges commonly levelled against the Municipal Administration, one was the charge of poor collection. Of course, the percentage of collection was poor if the total demand was taken to include arrear demand as well. "But the percentage is not really unsatisfactory when the annual demand alone is considered." Even the Government could not always maintain a record of good collection, Sri Basu pointed out and added that "as regards Income-tax and Sales-tax where only the richer section of the community are concerned, the percentage of collection on the total demand does not, in any year, exceed 50 and often as low as 25." The Municipal ratepayers were mostly members of the poorer section of the community. "So," Sri Basu said, "such default in payment is due to our existing financial crisis, low purchasing power and national character as well. With increasing purchasing power, education, self-consciousness, and growth of the community spirit, things are bound to improve."

Sri Basu partly admitted that in some cases there might be low assessment but for that it would be wrong to put all the blame on the Municipal Administrators. "Let our national character rise and municipal finances improve and these evils will vanish."

Another charge against the municipal authorities was that expenditure under conservancy exceeded the receipts under that head. "It is actually so and will remain so as long as the present Act endures and labour conditions continue. Amenities in the shape of conservancy service are peculiar to the municipalities and constitute the most expensive part of the administration costs. Even then, the amenities actually offered to the rate-payers are far short of what these should be. Let our well-wishers examine the matter fully and try to solve the problem in the right way," Sri Basu said.

Out of a total population of two-and-a-half crores in West Bengal about one crore or forty per cent of the people lived in the congested municipal areas. But Government spent very little for their welfare. Much of the apparent inefficiency of the Municipalities could be properly ascribed to their poor financial conditions. The Local Finance Enquiry Committee had also admitted that Municipalities in West Bengal suffered mainly from bad finances due to meagre sources of revenue. The Committee's recommendations for allocation of shares of certain State revenues such as from Sales-tax, Electricity duty, Amusement tax, etc., to the Municipalities had however remained unimplemented. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also had made recommendations on the lines suggested in the recommendations of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee.

There was the case of the Motor Vehicles tax. Out of several crores of rupees realised as M. V. tax, a sum of only about rupees one to two lakhs was distributed amongst the eighty-two municipalities in West Bengal. "It is curious indeed that while the municipalities bear the burden of maintaining and improving the roads, all revenues that are realised from vehicles using these roads and damaging the same are taken over by another authority," Sri Basu pointedly said pleading for a just re-allocation of the tax between the Government and the Municipalities.

In the matter of the establishment of Free Primary Schools also the municipalities had failed to get just treatment from the Government. "Even the few free primary schools which had been started in some municipal areas under 'Biss Scheme' with the assurance of fifty per cent State aid, are, at present receiving not more than thirty per cent of the actual expenses and thereby a heavy burden is thrown upon the municipalities concerned . . ." Moreover, it was another regrettable fact that no portion of 2200 crores of rupees spent under the First Five-Year Plan had been allotted for the development of municipal areas. The West Bengal Municipal Association had submitted to the State Government some schemes for the development of municipal areas but none of them had been forwarded to the competent authorities for inclusion in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The settlement of refugee colonies in municipal areas without consultation with the municipal authorities came in for sharp criticism in the General Secretary's Report who said: "How injudicious has been the selection of the colony areas by the authorities concerned will be apparent from the fact that in Hooghly-Chinsurah, Government acquired a portion of the municipal trenching ground without even the knowledge and consent of the municipality and thereby stopped further trenching in that ground without making or helping to make any alternative trenching arrangement. The consequence of such indiscreet action on the part of local officers can be well realised and needs no description."

Sri Basu then referred to the unusual attitude displayed by the State Government in rejecting the representation made by the people in some municipalities, where the river Bhagirathi had been causing damage to municipal and other public and private properties by erosion, for Government help for protection of the river banks, on the ground that no Government property was involved.

Sri Basu also referred to the desirability of reducing red tape by doing away with undue insistence on trivial technicalities in urgent and important matters. He referred to complaints received from certain municipalities that schemes for augmentation of water supply initiated in accordance with plans and estimates prepared by competent Government Depart-

ments, and approved by Government, could not receive the statutory financial assistance on the 2:1 basis on the flimsy pretext of technicalities having not been observed in full.

He also urged for the appointment of a few liaison officers between the Government and the local institutions with a view to improving their mutual relations. He also appealed for a change of mental attitude on the part of Government officials and pleaded for greater co-operation with the municipal authorities.

At the same time the Municipal Commissioners also were reminded of their great responsibility.

We would like to know the standpoint of municipalities in other States, regarding the points raised by Sri Basu.

Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was formally inaugurated on the 29th March, 1954 with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru as its President. The importance of establishing an institution for a systematic study of public administration had been recognized for many years by academicians and administrators. With the advent of independence, and the inauguration of the constitution necessitating wide transformation of the administrative set-up, and the introduction of national development plans, the need for such a systematic study became all the more urgent. Under the circumstances the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, convened an informal meeting on the 29th October, 1953 in which decisions were taken to establish in India an institute of public administration. Professor D. G. Karve, the well-known economist, was chosen as the Director of the new institute.

The principal objects of the Institute were to provide for the study of public administration and allied subjects by organising study and training courses, conference and discussion groups; to undertake research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government; to publish periodicals, research papers and books on Indian administration; and to serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences and a clearing-house of information on public administration in general.

The Institute's membership was open to all actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration. The minimum annual subscription for individual membership was Rs. 25/-. There was also provision for corporate membership.

From the first annual report submitted by Prof. Karve, the Director of the Institute, it appears that the Executive Council of the Institute approved of the broad outlines of a scheme of a School of Public Administration providing a two-year course to students admitted on the strength of a qualifying degree and an entrance test.

The membership fees of the Institute were approxi-

mately Rs. 12,500. The Government of India sanctioned a total grant (recurring and non-recurring) of Rs. 7.71 lacs for the year 1954-55, thereby considerably easing the financial difficulties of the Institute. Efforts were being made to obtain support from State Governments and private endowments. The Ford Foundation agreed to donate a sum of \$350,000 over the first three years. The first year's instalment of \$166,666 was received. The total expenditure over the first three years was likely to be about 50 lacs of rupees including the cost of land, building, initial library and the establishment of the School of Public Administration.

The Institute formulated a regular programme of fellowships for providing facilities for higher studies and specialized training in public administration. The first batch of the Institute's fellows would soon proceed abroad for higher studies and training.

Prof. Karve adds: "The source materials, reports, text-books, case-histories, etc., bearing on Indian conditions which are needed for adequate and fruitful study of public administration are for the most part lacking. The Executive Council has, therefore, set up a Central Committee of Direction for arranging to have such materials prepared with as little delay as possible. The Committee has already selected a list of topics for study and research."

The Institute started publication of a quarterly journal from January-March, 1955 with Shri S. B. Bapat as the editor.

Medium of Higher Education

A conference was held at Madras on June 18 to consider the question of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction in educational institutions including colleges, and preparation of a list of suitable technical terms for such higher studies, reports the *Hindu*. The conference, attended by the Vice-Chancellors and other educationists, was presided over by the Madras Minister for education, Mr. C. Subramaniam.

Mr. Subramaniam detailed the steps taken in the past to promote the use of the regional language as the medium of instruction at the school stage and invited the views of the educationists and others in particular on the question (a) of making a beginning in the introduction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges and (b) as to whether a Committee or other suitable organisation might be set up for preparing scientific and technical terms in that language.

Dwelling on the importance of imparting college education in the mother tongue of the students the Minister pointed to the difficulties faced by the students in following instruction given in English in the colleges after having studied non-language subjects in the regional language in high schools. But it was not easy to effect a change. When back in 1938 the first Congress Government had introduced education through the mother tongue in schools even then objections had been raised against that on the ground of want of suitable text-books in the regional languages. About

four years ago a conference of State representatives of the Southern region and Vice-Chancellors had been held. Though the intention of those who had participated in that conference had been clearly to encourage the use of regional language, immediate steps could not be taken for want of facilities for the purpose of imparting such education with the regional language as the medium of instruction.

Shri Subramaniam also referred to the steps being taken for the preparation of scientific and technical terms in Hindi by the Board of Scientific Terminology, set up by the Government of India in 1950.

The Board had decided that international scientific and technical terms should be used in all books written in Hindi and other principal languages of India. The preparation and publication of authentic terms in Hindi would be done in nine stages. The stages were, to quote Shri Subramaniam:

"In the first stage, a collection of all necessary English terms for each subject is made.

"In the second stage, the exact connotation of each English word is determined with the help of standard works of reference and in consultation with technical experts.

"After this, the finding of suitable Hindi equivalents for the English terms begins in the third stage. The most important work is that of evaluating each possible equivalent in respect of its exact meanings, significance, etc.

"In the fourth stage, tentative lists of English terms with their proposed Hindi equivalents for each subject are put before an Expert Committee for that subject. The Committees consist of eminent scholars and experts. The Committees make a detailed and exhaustive examination of such lists and suggest changes and alternatives and then provisionally approve the lists.

"In the fifth stage, the lists thus approved by the Expert Committees are printed as provisional lists and submitted to the Board of Scientific Terminology which examines them again and makes its own suggestions.

"In the sixth stage, these lists are circulated to various State Governments, Universities, Research Institutions, Ministries of the Government of India, Language Experts and various other individuals and bodies, for comments.

"In the seventh stage, comments and opinions received are put before the respective Expert Committees which assess them and revise the lists in their light.

"In the eighth stage, the lists are again submitted to the Board for final approval.

"In the ninth stage, these lists are submitted to the Government for final approval. After the Government has accepted these lists, they are printed as standard and authentic lists of technical terms in Hindi."

Molestation of Girls

The *People*, June 26, refers to a recent incident in Lucknow when a girl was molested by students in a

bus and invites the attention of the guardians and teachers so that such shameful occurrences came to an end. It was all the more regrettable, the paper notes, that even college and university students should often be found guilty of such shameful conduct. The guilt was not of the students alone, the guardians and teachers had also a great measure of responsibility.

The *People* continues: "The present-day society is a hotch-potch of the modern and old. As such it is a period of uncertain transition. It is also correct to say that the effect of temptation from the other side should also not be minimised. Still to molest innocent girls in the streets, in the tramways or buses, is nothing short of a barbaric act and no amount of explanations can exonerate the crime. A very serious view should be taken of these outrages."

We thoroughly agree with the *People*. The guilty parties should be severely dealt with in future. It is about time people were made to realise that liberty and libertinism are not synonyms.

Hyderabad State Bank Affairs

The *Spectator*, a weekly news magazine, published from Hyderabad, in its issue of June 16 comes out with serious charges against the State Bank of Hyderabad with a demand for public enquiry into the Bank's affairs.

Shri P. N. Bam in an article in the magazine of even date writes that the recent downward trend of the shares of the State Bank of Hyderabad was an indication of the markets' opinion about the working of the Bank. As a fully paid-up Bank share with no reserve liability it should fare much better and ought to be considered a good catch at 120-125; but No! Investors do not care to touch the shares with a pair of tongs. What is really wrong?

According to Shri Bam, who had also addressed an open letter to President Rajendra Prasad over the affairs of the State Bank, the reckless lending policy followed by the directors of the State Bank of Hyderabad had led the Bank to heavy financial loss. It had been freely rumoured for a long time that "an amount of three to four crores out of the total advances was found to be not recoverable at short notice or on due date and that a tussle had started between the creditor Bank and its debtors wherein the latter had the upper hand."

Shri Bam writes: "There may be several debtors whose total assets put together (even including those of the Sureties) may not be found sufficient to realise the debt owed by them and whose total income from property, interest, dividends and business earnings may not be sufficient to pay the periodical instalments . . ." and that consequently around two crores of rupees would have to be written off as irrecoverable.

He continues: "A comparison of the credit limits during the years 1952, 1953, 1954, enjoyed by the

defaulting parties will bear out that the limits of advances to certain parties progressively increased in spite of huge debits standing to their accounts."

The Hyderabad State Bank came into being with the passage of Hyderabad State Bank Act, 1941, with guarantees from the Government for payment of interest at 3 per cent to the depositors. Until recently it had been acting as the Bankers to the Government of Hyderabad. Sometime ago the Inspection Branch of the Reserve Bank of India held an inspection of the Hyderabad State Bank, though it was not a Scheduled Bank.

The *Spectator* urges upon the Reserve Bank of India to publish the reports of inspection of the State Bank of Hyderabad reviewing the findings of that inspection. "It seems that only having two directors on the Board of Directors of the Bank is not enough to exercise sufficient check. There must be one or two checking officials on the executive staff if matters have to improve."

With reference to the impending nationalisation of the Bank the newspaper writes: "The Reserve Bank and the Government of India may now be asked whether they can afford to be so charitable as to shoulder at the very inception of the National Bank the heavy burden of the bad debts of the Hyderabad State Bank which run into several crores, the full recovery of which is extremely doubtful and whether for the future working of the Hyderabad Branch of the Indian State Bank they can safely rely upon the present set of executive officials and directors who have proved that they act irresponsibly and without the least regard for their duty as trustees of public money entrusted to their care."

Governmental "Efficiency"

The subjoined report published in the weekly *Spectator* in its issue of June 16, 1955, is highly illuminating:

"Trivandrum.—The Travancore-Cochin Government recently sanctioned maternity leave asked for over a year ago by a woman official of the Public Health Department.

"The child born to the official is now over ten months old.

"The leave was granted four days ago by the Chief Minister, Mr. P. Govinda Menon, to whom was finally forwarded a voluminous file from the Health Department containing the application. The Chief Minister has returned the file to the Secretary of the Department with a two-and-a-half page note calling for an explanation of this 'quick disposal' of the leave application."

No comment is necessary, we hope.

Rajasthan Punishes Corrupt Officials

The *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* welcomes the action of the Government of Rajasthan in summarily

suspending four Executive Engineers, an Assistant Engineer and two overseers of the State Public Works Department (PWD).

The suspension followed reports of negligence shown in the construction of a school-building at Ganga Nagar of Savai Madhopur district. "It was found that (i) roofs were leaking; (ii) as against the cement required to be used, the walls and the floors were plastered with a local soil variety; (iii) in many parts of the school building, the plaster had given away and fallen down; (iv) the walls in the school building had cracked at number of places." Nevertheless, in spite of warnings, bills of contractors were being regularly passed. Recounting the events leading to the action of the Rajasthan Government, the newspaper writes in conclusion: "It need hardly be emphasised that PWD's are among the most corrupt sections of our administration, and it is high time that this most important branch of the administration be corrected and improved as soon as possible. The best way to do this is to administer summary justice to the dishonest officials and contractors."

World's Tiniest Tribe

The *Weekly West Bengal* describes the measures adopted by the Government of West Bengal for the uplift of the tiniest tribe in the world, the Totos, who lived secluded in the Himalayan Tarai, the entire race living in just one hamlet. The Totos numbered only 314 and lived at Totapara, on Totapahar, Thana Madarihah in the Jalpaiguri district. The hamlet had an area of three and a quarter square miles of which about two-and-a-half miles were covered by thick jungles.

The Totos were well-built with broad and flat features, tanned skin, small and oblique eyes. They were a friendly people, shy and reserve but very intelligent, and wore fewer clothes but more ornaments than other tribes.

Indian Cultural Delegation to China

An Indian Cultural Delegation led by Shri Anil Kumar Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs of the Government of India, was currently touring China. The Delegation was given a warm welcome by the Chinese Government and people. From reports in the Chinese press it appeared that the delegation scored a great success in popularising Indian art and culture among the Chinese people and in cementing the age-long friendship of the two peoples.

The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, *The People's Daily* of Peking, in an editorial article on June 14 characterised the visit of the Indian Cultural Delegation as a "great event in the growth of friendly ties and cultural exchange between China and India."

The *Kwangming Daily* urged upon Chinese artistes to make a serious study of the Indian art music and

dancing. "From Indian art," the paper said, "indomitable strength of the Indian nation, its creativeness and abundant optimism can be clearly observed."

"To improve our own music and dance, it is important and necessary to learn from our Indian friends."

Ten Years of the United Nations

Ten years ago, on June 26, 1945, representatives of fifty nations signed the Charter of the United Nations expressing their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" and to create conditions for peaceful promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The signatories pledged to practise policies which were now expressed by the words "peaceful co-existence."

However, almost immediately after the signing of the Charter schism appeared among the United Nations and the cold war began followed by occasional interludes of "hot" war, in Indonesia, Kashmir, Korea, Indo-China and other places. None of the vital international questions referred to the UN could be settled by that body, because of the underlying power-political relations dividing the Big Five on whose unanimity the whole edifice of the United Nations rightly stood. The experience of ten years thus demonstrated more pointedly the indispensable need of the organization since in so far as the world could not survive a third atomic world war that war could hardly be prevented unless the Great Powers agreed on a policy of co-existence and peaceful competition of their wars. An organization like the United Nations was the ideal one to provide for the framework of such Big Power co-operation.

The main spring of the strength of the organization lay in its universality. If certain countries willing to subscribe to its aims and objects were debarred admission on the whims of one or other State, the organization could hardly fulfil its functions. The war in Korea, in Indo-China and in the Taiwan area exposed the utter ineffectiveness of the United Nations in Far Eastern affairs without the co-operation of China.

The eleventh year of the United Nations opened with good augury. No 'hot' war was raging anywhere in the world. The conclusion of a State Treaty on Austria, China's softened attitude on the Taiwan issue and the release of imprisoned airmen and the prospect of the Big Four meeting, considerably lessened the international tension.

Britain Retains India's Library

The India Office Library in London was one of the greatest oriental libraries in the world having 280,000 printed books and 20,000 rare and valuable

manuscripts in the English and oriental languages. The library contained, among other things, the business papers of the East India Company and its successor, the Board of Control and the Secretary of State for India, papers relating to the first surveys of the country and a valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books on all aspects of Indian life.

The question of the transfer of the library from London to India was first raised in 1947 when Premier Nehru assured of the Government's attention to the matter. Some preliminary steps were taken indeed but after some time the matter was allowed to drift until this year it was again taken up by the Union Ministry of Education. During the Pakistani Premier's talks in Delhi, discussions were held in May this year between the Pakistani Minister for Education, Colonel Abid Hasan, and the Union Minister for Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, over the future of the Library without any final decision being arrived at.

A joint communique was, however, issued recording the agreement between the two Ministers on the fact that "the Library belongs to the present Governments of India and Pakistan as successors to the Government of undivided India, and the question of the disposal of the Library is the concern of the two Governments and is to be settled by them."

After those discussions Maulana Azad left for Britain to negotiate with the British Government for a final settlement of the question of the transfer of the library to India. But before Maulana Azad's arrival the British Commonwealth Secretary, Lord Home, declared in the British House of Lords on June 13 that the British Government would not allow the Library to be divided or to be shifted outside Britain. "In the U. K. Government's view, the right course is that the Library should remain intact and in this country (Britain)," Lord Home said.

"But we would, of course, readily consider any suggestions that the Governments of India and Pakistan may wish to make to us as regards the detailed administration of, or access to the Library."

As regards the historical records that were the archives of the East India Company and the India Office, which were now in the custody of the Commonwealth Relations Office, the British Government's policy was to retain those in Britain, added Lord Home.

The *Vigil* (June 18) reports: "Recently the Committee of History of the Freedom Movement in India stated that historical records were not made available by the India Library authorities in London to authorized scholars and research workers."

Even before the recent declaration of the British Government, the New Delhi correspondent of the weekly *New Age* wrote on May 22 after summing up

the attitudes of the British press that the British Government would not be willing to give back the India Office Library. The correspondent wrote:

"The British authorities, it is feared, will raise every legal issue they can get hold of to retain the Library—including a 19th century precedent established by France and Germany over Alsace-Lorraine—and they would try their best to complicate the issue further by declaring that even Burma must have a say in the disposal of the Library (as one British paper has already done)."

Quadianis are not Muslims

A UPI report from Lahore, dated June 6, published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, says that the District Judge of Campbellpur, sitting at Rawalpindi, upheld the judgment of the Rawalpindi Civil Judge that Quadianis were not Muslims—and a Quadiani woman could not remain wife of a Muslim according to the Islamic *shariat*.

The report adds:

"This observation was made in a judgment on the application of the wife of Captain Naziruddin, for payment of dowry (*haq-mehr*).

"Captain Nazir and Umat-ul-Karim could not live happily and the woman went to her parents.

"Naziruddin divorced her on the plea that she was a Quadiani.

"She sued him for *haq-mehr*.

"The District Judge said: (1) Muslim theologians agree that Prophet Mohammed was the last prophet and no prophet was to follow him; (2) Muslim theologians also agree that whoever does not believe that Mohammed was the last prophet was outside the pale of Islam; (3) Muslim theologians also agree that Quadianis do not believe the 'last-hood' of the Prophet and are therefore non-Muslims."

The question remains, where stands Sir Zafrullah Khan, the champion of Pakistan at the U.N.?

Salk Vaccine

It is reported that the Government of India was considering the import of salk vaccine for anti-polio inoculation in India.

Over the salk vaccine ensued a controversy in the United States of America, the country of its origin, which unfortunately is not yet over. In view of that controversy and in the light of Britain's reported decision not to import salk vaccine now, some more consideration before deciding on bulk of imports of the vaccine would suggest itself as the best policy for the Government of India to follow.

In this connection the following comments of the British weekly, *Lancet*, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, is quite significant.

The *Lancet*, a famous journal, said that there was a small but definite risk in using the salk vaccine as a preventive against poliomyelitis or infantile

paralysis. The risk might be reduced very much by improved tests but there would still be fear that the tests might have failed to reveal the presence of every live virus and the occasional highly susceptible child might be given the disease by a vaccine which had passed the most vigorous testing.

"This risk must be weighed against the benefits, which at the moment seem to be a three or four-fold reduction in the chance of getting paralytic poliomyelitis in the year following vaccination—with presumably some protection for a much longer period, although the extent and duration of this are not yet known.

"In addition, there is the risk of unknown dimensions that repeated injection of the vaccine prepared from monkey kidney may eventually sensitise the child in some harmful way.

"This could conceivably have more serious consequences than accidental infections on which attention has naturally been fixed so far."

Indian Doctors in South Africa

The *Indian Opinion*, the weekly news magazine published from Natal, in its issue dated the 22nd April relates the story of two Indian doctors having been refused permission to practise in Orlando Native Township. The Minister of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that it was contrary to the policy of the Union Government to permit non-Natives to practise in Native areas.

The two doctors, Dr. A. B. Kazi and Dr. Z. E. Asrat, however, had earlier obtained permission in terms of the Urban Areas Act from the Johannesburg City Council to practise in the township but the Minister refused to grant such permission.

The *Indian Opinion* writes: "At a recent meeting of the Orlando Advisory Board the Native members complained that doctors were badly needed in the township. They passed a resolution asking the City Council to reconsider the decision. The Medical Association is investigating the matter."

Such is the way of democracy in the mid-twentieth century white civilisation of the Union of South Africa.

Indian Shops and Barbed Wire

The *Indian Opinion* writes on the 29th April: "The following report appeared (with a diagram) on the front page of the *Rand Daily Mail* on April 23. The newspaper deserves praise for giving full publicity to this case of rank injustice.

"A sturdy, three-hundred-yard-long barbed wire fence was put up at Badplaas this week. It has the effect of making it difficult for Whites to deal at two Indian shops near the Government Mineral Baths.

"At the same time the Transvaal provincial authorities have gazetted a notice proclaiming the road from the shops to the baths closed and opening a new road on the other side of the fence.

"The business of the Indians has fallen, but there is

still a trickle of buying over the fence. Even nine strands of barbed wire has not stopped that. The fence cuts across the road that used to serve the shops and passes within two feet of one of them. Now orders are shouted over the fence and the goods brought out.

"The building of the fence, in a way, also operates as a kind of 'Group Areas Act.' The Act could not be applied to the Indian shops at Badplaas, and no applications similar to those in other Transvaal towns, had been brought against them. The reason is that the Indians are nearly half-a-mile from the town on privately-owned ground.

"The first shot in the campaign came two years ago, when the main road from Barberton was rebuilt, skirting the Indian shops and allowing access to the baths by a new road. But business went on.

"A year later the Mineral Baths Committee erected corrugated iron road blocks on the old road. They were removed by the owner of the land, and no dispute was raised. This week the fence went up. Business is still going on.

"Since the new road was made eight people have been killed in motor accidents on the sharp turn, almost right angled, into the town itself—five Europeans and three Natives.

"The old gently curving road into the town had stood for 70 years. It was included in the farm when President Kruger donated Badplaas to the Transvaal Government. The shops were built in 1931 and have done substantial business with Europeans.

"Mrs. C. M. Cross, a well-known farmer in the area for the past 55 years and a customer at the store of one of the Indians since her arrival in the district, said that the erection of the fence was rather like the erection of a prisoners-of-war camp. "I now have a mile-and-a-half detour for my shopping and to collect goods offloaded at the store by the railway bus. I think this action is absolutely ridiculous. It is unnecessary and of no advantage to anybody."

Russo-Yugoslav Rapprochement

After seven years of strained relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia is became normal again with the signing in Belgrade of a joint declaration by the representatives of two Governments.

With the expulsion of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the Information Bureau of the (nine) Communist Parties of Europe (commonly alluded to as the Cominform) in June, 1948 for the "crime" of differing from the orthodox Soviet views on the development of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia, the relations of Yugoslavia with Soviet Union as with other Eastern European democracies, even on a purely diplomatic and commercial level, had become untenable, as a result of which all intercourse amongst the nations had completely ceased. The relations became unbelievably hostile and recriminating. After Stalin's death however some changes in Soviet attitude toward Yugoslavia became perceptible and the present rapprochement was the result.

The Leader of the Soviet Delegation to Yugoslavia for normalization of the relations between the two countries admitted in a speech at the Belgrade airport on May 26 that the treatment accorded to Yugoslavia had been all wrong and apologised for the injustice done to Yugoslavia. The Soviet leader Mr. Khrushchev ascribed the bad relations to the machinations of the late Laventri P. Beria and others. He said:

"It is our profound conviction that the time when our relations were clouded has gone. On our part we are willing to do everything necessary to remove all obstacles impeding the complete normalization of relations between our states and the consolidation of friendly relations between our people."

The *New York Times* Moscow correspondent writes that Western observers in Moscow were astonished by Mr. Khrushchev's statement. The reasons for the surprise, according to him, were:

"The completeness of Mr. Khrushchev's apology to Marshal Tito for what happened in 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform was unexpected.

"The declaration that Laventri P. Beria, the former Soviet security chief who was executed in 1953, and his henchmen were responsible for the bad relations that developed between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was completely unexpected. Nothing of that kind had ever been suggested before."

The joint declaration noted the "spirit of friendship and mutual understanding" in which the discussions had taken place. It spoke of the agreement of the two governments to take further measures for normalizing their relations and said that the two governments had proceeded from the principles of:

"Respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality between the states in their relations and in relations with other states;

"Recognition and development of peaceful co-existence between nations, irrespective of ideological differences and differences in social systems, which implies co-operation of all states in the sphere of international relations in general and economic and cultural relations in particular;

"Mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs for any reason—economic, political or ideological—, inasmuch as questions of the internal structure, difference in social systems and difference in concrete forms of the development of socialism are exclusively a matter for the peoples of the respective countries;

"Development of bilateral and international economic co-operation and the elimination of all the factors in economic relations which hamper trade and impede the development of the productive forces in the world and within the bounds of national economies;

"Discontinuation of any form of propaganda and misinformation and other actions which spread mistrust and in one way or another hamper the creation of an atmosphere for constructive international co-operation and peaceful co-existence among the nations;

"Condemnation of any aggression and any attempt to establish political and economic domination over other countries ;

, "Recognition of the fact that the policy of military blocs aggravates international tension, undermines confidence between the nations and increases the danger of war."

Economic ties between the two countries would be strengthened and economic co-operation expanded for which necessary steps would be taken. A cultural convention on cultural co-operation would be concluded with a view to developing cultural relations. A convention would also be concluded regarding an information service, which would ensure accurate and objective information to the people of the two countries, "in the spirit of the resolutions of the United Nations and on the basis of reciprocity as regards the status and privileges of the agencies of this service on the territory of each contracting party."

The Declaration also contained the agreement of the two governments to establish mutual co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

A treaty would be concluded with the object of settling questions of citizenship or correspondingly of repatriation of citizens of one of the contracting parties who were on the territory of the other party. The governments further "agreed on the necessity of guaranteeing the rights and protection of the citizens of one party on the territory of the other, understanding by this also the right of citizens to retain the citizenship which they had prior to the arrival on the territory of the other contracting party."

The U.S.S.R. delegation to Yugoslavia consisted of M. Nikita S. Khrushchev as the leader, Premier N. A. Bulganin, Deputy Premier, Anastas I. Mikoyan, M. D. T. Shepilov, editor-in-chief of the *Pravda* and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Deputy Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, P. N. Kurnykin.

Yugoslavia was represented by President Tito, Edward Kardelj, Alexander Rankovic and Svetozar Vukanovic-Tempo, all the three being Vice-Chairmen of the Federal Executive Vece (FEV) and several others.

On the eve of the Soviet-Yugoslav negotiations President Tito reiterated Yugoslavia's desire for continued co-operation with the West. Apparently on Yugoslav invitation representatives of the three Western Powers, Britain, France and the U.S.A. held discussions with Yugoslav Government in Belgrade from June 24 to 27. The discussions were on the ambassadorial level and discussed mainly aims and methods of Russian strategy in Europe.

Survey of American Economic Life

The United States had a productive economic system easily capable of attaining by 1960 a total national output of \$414,000 million, making possible an

average family income of more than \$6,000 per year, reveals a five-year economic study entitled *America's Needs and Resources: New Survey* by J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates.

Among the findings of the survey were the following, the *USIS* reports:

"American productivity is increasing so rapidly that if present rates continue in another century, the U.S. will be able to produce as much in one seven-hour day as it now produces in a forty-hour week.

"During the past century the U.S. rate of output has risen so fast that the average worker today produces nearly six times as much in an hour as the average worker did in 1850.

"At the present rate of growth, the United States will have a population of 177 million by 1960.

"While American productivity has steadily gone up, working hours have steadily gone down, from an average of 70 hours per week in 1850 to the forty-hour week of today.

"Leisure time for recreation for the average employed American has nearly doubled since 1900 and seems likely to increase still further."

The total manufacturing capacity of the United States had roughly doubled since 1940 and continued to expand.

The study concludes with the following words:

"The fabulous increase in output per man-hour over the past century and the marked lead which the United States holds . . . have not been achieved by working harder or more skillfully. The causes have been the steady expansion of our productive plant and our technological progress in devising superior techniques and processes and more and better machinery to multiply human effort through the use of vast amounts of inanimate energy."

There was, however, a decline in the national income of the United States in 1954. Compared with \$305,000 million in 1953 the national income in 1954 stood at \$300,000 million. Wage-earners and salaried employees of business and industry however continued to get a larger share of the national income. Their share reached a record high of 69.1 per cent in 1954.

The following table gives a percentage distribution of U.S. national income in 1929, 1939, 1953 and 1954:

	1929	1939	1953	1954
	%	%	%	%
Compensation of employees	58.2	66.1	68.6	69.1
Unincorporated business and professional men	10.2	10.2	8.6	8.6
Farm proprietors	6.8	5.9	4.0	4.0
Rental income of persons	6.2	3.7	3.5	3.6
Corporate profit before taxes	11.5	7.8	12.6	11.7
Net interest	7.1	6.3	2.7	3.0

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
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WHITHER UNIVERSITIES?

By Dr. P. J. CHAUDHURY, M.A., Ph.D.,

Department of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta

A study of the history of the Indian universities reveals their progress in three directions. First, towards assuming responsibilities of teaching, especially higher courses (B.A. Honours and Post-graduate) and of organising research work; secondly, towards freedom from State control in the matter of internal administration of the finances, appointment and promotion of the staff and of general policy; thirdly, towards greater democracy with more powers coming to be vested in the teachers. Now these features are encouraging from several aspects and it is expected that they will reach their perfection in a few years. This seems to be the only natural course for our universities to follow and it is of no use to find fault with it. Yet one cannot forbear pointing out certain clear defects of this course of development. These defects may be overbalanced by the virtues of this irresistible movement, still an acquaintance with the former side may sober down one's excessive jubilation over the latter side. A correct representation of the state of affairs and a just estimation of it is necessary at any event, at least for the sake of truth and mental clarity if not for any practical gain. With this attitude of mind we proceed to lay our fingers on some of the more glaring defects of the present course of development in the universities.

The first feature of the universities is their assuming responsibilities of teaching and organising research besides examining. This certainly is a good feature. But in the manner this responsibility has been actually realised so far by the several universities it ceases to be an unmixed good. So far as a university has taken up direct responsibility of the Honours and Post-graduate teaching and of research work in the science subjects and so far as it supervises to some extent the teaching in the affiliated colleges it is good. But so far as it takes up teaching of arts subjects in the higher classes and so far as these classes are big (as is the case of the universities of the big cities) its performance is not all for the good. The reasons are the following:

First: The students do not develop any sense of joy and responsibility of corporate life and loyalty to some ideal embodied in some concrete shape unless they belong to an institution for at least four years at a stretch and unless their number is such (below a certain limit) as to give each student a feeling that he really counts and belongs to it. In a big university

college these conditions are seldom realised. The students, in such an institution, therefore, do not imbibe any spirit of responsibility and loyalty and this tells upon their character and conduct and also explains their frequent indisciplined outbreaks. This does not generally happen in the case of science students whose number is usually less and who grow a team-spirit through their practical-work in the laboratories where they have ample opportunity to know one another, their teachers and their privileges as well as obligations. In any case the university cannot be blamed for its organising central teaching in science at the higher stage for this has to be done; the cost of laboratory equipment is too large to advise having more than one college in a city for this teaching.

Secondly: In teaching arts subjects like literature, philosophy, economics or history the teacher has to use more of his power of clear thinking and expression to be really helpful to the students. Teaching of science subjects is easier in this respect for these matters are more or less clear to start with, science being more or less descriptive and systematic. So that a big class in arts subjects at the higher stage is not advisable and it means much waste in communication. A teacher who has to shout while lecturing tends to be mechanical and the students too in such circumstances sink into a low state of intellectual sensitivity. Moreover, they cannot ask questions in the class and discuss intricate matters with the teacher. An arts class of the senior students should not contain more than fifteen of them to ensure effective teaching. Science classes are usually small, the limit to their capacity being exercised by the amount of laboratory equipment. So the problem usually does not arise there. And then it is possible to teach effectively a much bigger science class than an arts one as indicated above.

Thirdly: Centralising teaching of higher classes in one institution only, generally under the direct management of the university, denies a good many bright young teachers in different colleges the experience of teaching these classes, and, so, the full opportunities of developing themselves. The central teaching is managed mostly by the veterans who, no doubt, deserve this monopoly; but in certain respects the younger group might be more helpful to the students. Most of them have more vitality and

human interest in their work and are popular with the students. The veterans, with their superior wisdom and experience, usually tend to be a bit mechanical in their teaching. This is but natural when we consider the circumstances, that they, as a rule, teach the same subject year after year for fifteen to twenty years and generally do not refresh their knowledge with a study of the new developments in the particular subject. With age most of them become increasingly suspicious of anything new and, so, back-dated and cynical in the eyes of their youthful students and junior colleagues. Then the fact that the students cannot go over to other teachers to learn the same subject which he alone teaches in a big city and that they have to attend his class for 'percentage' as well as for notes and suggestions (for he is one of the examiners) helps his indifference to his subject and students. We, however, must point out that our generalisations are only rough. We are well aware that there are some veterans who keep up their vitality and human interest in their work and students all along while a good many young teachers do their jobs in a very mechanical and cynical fashion quite unworthy of them. For youth is spontaneity itself and a certain amount of idealism is its peculiar luxury.

What is needed then is to give a better opportunity to the deserving youthful teachers to teach higher classes and, so, to draw them into the teaching line and not drive them away from it by giving them only junior classes and, incidentally, a small pay. Most of them are lured away by the administrative services; the drudgery and hardship of a lecturer shouting to very big crowds of junior students for years together before they might have a chance in the central university to teach higher classes is too much for the idealism of many bright scholars. There should be some competitive examinations for direct recruitment of higher grade university teachers like those for administrators if we hold the education of the country as important as its administration. Teaching experience and research work should not count very much as qualifications for admission into the university as senior lecturers. For one's quality of the intellect is most important in this matter and by the time one gets a doctorate degree and gains several years' experience of teaching junior classes one may lose much of his original brilliance and zest for life and knowledge. And it is a fact that a good many scholars do not go in for a doctorate or publish books so readily as others do. To provide a good portion of our promising young teachers we should have higher teaching in more than one institution in a large city. Instead of packing all the students in one big class let them be distributed over two or three small classes in different colleges. That will also ensure better quality of teaching and also better discipline and other character-building virtues for the students, as shown before. The extra cost involved in

this procedure will not be wasted, it will give good return and at least will maintain some scholars whose number should increase in free India if she is to show some real work in the field of knowledge and culture. A free nation is judged ultimately by its contribution to knowledge and culture; a good administration and economic sufficiency are not enough for her though these are essential.

We next consider the other two features of the development of the universities, viz., their freedom from State control and their democratisation. The combined result of these has been to give more power in the hands of the teachers themselves. This is good in one respect but bad in another. For, teachers now are busy forming parties and canvassing votes and doing other things that these naturally involve. This is a distraction for them but, urged by love of worldly power and fame, many begin to love it and lose thereby their distinctive character and prestige as scholar-teachers. Thus says the *Radhakrishnan Report* (Vol. I, p. 70):

"With the introduction of democratic control and of elections in our universities there has grown a tendency among teachers to interest themselves more in the administrative affairs of the university than in their legitimate duties. We are told that in several cases teacher-politicians have succeeded better in their careers than teachers who have devoted themselves to teaching and scholarship. The success of teacher-politicians who manipulate elections and get for themselves influential and lucrative positions in their own or sister universities is largely responsible for the deterioration of the morals of teachers and of academic standards of the universities."

Teachers certainly gain some prestige in managing their administration, their finances, appointments and promotion, and of course they should be managing them in a democratic manner for greater justice, yet the price they pay for self-government and democracy is rather too heavy for them. The price is their distraction from their studies, loss of mental equanimity and of prestige in the eyes of the society which loves to think of them as a class apart, wise and just, and a bit above worldly interests. Forsaking all worldly gains and power the scholar-teachers, like the Brahmins of ancient India, can realise their peculiar riches and power. The modern university teachers are compromising their position and perhaps they should themselves hand over their new responsibilities to their administrators whom they may help as advisory experts in technical matters. "One man one job," said Plato, and the job of a scholar-teacher, if taken seriously enough, is literally endless, at least much too heavy to allow him to dabble in administration. Some teachers, if they find in them administrative abilities, may take up educational administration after their retirement from teaching but they should not, either directly or indirectly, get them

selves interested in these extra-academic matters. The separation of the teaching and the educational administration, such as is to be found in some cases (e.g., West Bengal Government Colleges) is healthy in many respects. The teacher has not got to involve himself in the business of manipulation of elections for his promotion and preferences and in party-politics which are the gifts of democracy.

We have finished our review and we can imagine how odd it may sound in the ears of the progressive readers, particularly if they are teachers themselves. But, as we have said at the outset, we do not contend that the defects of the modern movement outweigh the virtues or that we have to fight it. We have only pointed out what we feel are the defects and the

generalisations we have made in the course of our discussion are all rough and tentative and open to correction. We have spoken for having smaller classes in arts subjects at the higher standards, for giving better scope to bright scholars in higher teaching and for the separation of the administration of higher education from the influence of teachers who are increasingly getting involved in extra-academic matters. We only request the educationists to consider our points and though matters may have to be allowed to take their natural course, for there may be many other factors to be considered which we have not done here, yet the points may still hold and have their value in clarifying relevant issues.

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IS OUR PLANNING BECOMING TOTALITARIAN

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Planning Commission have recently published some preliminary papers relating to the "tentative frame-work" of the Second Five-Year Plan, for eliciting public opinion and inviting constructive suggestions on different aspects of the proposed plan. In one of the papers, Prof. Mahalanobis, Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Statistical Adviser to the Government of India, has submitted his "draft recommendations" for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan. In another paper, the panel of economists headed by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, have published "basic considerations" relating to the "plan-frame." While these tentative discussions and proposals have been welcomed in general, a few sections of public opinion have vehemently criticised the "basic approach" of Prof. Mahalanobis and other economists including Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. *Freedom First*, which is the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, has dubbed these economists as Communists or "fellow travellers" and expressed great concern over the so-called totalitarian trends in the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan. "This highly centralised totalitarian kind of planning," writes the Organ, "is now slowly taking place behind closed doors" with the help of "experts from the Iron Curtain countries." It is pointed out that emphasis on the building up of heavy industries would necessarily lead to "the merciless exploitation of the people and rise of the Police State." The Organ has also criticised the recent amendment of the Indian Constitution relating to the Article 31, on the ground that "the Fundamental Right to property which was enshrined in the Constitution has been destroyed." Although the writer takes note of a number of recent utterances of Prime Minister Nehru to the effect that "India would not sacrifice democratic

institution at the altar of economic progress," he ends on a note of suspicion that "the dark activities of communist and near-communist statisticians, and economists have an uncanny way of finding easy access to his (Prime Minister's) ear and mind."

It is true that Planning in modern times tends towards over-centralisation of political and economic power resulting in the curtailment of individual liberties to a considerable extent. In fact, there is a school of thought led by Prof. Hayek which regards economic planning as a "road to serfdom." But this is, surely, an extreme view. We should not lose sight of the fact that India has taken upon herself one of the greatest challenges of modern times, namely, to plan out her social and economic life under a democratic set-up through peaceful and non-violent methods. The Prime Minister has reiterated this view a number of times beyond any shadow of doubt or confusion. After his visit to China, Shri Nehru, in the course of several speeches, made it abundantly clear that although he was deeply interested in the progress of China there was absolutely no question of imitating the political and economic organisation of China. India was wedded to the methods of peace and democracy, although she did not want to interfere with the systems prevailing in other countries.

"I think that in the long run," observed Shri Nehru, "the democratic and peaceful method is more successful even from the point of view of time and much more so from the point of view of results."

The Avadi resolution on the Socialistic Pattern, while emphasizing the role of the public sector, made it amply clear that "the private sector will continue to have importance," because the private sector in India

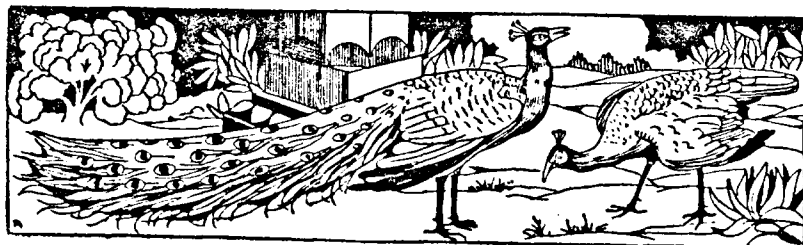
would necessarily include agriculture and small-scale and cottage industries. This point has been further clarified in the course of a recent speech of the Prime Minister in the Congress Parliamentary Party in connection with the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank. At the A.I.C.C. Session at Berhampur, Shri Nehru emphatically declared that the slogan of "nationalisation" was not going to solve India's economic problems. The basic or mother industries have to be nationalised, of course; but the consumer goods industries should be decentralised on a very wide scale in the form of co-operatives.

As the Berhampur resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan pointed out, it will be necessary to organise for a "great development of small-scale and village industries which have to play a role of crucial importance both in relation to providing fuller employment and for the purpose of ensuring an adequate supply of consumer goods." The tentative frame-work of the Second Five-Year Plan, as published by the Planning Commission, visualises co-operative effort and not collectivisation and nationalisation in the important sectors of land and village industries which would naturally constitute a substantial portion of India's economic development for many years to come. The fears regarding totalitarianism and centralisation are, therefore, unfounded and should not be allowed to cloud our vision.

We are, indeed, extremely surprised to find that the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has attacked the recommendations of the "statisticians and economists" on the ground that the Second Five-Year Plan proposes "to reserve the new production of consumer goods for hand and cottage industries and to prevent any further expansion of factory production in that sphere." "The net result of the decision," writes the Organ, "will be the smothering of free enterprise, a famine of consumer goods and the tying down of millions of workers to primitive and soul-deadening techniques." This opposition to small and village industries makes the position of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom very untenable and even ludicrous. On the one hand, they oppose large-scale production

on the ground that it would result in regimentation and totalitarianism, and, on the other, they condemn village industries because their development would leave very little scope for large-scale factory production in the private sector. This clearly shows that the Indian Committee is mainly interested in the well-being of the private sector of the capitalists in the country. They are opposed both to the nationalisation of key industries as well to the expansion of small and cottage industries and desire to raise the bogey of "totalitarianism" in order to create confusion in the public mind.

Let me repeat once again that the mind of the Congress and the Government of India is not a communist or a semi-communist or totalitarian mind; it is also not a capitalist or American mind which always thinks in terms of private enterprise and regards private property as sacrosanct. India is determined to follow the path of peace, non-violence and democracy, as chalked out by the Father of the Nation. We desire to abolish poverty and unemployment from this country within the next ten years through large-scale planning of small, village and cottage industries with the active help and co-operation of village Panchayats and local bodies. It is gratifying to know that the Community Projects Administration has recently decided to strengthen their activities through the organisation of Gram Panchayats as basic units of administration and planning. Our objective, therefore, is to conquer hunger and unemployment by a process of bold decentralisation of political and economic power and not by following totalitarian or regimented methods of socialist or communist countries. That is why we purposely avoided the terms "Socialism" in the Avadi resolution and used the new phrase "Socialist Pattern of Society." Our socialism would be of the Gandhian or Sarvodaya type and not of the Communist pattern. The Congress has not wanted to exploit a high ideal and a noble word for political purposes. But there is no doubt whatsoever that our ultimate ideal is the Sarvodaya Pattern of Society and not the highly-regimented and totalitarian type of State. Let there be no mistake about it.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VI) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom (Continued)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjee Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In our preceding article¹ in this series we have chiefly discussed, by way of an introduction, the general question of personal freedom *vis-a-vis* social control, with special reference to the position in this regard in the United States of America and England. We shall now begin, in the light of this discussion, the consideration of the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22 of our Constitution.

II

We shall first take up Article 19 of the Constitution. This Article is rightly regarded as one of the most important Articles in the Constitution. As, however, the Article is a long one and comprises as many as six clauses, we propose, for the sake of convenience, to deal with it clause by clause. But we may indicate here the plan of the Article. Clause (1) of the Article is a statement of seven specific rights of the Indian citizen. It runs as follows:

- "19. (1) All citizens shall have the right—
- (a) to freedom of speech and expression;
 - (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms;
 - (c) to form associations or unions;
 - (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;
 - (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;
 - (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and
 - (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

These rights, however, are not absolute: they are hedged about with qualifications. And Clauses (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) of the Article, to be quoted hereinafter as occasion arises, specify the limits up to which the abridgment of the rights may be permitted and their exercise may be lawfully allowed. Thus they circumscribe, as it were, "the field of permissible restrictive legislation." As Das J. of the Supreme Court of India has stated:²

"If there were nothing else in Article 19 these rights would have been absolute rights and the protection given to them would have completely debarred Parliament or any of the State Legislatures from making any law taking away or abridging any of those rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes it abundantly clear that none of the seven rights enumerated in Clause (1)³ is an absolute right, for

each of these rights is liable to be curtailed by laws made or to be made by the State to the extent mentioned in the several Clauses (2) to (6) of that article. Those clauses save the power of the State to make laws imposing certain specified restrictions on the several rights. The net (sic) result is that the unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 (of the Constitution) read with the different legislative lists in the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) is cut down by the provisions of Article 19 and all laws made by the State, with respect to these rights must, in order to be valid, observe these limitations. Whether any law has, in fact, transgressed these limitations is to be ascertained by the Court and if in its view the restrictions imposed by the law are greater than what is permitted by Clauses (2) to (6) whichever is applicable the Court will declare the same to be unconstitutional and, therefore, void under Article 13⁴ (of the Constitution). Here . . . there is scope for the application of the 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court. If, however, the Court finds, on scrutiny, that the law has not overstepped the constitutional limitations, the Court will have to uphold the law, whether it likes the law or not."

III

We shall now, first, deal with Clause (1)(a) of Article 19 which declares, as shown before, that "all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression." The exercise of this basic right of individual freedom, however, is subject to the requirements of Clause (2) of Article 19, which, as it stands today, lays down:

"Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

Now, what does the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in Clause (1)(a) really mean? Does it also include what is compendiously referred, to as the "freedom of the Press"? As will appear from what follows, it does. There was an interesting discussion of this point in the Constituent Assembly of India when Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India, was considered by the Constituent Assembly.⁵ It was held by one member⁶ of the

1. Published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1955.

2. See *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 294.

3. Of Article 19.

4. See in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

5. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 1st and 2nd December, 1948.

Assembly that Article 13, as then worded, appeared "to have been clumsily drafted," that it made "one significant omission" and that was "about the freedom of the press"; and that it seemed "desirable and proper, therefore, that the freedom of the Press should be mentioned separately and explicitly." Another member was "amazed" that such "a very glaring omission" had taken place in the Draft Constitution of India as "the leaving out" of the expression "the freedom of the Press." He could not imagine why the "draftsmen, so experienced and so seasoned, should have felt it desirable to leave out the freedom of the Press, and leave to the charity of the administrators of the Constitution when occasion arose to include it by convention or implication, and not by express provision."

This criticism appears to have been based on a misconception of the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in the Draft Constitution. As it was rightly pointed by another member,⁶ "freedom of expression" also meant the freedom of the Press. And Dr. B. R. Ambedkar clenched the issue when he said:⁷

"The Press is merely another way of stating an individual or a citizen. The Press has no special rights which are not to be given or which are not to be exercised by the citizen in his individual capacity. The editor of a Press or the manager are all citizens (*sic*) and therefore when they choose to write in newspapers, they are merely exercising their right of expression, and in my judgment therefore no special mention is necessary of the freedom of the Press at all."

As we have seen before,⁸ this is also, in effect, the position of the Press⁹ in English constitutional law.

We also find a virtual endorsement of the view of Dr. Ambedkar in the Report of the (Indian) Press Commission, 1954.

"The expression 'freedom of the Press,' says the Report,¹⁰ 'has been understood in various senses' by different persons. It has not been defined or referred to in the Constitution. Article 19 of the Constitution deals with one of the fundamental rights, viz., right to different kinds of freedoms, and Clause (1)(a) thereof says:

'All citizens shall have the right—(a) to freedom of speech and expression.'

"This freedom is stated in wide terms and includes not only freedom of speech which manifests itself by oral utterance, but freedom of expression, whether such expression is communicated by written word or printed matter. Thus freedom of the Press, particularly of newspapers and periodicals, is a species of which the freedom of expression is a genus. There can, therefore, be no doubt that freedom of the Press is included in the fundamental right of the freedom of expression guaranteed to the citizens under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution."

And we find in the judgment of our Supreme Court in *Romesh Thappar v. The State of Madras* that "there can be no doubt that freedom of speech and expression includes freedom of propagation of ideas, and that freedom is ensured by the freedom of circulation."¹¹ The Supreme Court approvingly quotes in this connexion an extract from an American judgment¹² to say:

"Liberty of circulation is as essential to that freedom¹³ as the liberty of publication. Indeed, without circulation the publication would be of little value."

Thus the expression "freedom of speech and expression" has a much wider meaning than what appears on the face of it.

Before, however, we deal with Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today, we should like to say a few words about its history. Originally it did not exist in its present form. It was substituted, with a retrospective effect, by Section 3 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, for the original Clause 2 of Article 19, which ran as follows:

"19.(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State."

It may be noticed from this provision that the permissible legislative restrictions on the right of freedom of speech and expression were originally, as the Press Commission has rightly pointed out,¹⁴ only "in respect of libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court, offences against decency or morality, and offences against the security of the State." The replacement of the original Clause (2) by a new Clause (2) was, it appears, necessitated by certain judicial decisions¹⁵—particularly by the judgments¹⁶ of

our Supreme Court, delivered on 26th May, 1950, in *Romesh Thappar v. The State of Madras* and *Brij Bhushan and Another v. The State of Delhi*, as well as by the (majority) judgment¹⁷ of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court, delivered on 13th October, 1950, in the matter of the *Bharati Press*. As a result of these judicial decisions, certain laws, or certain provisions of certain laws, however valid they might have been before the Constitution of India came into force, became unconstitutional and, therefore, null and void as they were found to be inconsistent with some of our Fundamental Rights.¹⁸ Thus, for instance, in the *Romesh Thappar* case the Supreme Court declared on 26th May, 1950, Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949, as "wholly unconstitutional and void."¹⁹ Further, the Supreme Court made a clear distinction in this case between legislation for "the maintenance of the security of the State" and legislation for the "maintenance of public order."²⁰ In delivering the judgment of the majority²¹ of the Judges in the case, Patanjali Sastri J. stated,²² among other things:

"The Constitution (of India), in formulating the varying criteria for permissible legislation imposing restrictions on the fundamental rights enumerated in Article 19(1), has placed in a distinct category those offences against public order which aim at undermining the security of the State or overthrowing it, and made their prevention the sole justification for legislative abridgment of freedom of speech and expression, that is to say, nothing less than endangering the foundations of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the rights to freedom of speech and expression . . . The differentiation is also noticeable in Entry 3 of List III (Concurrent List) of the Seventh Schedule, which refers to the 'security of a State' and 'maintenance of public order' as distinct subjects of legislation. The Constitution thus requires a line to be drawn in the field of public order or tranquillity marking off, may be, roughly, the boundary between those serious and aggravated forms of public disorder which are calculated to endanger the security of

the State and the relatively minor breaches of the peace of a purely local significance, treating for this purpose differences in degree as if they were differences in kind. It is also worthy of note that the word 'sedition' which occurred in Article 13(2)²³ of the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee was deleted before the article was finally passed as Article 19(2) . . . Deletion of the word 'sedition' from the draft Article 13(2) . . . shows that criticism of Government exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards it is not to be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press, unless it is such as to undermine the security of, or tend to overthrow, the State."

"Thus," continued Patanjali Sastri J., "very narrow and stringent limits have been set to permissible legislative abridgement of the right of free speech and expression, and this was doubtless due to the realization that freedom of speech and of the Press lay at the foundation of all democratic organisations, for without free political discussion no public education, so essential for the proper functioning of the processes of popular government, is possible. A freedom of such amplitude might involve risks of abuse. But the framers of the Constitution may well have reflected, with Madison who was 'the leading spirit in the preparation of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution,' that 'it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits'.²⁴"

"We are therefore of opinion," said²⁵ Patanjali Sastri J. finally, "that unless a law restricting freedom of speech and expression is directed solely against the undermining of the security of the State or the overthrow of it, such law cannot fall within the reservation under Clause (2) of Article 19, although the restrictions which it seeks to impose may have been conceived generally in the interests of public order."²⁶ It follows that Section 9(1-A) (of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949), which authorises imposition of restrictions for the wider purpose of securing public safety or the maintenance of public order falls outside the scope of authorised restrictions under Clause (2) (of Article 19), and is therefore void and unconstitutional . . . Where a law purports to authorise the imposition of restrictions on a fundamental right in language wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting such right, it is not possible to uphold it even so far as it may be applied within

of Punjab (the Punjab High Court), *The Bharati Press: Sm. Shaila Bala Devi v. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar* (the Patna High Court), and in *Bynes v. The State of Madras* (the Madras High Court).—See *Parliamentary Debates* (Parliament of India) Official Report, 18th May, 1951.

19. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August 1950, pp. 594-620.

20. In the matter of the *Bharati Press: Sm. Shaila Bala Devi v. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar—A.I.R.* (38) Patna 12, 1951: Special Bench.

21. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951.

22. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 594-603.

23. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951; also *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, pp. 361-62.

24. Consisting of Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjee, and Das J.J., Fazl Ali J. dissenting.

25. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 601-603.

26. Corresponding to Article 19(2) of the Constitution of India.

27. Quoted in *Near v. Minnesota*: 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

28. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 602-603.

29. "Public Order," observed Patanjali Sastri J., "is an expression of wide connotation and signifies that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established."—*Ibid.*, p. 598.

6. Shri Damodar Swarup Seth (U.P.: General).

7. Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General).

8. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras: General).

9. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948, p. 780.

10. See *The Modern Review* for May, 1955, pp. 368-69.

11. "By 'press' is meant generally, though not exclusively, newspapers and periodicals."—Wade in *Dicey's Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 585.

12. See *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, New Delhi, p. 357.

13. See *ibid.*, pp. 357-58.

14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 597.

15. *Ex parte Jackson* (96 U.S. 727)—See *ibid.*

16. I.e., freedom of speech and expression.

17. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para 966.

18. In *Romesh Thappar v. The State of Madras* and *Brij Bhushan and Another v. The State of Delhi* (the Supreme Court of India); *Master Tara Singh's case* and *Amarnath Bali v. The State*

the constitutional limits, as it is not severable. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly unconstitutional and void. In other words, Clause (2) of Article 19 having allowed the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression only in cases where danger to the State is involved, an enactment, which is capable of being applied to cases where no such danger could arise, cannot be held to be constitutional and valid to any extent."

This judicial pronouncement along with the judgment³⁰ of the Supreme Court in *Brij Bhushan and Another v. The State of Delhi* which was materially influenced by its judgment in the *Romesh Thappar* case, had far-reaching legal implications as, under Article 141 of our Constitution, the law declared by the Supreme Court is "binding on all courts within the territory of India." Thus we find Sarjoo Prasad J. observing in the course of his judgment in the matter of the *Bharati Press*³¹ referred to before:

"I am compelled to observe that from the above discussions of the Supreme Court judgments (in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case), it follows logically that if a person were to go on inciting murder or other cognisable offences either through the Press or by word of mouth, he would be free to do so without impunity inasmuch as he would claim the privilege of exercising his fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression. Any legislation which seeks or would seek to curb this right of the person concerned would not be saved under Article 19(2) of the Constitution and would have to be declared void. This would be so, because such speech or expression on the part of the individual would fall neither under libel nor slander nor defamation nor contempt of Court nor any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of or tends to overthrow the State. I cannot with equanimity contemplate such an anomalous situation but the conclusion appears to be unavoidable on the authority of the Supreme Court judgments with (sic) which we are bound. I, therefore, wish that my decision on the point would sooner than ever come to be tested by the Supreme Court itself and the position re-examined in the light of the anomalous situation pointed out above."

Ramaswami J. also stated³² in the course of his judgment in the case under consideration that, although the different categories of offences in Indian criminal law did "overlap to a certain extent," yet "it is plain that the offences of murder and of violence form a distinct category from offences which tend to overthrow or undermine the security of the State."

30. Judgment, again, of the majority consisting of Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjea and Das JJ., Paul All J., dissenting.

31. See A.I.R. (38) 1951, Patna 12, Special Bench.

32. See *ibid.*

A substantially similar view was expressed later on by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, in the Parliament of India. Referring to the situation created by the judicial decisions we have mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar said in Parliament on 18th May, 1951:³³

"What I want to ask the House to consider is, what is the effect of these decisions of the Supreme Court and the various High Courts in the States? . . . Under the decisions of the Provincial High Courts to which I had (have?) referred it is now open to anybody to incite, encourage, tend to incite or encourage, the commission of any offence of murder or any cognisable offence involving violence. The one question that I would like the House to consider is this. Is it a satisfactory position that any person should now be free to incite or encourage the commission of offences of murder or any cognisable offence involving violence? I want the House to consider this matter dispassionately. Is it a desirable state of affairs that our Constitution should leave us in this desperate position that we could not control the right of free speech which has been granted by Clause (1) of Article 19 and it should be so unlimited that any person should be free to preach murder or the commission of any cognisable offence? I have tried to put the matter in a nutshell. That is the position."

He added:

"The same thing has now occurred with regard to the public safety laws or the laws made by the various States for the maintenance of public order, because they also have been held by the Supreme Court to be not open to any limitation by virtue of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has made a distinction between the security of the State and the maintenance of public order. They say that it may be open for Parliament to make a law for the security of the State, but it is not open to Parliament to make a law for the maintenance of public order. There again I wish the House to consider the matter seriously. Is the House prepared to allow the right of freedom of speech and expression to be so untrammelled, to be so unfettered, that any man can say anything and go scot-free, although such speech creates public disorder? If the judgments of the Supreme Court and the High Courts stand as they are, then the only consequence that follows is that we shall never be able to make a law, which would restrict the freedom of speech in the interests of public order and that we shall never be able to make a law which would put a restraint upon incitement to violence."

In view of what we have shown above, there should not be any reasonable doubt that there was, after the judicial pronouncements we have referred to before, a very strong case for the amendment of Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood. But

33. See *Parliamentary Debates* (India: Official Report), 18th May, 1951, pp. 9008-9010.

whether the amendment should have taken the exact form it actually did, is a matter on which there may be some legitimate difference of opinion. Before, however, we deal with this point, it may perhaps be interesting to note here the remarks of the Supreme Court on the observations of Sarjoo Prasad J. which we have quoted before. The decision of the majority of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court in the matter of the *Bharati Press* which had allowed the application of the petitioner Sm. Shailabala Devi³⁴ against the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had been carried by the State of Bihar to the Supreme Court by way of appeal. In the course of this judgment in this appeal case in which Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, Das, and Bose JJ. concurred, Mahajan J. remarked,³⁵ with reference to the observations of Sarjoo Prasad J. mentioned before:

"These observations—I speak with great respect—disclose a complete lack of understanding of the precise scope of the two decisions of this Court referred to above (i.e., the decisions in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case). . . . It is plain that speeches or expressions on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage the commission of violent crimes, such as murder, cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of a law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution. I cannot help observing that the decisions of this Court in '*Romesh Thappar's* case' . . . and in '*Brij Bhushan's* case' . . . have been more than once misapplied and misunderstood . . . The deduction that a person would be free to incite to murder or other cognizable offence through the Press with impunity drawn from our decision in '*Romesh Thappar's* case' . . . could easily have been avoided as it was avoided by Shearer J."³⁶

With all due deference to His Lordship, we find it rather difficult to agree with this view. On the other hand, we feel that there is a good deal of force in the following remarks³⁷ of the majority of the Press Commission of which Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha was the Chairman:

"It has been argued that the Constitution (of India) was amended in somewhat 'indecent haste'—without waiting to see whether the Supreme Court

upheld the view of the Patna High Court in the *Bharati Press* case, and that if they (sic) had so waited, there would have been no necessity to amend the Constitution, as the Patna High Court view, which was the immediate occasion for taking up the amendment of the Constitution, was rejected by the Supreme Court. We are not sure that this argument is altogether correct. It is true that the Supreme Court did disapprove the observations of Sarjoo Prasad J. Their Lordships said that their earlier decision in *Romesh Thappar's* case . . . and *Brij Bhushan's* case . . . had been misapplied and misunderstood and proceeded to observe: 'It is plain that speeches or expressions on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage commission of violent crimes, such as murder cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution.' Having already drawn a distinction between the 'security of State' and 'public order' and having stated that 'nothing less than endangering (the) foundation of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the right to freedom of speech and expression,' it is difficult to see, with the utmost respect to their Lordships, how incitement by any individual in a remote village to commit a violent crime, such as murder, out of personal spite, is likely to undermine the security of the State . . . (Their) interpretation, though it may have granted constitutional validity under the original Article 19(2) of the Constitution to legislation restricting freedom of speech with regard to 'aggravated forms of prejudicial activity' or even 'commission of a violent crime like murder which would undermine the security of State,' . . . still left uncovered the large field of 'public order' and incitement to other and not so aggravated forms of crimes which did not endanger the security of State—such as incitement to the commission of offences of robbery, dacoity, rioting and a host of others. In our opinion, therefore, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala's* case would not have dispensed with the necessity of amending Article 19(2) of the Constitution. Indeed, in the (?) *Shailabala's* case itself the Supreme Court has finally relied³⁸ on the retrospective effect given to the new amendment in upholding the validity of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 . . . The Supreme Court judgment does not do away with the necessity for the amendment."

We agree with this view³⁹ of the majority of the

34. Keeper of the *Bharati Press* at Purulia. On 8th September, 1949, the Governor of Bihar had, in the "exercise of the powers conferred" upon him by the Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931, ordered Sm. Shaila Bala Devi "to make a deposit of Rs. 2000 with the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum."—A.I.R. (38) 1951 (12): Special Bench.

35. A.I.R. 1952 Supreme Court 329: *The State of Bihar, Appellant v. Shrimati Shailabala Devi, Respondent*.

36. Shearer J. of the Patna High Court did not agree with the judgment of the majority of the Special Bench (Sarjoo Prasad and Ramaswami JJ.) in the matter of the *Bharati Press*.—A.I.R. (38) 1951 Patna 12, Special Bench.

37. See the Report of the Press Commission, Part 1, 1954, paras 969 and 931.

38. Reference here is to the following observation of Mahajan J. in *The State of Bihar v. Shailabala Devi*: "Be that as it may, the matter is now concluded by the language of the amended Article 19(2) made by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act (151) which is retrospective in operation, and the decision of the High Court on this point cannot be sustained."—A.I.R. 1952 Supreme Court 329.

39. I.e., the view held by seven out of eleven members of the Press Commission.

Press Commission, and not with the view⁴⁰ of the minority of the Commission that "the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala* case knocked out the major premise for Government's case for amending the Constitution." As we have indicated before, we feel that the judgments of the Supreme Court in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brijbhushan* case created some big—and we may add, dangerous—lacunae in our system of laws, and much mischief might be committed if these lacunae were not duly filled up by a suitable constitutional amendment. Herein lies the main justification of the amendment of 1951 so far as freedom of speech and expression was concerned.

Let us now analyse the new amendment. It may be noticed that under it, as compared with Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood, the additional heads in respect of which legislative restrictions can be imposed on the right of freedom of speech and expression are (1) 'friendly relations with foreign States,' (2) 'public order,' and (3) 'incitement to an offence.' We shall first deal with the heads 'public order' and 'incitement to an offence.' In a sense these two heads are mutually complementary. Some persons have objected to the use of the expression 'public order' on the ground⁴¹ that it is capable of a multiplicity of interpretations, or 'of the widest possible definition.' We are unable to agree with this view fully, although we admit that there is some force in it. According to our Supreme Court, 'public order' "signifies" that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established." This meaning of 'public order' substantially agrees with a view of Order we find in John Stuart Mill.⁴² "Order," he has said, "means the preservation of peace by the cessation of private violence. Order is said to exist where the people of the country have, as a general rule, ceased to prosecute their quarrels by private force, and acquired the habit of referring the decision of their disputes and the redress of their injuries to the public authorities." Order in this sense is a prerequisite of good government and a condition of progress. No civilised society can properly function without this peace or order. It is also worthy of note here that the expression 'public order' has occurred in Clauses (3) and (4) of Article 19 of our Constitution from its very commencement on the 26th of January,

40. I.e., the view held by four out of eleven members of the Press Commission. See paras 1141-43 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

41. See para. 1145 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954; also *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th May, 1951, p. 8843.

42. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 598.

43. See his *Representative Government*, Chapter II.

1950. Besides, in some other civilised countries like, for instance, Eire and the Union of Burma, the exercise of what is deemed as fundamental rights is generally subject, directly or indirectly, to the requirements of public order and morality. In some countries, again, as in Mexico, the term actually used is 'public peace.' There is, however, hardly any difference, in essence, between the implications of the two terms 'public peace' and 'public order,' although the latter appears to be an expression of wider connotation. Moreover, in our preceding article in this series we have seen the position in law, so far as the right to freedom of speech and expression is concerned, in the United States of America and England. As the majority of the Press Commission have rightly observed, the Supreme Court of the United States "would uphold any law which purported to punish utterances inimical to public welfare, tending to incite crime or to disturb the public peace."⁴⁴ And, finally, we find in Article 29 of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December, 1948:

"Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."⁴⁵

Thus we find that 'public order' or 'public peace' is a generally accepted juristic expression. We, therefore, do not think that there should be any serious objection to the retention of the expression 'public order' in Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today. Nor do we think that the substitution⁴⁶ of the expression "for the prevention of public disorder" for the expression "in the interests of public order" in the said Clause (2) would be an improvement upon the present position. It would then create the problem of defining the word 'disorder' as a legal term.

44. See para. 985 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

It may also be noted in this connexion that in the following States of the United States of America a citizen may freely speak, write, or publish whatever he wills on any subject, being, however, responsible for the abuse of this liberty: Maine, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Iowa, Nevada, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Texas, Virginia, Colorado, and Kentucky.—See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 596-99n.

45. The italics are ours.

46. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951; also *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, paras. 988, 1145, 1162, and 1526.

We shall now say a few words about the expression "incitement to an offence" in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. It may be interesting to note here that it had been suggested⁴⁷ in our Parliament that the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence" should be substituted for the expression "incitement to an offence" in the proposed amendment. What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated in this connexion is worthy of note here. He said:⁴⁸

"I will now deal with the question of confining 'incitement' to violence and I want my friends, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and also Pandit Kunzru to pay some attention to what I am saying and I will take some very particular cases. First of all, I would like to know whether they are in a position to give a precise definition of the meaning of the word 'violence'. What is 'violence'? Is it to be confined merely to physical violence? . . . Have they been able to give us any precise definition which would enable the legislature and the court to know that this is violence and this is not violence? I cannot find any . . . I come now to specific instances. Supposing, for instance, there is trouble—I am giving some concrete cases which have happened—and there is trouble between the Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus in a particular village and the Caste Hindus conspire together to proclaim a social boycott on the Scheduled Castes, preventing them from obtaining any kind of supplies, preventing them from going into the fields, preventing them from going into the jungles to collect fuel, then I want to know from Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Pandit Kunzru whether they want this, as an offence, to be regarded by the State as such or not . . . I shall give another illustration which was recently reported in Bombay. In a place near Thana there was trouble going on between Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes over the taking of water from a particular well. With the help of the police the Scheduled Castes there were able to secure their right to take water from that well along with the Caste Hindus. The Caste Hindus did not like the matter. They wanted the well to be exclusively used by them. Two days ago there was a report in the Bombay Press wherein it was stated that some Caste Hindus incited some of their men to drop into it some kind of poisonous weeds. The result was that the whole water was poisoned and some of the Scheduled Caste people who drank the water suffered from the effect of the poison. I want to ask both of them whether they would limit their definition of incitement to violence, or whether they would extend it to cover where one community does something in order to harm and injure another community."

In view of this lucid statement of the Minister of Law, it would have been unwise to replace the expression "incitement to an offence," by the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence."

47. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951.

48. See *ibid.*, pp. 9867-68.

We shall now pass on to the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19, namely, "friendly relations with foreign States." So far as this head is concerned, there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst those who have given a serious thought to it. This is natural. The expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather too wide and too elastic in its implications. And it has been apprehended that the power of legislation under this provision may be abused or misused with the help of an oblique party majority in the legislature. Both in our Parliament and before the Press Commission it was, in effect, urged⁴⁹ that "under the guise of maintaining friendly relations with foreign States restrictions" could be imposed on the "legitimate expression of views on questions of foreign policy or on the presentation" of the points of view which might 'run counter' to the policy of the "Government of India or its friendly relations with foreign States," and that such restrictions might not be consonant with the true concept of freedom of speech and expression. And the majority of the Press Commission also agree⁵⁰ that

"It is undoubtedly true that in a democracy there should be freedom of expression with regard to the foreign policies of the Government in power and that such criticism should not be prevented under the specious plea that it would endanger the friendly relation of the Government of the day with foreign powers."

"At the same time," they have added,⁵¹ "one has to bear in mind that persistent and malicious propaganda against a foreign power which has friendly relations with India may cause considerable embarrassment from the point of view of the nation even though the security of the State may not be involved. Parliament must, therefore, have power to deal with such kind of criticism and if the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' were not there in Article 19(2) of the Constitution, Parliament would have no power to legislate in that regard . . . When the Constitution was amended in 1951, there was considerable opposition to the introduction of the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' in Article 19(2) of the Constitution. At that time the Prime Minister pointed out that this was merely an enabling clause which empowers Parliament to frame legislation, in case the necessity arises, and gave an assurance that it was not the intention of the Government to promote legislation which would prevent discussion of the foreign policy of Government. This assurance has been faithfully observed and there has been no legislation in this

49. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th, 17th, 18th, 29th May, and 1st June, 1951, and the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 939.

50. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 939.

51. *Ibid.*, paras. 989 and 991.

respect placing fetters on the freedom of expression."

What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, and Prime Minister Nehru said in our Parliament in support of this provision, is also worthy of note in this connexion. Dr. Ambedkar said⁵² on 18th May, 1951:

"We have at present on our statute book a law enacted in 1932 dealing with friendly relations with the foreign States. It is true that that law has not come for any adjudication before High Courts or the Supreme Court and it has so far not been declared to be *ultra vires*. But the fact remains that in view of (the) rules of interpretation adopted by the Supreme Court that nothing is within the capacity of Parliament unless that particular head of legislation is mentioned in Clause (2) and as 'friendly relations with foreign States' is not mentioned in Clause (2), I do not think it requires an astrologer to predict that when that question comes before the judiciary they will follow the same line of interpretation. And it is for that reason that we have thought it necessary to include in the new heads this head of friendly relations with foreign States. My friend Dr. Mookerjee⁵³ asked whether there was any country where such a law prevailed. Well I have searched for a precedent and I can tell him that I find no country which has not such a law. In the case of England it is a rule of Common Law. No statutory law is necessary. The Common Law is operative not only in England but in all the Dominions. Therefore that same rule prevails there. In fact, the Common Law rule has been amended and made more stringent by a statutory provision in Canada."

Further,⁵⁴

"What does (the) maintenance of friendly relations imply? Most members are under the impression that if this category was added, they would not be in a position to criticise the foreign policy of the Government. I like to say that this is a complete misunderstanding and a misconception. The underlying principle of this category, namely, maintenance of friendly relations with a State, is nothing more than an extension of the principle of libel and defamation, that you shall do nothing, you shall say nothing, you shall circulate no rumour, which will involve a foreign State in any kind of ignominy. Beyond that there is nothing in this category. Even the English Common Law is based upon this, namely, that it is a part of the law of defamation—that you shall not defame a foreign State which has a friendly relation with this (?) country."⁵⁵

And Prime Minister Nehru said⁵⁶ on the same day:

52. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9015-9016.

53. I.e., Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.

54. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9016.

55. Dr. Ambedkar obviously meant England here.

56. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9076.

"In regard to foreign powers, so far as our policy goes, which this House has approved of on many occasions, it is a policy of friendship with other nations. Now, because it is a policy of friendship with other nations it becomes all the more necessary that we should not encourage activities which lead to injury in regard to our relations with other powers. . . . There is no question of stopping criticism or even strong language. But times may arise when it overshoots the mark and there is danger of disruption or a break or danger to international interests or to our relations with those powers. And so we shall have to come in there. In what way we come in or in what measure we come in will be a matter for Parliament to determine because there is no law at the present moment to stop these things."

Again⁵⁷ on 29th May, 1951:

"The House will remember—a fact that has been repeatedly stated—that this amendment is an enabling . . . law Naturally when you give an enabling power, it is given in slightly wider terms Exactly what would amount to a danger to friendly relations is so difficult to state; you cannot specify. You may, of course, put down one thing or the other. You may say 'defamatory attacks' as we sought to say at one time 'defamatory attacks on the heads of foreign nations or others' but in effect if once you have a check to see that it is not done unreasonably, it is best you use gentle language (*sic*). . . . So far as I am concerned and so long as I have anything to do with it, I can assure you that you can criticise to your heart's limit and extent the foreign policy that my Government pursues on the policy of any country; to the utmost limit you can go. I cannot dislike your criticism; nobody will be allowed to come in their (*sic*) way. But suppose you do something which seems to us to incite to war, do you think we ought to remain quiet and await the war to come? And if it is so, I am sure no country would do that. We cannot imperil the safety of the whole nation in the name of some fancied freedom which puts an end to all freedom. Therefore, it is not a question of stopping the freedom of criticism of any country and naturally we should like not to indulge in what might be called defamatory attacks against leading foreign personalities. That is never good, but in regard to any policy you can criticise it to the utmost limit that you like, either our policy or any country's policy, but always thinking in terms of this, that we are living in a very delicate state of affairs in this world, when words, whether oral or written, count: They make a difference for the good or for the bad. A bad word said out of place may create a grave situation, as it often does."

Finally⁵⁸ on 1st June, 1951:

"It is perfectly true that the phrase we have put in—friendly relations—is a wide phrase. We put it in because we thought it might serve our pur-

57. See *ibid.*, 29th May, 1951, pp. 9629-30.

58. *Parliamentary Debates*, 1st June, 1951, p. 9873.

pose and any other phrase it seemed to us not quite proper in the sense that it was far better to talk about friendly relations here and lay stress on a positive aspect of policy rather than the negative of it that we shall stop that and so on and so forth. I can assure the House that in regard to foreign affairs there has been and there is going to be, so far as I am concerned, not the slightest interference with any expression of opinion or criticism of our internal policy or external policy or the policy of any other (?) foreign power."

The majority of the Press Commission also observed⁵⁹ in 1954:

"The framers of the Constitution thought that the world conditions existing in 1951 and the non-alignment policy which India was pursuing made it necessary to invest Parliament with the necessary power in case an emergency arose. If we now examine whether the history of the world during the last 3 years has made it unnecessary that the Parliament should have such reserve power, the answer is clear. There is more disequilibrium in world conditions now than there was in 1951, and the policy pursued by India, her geographical position and her relations with foreign States have become far more important than they were in 1951 when the amendment was made in the Constitution. We do not, therefore, think that any clear case has been made for depriving the Parliament of the power to legislate in case of necessity, placing restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States."

But they added,⁶⁰ after referring⁶¹ to the position in this regard in some other countries:

"Although we are in favour of the Parliament having this reserve power, we think that the words 'in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States' are of a wide connotation and may conceivably be relied upon for supporting any legislation which may restrict even legitimate criticism of the foreign policy of Government. It would be difficult to devise a formula which would define the scope of the legislation by Parliament in this regard. The Constitution can at best merely indicate the topics in respect of which there may be reasonable restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression. It must be left to the wisdom of Parliament to define the precise scope of those restrictions and to the impartiality of the Supreme Court to pronounce upon the reasonableness of those restrictions. We recommend that, whatever legislation might be framed in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States, it should be confined in its operation to cases of systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermine friendly relations with foreign States and should not punish any sporadic utterance or any dissemination of true facts although

they may have the tendency of endangering the relations with foreign States."

We have shown above the official point of view on the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We have also referred to the views of the majority of the Press Commission in this connexion. We may even mention here in support of the official position that in the United States of America also the publication of "injurious charges against a foreign prince or ruler" is, under common-law rules still in force, "punishable as a public offence" as it tends "to embroil the two nations (concerned), and to disturb the peace of the world."⁶² Nevertheless, we are constrained to observe that the expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather too wide and too elastic in its connotation. Even, as we have seen before, both Prime Minister Nehru and the majority of the Press Commission have admitted this. Herein lies the danger, notwithstanding the repeated personal assurances of the Prime Minister, of abuse of power, with the help of an obliging Parliamentary majority, by an unscrupulous Executive, or by an Executive under the influence of an unscrupulous foreign power.⁶³ That is to say, under this provision in our Constitution, but subject, of course, to what is stated hereinafter regarding the power of judicial review provided for therein, such legislation may be enacted by our Parliament, thanks to the implications of the modern party system, as may seriously interfere with our freedom of speech and expression, and, particularly, with what is generally known as the freedom of the Press. We sincerely hope, however, that this will not happen and that the advice of the majority of the Press Commission as quoted above will always be scrupulously followed by the Government of the day.

IV

We have so far dealt with the three additional heads in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We may also state here that the expression "in the interests of the security of the State" in the amended Clause (2) is much wider in its implications than the corresponding expression in the original Clause (2), namely, "any matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State." Although, therefore, there is some danger of abuse of power in the interests of the security of the State, yet, as shown below, that danger is to a large extent minimized by the provision in the amended Clause for a judicial review of legislation enacted under it, or of any existing law relating to any matter within its ambit. There is another point worth noticing in this connexion. When

59. See the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 991.

60. See *ibid.*, para. 993.

61. See *ibid.*, para. 992.

62. See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 608-609.

63. Also see in this connexion the view of the minority of the Press Commission in Para. 1146 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill was before our Parliament, it was repeatedly urged by Prime Minister Nehru and the Minister of Law that the proposed Amendment to Clause (2) of Article 19 was only "an enabling measure" which armed Parliament with the necessary power of legislation. This view was only partially correct. The amended Clause (2) is both an "enabling" measure and a "reviving" measure. It not only enables our Parliament and other competent legislative authorities in India to enact laws which they could not otherwise lawfully enact but for it, it has also brought back into force, provided they are in conformity with the requirements of the amended Clause, those laws of our country which had become unconstitutional and void as a result of the judicial pronouncements referred to before. It thus serves a double purpose.

We shall now refer to the safeguard against any misuse of power under any provision of the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. This safeguard is provided by the words "in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions," etc., in the amended Clause. The implication of the safeguard is that any law made under any provision of Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today, or any law existing from before the commencement of the Constitution and relating to any matter in the said clause, is *justiciable*. This further means that if any such law is found by a competent Court of Law in this country as not fulfilling the test or requirements of reasonable restriction on the freedom of speech and expression, then it will be declared unconstitutional and invalid. What the Supreme Court of India declared on November 8th, 1950, in the course of its judgment in a case⁶⁵ involv-

ing Clause (1) (g) and Clause (6) of Article 19, is equally applicable to a case involving the amended Clause (2) of the Article. The declaration of the Supreme Court was:

"The phrase 'reasonable restriction' connotes that the limitation imposed on a person in enjoyment of the right should not be arbitrary or of an excessive nature, beyond what is required in the interests of the public. The word 'reasonable' implies intelligent care and deliberation, that is, the choice of a course which reason dictates. Legislation which arbitrarily or excessively invades the right cannot be said to contain the quality of reasonableness. . . . The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the supervision by this Court.⁶⁶ In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute⁶⁷ does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void."

Of course, the Supreme Court will deal with a case of this nature only when it is judicially brought before it. At any rate, herein lies a great safeguard against any abuse of power under Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands now.

In our later articles we propose to deal with the other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

66. This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America declared in 1923 in the course of its judgment in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390). It said:

"Determination by the legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive but is subject to revision by the Courts."

67. The Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948.

64. The italics are ours.

65. *Chintaman Rao v. The State of Madhya Pradesh and Ram Krishna v. The State of Madhya Pradesh: The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VIII, October and November, 1950, pp. 763-66.



DEFICIT FINANCING IN A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

By Prof. N. G. GUJAR

DEFICIT finance assumes importance in the development expenditure in a community since development expenditure is large—much larger, in fact, than the normal expenditure undertaken by the State. The taxation or other sources of current revenue can be expected to meet the normal requirements of the Government. But when these requirements increase, as they do in any planned development, to a large extent an increase in taxation cannot be depended upon to yield sufficient revenue. The increase in the taxation-rates as well as coverage would be so great that it would adversely affect the psychology of private entrepreneurs.

But the deficit finance and the creation of money are not one and the same. The State may borrow money, that is, it may use the savings of the community. The public debt, thereby, increases. Strictly speaking this should not result into inflation except through increasing liquidity. When the public debt increases, debt holdings by persons, firms and banks increase; that is, there is the addition to the liquid assets. Increase in the liquid asset is likely to lead to a higher consumption expenditure out of current incomes. If the banks find that their liquidity is increased, as the proportion of the bonds in their portfolios increases, they will be willing to give more credit to the business community. Except this eventuality nothing like inflation would follow due to public borrowing. But if an important place is given to the private sector in the development programme, the State borrowing deprives the private sector of capital to a large extent. At least the private sector will find it difficult to raise capital, and its cost of borrowing is bound to increase. Only if the amount of savings increases, this possibility to some extent would decrease. Still the competition between the public and private sectors for securing capital cannot be avoided, unless, of course, the rise in saving is spectacular. Of course, due to the development programme itself the per capita income may increase, which may be expected to result into some rise in savings. But this increase in saving cannot be substantial. The reason lies in the fact that the development programme will always be accompanied by welfare measures. In any development programme, the emphasis will be on the redistribution of wealth. That is all to the good. Moreover, this emphasis is necessary if the co-operation of the public is sought. The point is, increase in income due to the development programme is bound to find its way in the pockets of the masses. The standard of living of the masses is already so low that any increase in their income is bound to be utilised for increased expenditure. In this connection, it is to be noted that

the total volume of savings available in a relatively poor, economically underdeveloped community is bound to be very small as compared with its requirements for development purposes, however the people may be persuaded to tighten their belts.

In the eventual competition for securing the capital, the private sector will be the worse sufferer. It may find either the capital market dried up by the public borrowings or will be compelled to offer inducements in the form of higher rates of interest with all the evil effects upon its capital structure.

Deficit finance with the help of public loans, and more so with the help of the creation of money, expands the relative power of the Government, vis-a-vis the citizens paying the taxes since with the help of loans the Government can acquire resources without encroaching, immediately, upon private incomes. The economic power of the Government is bound to increase. The private sector is bound to decrease. If public loans can be resorted to for carrying on public expenditure, very likely the public sector may more easily expand than it may do if taxation or current revenue is the only means of raising funds required for Governmental expenditure.

Deficit finance with the help of the creation of money seems to be inevitable in the development programme of a backward economy. Deficit finance, this way, leads to inflation in two ways. Government expenditure makes net contribution to the effective demand. Secondly, additions to money supply contribute to inflationary pressure.

Unless there is a corresponding increase in production, the creation of money by adding to the effective demand increases price-level. Surely the Government creates money for the very purpose of increasing production. But there is bound to be a time-lag between the Government expenditure and the results of the Government expenditure. In all probability, because of this time-lag, public expenditure is bound to create the inflationary gap. This inflationary gap is very likely to be continued if the tempo of development is accelerated, as it must. The public expenditure devoted towards development cannot be evenly spread throughout the plan-period, simply for the reason, that the even distribution of development expenditure through time means too large an expenditure in the initial period, as compared to the absorptive power of the community, unless, of course, the total development expenditure is meagre. The inflationary gap is bound to lead to rising prices. If the inflationary gap is continued for some time, the inflationary spiral—the chasing of prices and cost—is sure to be developed. In this

general rise of prices the Government estimates of development expenditure are very likely to be under-estimates, since the costs are bound to mount up. The estimates must be revised in the upward direction if the development plans are not to be left half-completed and there will be a further pressure on Governmental resources calling for further creation of money.

Secondly, the additions to money supply, due to Governmental spending, leads to the additions to bank reserves, which may encourage commercial banks to create further bank credit. Increase in the liquidity of banks, it may be argued, should be welcome when there is a general scarcity of funds. But we must sharply distinguish between funds and capital. Banks can create money and not capital. And in the face of the scarcity of capital the increased liquidity of banks is likely to be an inflationary potential, unless it is accompanied by countervailing measures.

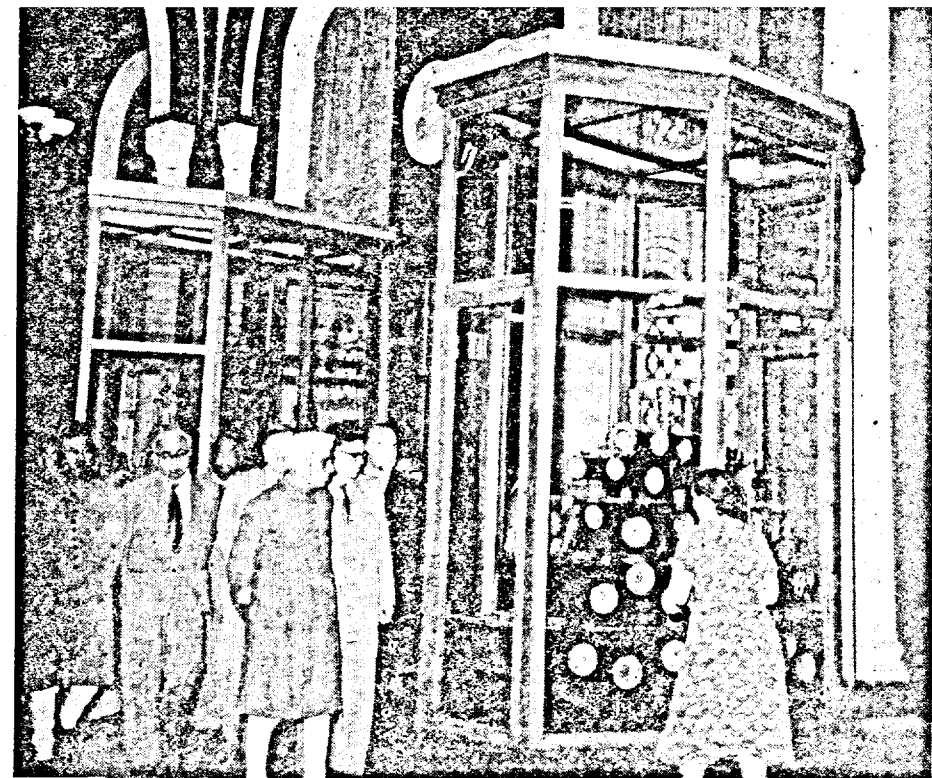
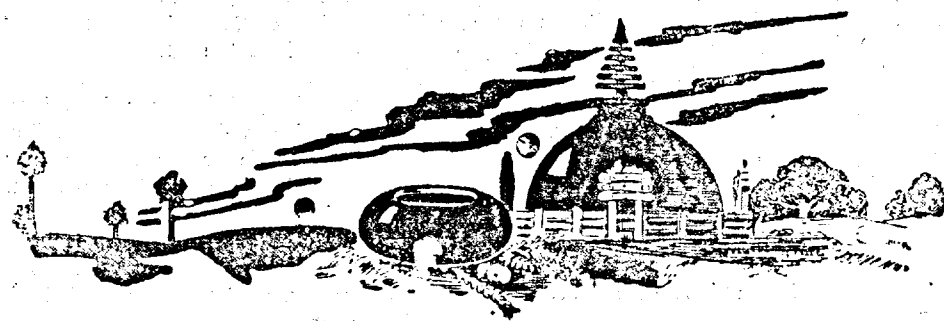
The constant increase in the price is correctly described as currency deterioration, since increase in prices is nothing but decrease in the purchasing power of money; that is, money deteriorates in real terms. If the central banking technique is properly developed then the deterioration in the currency may not be so harmful, purely from the monetary view-point. The loss of confidence in the currency or the fear of currency becoming worthless, may not be of such importance nowadays, still, and this must be pointed out, how to stop a run-away inflation may become a headache to the monetary authority. But the currency deterioration is dangerous due to at least two reasons. Inflation acts, and naturally, as a discouragement to saving. If the major part of the saving is to be so channelled that it finds its way in Government bonds, which at maturity time are realised in fixed monetary amounts, the propensity to consume is bound to be increased during the inflationary period; and it is definite that an increasing proportion of savings in the community will be taken by Government for its development purposes. During the development period what we require is an increased volume of savings. It is an elementary theory in Economics that inflation leads to a decrease in the volume of voluntary savings.

Apparently it can be argued that inflation can be utilised as an instrument of forced savings. Indeed that is what it amounts to when the development funds

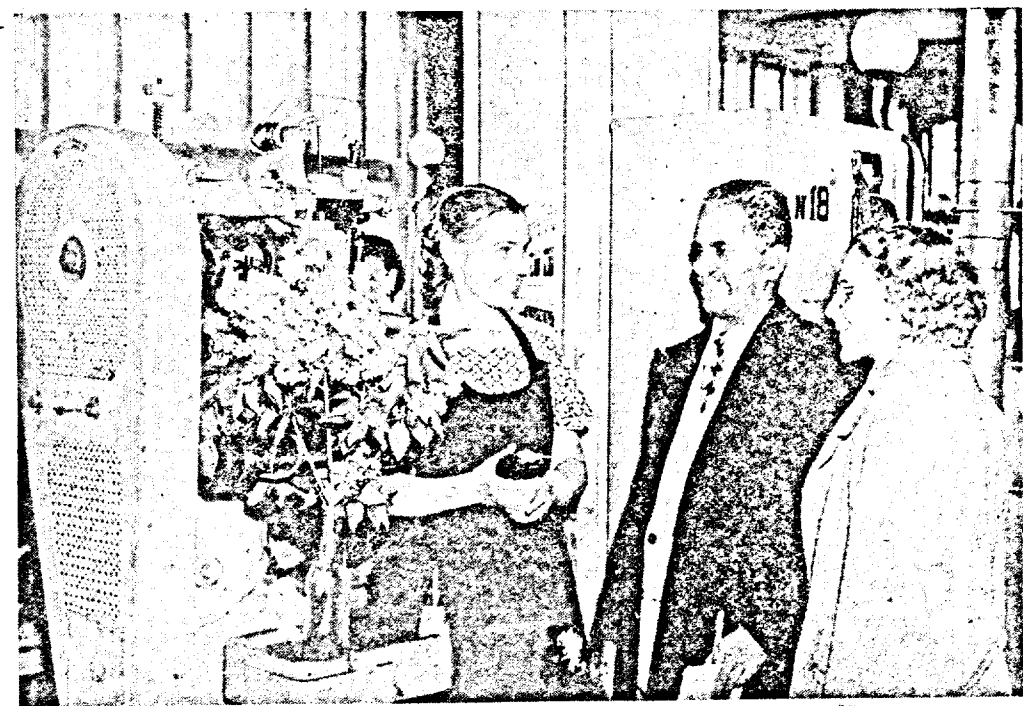
are not secured by voluntary public savings or taxation (or in the form of other current revenue of the Government). But forced saving is not justifiable. Firstly, this way of getting capital is not available to the private sector. Secondly, this method of realising capital hits hard the private sector in that it finds its cost structure constantly increasing.

But the most important reason is, and this is the second reason why currency deterioration is dangerous, inflation works indiscriminately. Inflation is a concealed form of taxation, but it is, perhaps, most regressive in character. In countries where the standard of living of the masses is already low, inflation is bound to hit them hard. Indeed getting capital at their cost is cruel. Apart from this can the authorities expect to get public co-operation in their development programme, when the programme does not result in any visible gains? The common mass cannot be enthused much by dangling before their eyes the long-term interest of the community. It should be expected that in communities where the aim of welfare state is accepted, the emphasis would be on the redistribution of wealth; and inflationary finance which is regressive, and this emphasis upon redistribution of income, are at variance.

Deficit finance and the creation of money, it can be argued, are unavoidable in any development programme in a developing economy. Surely, one cannot expect the entire programme to be given up simply because without inflationary finance it cannot be carried. The point is that inflationary finance is a delicate instrument. It must be resorted to with all its implications in mind. There should be a limit beyond which no creation of money is allowed. The estimates of Government expenditure have the nasty habit of proving under-estimates. That must be avoided. Secondly, it is not the amount of money but its effective use that matters, (that is, what in economic parlance is called amount of money multiplied by its velocity). It is no use merely making provision for the creation of money since it is necessary in the budget for the development programme, but this inflationary finance must be related to some objective measure like the price-level besides the actual quantity of money. And lastly, inflation, when it is started, is very difficult to check.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspects the collection of the Armoury Hall in the Moscow Kremlin
Photo by V. Noskov



The Indian Parliamentary Delegation that visited the USSR called at a shoe factory in Kiev. Prof. N. G. Ranga, Deputy of the Council of States, is seen in the picture
Photo by A. Stuzhin

of the Pope's power of excommunication.¹² Fourth, the laws of the realm are divine, since, they originate from a supernatural object. Thus, the Jewish Polity was governed according to the laws of Jehovah's Book.¹³ The Muslim theocracy was governed in accordance with the laws as enunciated in the Koran.¹⁴ During the days of the Catholic theocracy the temporal law was distinguished from the canon law but where they came into conflict the former had to give way.¹⁵

II

SECULAR STATE

Strange though it may seem, a definition of secular State does not occur either in any of the standard dictionaries or in any of the more well-known encyclopedias. In recent times some authors in India have, indeed, given definitions which are not only unsatisfactory but are also ambiguous, inaccurate and incorrect. The term occurs here and there in certain standard works¹⁶ but no scientific attempt is made to define the concept. To the best of our knowledge, only R. H. Tawney gives an *en passant* definition in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. "By the end of the 17th century," says he, "the secular State, separate from the churches, which are subordinate to it," had come into existence.¹⁷ This is the best definition available and can be accepted for further elucidation for arriving at a clearer understanding of the concept.

The phrase 'separate from the Churches' in the above definition implies that in a secular State the State and the Church are separated. The expression 'the State and the Church are separated' has caused confusion in the minds of certain scholars and, therefore, needs clarification. It is no doubt, deceptive since it sounds as if it implies the mutual independence of the two societies. Starting their examination of their relationship with this assumption they come to the inevitable conclusion that their separation is not possible. Thus, Giacometti, Italian jurist Mario Falco, German Ulrich Stutz and President Maravik of Czechoslovakia insisted that their complete separation was not possible.¹⁸ Ruggiero endorses their view when he says:

"Separation has a contingent character and a merely approximative significance; because two institutions cannot in practice be distinguished from one another with formal precision".¹⁹

12. Setton & Winkler, *Great Problems in European Civilization*, pp. 142, 145, 153; Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

13. Smith C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

14. Durant, Will, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

15. Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.* p. 216; Mc Govern W.M., *From Luther to Hitler*, p. 23.

16. For example: Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Laski, H. J., *The Rise of European Liberalism*, pp. 30, 58, 154; Heinrich Rommen, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

17. p. 20 (Pelican Edition).

18. Bates, Searle, *Religious Liberty—An Enquiry*, p. 312.

19. *History of European Liberalism*, p. 404.

Searle Bates gives the above view a confirmatory seal.²⁰ If, then, the separation of the State and Church is not possible what is the secular State? Is there nothing like a secular State?

The answer to this question can be found, as has been pointed out above, in the fact of misinterpretation of the expression as meaning the mutual independence of the two societies. They, in fact, cannot be independent of each other. They are composed of the same individuals and are constantly competing to command their loyalties. And let the philosophers and the jurists, again and again, develop systems of a clear demarcation of their respective spheres, in actual practice, there always remain certain spheres of man's life, e.g., marriage, divorce, education, etc., that are common to both. This gives rise to conflicts and consequently, according to Ruggiero, "there can either be a State oppressing a Church or a Church oppressing a State."²¹ This seems to be rather an exaggerated view, since, their relationship may not be necessarily that of oppression. But it is reasonable to conclude that as a result of their struggle, one of the societies has to accept a status of subordination to the other. If the Church subordinates the State, the latter loses its secular character. In a secular State, therefore, the Church is subordinated to the State. There cannot be any situation where their relationship is that of mutual independence. What the expression means is that, unlike the medieval polities, the State does not accord to any Church a privileged status. The following statement of Heinrich Rommen clearly reveals the significance of the expression:

"In the United States we find, from the beginning of its formation, that separation of the State and the Church in the constitutional provision that there shall not be an established Church."²²

The essence of the secular State, thus, lies in the fact that it does not accord to any Church a privileged status. To this may be added a feature implicit in it. Since it does not identify its interest with those of any one church, it follows that, the sovereign power in it does not originate from a god, a cult or a religion. A secular State may, therefore, be defined as a State which does not have a divine sanction behind it and which treats the various churches, which are subordinate to it, on religious grounds,²³ impartially and indiscriminately.

The following points emerge from the above definition: First, the State does not have a divine sanction and derives its authority from a secular (worldly) source. Thus in the U.S.A. which is a brilliant example of a secular State, the sovereign power flows

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

21. *op. cit.*, p. 397.

22. *op. cit.*, p. 598.

23. The State may discriminate among the various Churches on other than religious grounds. For instance, if a Church is anti-national, it may be curbed while other Churches are allowed to exist. Such a discrimination will, however, be on political grounds.

from the people as indicated by the preamble to the Constitution. The Supreme Court, too, in one of its decisions, held that

"There is no mysticism in the American concept of the State or of the nature or origin of its authority. We set up government by the consent of the governed...."²⁴

Second, the State does not discriminate among the various churches or the individuals of religious grounds. The First amendment to the U.S. Constitution, thus, ordains that "Congress shall not make law respecting an establishment of religion." Third, from the above deduction follows the conclusion that the Church is subordinated to the State. For, if the State is subordinated to a church, it shall be associated with one and shall cease to be indiscriminate in its relationship with the churches. Fourth, since it does not derive its authority from a god, cult or a religion, it is none of its business to perpetuate any one cult or religion. It retires from any intervention in the spiritual sphere and becomes indifferent to and disinterested in the religious convictions of its citizens. Religion, thus, does not form the basis of its citizenship.²⁵ It does not persecute or proselytize. In it there is room for any church as long as it is prepared to subject itself to the limitations imposed by law on all churches. Thus in the U.S.A. not only there exist the various Christian sects, even a foreign religious movement like the Ramakrishna Movement is flourishing and making impact on it.²⁶ Fifth, the fundamental postulate of a secular State is that it does not discriminate among the various churches. From this it follows that if it patronises all churches equally, it shall not be a violation of its postulates. The State in the U.S.A., while not discriminating on religious grounds has adopted to religion a friendly, sympathetic and encouraging attitude. The attitude manifests itself in many ways, e.g. the recognition of the importance of religion by reciting prayers at public functions and in certain government institutions; by the employment of chaplains in the Army and Navy and by the enforcement of Anti-Evolution and Sunday Laws.²⁷ Under the

24. *West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624, 1943.

25. Art. VI of the U.S.A. Constitution provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public Trust in the United States."

26. Ross Floyd, H., Professor of World Religions, University of Southern California. See *American Reporter*, New Delhi, Vol. III, No. 25, p. 5.

27. These acts of the State apparently seem to be departures from the basic qualifications of the secular State. In fact, they do not amount to any discrimination since the U.S.A. for all practical purposes is a Christian nation. Property belonging to all churches is tax-exempt. (Burslein, Abraham, *Laws concerning Religion in the United States*, See Chapter 1). Prayers are non-sectarian. The enforcement of Anti-Evolution Laws does not amount to a religious discrimination: "We are not able to see how the prohibition of teaching the theory that man has descended from a lower order of animals gives preference to any religious establishment or mode of worship... Belief or unbelief in the

care of the State, religion has become one of its biggest businesses. The Church membership is increasing. Sixth, the laws of the realm originate from a secular source as is the case in the U.S.A. where the laws emanate from the Congress elected by the people.

III

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Having discussed the salient features of both a theocracy and a secular State we now pass on to an examination of the ancient Indian State. Ancient India had a multitude of forms of government. There were the Kulas (where the sovereign power is wielded by a family), the selfgoverning clans, and the Ganas (republics). Such States were, however, rare. Not only that, their existence is sometimes disputed. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that the normal form of the State in ancient India was monarchical. We shall, therefore, deal with the monarchical State only.

Kingship: An analysis of the position of the Indian king clearly reveals that he was in no way a prototype of the theocratic kings. Neither did he derive his authority from a divine source nor was he in absolute control of his people. Here and there, certain passages occur in the ancient Indian literature which attribute divinity to kingship. Thus, to the question, 'how is it that the king who is one rules over so many subjects,' *Aitareya Brahmana* states that "the gods and demons fought with one another, but the gods were defeated. The gods said: 'It is because we have no king that the demons defeat us, so let us elect a king'. They elected a king and through his help obtained a complete victory over the demons".²⁸ Again, we find some kings claiming divine status for themselves. Thus in the Rigveda a hymn is attributed to the Puru king Trasadasya who exclaimed: "I am Indra, I am Varuna... On me (the god) bestow those principal energies (that are) characteristic of the Asuras".²⁹ Such utterances have led some to believe that the sovereign power of the ancient Indian king originated from a god. The fact is, however, that the secular literature of the Age (particularly Vedic) has not been preserved.³⁰ Our source of information is mainly religious literature. And it is but natural that in it secular ideas are explained in terms of divinity and the

theory of evolution is no more a characteristic of any religious establishment or mode of worship than is belief or unbelief in the wisdom of the prohibition laws. (Scopes Vs. State, 154 Tenn. 305, 289 S.W. 363, (1927)). The enforcement of Sunday Laws does amount to discrimination in the case of Jews, Mohammedans, atheists and even certain Christian sects (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 90). But their enforcement has been justified on the ground that a preponderant majority of the Americans so wish it. (Burslein, *op. cit.*, p. 36). Moreover, there is a growing inclination to accord the other religious sects right to observe their own Sabbaths. (See Court's ruling in *Thomason's Case*, Burslein, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

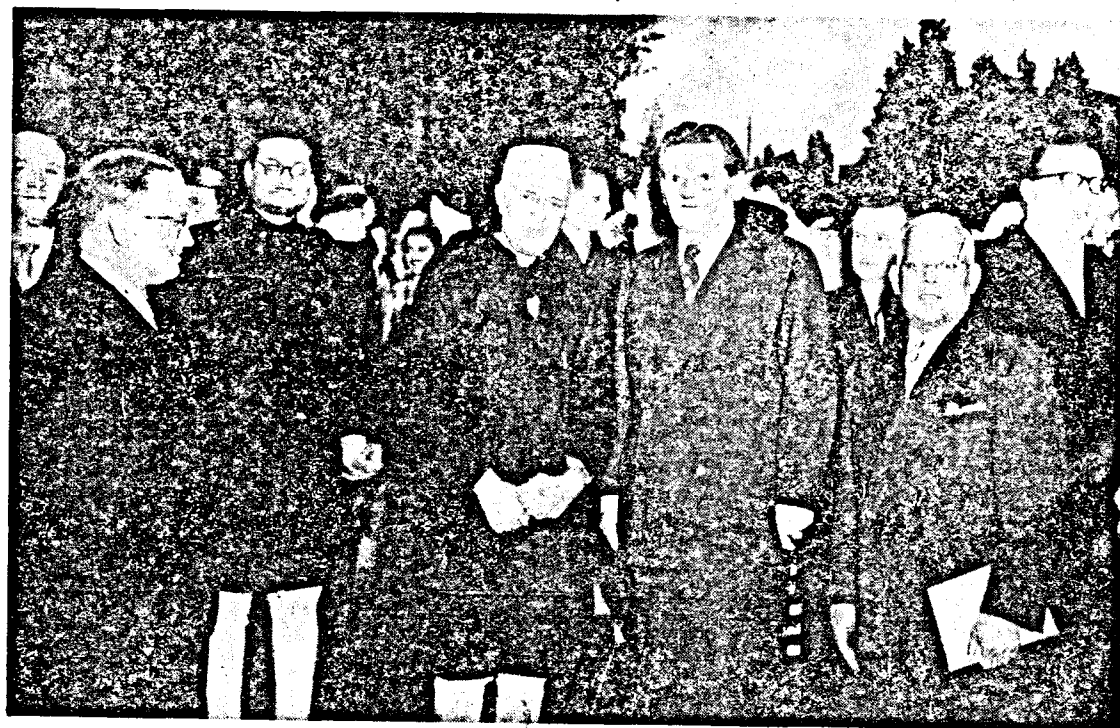
28. Majumdar and Pusalkar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 1, p. 426.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 428.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Srimati Indira Gandhi at Stalingrad Airport. On his left is seen Mr. Shapurov, Chairman of the Stalingrad City Soviet, who received him at the Airport



A Reception was held by Sri Dharma Vira, Ambassador for India in Czechoslovakia, in honour of Prime Minister Nehru, at the Embassy at Prague. (Right to left) Sri Dharma Vira, Mr. William Siroky, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru are seen standing

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Theocratic or Secular?

VED PRAKASH LUTHERA, M.A.,

Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi

THE question whether ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular still remains disputed. Some scholars maintain that it was theocratic; others believe that it was secular; and still others assert that it was none of the two but something in between. The object of this paper is to enquire whether the ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular, or, if none of the two, what were its theocratic and secular elements. Before we examine the same we shall first state briefly the salient features of both a theocratic and secular State.

I

THEOCRACY

Theocracy has been defined "as a tribe or a state that claims to be governed by a god or gods". In it "the laws of the realm are divine commands rather than human ordinances." The priesthood is the promulgator and the interpreter of the divine commands, and is in absolute control of every phase of the life of the inhabitants. The State and the Church are merged into one.¹

The following deductions can be made from the above definition: First, since the ultimate sovereign power is vested with a god, it follows that the Head (we shall call him a king) of such a State is a mere spokesman, a representative, or a deputy of God, appointed by Him to govern on His behalf. His function is only that of a mediator between God and His (God's) subjects. He is believed to be in communication with God, as were the kings of ancient Israel,² and then conveying to the people what he has been told by Him. "Thus saith the Lord" is his watchword. His office is the creation of God's will (divine sanction) and, therefore, he is responsible to Him alone.

In other words, he is in absolute control of the people he governs. They render him unquestioned obedience and have absolutely no say in the conduct of the public affairs. Second, such a State is the Kingdom of God. And from this may be deduced the principle of the unity of the Faith, i.e., the principle that only His worship is the 'true' form of worship.³ The other gods are false and fallen. The king derives his authority from God and, therefore, is charged with the duty of perpetuating his cult or religion. A theocracy is, thus, unless the circumstances otherwise warrant, an active proselytiser and persecutes the 'unbelievers' to bring them within the 'folk'. Thus when Mohammad founded the Muslim theocracy, the Caliph was primarily concerned with the defence of the Faith. Those who

believed in Islam were nothing but brothers. But those who did not were to be subjected to astringent antagonism. It was obligatory upon the Caliph to wage *jihad* (holy war) against the 'heretics'; to kill them unless they repent and join Islam.

"I swear by Allah," said Mohammad, "that marching about to fight for religion is better than the world and everything in it."⁴

In Catholic theocracy, too, the heretics were persecuted with a variety and barbarity of tortures which earned for Christianity the cognomen of being the biggest enemy in history of religious freedom.⁵ The Jewish theocracy also carried on an assiduous offensive against the rival cults of Palestine and Syria, Assyria and Babylonia.⁶ In a theocracy, therefore, there is religious discrimination. All those living within its jurisdiction must conform to the rituals of the cult or religion of the God whose domain it is or suffer penance, not unusually, to the point of extinction. Third, the king's function of conducting the public affairs becomes an aspect of his function of perpetuating the cult of the God.⁷ To put it in other words the temporal power (State) is subordinated to the spiritual power (Church). Either the former is supposed to be one with the latter, as in ancient Israel and the Muslim theocracy, or, if they are distinguished, as in Catholic theocracy,⁸ the former occupies a status of subordination to the latter. Thus, in the Middle Ages it was usual to explain their mutual relationship with reference to the moon and the sun. Just as the moon has its light from the sun, so does the State derive its authority from the Church.⁹ They were believed to be the two aspects of the same society, Christendom. But while the State was at best an institution necessitated by the wickedness of man, the Church was a perfect society established by God. The latter being the final interpreter of the Divine Will¹⁰ it was the duty of the former to execute its commandments. The State was, thus, reduced to the status of an office of the Church—its secular arm.¹¹ The tenure of the king depended upon the discretion of the Church in view

4. Durant, Will, *Age of Faith*, p. 183.

5. Ruggiero, Guido de, Art. 'Religious Freedom,' *Encyclopaedia, Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, p. 241.

6. *Ibid.* p. 240.

7. Contanau, G., *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*, p. 116.

8. Lytton, Lord, *The Western Tradition*, p. 40.

9. Rommen, Heinrich, *State in Catholic Thought*, p. 535.

10. Carlyle Brothers, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. II, pp. 144, 216; Gierke, Dr. Otto, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, tr. Maitland, pp. 11-13; Sabine, G., *History of Political Theory*, p. 161.

Sabine, G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

11. Sabine, G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

1. Smith, C. Ryder, Art. 'Theocracy,' *Encyclopaedia, Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 287; *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, p. 580; Heimann, Eduard, Art. 'Atheist Theocracy,' *Social Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 311.

2. Maritain, Jacques, *The Living Thoughts of St. Paul*, p. 1.

3. Ruñal, Francesco, *Religious Liberty*, p. 79.

political theories are discussed in terms of gods. But, as V. M. Apte maintains, "no great stretch of imagination is required to interpret them as equally, or really, applying to human affairs."³¹ Dr. Beni Prasad, therefore, aptly remarks, while commenting on the answer of the *Aitareya Brahmana*, that what it signifies is the theory of the origin of kingship out of military necessity, deriving its validity from consent.³² Similarly, the claim of Trasdasya, remarks Dr. Apte, can "be explained as an expression of personal vanity rather than the formulation of a political theory."³³ That the king, in fact, derived his authority from the people is well-illustrated by many actual historical instances of the king's election by the people. In the Mahabharata we read the election of Santanu as against Devapi, of Pandu as against Dhritarashtra, of Yudhishthira as against Duryodhana.³⁴ In the Ramayana is described how the king Dasaratha proposed the name of his eldest son, Rama, as his successor and sought the approval of an assembly of the people. The king declared his intention to abdicate the throne and enquired of the people assembled if Rama was acceptable to them as their king. The people willingly agreed but Dasaratha, doubting that their approval might be a mere acquiescence, requested them to give reasons of their acceptance of him.³⁵ After the demise of King Dasaratha we find people of Ayodhya petitioning for someone on the throne.³⁶ In later times, too, many cases of king's installation to power by the people are found. In the 2nd century A.D. Rudradaman was elected to kingship "by all the orders of the people": in the 7th century A.D. Harshavardhan was elected "by the ministers, magistrates and the people"; and in the middle of the 8th century a commoner Gopala was elected to kingship by the people of Bengal. Similarly, Brahmapala was elected by the people of Assam; Nandivarman Pallavamalla was raised to the throne by the *mula prakritis*.³⁷

Some writers would have us believe that the election of the king by the people was a mere formality. Thus, Geldner, for instance, asserts that the passages referring to the election indicate a purely formal approval rather than an election in all seriousness. Such a view is completely misfounded in view of the power of the people to inflict punishment on the king to the point of his expulsion from office or even the kingdom. Many cases of such banishments are recorded. The Srinjayas expelled their king Dushtarita Panmasyana from the

kingdom; king Dirghasravas was banished from his kingdom as was also king Sidhuksit.³⁸ At one place we find people rejecting the nomination of his younger son as his successor by an outgoing monarch and electing his eldest son as their king.³⁹ At another place we find King Rama banishing his beloved wife Sita, to meet the demand of his people.

Not only did the king derive his authority from the people, his powers were severely curtailed by the existence of some other political institutions. The Parishad, and the popular Assemblies, Sabha and Samiti, acted as a definite check on the king making it impossible for him to become absolute.⁴⁰ They exercised an effective control even on his person. The coronation oath (*pratijna*) bound the king to the people and subjected him to the law of the land.⁴¹ Although wielder of Danda he was himself subject to it.⁴² The protection of the people was his foremost duty. He was not the owner of the land. He was just an official of the State getting remuneration for his services in the form of taxes.⁴³

It is apparent from the foregoing that, whatever might be the claims of the kings or the methods of political speculation, in actual practice, the people were the fountain of the sovereign power. They could remove the king from the office and, therefore, he was responsible to them. In view of this it seems reasonable to conclude, contrary to the opinion that his election was a mere formality, that the king's claim of divinity was a matter of mere formality. Indeed, the attribution of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity was much akin to the spirit of a modern practice of formally acknowledging the existence of God in the State-Constitutions. Article 6 (1) of the Irish Constitution says: "All power of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people...." The preamble to the Brazilian Constitution establishes a government "under the protection of God" but the sovereign power flows from the people. Similarly, the preamble to the Swiss Constitution begins with the words, "In the name of the Almighty God" although Article 3 of the Constitution declares that the sovereign power originates from the cantons. Just as these references to God, for all practical purposes, amount at best, in view of the people or the cantons being sovereign, to His mere formal recognition, and do not render these States a divine sanction, so did the Indian king's claim of divinity amount to a formal

acknowledgment of God, in view of the people's right of expulsion. In other words, the king did not have a divine sanction behind him. He derived his authority from a secular source.

The State and the Church: There was an intimate relation between the State and the Church in ancient India as signified by the close association of the King and the Royal Priest (Purohita). But it was essentially different from the relationship existing between them in theocracies. In theocracies the temporal power (State) is subjected to the spiritual power (Church). In India, however, the direction of the flow of the power was from the king towards the priest. Here the king was not a secular arm of the Church. On the contrary, the Purohita was an official of the king acting in a purely advisory capacity.⁴⁴ The king was expected to, and he generally did, pay heed to the Purohita's opinions. But, if he so chose, he could reject his viewpoint and follow his own course. The Purohita willingly submitted to the limits of his power, which enabled the king to maintain a general political control over the former. The priest could not interfere in the administration of both temporal and spiritual affairs as a matter of right.⁴⁵ The king had the power to dismiss his Purohita⁴⁶ which clearly indicates the subordination of the Church to the State.

This is, however, not to say that religion was not diffused with politics. It shall be rather too much to expect of the ancient Indian State which existed in an Age when religion had a firm hold on men's minds throughout the world. Religious considerations had a good deal to say in the determination of the State-actions. The important point to be noted, however, is that the Church was never allowed to swallow the State. The former could not use the latter as a sword which it could wield to persecute the 'heretics'. On the other hand, religion in India served the ends of the State. Thus we find, something which was inconceivable in the ancient and medieval West, an ecclesiastic, the greatest of the Purohitas, Kautilya, glorifying the State, giving a scientific view of it, solely by the conduciveness to its welfare, prescribing what would lead to its material prosperity and to its increasing power, expressing his views frankly without considerations of morality and thus earning for himself the nick-name of "Indian Machiavelli."⁴⁷ Their admixture was, therefore, to play an essentially different role from what it did in the ancient and medieval West. There it resulted in the identification of the State with a Church resulting in religious persecutions and religious wars, etc. Here, as

B. K. Sarkar has pointed out, the total effect of the diffusion was the *moralisation* of politics and therefore, serving as a check and restraint on the king.⁴⁸

Religious Policy: The independence of the State from the Church manifested itself in the absence of any religious discrimination on the part of the former.⁴⁹ It did not enforce any religion.⁵⁰ It patronised all religions equally. The choice of religion was left to the individual. None was persecuted on religious grounds. The absolute tolerance of the Hindu Polity has been thought by certain writers⁵¹ as only for Hinduism. Such a view is misfounded although, one might say, taking this for granted, that even that was a remarkable feature of the polity in view of the nature of religious discrimination as existing in some of the Western countries. In these countries there exists discrimination against sects within Christianity. Thus the United Kingdom has an official church which enjoys certain privileges over the other Christian religious bodies. The British Crown, according to the Act of Settlement (1700) cannot be held by a Roman Catholic. Article 5 of the Act of Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark debar persons not belonging to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church from holding the Danish Crown. Article 6 of the Charter of the Spanish People accords to the Catholic Religion "official protection" and prohibits the "external ceremonies or manifestation" of religious beliefs excepting those of the Catholic religion. Similarly, Article 1 of the Fundamental Principles of the Government of Afghanistan forbids any person professing any other faith than Hanafi religion from holding the crown thus according a privileged status to a sect within Islam. The incorrectness of the above attitude, however, is clearly proved by the attitude of the ancient Indian State towards Syrian Christianity. At the time (52 A.D.) when Christianity was being persecuted in the land of its birth, St. Thomas visited India to spread the Gospel. He established churches and converted the local people to Christianity freely.⁵² The "ancient rulers of Kerala allowed the Christians with other religionists freedom to worship God as they liked . . .".⁵³ Not only that, the State patronised

48. Hindu Political Philosophy, op. cit., p. 428.

49. The caste-system had functional basis (Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 358, 387; Chakladar, H. C., Art. 'Social Life in Ancient India,' The Cultural Heritage of India, op. cit., pp. 168-70) and, therefore, discrimination arising out of it is beyond the scope of this paper.

50. It was the duty of the State to enforce Dharma. What exactly constituted Dharma is controversial but it is agreed that it was not a creed (Kane, P. V., History of Dharmasatras, Vol. II, p. 2). D. Mackenzie Brown has described it as a 'way of life' ('The Premises of Indian Political Thought,' Western Political Quarterly, June, 1953).

51. Arnold, T. W., Art. 'Tolerance,' Encyclopaedia, Religion and Ethics, Ed., James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 361.

52. Daniel, Rev. Fr. I., The Malabar Church and Other Orthodox Churches, p. 22; Kuriakos, Ramban, M.C., The Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, p. 2.

53. Kuriakos, op. cit., p. 2.

31. Ibid.

32. Theory of Government in Ancient India, p. 15 (Italics mine).

33. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., p. 426.

34. Sarkar, B. K., Art. 'Hindu Politics,' The Cultural Heritage of India, Ramkrishna Centenary Committee, Vol. III, p. 302.

35. Griffith, Ralph T. H., tr. The Ramayana of Valmiki, pp. 103-4.

36. Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami, The Ancient Indian Polity, p. 81.

37. Sarkar, B. K., op. cit., pp. 302-3; Raychaudhuri, etc., An Advanced History of India, Vol. I, pp. 165, 191.

38. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 428, 429; Law, N. N., Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, p. 10.

39. King Samudragupta nominated his son Chandragupta. But the people elected Ramagupta (Dikshitar, V. R. R., Gupta Polity, pp. 110-11).

40. Sarkar, B. K., op. cit., p. 302; Dikshitar, op. cit., p. 112.

41. The oath ran thus: "I shall always regard the *bhuma* (country) as the *Brahma* (the highest God). And whatever is to be prescribed as law on the basis of the statecraft I shall follow without hesitation, never my sweet will." (Sarkar, op. cit., p. 302).

42. Ibid., p. 267.

43. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 335, 355, 483.

44. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 431, Vol. II, p. 323; Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 106; Law, op. cit., p. 38; Dikshitar, op. cit., p. 141.

45. Sarkar, B. K., Art. 'Hindu Political Philosophy,' Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 33, p. 488.

46. Law, N. N., op. cit., pp. 40-1.

47. Machiavelli was one of the Western philosophers who pleaded for the emancipation of State from the Church. In this context the comparison of Kautilya with him is significant.

Christianity, as it did in the case of other religions, by giving aid in the form of land and cash.⁵⁴ Further, in the later period of the polity are to be found non-Hindus in the employment of Hindu monarchs.⁵⁵

The ancient Indian State, therefore, did not discriminate among the various churches. There occurs, however, an exception to this general rule. The State in the reign of Asoka became actively missionary. After his conversion to Buddhism vast resources of the State were pressed into its service. Missions were sent to foreign countries to propagate Buddhism. Within the Empire, too, special officers were appointed to look after matters pertaining to Buddhism. This was, of course, a departure from the strict postulates of a secular State. But it may be pointed out that the missionary activity in the reign of Asoka was not akin to the missionary activities of the ancient and medieval polities of the West. There the State persecuted and compelled the heretics to join a particular faith. Here the guiding principle was *persuasion* rather than *compulsion*. In spite of the privileged status of Buddhism other religious bodies like the Brahmanas, Ajivikas, and Gosalas were fully honoured.⁵⁶ Use of harsh language against these was forbidden. The State never became their enemy and continued to shower gifts on them.⁵⁷

Laws: The legal system in India, too, was remarkably at variance with the theocratic legal system. In theocracies the realm is governed by the rituals of the cult or religion of the god whose domain it is. The priests, specialists in the religious law, are the final law-givers. Thus, the Jewish theocracy was governed by Jehovah's Law. And when a dispute arose about it the case was referred to the priests⁵⁸ whose decision was final. In the case of India, the religious tracts are, no doubt, listed among the sources of the laws. Manu, Kautilya, Yajñavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati, Katyayana, and Vyasa, all include religious tracts among the various sources of the law. But these constitute only a part of the legal system. Laws originating from secular sources, e.g.; custom, contract, and royal commands also formed an essential part of the system.⁵⁹ As to which shall supersede in case of a conflict between the two bodies of the laws the opinions of the writers differed. But the majority view was that the latter precedes the former. Manu, Yajñavalkya give precedence to the religious laws.⁶⁰ Narada, Brihaspati, and Katyayana give precedence to the latter body of laws.⁶¹ Kautilya gives a revolutionary dictum about the relative importance:

54. *Ibid.*, Daniel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-30.

55. Sarkar, B. K., *Hindu Political Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

56. Thus an edict of Asoka reads: "The King beloved of the God honours every form of the religious faith." (Arnold, T. W., *op. cit.*, p. 361).

57. Raychaudhuri, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

58. Smith, C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

59. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 335, 336, 345, 348. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

60. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 335, 345.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 354; Vol. III, p. 357.

"Whenever," says he, "the sacred law is in conflict with the rational law, then reason shall be held authoritative."⁶²

The superiority of the State over the Church is further revealed by the actual administration of justice. Unlike the Jewish theocracy the Indian priests were not the final interpreters of the laws of the realm. The king headed the judiciary and himself administered justice.⁶³ His was the final decision.⁶⁴ The Purohita was, no doubt, invariably a member of the royal court. But he was only one of the many officers (judges, ministers, assessors, accountants, scribes, etc.) of the court. Since the king could overrule his opinion, it follows that the religious law was, ultimately, enforced as interpreted by the king. In other words, religious law was enforced to the extent it had a sanction of the king.

IV

CONCLUSION

Perhaps something can now be said by way of conclusion. The foregoing discussion shows that the ancient Indian Polity was far from being theocratic. It did not have a divine sanction; did not discriminate on grounds of religion or enforce any; the Church was subordinated to the State; and the religious laws were enforced to the extent those had a sanction of the king. These characteristics are a direct negation of the theocratic ideals. On the other hand, the ancient polity almost qualified the basic tenets of a secular polity. The influence of religious considerations on the conduct of the public affairs was, of course, a departure from the rigid principles of the secular polity. But, as has been said already, the motivating force of their diffusion was quite different from what would render it theocratic. Mere contact of State with religion does not render it non-secular. They have got to be in contact with each other. The cardinal principle to be noted is as to which of these is controlling the other. During the Middle Ages the Church performed certain secular functions. Its officials served as Ambassadors, Lord Chancellors, Lord Treasurers, etc.⁶⁵ Yet it did not lose its theocratic character, since, it kept its essence intact. Similarly, the mere performance of certain religious functions by a State, which otherwise preserves its essence, will not ipso facto render it non-secular. Moreover, it is well to remember, that the political institutions are distinguishable not because a single principle exhausts them but because some one is dominant. The Jewish Polity had democratic elements;⁶⁶ the British constitution has monarchical elements; and the U.S.S.R. economy has certain minor capitalistic elements. Yet these cannot be styled as anything but theocratic, democratic and socialist States. A perfect secular State, perhaps, like Plato's Ideal State remains a 'pattern set in Heaven' ever to be envied by human beings but never to be attained by them. Even the modern secular

62. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 336.

63. Raychaudhuri, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 72, 127, 193, 194.

64. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 354.

65. Carpenter, S. C. *Christianity* (Pelican Ed.), p. 113.

66. Smith, C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

States only approximate to the 'pattern'; they do not identify themselves with it. The departures in the case of U.S.A. have already been mentioned. Similar departures, are to be found in the case of other modern secular States. In spite of the minor deviations, therefore, the ancient Indian Polity was essentially secular.

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THE ETHICS OF COEXISTENCE

By ELEUTERIO SOARES

THERE is no denying the fact that India's policy of peaceful coexistence is today one of the most significant factors in international relations. Subtly but decisively its influence is being felt on world political trends and with a growing number of nations favourably responding to its appeal India's role as the acknowledged mediator between the East and the West is becoming more and more sharply defined. Although embodying nothing spectacular or essentially revolutionary the policy of coexistence rings with a note of reassurance and a message of hope amidst the encircling gloom of world tensions and the ever-growing threat of nuclear warfare.

There is, nevertheless, both among the critics and eulogists of India's foreign policy, a considerable degree of misunderstanding over what this country means by peaceful coexistence. (More often than not our efforts to promote international accord and harmony are assessed without full appreciation of the motives that induce India to undertake such missions and a clear vision of the goal she is striving to achieve. To a very large extent these misconceptions spring from a failure to appraise our foreign policy in the proper context of the historical and contemporaneous forces that have shaped it and the values from which it derives its moral sanctions.)

Viewed in this perspective coexistence is neither an exclusively Indian or even a modern innovation. The vision of all the nations of the world living together in peace and friendship, notwithstanding the inevitable political and ideological differences between them, has inspired men from time immemorial and continues to be a cherished dream of all men of goodwill. (Apart from logically pursuing her policy of non-alignment India has merely given this age-old concept the form and substance of a definite programme, partly because it is in tune with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, a way of life which is true to the temperament and genius of the Indian people, moulded in the crucible of centuries of history, and partly because in the light of the rapid development of nuclear weapons, the only alternative to coexistence is co-extinction. Idealism and the compelling force of circumstances blend together to make the policy of coexistence not a matter of choice but of necessity.)

This is no idle fancy, for the supreme lesson that

emerges from the bitter experiences of the past is that wars solve no problems but only create them. A war, however serious the problem or righteous the cause that provokes it, is unjustifiable both from the practical as well as the ethical point of view, and much more so would be a war that spells total extinction of life and civilisation, a lesson for failing to learn which mankind has paid and continues to pay very dearly and which in the face of existing circumstances can no longer be overlooked. The very survival of the human race demands an emphasis on peaceful and constructive efforts to solve international problems and the renunciation of violence. To realise the dream of lasting peace men must give up the ways of war.

Considered in this light the theory of "peace through strength" and the belief that the saturation of armaments is the best guarantee against war, which dominate the international scene today and find practical expression through the hectic armament race now in progress and other military preparations, are contradictions in terms. Accumulated strength always seeks an outlet and the ultimate result of an armament race can, by the operation of the inexorable laws of nature, only be a war and not the realisation of the hope that a balance in armaments, if it is possible to achieve it all, would prevent a conflict by making war unprofitable for all nations. Even if it were possible to avert such a catastrophe, the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion, the unavoidable accompaniments of the so-called "situations of strength" would hardly be conducive to international peace.

The same applies to the military pacts and alliances, designed ostensibly to promote collective security but which in practice constitute provocative measures, adding to existing tensions and accentuating the elements of discord. A cold war is not the path to peace for the means must always be in conformity with the end sought. Mankind therefore can no longer afford to ignore this unambiguous warning and persist in its attachment to the cult of the bomb, except at the cost of courting virtual suicide.

However the mere rejection of war would not constitute coexistence nor would a reduction in armaments or a ban on nuclear weapons bring the world closer to peace. These are certainly important factors but the peace that is envisaged in the concept of peace-

ful coexistence would be a reality only when human society is remolded to conform to the ideals of justice and tolerance and international relations are reshaped on the pattern of universal brotherhood. It is a long and arduous process, demanding all the patience, perseverance and ingenuity that men can command, but negotiations, however well-meant and skilfully and sincerely carried on, will always lack a sense of realism and the necessary driving force, if war is not totally outlawed. An irrevocable renunciation of war is indispensable to create confidence in negotiations, a method for the settlement of disputes, on the effectiveness of which the entire structure of the policy of coexistence rests.

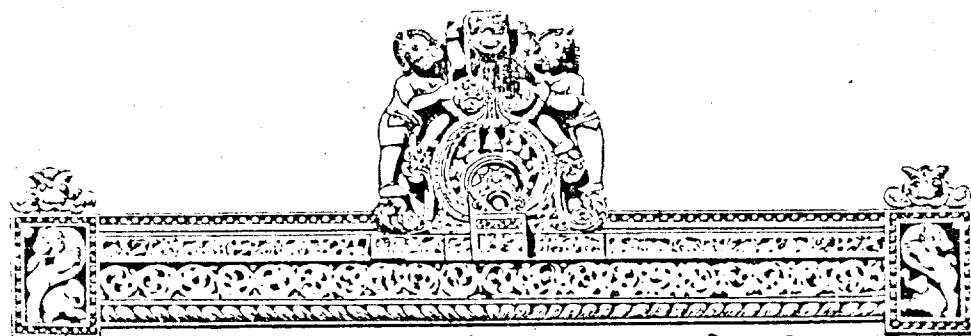
This extraordinary emphasis on peaceful methods for the settlement of disputes however does not imply surrender to evil or injustice and the acceptance of the status quo. Far from it, coexistence is a dynamic policy that seeks to revolutionise international relations by proclaiming the supremacy of moral values over expediency and exploiting to the fullest man's constructive genius and his nobler instincts. Not only does it stand for a just and fair settlement of international problems but it endeavours to dispel the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion so as to create the necessary climate for their peaceful settlement, by assuring through the *panchshila* the minimum guarantees indispensable for friendly relations between one nation and another. The "five principles" are not an end in themselves but only the means for the evolution of a pattern of collective security, as prelude to a constructive and peaceful approach to world problems, by binding together nations not to oppose or fight another group of nations but to respect mutual rights and co-operate for the common good.

And that brings us to the accusation made in some quarters that coexistence is a pro-Communist stunt. The warm support which the Communist powers have accorded to the *panchshila* is perhaps mainly responsible for giving rise to such a suspicion. The Communists, of course, may or may not be sincere in their attitude to India's programme for peace, but the issue does not reflect on the intrinsic merits of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Certainly, taking a realistic view of the prevailing situation, the policy of coexistence must take cognisance of the indisputable fact that Communism is

a vital force which governs the destinies of millions of people all over the world. The concept of coexistence is also based on realisation of the fact that Communism cannot be countered by getting tough with the Communists of planning to bring about the downfall of the political powers in Russia or China, for the consequences of such an approach, even if it does not culminate into a war, would be the creation of just those conditions in which Communism thrives. Communism can only be conquered with moral force and coexistence aims at achieving just that end by creating conditions in which the Communist countries would be compelled to honour their commitments and fulfil their international obligations. It seeks to reform the Communist powers through persuasion rather than threats.

Apart from that the policy of coexistence, considered as an integrated whole, seeking as it does the application of democratic values to the wider field of international relations, is by itself neither pro-Communist nor anti-Western. It is on the contrary an antidote as much to Communist expansionism as to colonialism, racialism, economic subjugation and everything that smacks of exploitation of one nation by another, and offers an affront to the honour and dignity of any nation, however small or insignificant. Its object is to evolve conditions of genuine peace, to lead nations along the path of mutual goodwill and understanding to the goal of universal brotherhood and it is imperative that its primary objective should be to eliminate, through peaceful means of course, all obstacles, whether of Communist making or resulting from the actions of the Western Democracies, impeding progress towards the desired goal.

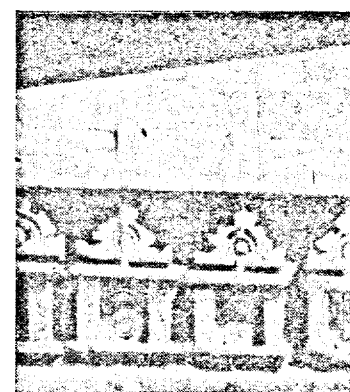
It must undoubtedly be admitted that the policy of coexistence is not easy of achievement but then all good things must be sought the hard way, and it would be an insult to human intelligence to aver that men cannot conquer their deficiencies and shortcomings and rise to a higher level of constructive endeavour. Indeed, any debate on the practicability or otherwise of coexistence is redundant. The issue has long since been decided by the interplay of numerous forces and the mission before all peace-loving people is to strive ceaselessly to translate the ideal of peaceful coexistence into a concrete reality.



BHUVANESVARA—THE SITE OF SILENT SHRINES

By Prof. BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA, M.A.

BHUVANESVARA, in Orissa, is an ancient site of architectural monuments which sweep our imagination in admiration and wonder. It is quite in the fitness of things that this ancient capital of Orissan Kings under whose lavish patronage these wonder temples were erected here, is going to be the new metropolis of Orissa. In a decade this deserted and desolate site bearing testimony to the old glory will grow up into an ideal modern town as the administrative seat of Orissa.



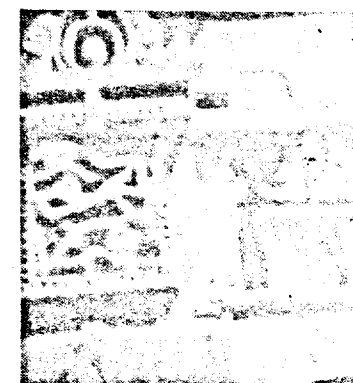
The wall of Mukteswara Temple

This site still possesses some ancient shrines in their pristine glory besides the relics of some others, either desecrated or worn out by ravages of time. These monuments have been divided chronologically by scholars and have been assigned the period between circa middle of 8th Century A.D. to circa middle of 13th Century A.D., thus covering a period of incessant artistic and architectural creations in this part of India. The finest specimen of this architectural craftsmanship is the famous shrine of Lingaraja, standing in height and magnificence as the most marvellous monument of this belt. Besides, there are the shrines of Kapileswara, Brahmeswara, Parasurameswara, Ananta Vasudeva, Vaital (Lankeswari), Mukteswara, Siddheswara, and Kedareshwara which are still standing in their old magnificence.

Chronologically speaking, Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)* has divided these temples into three groups. His division, however, seems to be based more on stylistic grounds than on clear historical details. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples* published by Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) has also studied this chronology and the topo-historical questions. However, when that division is not open to challenge from any opposite point of view, we may accept their chronology as a working hypothesis. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (p. 115) also remarks: "The most complete series illustrating the development of the Nagara Temple from

the eighth to the thirteenth centuries is found in Orissa, at Bhuvaneshwara, Puri, and Konarak."

The Orissan temple-architecture is a peculiar form of curvilinear (*rekha*) design with a series (commonly 4) of structures completing the whole shrine. The main structure where the *sanctum sanctorum* is situated is known as the *deul* or the *vimana**, while the structure just contiguous from where the pilgrim can have a view of the idol is known as the *jagamohana*. Nirmal Kumar Bose in *Orissan Temples* (Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) opines that this *jagamohana* is of the *bhadra* order, i.e., a pyramidal structure of stepped roofs in clerestoric divisions. But besides that there are two other structures, the *bhogamandira* and the *natamandira*—the offering-sanctuary and the dance-sanctuary respectively—which also represent to some extent a less exaggerated form of pyramidal clerestories. These four structures are the common features of the Bhuvaneshwara temples, except some earlier ones like the *Parasurameswara* or the less elaborate ones like the Vaital Deul which have a complete shrine in the *deul* and the *jagamohana* taken together.



Another view of the wall of Mukteswara Temple

We need not enter into details here as to the architectural designs and measurements of the Bhuvaneshwara group of temples under review. Suffice it to say that *vimana* or the main icon-sanctuary is an elaborate structure of rock-cut paraphernalia of a tapering type. The superstructure is from without a huge mass of rock that has been given a rhythmic form with the chisel by the Orissan *sthapatis* (architects and sculptors). The *bada* or the ground-plan is often a square and flat surface like a quadrangular *verandah* running around the

* "Vimana is the name of the temple built according to tradition (*Sastra*) by the application of various proportionate measurements or various standards of proportionate measurement. The nodule is either purely architectural, or being taken from the Linga or image in the Garbhagriha is, in principle, common to the building, the main object of worship and the builder." (Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, p. 133).

vimana. Next is the *pida* or the first structure on which the whole gigantic super-structure is rested and which contains carvings of figures all around. Nirmal Kumar Bose (*ibid*) has given special names to the parts of the figure-inlaid portions of the wall below the curvilinear tower. His *pida*, however, is an extension of the *bhadra* structure, but Percy Brown (*ibid*) has made the *pida* a generic name. Be that as it may, the elaborate inlays and carvings on the outer walls of the structures are really masterpieces of Orissan architecture. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples*) has shown that this decorative impulse of the Orissan *sthapatis* was the outcome of rare genius. "They transformed," he observes, "the cold and bare surfaces of the walls into a glowing mass, with carvings of intricate variety and delicate fancy." The linear spire that rises up towards the dome in a tapering measurement is often called the *amla* in the Bhuvaneshvara group of temples, and the metallic (originally golden?) emblem resting on a lotus-like circular cap on the *amla* is called the *kalasa* or often the *ghantakalasa*. This in a nutshell is the plan of the Bhuvaneshvara temple.



Animal-faced Deity at Bhaskareswara Temple

The Bhuvaneshvara temple is rich in decorations and the iconographic studies are an interesting one. The main icon in the *garbhagriha* (*sanctum sanctorum*) is always a *Linga* but in the Bhuvaneshvara *Linga* we find two religious cults meet. The *Linga* is always the representation of a two-icon deity called *Harihara* of which we shall have occasion to speak below. The outside decorations and the iconographic specimens are varied and not only are the main deities of the Hindu pantheon represented in bold relief but there are also male and female figures, epic-representations, *naga-naginis* and profuse floral or ornamental decorations. Yajna Datta Sharma (*Orissan Temples*) has opined (*contra* Mano Mohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*) that "it would be better perhaps to view the temple ornament from two separate but allied angles, (i) architectural and (ii) sculptural." His endeavour to restore from oblivion names in the local art-school

of various motifs on the walls, pillars, cornices, clere-stories and ground-plans is laudable.

Let us give an idea of the ornamental motif on the outer walls of the Bhuvaneshvara temples. The *bada* of the Muktesvara temple is rich in floral decorations and the lotus-motif is very prominent as being present in a row of decorative balustrades (see Fig. 1). Moreover, the Muktesvara *bada* has a human-motif and there is a superb representation in a peculiar posture of two human figures lying one upon the other but giving two more postures from a different angle, thus giving four human figures though two are actually carved (see Fig. 2).

A rare specimen of symbolic Orissan decoration is found in a figure in an obscure shrine just at the outskirts of the town, viz., the Bhaskareswara temple. It is the three-handed figure of a human body with an animal mouth† with a *nijamurti*-figure (of a female-nymph) on the left-hand side holding in a dancing posture a resting-place for the left arm of the statue—a rare specimen indeed (see Fig. 3). The standing figure has *kundalas* (ear-ornaments) and *upavita* (the sacred thread around the neck and chest) and holds a weapon in his right hand.

The Parasurameswara temple in Bhuvaneshvara which is hailed as the specimen of earliest Orissan temple-architecture is a two-structured shrine still standing in its pristine purity. The *jagamohana* is of a simple clerestoric fluted disc with figures inlaid on the *pida* walls. There are *mahalakshmi* images with a pronounced sexual relief as representation of a symbolic divinity of fertility. In Orissan temple-architecture we believe, the

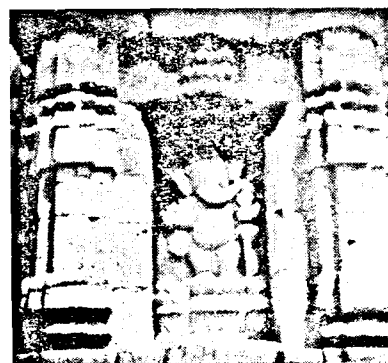


The figure of Kartikeya at Parasurameswara Temple

artist was trained to a sort of erotic representation representing the symbol of Life. Be that as it may, a very fine *Kartikeya* image, though somewhat mutilated, is to be found on the outer wall of the *vimana* of this Temple.

† It is difficult to identify the image—the face being somewhat like a lion's (or better a tiger's) puzzles us in correctly identifying it. Is it the *narasimha* incarnation of Vishnu? But that will tell against the stylistic representation of the image. Or, is it that the famous *kirttimukha* (lion-mask) is here superimposed on a deity, though the *kirttimukha* is only a symbolic decoration on the niches of the walls?

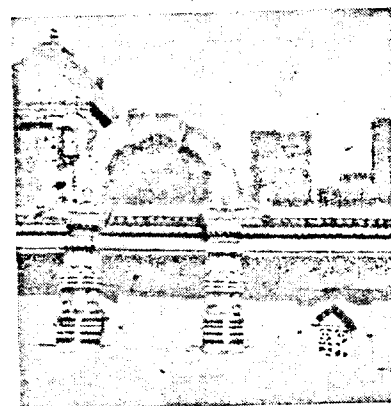
The serene face of the god with one of his feet and a weapon resting over a couchant peacock, his carrier, is an exquisite representation of earliest Orissan temple-sculpture (see Fig. 4). Then the *Ganesha* image is a common iconographic representation on the outer walls of the *vimana* or the *jagamohana* of Bhuvaneshvara Temples. Leaving aside the famous huge black-stone *Ganesha* image in the Lingaraja shrine, we have an exquisite specimen on the *jagamohana* wall of the Siddhesvara temple at Bhuvaneshvara (see Fig. 5). It



Ganesha image of Siddheswara Temple

is a *Ganesha* standing on a lotus-pedestal with four hands, having the four kinds of things that he is wont to carry (a rosary, a pot of *nadus*—a favourite sweet with him, etc.), together with a fat mouse, his carrier, standing on a pedestal.

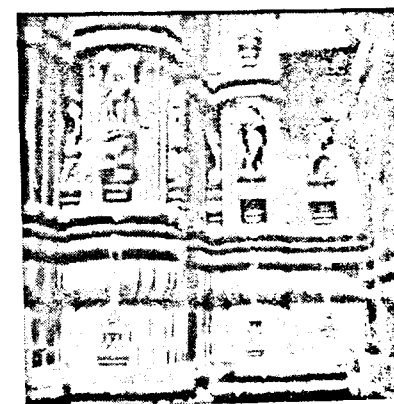
Now we shall speak a few words about the artistic representations and the architectural designs of a few specimens of the Bhuvaneshvara temple-group. The Vaital Deul in the town is a gabled structure reminding us of the Buddhist *Chaitya*-type architecture. It is a new



Gateway of Vaital Deul

type, and strange to say, the Konarak *Surya* in his celestial car is represented here in miniature in a medallion and there is a fine *Nataraja* on the *bho*-projection of the *jagamohana* clerestory. An exquisite *Mahishamardini* figure on the outer wall of the gabled

vimana is a rare specimen of Orissan sculpture. Moreover, outside the boundary-wall there is a miniature gateway probably erected later (see Deva Prasad Ghosh in *Orissan Temples*), which is nevertheless a beautifully artistic one with fine beads and floral and animal designs with a *Kirttimukha* on the top-centre (see Fig. 6). This gateway is, however, not so artistic as the one at Muktesvara temple which contains human figures and other vegetation-designs in a more artistic and symbolic representation. The Rajrani (King and Queen) temple at Bhuvaneshvara with no icon in the *garbhagriha* is, to us, the finest specimen of Orissan sculpture. Its walls (see Fig. 7) with exquisite figure-works and ornamentations, its rich niches with pendant floral and necklace-like strings and its general tone and temper lend to it an aura of grandeur. A part of any wall takes hours to study fully and it is all around inter-set with such decorations. There is a local tradition that a certain native prince built it not for any religious purpose but for taking delight in seeing his subjects' keenness of execution in sculpture. Hence, perhaps, there is no icon and the name is like that. Be that as it may, the walls contain figures of *nartaki*, *nagini*, *dvarapala*, and *yoddhri* (dancing girls, serpent-girls, gate-keepers and warriors respectively). Some incidents are also recorded in bold relief. Besides that there are floral

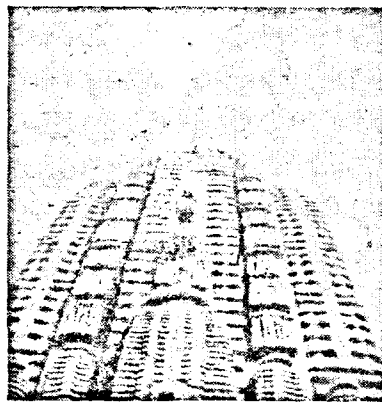


Figures in the wall of Raja Rani Temple

and bead designs, fine lattices and decorated pilasters—all of which are lavishly executed. The Ananta Vasudeva temple in Bhuvaneshvara is the only Vishnu temple there and it is also a grand one. The dome of the *vimana* (see Fig. 8) containing human figures in pairs and converging towards the *ghantakalasa* is a masterpiece of architecture. The tapering dome or *amla* of the Bhuvaneshvara temples contains, besides *Kirttimukhas* referred to above, the peculiar *gajasimhas* (couchant lions on prostrate elephants) of the Orissan School. These may be said to be the guardians of the temples, as not only in the *amla* but even at the gateways these are prominent.

The Lingaraja—undoubtedly the most magnificent of Orissan temples—is an enormous plan within a huge

courtyard containing many other smaller temples. The four-structured shrine of the presiding deity of the town with its *jagamohana* and *vimana* containing celestial figures, human figures, animal figures and narrative-figures from the Epics, besides the *gajasimbas* and *kirtti-mukhas* and all kinds of designs, makes the spectator stand amazed. Besides, the Brahmesvara and the Kapilesvara temples at the two outskirts of the town are huge and grand structures. The two-structured Brahmesvara is *panchayatana* in plan, i.e., four other



The dome of Ananta Vasudeva Temple

smaller shrines at the four corners of the same compound are existent along with the main shrine. The Kapilesvara temple is a four-structured one with many smaller shrines within the compound. The covered *verandah* or corridor connecting the *bhogamandira* with other parts is a majestic one with figures illustrating narratives from the Puranas inlaid on its walls. It is strange that Percy Brown in his book referred to above has not noted this grand temple of this belt. The Brahmesvara temple is also rich in narrative decoration.

A few words on the *Harihara* cult of Bhuvanesvara should be said. The presiding *Lingas* or even figures on the outer walls (as two such beautiful figures are to be found in the dilapidated Ramesvara temple) are Siva-Vishnu according to the cult of this belt. The Ramesvara figures show that in the same image the characteristics of both these deities are preserved (half Siva and half Vishnu). Therefore in these temples the offerings are purely vegetarian for the association of Vishnu. Parvati, the consort of Siva, and Lakshmi the consort of Vishnu, are given equal status. This Siva-Vishnu cult is a particularly Orissan one and we suppose that Orissa was the meeting-ground of not only artistic but also religious cults. The strong Saiva current of the North and the Vaishnava current of the South might have met and mingled here on the congenial soil of peaceful Orissa.

RAM GOPAL VIJAYVARGIYA AND HIS ART

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M. A.

A few miles away from the important town, Sawai Madhopur, in Southern Rajasthan is a village with dense forests, pretty hills, tall trees and scattered houses known as Baler. This is the native place of Shri Ram Gopal Vijayvargiya, the celebrated artist of India, who was born here in November, 1906 with silver spoon in his mouth and grew into manhood with brush and colours in his hands. His worthy father, the late Shri Bhanwari Lal, was a successful businessman as well as the *Kamdar* of the Baler estate. From his very boyhood, Vijayvargiya had a natural aptitude and a strong attraction for drawing and painting. But his father wanted to see him as a high Government official. That was why he was very often rebuked whenever his father found him engaged in sketching and drawing. Despite all these difficulties and obstacles, his practice could not be discontinued.

ON THE PATH OF PUBLICITY

In the year 1930, *The Modern Review* was the first journal to publish his painting, captioned *Water Carrier* in which three Rajasthani ladies carrying water-pots on their heads were portrayed. After that all the leading journals of the time came to appreciate his artistic talents by publishing his paintings in prominent

places. *Prabasi*, *Vishal Bharat*, *Saraswati*, *Madhuri*, *Chandr* and *Hans* were the magazines in which his paintings used to appear very often.



Lovers

EXHIBITIONS AND HONOURS

In the year 1932, the first exhibition of Vijayvargiya's paintings was held in Calcutta which is considered to be the main centre of paintings of modern style. Here, the paintings of Vijayvargiya captivated the attention of reputed Bengali artists and art-critics. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee writing about his art in the *Advance* expressed that some of Vijayvargiya's artistic creations reminded him of Ajanta paintings. Just after a year of this exhibition, the Fine Art Institute of Calcutta honoured Ram Gopal by awarding him a certificate of high proficiency. In 1934, in the Delhi Art Exhibition his

influenced by the Oriental school of painting developed in Bengal and also by the Rajput school of painting. He independently experiments his own original style.

SUBJECTS OF PAINTINGS

The subjects of Vijayvargiya's paintings are rich and varied and they possess great emotional power. On the one hand his brush portrays the romantic scenes full of voluptuous beauty and exuberant youth, on the other, he takes delight in depicting the supermen of epics and history.



Fruit-seller

work was very much appreciated and he was rewarded by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Since then his fame began to grow and spread not only in India but abroad also, and today he occupies a unique position among the well-known artists of India. The museums of London, Allahabad, Banaras and Jaipur have the proud privilege of possessing his masterpieces in their sections of fine arts.

ORIGINALITY OF STYLE

Artist Vijayvargiya does not follow any particular style. However, it may be remarked that he is deeply



On the way to market

Vijayvargiya has intensively studied Persian and Sanskrit, and has taken his themes from the *Kadambari*, *Abhijnan-Shakuntala*, *Meghadoot*, *Kumar-Sambhava*, *Geeta-Govinda*, *Raghu-Vansha* and *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. He has also painted folk life. For such paintings, he has derived his inspiration from indigenous sources.

CHOICE OF COLOURS

Painter Ram Gopal prefers soft, delicate washes of two or three colours in their graded shades. Sky-blue is one of the pet colours of Vijayvargiya.

CONCEPTION OF ART

Vijayvargiya has always given his recognition to the principle of 'Art for art's sake.' But at the same time he does not ignore the utilitarian viewpoint of art in life.



Women carrying pitchers

AN OUTSTANDING POET

Anyone who has availed himself of the opportunity of being personally acquainted with Shri Vijayvargiya will vouch for the fact that his outward appearance give the impression rather of a poet than a painter. Fair complexion, middle height, smiling lips and curling hair are the distinguishing characteristics which lend him the personality of a poet. As an outstanding poet Shri Vijayvargiya has contributed 'Alkavali' 'Chingariyan' 'Shatdal' and 'Nisha Abhisar' to Hindi literature and enriched its treasure. His recent publication entitled

Rajasthani Chitra Kala will also be regarded as the most informative and the best book on Rajasthani styles of painting.

PRINCIPAL AND MEMBER OF N.A.F.

Passing through the forty-eighth year of his life Shri

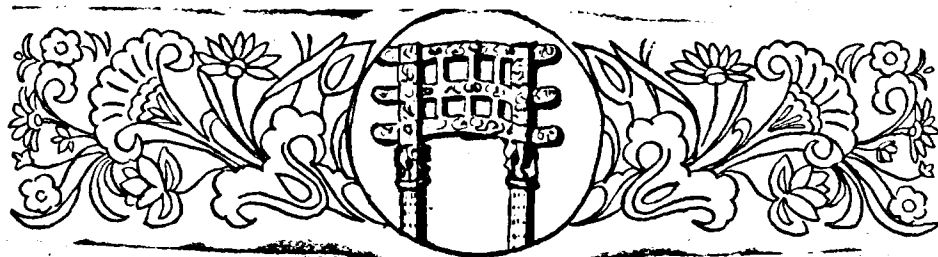


Toilet

Vijayvargiya is working as the Principal of the *Rajasthan Kala Mandir*, a Government Institute of art-education for girls. He is also the head of the department of painting in *Lalit Kala Sansthan* at Jaipur. He has also been nominated as a member of the National Academy of Fine Arts from Rajasthan.

CONCLUSION

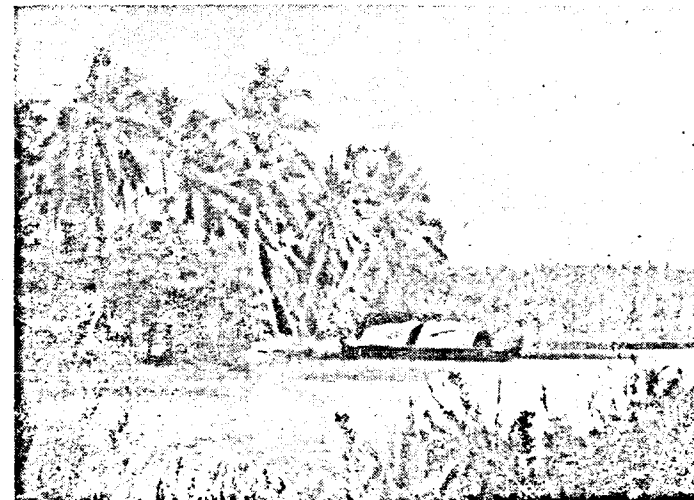
Artist Vijayvargiya is one of the top-ranking artists of our country. He has a style of his own and his best paintings will ever remain alive in the mind of man.



PICTURESQUE KOVALAM

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

The most alluring beauty spot which lies nearest to Trivandrum is Kovalam situated in a seaside village and nestling amidst dense palm groves. Ten miles to the south of the city is this popular week-end resort and shrine. The temple is situated amidst picturesque surroundings and the Karamana river winds its way close by. The peculiar gable style of architecture, the wood carvings and stone sculpture in the temple are of especial interest. Orthodox Hindus perform *shraddhas* (religious rites in honour of their departed relatives) at Thiruvallam and worship at the temple.



A view of the canal leading to Kovalam

sanatorium. Kovalam is a pretty hamlet consisting of thatched cottages scattered over a vast area on and nearabout the sea-shore and hiding as it were in the midst of luxuriant tropical vegetation. The shimmering sea and the picturesque rocky cliff lend rare enchantment to this region. With a landscape richly blessed with fragrant hilly pastures and delightful hills, Kovalam, the favoured goal of tourists, offers a wealth of attractions and experiences to the visitor who is seized with curiosity and longing to examine the contrasts of landscape presented here. Few spots on earth are better calculated to give an idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. The drive from Trivandrum to Kovalam is particularly beautiful. The principal charm of a trip to Kovalam is its complete restfulness and the entire absence of bustle, while something interesting is always within sight. Villages slip past and extensive paddy fields stretch flat to a distant horizon.

On the way to Kovalam, just four miles from Trivandrum, you cross the Karamana river at Thiruvallam. At Thiruvallam is a famous and sacred temple dedicated to Sri Parasurama. Nowhere else in the

whole of India is another temple dedicated principally to Sri Parasurama other than at Thiruvallam, and this unique feature adds to the importance of this shrine. The temple is situated amidst picturesque surroundings and the Karamana river winds its way close by. The peculiar gable style of architecture, the wood carvings and stone sculpture in the temple are of especial interest. Orthodox Hindus perform *shraddhas* (religious rites in honour of their departed relatives) at Thiruvallam and worship at the temple.

Leaving Thiruvallam the drive is across a typical rural area. A short detour from the main route to Kovalam leads to Vellayani. Splendid views over the sea are obtained on this country road which cuts across the countryside. The Vellayani Kayal is a fresh-water lake surrounded by dense cocoanut plantations and green paddy fields. At Vellayani is an old Bhagavati temple!

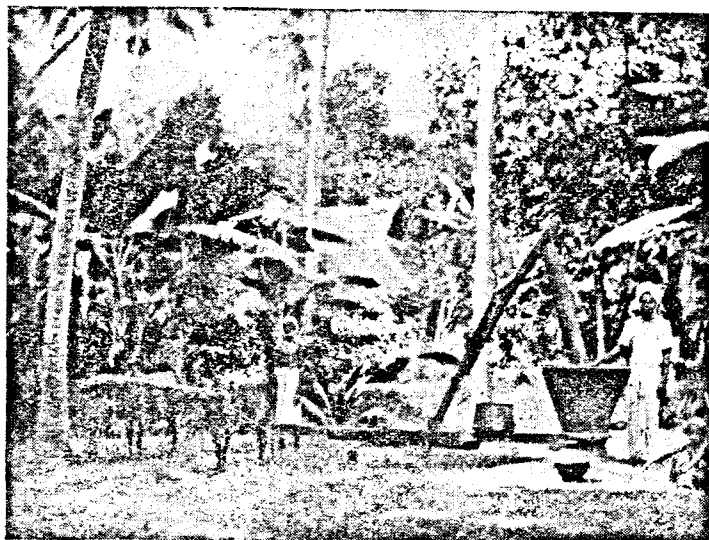


A view of the river which empties itself into the sea at Kovalam

As you approach the outskirts of Kovalam, the dry wind changes into a cool and balmy sea-breeze. The first and at once enthralling glimpse of Kovalam is across the cluster of sheltering palms lining the sea-front, and the undulating valley of green. At certain points the sea seems to stretch almost parallel

to the road. The whole region is undulating. Every inch of arable ground is covered with tapioca, the principal food of the poor and the labouring classes. Coconut, mango and jack trees and different varieties of luscious plantains are also seen in abundance. The car glides right down to the end of the well-laid-out road, to the sands and you stand face to face with Kovalam.

Kovalam has deservedly become the most popular week-end and holiday resort owing to its proximity to the town. This charming spot which is reached from Trivandrum by car in half an hour can also be reached by the Karamana river which empties itself at Kovalam into the sea. Kovalam can also be reached by the sea from Trivandrum in a *vallam*, country boat, or the distance can be walked along the sandy sea-shore. In any case, the trip is pleasant.



A view of the quiet countryside on the way to Kovalam

A beautiful piece of low-level land terminating in a cape higher than the contiguous coast, Kovalam comprises two promontories in between which is a sheltered bay. There is a very small village port with a lovely bay which affords tolerably safe landing in fine season. On the southern boundary of the bay is the picturesque rocky cliff with black rocks of varying sizes and diverse shapes piled one over the other in wild and chaotic disorder. The cliff is austere, imposing and magnificent. A view from the crest of this cliff offers one of the finest sea-views in the world.

At Kovalam there is a mysterious cave around which time has woven many interesting legends. This wonderful cave is in common parlance called *Udayar Vazhy*. A furlong to the interior of the picturesque rocky cliff is a precipitous and narrow pass. The cave is at the farthest end of this pass. Weird sounds are

caused when sea water rushes into this deep and dangerous cave. It is not possible to see clearly water rushing in, for the mouth of the cave is partially hidden by a huge globe-like stone towering six feet above the sea level. It is said that if this black rock is blasted away, the interior of the cave would be fully visible. To the right of the narrow pass visitors could stand and look round. The left side presents the appearance of a small forest. To obtain the best possible view of this strange cave one should embark either a catamaran or canoe and take a position facing the cave. Of course, this is a difficult and irksome task full of thrill. The interior of the cave is broad. The figure of a person seems to occupy the centre of the cave. When the rays of the setting sun reflect inside the cave, two eyes of flame are noticed there. One hears the noise of the sea water flowing into the

recesses of the cave. The sea water, however, does not flow back into the ocean. Legend avers that this awe-inspiring cave has its terminus at the foot of the Mookunni Malai, a small mountain range about 20 miles to the interior. Aged people who inhabit the coast say that terrible sounds emanate from the cave before the outbreak of the monsoon. It is believed that such sounds indicate an imminent monsoon.

Legend says that many many years ago when Kovalam was occupied by Pandarams, a section of the Saivites, one of their priests or *Udayars* as they were called, used to observe penance inside this cave. The *Udayar* who was a saint was in the habit of praying inside the cave for days together at a stretch without coming out or partaking of food. At last he informed his disciples that

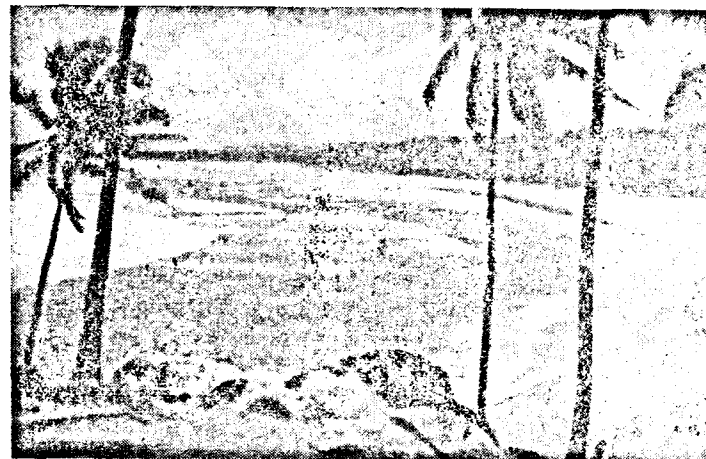
he had determined to take up his permanent abode inside the cave and commanded them to close the mouth of the cave. The dutiful disciples rolled down a huge stone to cover the mouth of the cave but the stone failed to serve the purpose. The *Udayar* did not again make his appearance outside the cave. Religious belief asserts that in places where such saints attain *samadhi* (casting off their mortal coil), *Siva Lingams* (Phallus consecrated as God Siva) occur. It may be that the figure which appears to occupy the interior of the cave is either a *Siva Lingam*, or the body of the *Udayar* himself turned into stone!

Another interesting sight is the balancing rock on the southern side. There a huge oval-shaped black rock of ominous appearance rests upon another equally huge rock maintaining a sort of precarious balance. When the gales blow, the balancing rock

swings gently and this sight is awe-inspiring. This place though fraught with danger affords ample scope for the experienced and daring rock-climber to enjoy a bit of strenuous rock-climbing. To the eastern side there is a huge black rock which resembles a big elephant in a crouching posture. This rock in common

On clear mornings and evenings when the sun shines, when the picturesque rocky cliff and the emerald green meadows close to the shore are clothed in majestic splendour the tourist should hike along the contiguous coast and then will behold a magnificent sight. Land and sea seem to merge into one another till he hardly knows where the earth ends and the waters begin. A riotous carnival of colours greets his vision.

To witness on a summer evening sunset at the Kovalam beach is to see an indescribable spectacle of beauty, majesty and charm. What wonderful colours for the artist's palette this bewitching scene conjures up! The luminous glories of colour that creep into the sky are simply enthralling. The glorious arch overhead, of a deeper blue than the sky ever was, is lavishly embellished with patches of sheeny clouds tinged with the deepest and softest hues of infinite variety. The clouds themselves are of all shapes changing every moment, both in form and decoration



Kovalam bathing beach

parlance is called *Anappara* (Elephant Rock). Tradition and legend aver that many many years ago an elephant which had set its foot on the particular spot (where the rock now stands) was all of a sudden transformed into a rock and there the unfortunate beast stands petrified even to this day!

The perfection of the beautiful unfolds itself to the gaze of the visitor at this lovely spot. See Nature's pranks and her splendour at Kovalam. The beach gleams. The pretty rocky cliff on one side of the Kovalam beach rises in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Thirty and more feet above the visitor's head the feathery leaves of the coconut palms wave gracefully. They have no community of action, but blow this way and that at their pleasure only protesting unanimously

if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed force. When the air is calm the palms converse with graceful gestures beckoning with suavest invitation. Warm breeze, gentle and invigorating, caresses the entire area. Colour and light enliven the landscape. Here beauty is everywhere in hill and dale, sea and river, nature and art, land and ocean, all joined together in the imperishability of the sublime.



The picturesque rocky cliff at Kovalam Beach. The P.W.D. Bathing Shed is also seen

through the varied effects of light and shade. On all sides as far as the eye could reach is the blue ocean, the sheltering palms lining the coast, the luxuriant foliage and the sparkling white sands. The bright sun shows his broad and crimson disc through an aperture of the light clouds and the abundant glories which fall in torrents in divergent pencil rays render the place lovely and romantic beyond description. The

setting sun leaves behind a whirl of pink opal where the clouds jostle against each other. To the east the sky is topaz, lemon and turquoise while the sea assumes myriad tints and the palms are dark green. The glassy casements of the P.W.D. Camp Shed which stands silhouetted against a flaming sky blaze in the crimson light due to the magic of the vanishing Sun-God. Birds chirp and dash fast to their nests. Fishing boats are launched into the ocean by the daring fisherfolk. All is quiet and mysteriously solemn. To sit on the Kovalam beach and watch this gorgeous natural phenomenon is to witness and enjoy one of the most colourful and thrilling sights of the earth. The sands themselves glitter and sparkle in the fading red light of the setting sun and there is a glorious shimmer on the surface of the rolling sea. The tiny lamps burning in the hovels of the fishermen give forth a reddish yellow light and add to the charm of the scene.

To stand on the rocky cliff and see the fiery red ball of the setting sun leaving multi-coloured luminous streaks on the horizon as it sinks into the sea, is a thrilling sight, clothed in a halo of mystery. The waters of the turbulent sea dash into the grottos with tremendous fury shooting up powerful sprays. See Kovalam at dusk when the heat no longer reflects off the mounting sand, when the cool ozone-bearing night breeze hisses across the palm-fringed shores with lovely sand dunes, when the tide booms against the shores throwing up sprays and the sea takes an unearthly glow.

Kovalam is an incomparably beautiful paradise for camping, picnic, sea-bathing, angling, fishing, swimming, surf-riding and yachting. In dug-out canoes and catamarans, quaint little crafts constructed by the dexterous fisherfolk who inhabit the coast, they brave the heavy surf and venture far out into the sea in pursuit of their livelihood. This familiar sight at Kovalam beach at the break of dawn and close of day is thrilling. It is a pleasure to be rowed into the sea on a catamaran in the evening and from there to gaze into the immensity which stretches itself

before the visitor and to spend a pleasant hour beneath the blue summer sky.

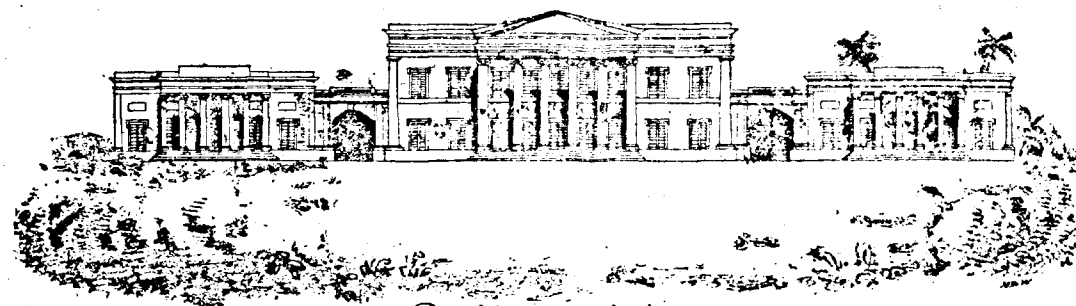
Seated on one of the rocks buttressing into the sea, one can try his hand at fishing. Buoyant fisherfolk striplings with but a semblance of dress comprising a loin cloth tightly drawn over the waist can be seen standing over the slippery rocks and fishing with rods and tackles for hours together without knowing any fatigue or losing patience. Or one can wade into the sea, stand in the waist-deep water and enjoy a game of angling. To observe agile fish and crabs darting across and hiding in the abundant creeks is an interesting sight.

When evening shadows cast their mystic spell of secrecy and soft murmurings and whispers emanate out of the sea, enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam. The bathing beach here is one of the most delightful beaches in the world. The shore is rapturous with the unending music of the waves over the rocks and the sand dunes. The sea in the ample embrace of pretty bays, or clear and limpid in narrow creeks, is always charming. Bathing at the swimming place at Kovalam is safe and most refreshing.

Kovalam on a moonlit night is simply bewitching. The silver moon hangs in the air shedding her rays on the ripples, waves, rocks and sands making them all the more lovely. The scene then seems like the Throne of the Invisible sentinelled by a galaxy of bright stars. On such a night when the land lies lovely beneath the moon it is a great experience to enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam and watch the grand panorama which unfolds itself before us.

The splendours of Kovalam have remained unchanged; only things have been made more convenient for those who wish to enjoy them. It is in this lovely and unspoiled scene where nature and mankind are so coalescent that the profound sublimity of Nature can best be appreciated.

"Ah, what pleasant visions haunt me
As I gaze upon the Sea!
All the old romantic legends,
All the dreams come back to me."



The Hindu College.

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THE HINDU COLLEGE, PREDECESSOR OF THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE

The Story of Its Foundation

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE Presidency College has just completed its hundred years. This has given occasion for the centenary celebrations of the institution. The College started work on the 15th June, 1854. It formally opened on the same date a year later as the Presidency College, Calcutta, after the approval and sanction of the Court of Directors reached the country. But the College was not altogether a new thing. Its predecessor, the Hindu College, was split up into two separate and distinct institutions in 1854. Its senior department formed the Presidency College and junior department the Hindu School, and the scholarships and bursaries were divided between them. The Hindu College had a chequered career. Its contribution to the progress of the country can never be over-estimated. It is but meet to discuss the history of this pioneer institution not only in Bengal, but in the whole of India as well. I propose to give here in brief the story of its foundation only.

The importance and far-reaching effect of the instruction imparted in the Hindu College, attracted the notice of the publicists and authors even in the thirties of the last century. *The Calcutta Christian Observer* gave a running account of this institution, based on contemporary evidence, in its first three issues—June, July and August, 1832. James Kerr, Principal of the Hindu College (1843-48), devoted a considerable portion of his book, *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency* (1851), to the history of the Hindu College. Rajnarain Bose of hallowed memory traced the origin and progress of the Hindu and the Presidency College on the occasion of the first College Re-union in early 1875. *Presidency College Register* was compiled and published under official auspices in 1927. In an important

paper* on Indian education of those days by Brajendra Nath Banerjee, much new light was thrown on the origin and foundation of the Hindu College. The present writer discovered, two decades ago, the *MSS. Proceedings* of the Hindu College Managing Committee, written in detail from 1816 to 1832, and in brief from 1833 up to 1850 in the family library of Rajah Radhakant Deb. He also contributed papers at that time on the Hindu College, in its first phase, based on these *MSS.* records and supplemented by the contemporary newspapers. The present article is also mainly based on these materials, in *MSS.* and in print.

II

The educational policy of the East India Company took a definite shape after 1813. This year the Company's Charter was renewed, and it was stipulated in one of its Clauses that the Company's local government should spend one lakh of rupees annually on education. There was no question of English education at the time in spite of the far-fetched construction of the Clause by Thomas Babington Macaulay twenty years later in favour of English education. The sum of one lakh was to be spent exclusively for oriental studies—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. And this was for two reasons: (1) The official language, including the language of the Courts, was Persian, and (2) The Company's local authorities thought that official encouragement of studies other than oriental might alienate the sympathy of the

* "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II. Mr. Banerjee has quoted the letter of Sir Edward Hyde East, dated 18th May 1816, in full in this paper. I have occasion to refer to it in this article.

people towards British rule. The former was the main reason that those versed in Persian found employment in the Government as *Sadar Ameens*, corresponding to the modern Munsiffs, and other similar posts. The English-educated youths were not given employment worth the name in any government department till the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

But the Indians had already come in contact with the British officials and non-officials. Necessity of learning the English language was keenly felt by even the rank and file for their constant intercourse with the British businessmen. Some schools had been started for giving the Indian boys rudimentary instruction in English. Radhakant Deb, Dwarkanath Tagore and Ramcomul Sen, who rose to eminence in after life, took their first lessons in English in these *pathshalas*. Drummond's Dhuramtollah Academy was an institution of a higher type. It was here that the famous Derozio studied in his early life. But the gentlemen named above as well as a good many others acquired proficiency in English language and literature by private study and began to appreciate their values. Raja Rammohun Roy preceded all of them in acquiring sufficient knowledge in English. But it is not on record that he received English instruction in any school or *pathsala* then in vogue. Even the *pundits* or the learned Sanskrit scholars heard of the richness of English literature through their compatriots and favoured the idea of imparting instruction in this lore to the younger generation.

The idea was already there. But it was left for David Hare, the watch-maker, to give it a concrete shape. He envisaged the prospects and possibilities of English education in India. He mooted the subject at a private meeting at Rammohun Roy's house. When the credit for the foundation of the Hindu College was sought to be divided between Sir Edward Hyde East and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson in 1830, a bitter controversy started in the newspapers, and it was agreed by almost everybody that the 'originator' of the College, truly speaking, was David Hare, because the idea of such an institution at first originated with him. It was also David Hare who prepared the plan for the Hindu College. It was on the basis of this plan that subsequent efforts were made. We have the following recorded in the June, 1832 issue of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*:

"The late Mr. Derozio, who, from his intimacy with David Hare and the Native community, as well as from his knowledge of the proceedings of the College, certainly had good grounds for the assertion which he so resolutely maintained, that 'previous to the aforesaid meeting being held (on the 14th May, 1816), a paper, both author and originator of which was Mr. Hare, and the purport of which was, a proposal for the establishment of

a College, was handed to Sir Hyde East by a Native for his countenance and support.'"

This point was elaborated in the July (1832) issue of the *Observer*. Here we find that a few persons assembled at Rammohun Roy's house when David Hare made the above proposal. This proposal received general approbation from those present there. Hare subsequently prepared a plan for the same, and Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee was deputed to collect subscriptions. Rammohun Roy was in the know of the proposal made at his house and in his presence, as well as the plan for founding a well-organised English seminary. The *Observer* writes that 'this circular was put into the hands of Sir E. H. East, who was very much pleased with the proposal, and after making a few corrections, offered his most cordial aid in the promotion of its object.'

From other contemporary or nearly contemporary sources it is clear that Rammohun Roy was closely associated with David Hare and some of their common friends in communicating the plan of the College to their opulent as well as learned countrymen. It may be presumed that the weighty support of no less a distinguished person than Rammohun was responsible for its being publicised in so short a time. It is, therefore, difficult to appreciate the view of those who say that Rammohun had no connection whatsoever with the foundation of the Hindu College.

III

Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Calcutta, was held in high esteem by the members of the Hindu and the European community. Invitations were sent in his name to the leading members of both the communities, to assemble at a meeting in East's house. As scheduled, the meeting was held there on 14th May, 1816. The Hindus necessarily predominated. This meeting is very memorable, because it is from here that the history of modern education in India properly begins. We have two accounts of this momentous meeting, one very brief in the *MSS. Proceedings* of the Hindu College, and the other in considerable details in the letter of Sir E. H. East, written only four days after the meeting took place. The account in the *Proceedings* tallies substantially with that given in the letter, and is inserted as follows:

"A very respectable meeting of the Hindoos assembled at this meeting by individual invitation at the house of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, for

* Vide "A Sketch of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College" in the June, July and August, 1832, issues of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*.

† The sources referred to are: (1) Sir E. H. East's letter to J. H. Harrington, written on 18th May, 1816; (2) *Samachar Darpan*, 8th July, 1831, (3) Peary Chand Mitra's *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (1877), p. 6, besides *The Calcutta Christian Observer* (1832).

the purpose of subscribing to and forming an Establishment for the liberal education of their children.

"The business of the day was opened by the Chief Justice, who addressed the meeting as to the object for which they were assembled and as to the benefit that his Lordship considered would be derived by the country at large from forming an establishment for the education of their youths.

"The proposal was received with the unanimous approbation of all the natives present including the most eminent pundits, who sanctioned with their express support, and recommendation.

"A large sum of money was immediately subscribed by most of those present, and it being understood that there were many Hindoo gentlemen who were not present, that were anxious to become subscribers to the Institution, another meeting was by the consent of the Chief Justice appointed to be held at his Lordship's house on Tuesday the 21st of May, when a committee might be chosen for preparing details of the plan, and taking measures for proceeding to a project and place for the College proposed to be erected. The Meeting was therefore adjourned till Tuesday 21st May and subscriptions appointed to be received in the meantime by W. C. Blaquiere and J. W. Croft, Esqrs."

In his above-mentioned letter Sir E. H. East noted some 'singularities' of this important assemblage. In his words, 'One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.' East was struck with the enthusiasm of the prominent pundits, Sanskrit scholars, for the introduction of Western literature and science. He writes that 'when they were about to depart, the head pundit, in the name of himself and others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in this country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.' According to the letter, the subjects to be taught in the proposed institution, were:

"The cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindostanee tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals . . . ; grammar, writing (in English as well as in Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindu virtues), history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-lettres, poetry, etc., etc."

A few things are to be noted. In both the accounts, the name of David Hare, the 'originator of the plan,' did not occur. Hare never liked to come to the forefront. In the letter of Sir Edward, Ram-

mohun Roy came up prominently. The orthodox pundits objected to his having any connection with the proposed institution. One of them went so far as to say that he would have nothing to do with it, if they accepted subscriptions from Rammohun Roy. Rammohun retired, even before the foundation of the College was formally resolved upon.

IV

At the second general meeting held on 21st May, the proposal took a definite form. Some resolutions were accepted. By one the establishment of the institution was resolved upon, and its name was to be



Gopee Mohun Tagore

"Hindoo College." By another resolution, a General Committee was appointed for the realisation of this object. This Committee consisted of ten Europeans and twenty Indians, representing the elite and enlightened of both the communities. It should be noted that amongst the Indian members, as many as five were the most prominent pundits, or Sanskrit scholars. Joseph Barretto, the famous businessman and philanthropist, was appointed treasurer.

Subsequent meetings of the General Committee were also held at East's house and under his chairmanship. At the meeting on 27th May, Lt.-Col. Francis Irvine of the Military Department and Dewan Baidyanath Mukherjee who had taken keen interest in the matter from the very start, were appointed European and "Native" secretaries temporarily. Some tentative rules were framed on this

occasion, and the members were requested individually to give their opinion on them. They might also make some rules themselves and send them to the Committee. A Select Committee was formed 'to take measures for providing a proper place for the site of the intended College as well as to procure a temporary building for the purpose of commencing institution in the Bengalee and English language as soon as possible.'

The General Committee again met on 11th June. After the formal business was finished, the European members withdrew in a body, never to take any active part in the proceedings. Even Sir Edward Hyde East and J. H. Harington, two very ardent supporters of the cause, were to be regarded as private friends. The reason of their withdrawal is that even in 1816, the local authorities believed that co-operation with the Indians in such matters might be construed as governmental interference. The actual lines of the *Proceedings* in this connection are:

"The English gentlemen of the Committee desire to relinquish their right of voting on any question which may come before the Committee, though they will always be ready to assist the Native committee with their advice in any matter in which they may consult them.

"Sir Edward Hyde East and Mr. Harington desired to be considered as private friends to the Institution in common with the rest of the English gentlemen, to assist the gentlemen of the Native committee, but without making any honorary appellation to themselves."

Henceforward the Committee worked almost single-handed, though the venue of its meetings was the same. In its sitting on 25th June, a sub-committee was formed to prepare a digest of the rules and plans received heretofore from individual members. The General Committee did not meet for the following two months. The Sub-committee held its sittings during this period and thrashed out a digest of fundamental rules after mature deliberations. The local newspapers noticed the progress of the work of the General Committee and its Sub-committee from time to time. *The Calcutta Gazette* of 11th July, 1816 commented on the work of the Sub-committee as below:

"While the greatest unanimity of sentiment has prevailed with regard to many points, there are others which have excited much diversity of opinion among the subscribers. This diversity far from being a subject of regret, is only one out of many proofs of that zeal and animation with which the leading families and characters among the Hindoos have engaged in the design."

The *Gazette* of the same date informed the public of the large donation of Maharajah Tej Chand of Burdwan, amounting to rupees twelve thousand. It should be mentioned here that Gopee Mohun Tagore of Pathuriaghata subscribed rupees ten

thousand, and the Mullicks of Burrabazar, rupees twenty-five thousand. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 27th June had already referred to the amount and to the suggested ways of its expenditure:

"The amount of the subscriptions at present is Sa. Rs. 66,700, of which not less than 25,000 has been contributed by the Mullicks. Almost all the subscribers declare their resolution to add to their contributions as soon as a definitive plan should have been agreed on, which shall decide the mode and terms of the subscription. Calculations have in the meantime been made which purport to show, that one lac subscribed to a fund destined to remain at interest during the first year, afterwards to purchase ground and erect those buildings soonest required, together with half a lac constituting a fund, the capital and interest of which may be gradually expended, during the four years ensuing, on current expenses, will enable the managers of the institution to commence instruction, with every reasonable prospect of final success."

V

The Sub-committee, appointed for the purpose of preparing Rules for the College, finished its labours on 20th August 1816 and sent the printed copies of them to individual members of the General Committee. Both the General Committee and the subscribers met separately on 27th August at the house of Sir Edward Hyde East, to consider the Rules. The Sub-committee formally placed the Rules before both the meetings, which were passed unanimously, the pundits, too, giving their full consent.

The Rules were thirty-four in number, divided into three sections, namely, Tuition, Funds and Privileges, and Government. The object of the institution was described in the 1st Rule of the first section as "The primary object of the Institution is, the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." According to Rule 3, the College would include a School (*Pathshala*), and an Academy (*Maha Pathshala*). The subjects of study in both the divisions would be on the lines mentioned before. The work of the School was to commence first. Another Rule in this section is very interesting, and may be followed with profit even today. The Rule lays down:

"The English language shall not be taught to boys under eight years of age, without the permission of the Managers in each particular instance."

The second section, Funds and Privileges, consists of sixteen rules (10-25), forming the pivot of the constitution. There should be two distinct funds for the College: (1) 'College Fund' and (2) 'Education Fund.' The object of the College Fund is stated to be "to form a charitable foundation for the advancement of learning, and in aid of the Education Fund. Its ultimate purpose will be the purchase of ground, and construction of suitable buildings there-

upon, for the permanent use of the College; as well as to provide all necessary articles of furniture, books, a philosophical apparatus, and whatever else may be requisite for the full accomplishment of the objects of the Institution." In the meantime, until the buildings were constructed, house-rent and other current expenditures would be paid out of this fund. The amount subscribed to the "Education Fund" would be appropriated to the education of pupils, and expense of tuition.

According to the amount of subscription, paid on or before the 21st May, 1817 (being the anniversary of the day on which it was agreed to establish this Institution), the subscribers should be placed in different categories. The highest single contributor would be designated the "Chief Founder"; those paying Rs. 5,000 or upwards, the "Principal Founders," all other subscribers, "Founders of the College." The "Heritable Governor of the College" should be one who would contribute Rs. 5,000 or upwards, to the College Fund, before the aggregate sum of a lac and a half of sicca rupees might have been subscribed to that Fund. Members of the Managing Committee, called in the Rules, as 'Directors' or 'Managers' would be elected annually from amongst subscribers of a certain amount. This is clearly expressed in the following Rule:

"Subscribers to the College Fund, who are not governors, and whose joint or separate subscriptions to it, (made before a lac and a half of sicca rupees shall have been contributed to it), shall collectively amount to 5,000 rupees, shall be entitled to elect anyone of their number to be a Director of the College."

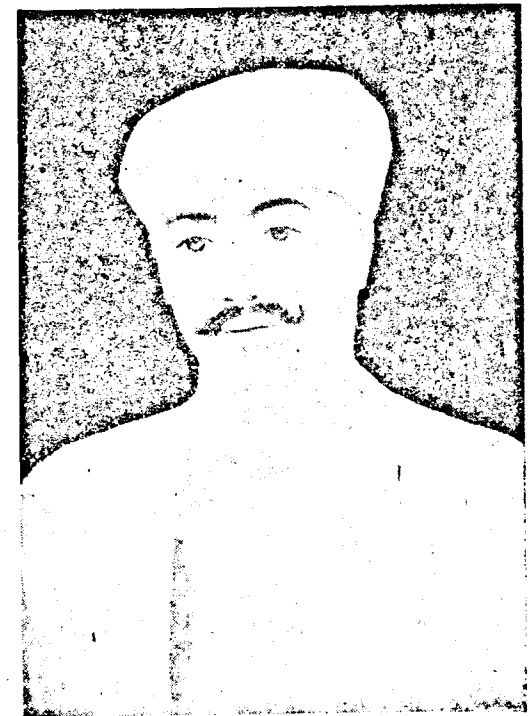
Privileges of the subscribers have been described in some other rules. The Directors would determine their privileges when they would meet after their election.

The third section, "Government," contains nine Rules (26-34). The government of the College would be vested in a Committee of Managers, consisting of 'Heritable Governors, Governors for Life, Annual Directors, or their respective Deputies.' The Managers should 'possess full powers to carry into effect the whole of the Rules now established. They shall pass also additional Rules.' They would be the trustees of both the College and the Education Fund. The Committee of Managers would be the appointing authority in all cases. Three Managers would form a quorum in the committee-meetings, and all affairs would be decided by a majority of votes. The thirty-fourth Rule lays down the compulsory convention of an annual general meeting of the subscribers, 'at which a Report shall be made to them of the state of the funds and of the progress of the Institution.'

VI

In accordance with the Rules, the Managing Committee of the proposed Hindu College was consti-

tuted with two Heritable Governors—Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur of Burdwan and Gopeemohan Tagore of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, and five Directors or Managers, namely, Ganganarain Das, Radhamadhab Banerjee, Joykissen Singh, Gopeemohan Deb and Harimohan Tagore. Tej Chand very rarely attended the Committee meetings. The Committee began their work immediately. The first meeting of the Committee of Managers was held on the 4th December, 1816, at the house of Sir E. H. East. Five members attended the meeting, the absentees being



Joykissen Singh

Tej Chand and Harimohan Tagore. The Committee appointed James Isaac D'Anselme of Chandernagore, Head Master, on a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem. Lieut. Francis Irvine was appointed at this meeting European Secretary and Superintendent with a monthly salary of Rs. 300 subject to the permission of the Local Government, and Baidya Nath Mukherjee, Native Secretary, Superintendent and Accountant on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The next meeting of the Committee came off at the same place on the 12th December. Several other teachers and monitors were appointed and formal matters transacted. The Committee approved of the draft of a letter to be sent to the Governor-General seeking his permission to allow Francis Irvine to serve the Institution. The letter was sent to the proper quarters.

The Committee held two subsequent meetings,

one on the 6th and the other on the 13th January, 1817, and finalised the way in which the College was to be founded. The site for the College was selected at No. 304, Chitpore Road, the house of Gorachand Bysack, on a monthly rental. Thirteen "free" scholars were ready for admission on account of the subscriptions to the Education Fund by some gentlemen. Francis Irvine was permitted to serve in the College in a letter written on behalf of the Governor-General to the Committee. The letter, however, expressly stated that in signifying "his Lordship's permission to accept the office of Secretary and Superintendent of the Institution, his Lordship desires it to be fully understood that his acquiescence implies no sanction of the exercise of European interposition or influence in the selection and appointment of the officers of the Institution." The formal opening of the College in its school department was fixed on 20th January, 1817.

Now we come to the end of our story. The formal opening of the Hindu College came off on the scheduled date. There were only twenty students on the Roll. But the enthusiasm of the Indians, the gentry as well as the Pundits, was the uppermost. Some Europeans also attended the opening ceremony. *The Calcutta Gazette* of January 23, 1817, gave a detailed account of the opening day of the College, which runs mainly as follows:

"During the whole or part of this day were present the following members of the College, viz., Gopee Mohun Thakoor, a Governor of the Hindoo College, Baboos Radhamadhub Banorija, Joykissen Sing, Gopee Mohun Deb, and Hurry Mohun Thakoor.—Many opulent natives, who were in general the parents or patrons of the scholars—Ragoomonee Bidyabhoosun, Chaturbhuj Nyaeerutnu, Sooba Sastry, Mirtoonjoy Bidyalunkur, Tarapersaud Nyaeebhusun, Ramdulal Turkoochooramonee Bhattachari, Subhanund Bidyabagis, and other Pundits; besides Mohunpersad Thakoor,

Baboo Radhakant Deb, and other literary natives. . . . Among those (English gentlemen) who came, were the Honorable the Chief Justice, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Loring, and Mr. Barnes.

"Teaching commenced, and was carried on under various disadvantages. Although everything had been avoided, which might assemble numerous spectators, their number and curiosity were sufficient to cause inconvenience. The teachers and scholars had no previous acquaintance or communication; and the proficiency of the latter, on which their distribution into classes depended, was to be ascertained on the spur of the occasion. Those present, however, expressed themselves to be much pleased with the economy of the school, and exertions of the teachers. Some of the natives were much struck with several of the practices of the new method—the monitors pointing with rods the use of a large card for a whole class, and the sand-writing. They observed that this method was quite unknown when they were scholars; and they doubted not that it will cause their children to make such a more rapid progress than they had done.

"Most of the scholars having previously been in other seminaries, or received instruction at home, were found to possess some knowledge of English reading and writing. Their parents and friends observed that they had taken them from under other teachers, in the confidence that in this institution, expressly intended for the liberal education of the Hindoo children, their progress would be more rapid and their ultimate proficiency greater. The pundits testified greater satisfaction on this interesting occasion; and said that that day they witnessed the beginning of what they hoped would issue in a great diffusion of knowledge. A learned native expressed his hopes that the Hindoo College would resemble the Bur, the largest of trees, which yet is at first but a small seedling."

From this humble seedling the Hindu College certainly grew into a *Bur* or huge banyan tree within twenty years of its existence.

THE RIDDLE

By SANGITACHARYA TARAPADA CHAKRAVARTY

Why this wealth of love, this warmth of endearments
in a world girdled around by wreaths of death?
Why on earth this blossoming of timid hopes,
the hopes of union in a blasted heart
brimful of the pains of languishment?
Right from the dust and the grassy green
all things move and have their being,
just for a fruitless chase of the ignis fatuus.
Tears, unending tears blind the eye,
and yet we laugh our heartiest laughs.
Gnawing away the river's shores the waves roll on,
not feeling for their agonies, neither looking back

And lo, the shores would fain clasp that flowing tide
in their loving embrace!
Loose are the ties, and broken in a moment's time.
How merrily do birds build their nests of woe
on the boughs of trees!
The ship sails adrift tossed over the unfathomed deep:
where lies the port?
Wilder and wilder be the raging storm
man would rear his home none the less,
and birds their nests evermore.*

* Translation of a song from his book *Sura-Tirtha* in Bengali.

HOW THE INDIAN BORDER STATES SHOULD BE REORGANISED

By MAJOR. B. N. MAJUMDAR

INTRODUCTION

THE Butler Committee in its report some 30 years ago observed:

"Politically there are two Indias, British India governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of the Princes. Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of pink and yellow. The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together."

A glance at the map will however show that India is geographically one and indivisible. The Provinces and the States are so interspersed and dovetailed that these territories overlap and that the States had enclaves in the Provinces and *vice versa*. The Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee in 1948-49 has aptly remarked in their report:

"Provinces and States lie interspersed all over the continent, the boundaries being in most cases artificial and not representing any natural divisions; and all parts of the country are interlinked."

In actual fact the political division of India into two parts by the foreign ruling power was artificial and was an unwanted legacy of the Moghul period. This fact has been rightly observed in the White Paper on the Indian States:

"The geographical set-up of the Indian States did not coincide with any ethnic, racial or linguistic divisions. The people of the provinces and the States had suffered alike from the waves of foreign invasions and foreign domination. Close ties of cultural affinity, no less than those of blood and sentiment, bound the people of the States and the Provinces together."

How then India came to be divided into two parts? There were two reasons—the historical factor that the States had not been annexed and the political factor that the States maintained the "traditional monarchical form of government."

With the rise of nationalism considerable changes in the whole world came about and India also underwent important political transformation. After the attainment of independence in 1947 the whole outlook changed. The Princes readily realised the necessity to fall in line with the changing political aspirations of their people and consented voluntarily to remodel themselves. They surrendered their "legalistic stand on time-worn treaties or their anachronistic prerogatives and powers."

In spite of this change in attitude it took considerable time and effort of the authorities to consolidate this reorganisation. Difficulties faced were complex and many.

"It was inevitable that the profound change that has come over the States should bring in its wake a crop of difficult administrative problems. Local affiliations and political habits die hard; not all the newly established units, therefore, could be

expected to settle easily in the new mould. A radical change-over from an autocratic set-up, which had been maintained for a century and a half, to a democratic order and task of piecing together into a co-ordinated pattern the diverse administrative systems of integrated States could by no means be easy," observes the White Paper.

A complete change came over after the Independence of India Act. Under Section 7 of the said Act the "Suzerainty of His Majesty over Indian States" lapsed, and many States acceded to the Indian Union or executed "Stand-Still" agreements to maintain their existing "Codes" with regard to the subjects of common concern till such time a political set-up was devised.

Soon further tremendous changes were brought about "by a process of twofold integration, firstly, consolidation into sizeable and viable administrative units, and, secondly, growth of democratic institutions and responsible governments," observes the White Paper.

Of late, however, there has been a fresh wave of public opinion to reorganise the States in manners more suitable to the needs of the people and the country. While agreeing to the desirability of such a step, it is necessary to trace the historical setting of the whole problem, how it came about, why it was necessary and what principles were borne in mind at the time of the initial organisation of the present units. Only after this survey we shall be able to know how far the requirements of national security and defences were kept in view.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Even though the States had studied the map of India from the dawn of modern history, it was mere accident that the present problem was inherited by Indian government after independence. The legacy had been so deep-rooted after 130 years of British rule that it was then thought that nothing substantial will be achieved without a fierce revolution. However these fears were unfounded and a remarkable change-over took place which astounded even many optimists.

The States in their present form came into being since 1819 when their existence and continuance were recognised by the various treaties and "sanads" which they negotiated with the paramount power of India. By the various policies of subsidiary system (Wellesley), subordinate isolation (Hastings), and annexation (Dalhousie), the British consolidated their position vis-à-vis the Princes, in the country.

The Indian mutiny of 1857 proved the far-sighted statesmanship of the British when the Princes gave active support and enabled them to crush the mutinous army. In 1858 Queen Victoria proclaimed, "We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as our own." Thus the two Indias were completely isolated and grew up independent of each other.

World War I brought about a radical change in

the outlook. During the war the need for common policy and action between the Provinces and the States gathered force as the entire resources of the country had to be mobilised. This involved co-ordination and closer co-operation of administrative machineries of the Provinces and States. Thus the two component parts of the country were brought together by chance and sowed the seeds for that attitude of mind which became so pronounced during the period of partition.

Gradually the people were also politically awakened and clamoured for popular government and better economic conditions. These aspirations of the people of the country were recognised and Montagu made the historic announcement when he said about the acceptance of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of self-government in India as an integral part of the British empire." This was, however, not to the liking of the Princes who wanted to hang on to their gains and neutralise the growth of Indian nationalism. The Butler Committee recognised certain demands of the States in that their rights and obligations will not be transferred to any other Indian authority without the agreement of the States. Thus there were the following categories of States :

- (a) States, the Rulers of which were members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right. (108 States).
- (b) States, the Rulers of which were represented in the Chamber of Princes by 12 members of their Order elected by themselves (127 States).
- (c) Estates, Jagirs and others (327 in number).

All these States had varying degrees of relationship with the Crown.

"It was based on Treaties, Engagements, Sanads as supplemented by usages and sufferance and by decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice. The rights that the Paramount Power claimed in exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation to the States covered matters, both external and internal," observes the White Paper.

In other words the British exercised their paramountcy under conditions suitable and beneficial to them. The Indian States Committee of 1927 viewed this as :

"Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

Further changes in the reorganisation of the States on a federal basis took place under the Government of India Act of 1935. Even though the accession of the States to the federation was voluntary and was to be conditional on the basis of the Instrument of Accession, it was an important step towards unity and co-operation. This change could not be tried out properly as World War II broke out soon after and the scheme was abandoned in 1939.

During the war the Cripps Mission arrived to solve the Indian political complications. But it was

a failure and this gave a new turn to India's political struggle.

After the war the Cabinet Mission arrived in India in 1945 to make another effort to solve the political deadlock. This time the efforts were successful and India was divided. This division of the country completely broke the geographical coherence of the country and hence active efforts were made to solve the problem of the States.

After partition it was vitally necessary to retain the "unity of what remained as India" as it was "most essential not only for the political strength, full economic development and cultural expression of the Indian people but also for facing the aftermath of partition," remarks the White Paper. This point has been further ably substantiated by Coupland when he says :

"An India deprived of the States would have lost all coherence. For they form a great cruciform barrier separating all four quarters of the country. If no more than the Central Indian States and Hyderabad and Mysore were excluded from the Union, the United Provinces would be completely cut off from Sind. The strategic and economic implications are obvious enough."

After various negotiations the States eventually agreed to join in the Indian Union under the "Standstill Agreement." Thus the first phase of fitting the States into the constitutional structure was achieved.

The next step of integration took the following three forms :

- (a) Merger of States in the Provinces geographically contiguous.
- (b) Conversion of States into centrally administered areas.
- (c) The integration of the territories of the States to create viable units as Union of the States.

These various forms of integration had been based on the following : (a) Sizeable and viable units, (b) Geography, (c) Linguistic and Cultural affinity, (d) Man-power and wealth-power, (e) Economic potentiality.

With the reorganisation of the States, the relationship with the Centre was based on the following principles :

- (a) The Union Government have authority in the reconstituted States over the same range of subjects as in Provinces.
- (b) The Union Government exercises its functions in States through its own administrative agency as in Provinces.
- (c) The States contribute to the finances of the Union on exactly the same basis as the Provinces and receive grants and other forms of financial assistance on the same basis.

The reorganised set-up as it exists today has brought about many benefits. It has given the people a stable, popular and democratic government; effected economy in governing agencies, pooling of resources and national wealth; enabled people to have modern amenities of life and benefits of social welfare schemes; improved communication system; given the people

justice and law; in the new set-up there should be no room for special privileges of classes, immunities from taxation, judicial and quasi-judicial privileges, and other feudal practices," remarks the White Paper.

Even under the Constitution of India the States are as much a part of the country as the Provinces and there is no discrimination on this account. The whole system is operating efficiently with the exception of a few states whose political future has yet to be decided. These are Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh.

Under the new constitution, the constituent units are of three classes :

- (a) *Part A States*
These are former Governor's Provinces.
- (b) *Part B States*
These are Unions of States, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir.
- (c) *Part C States*
These correspond to the former Chief Commissioner's Provinces.

Thus the distinction of Provinces and States has vanished and that those States which had merged with the Provinces have lost all vestiges of existence of separate entities. Henceforth the word "State" has its proper shade of meaning and not as coined by the British.

Thus under the new set-up,

"The Union of India will conform to the pattern of other Federations and function with the same rights and obligations throughout the country, and that all the units will likewise have equal rights and obligations. Only so can the Union of India make an effective contribution to the solution of the difficult economic problems that face India, meet the strains and stresses of the post-war world and maintain the national unity," sums up the Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee.

After a study of the historical background it will be seen that the present set-up requires some changes though small, to conform to the organisation of the growing and vital needs of the security and defence of the country. In most cases all the salient factors were considered before merging and forming unions. But in the case of border states other factors should not have outweighed the security and defence aspects. It is, therefore, now for consideration as to what principles of reorganisation should be particularly applicable in the case of border States of India. Before we enumerate these principles let us first consider the salient requirements of national defence.

REQUIREMENTS OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

War in modern times has a totally different scope.

"Modern war is total, involving every branch of national life. All phases of the national war effort are inter-dependent, from the fields and the factory to the front line"—*Conduct of War* by War Office.

Today the strength of a nation is not measured in terms of the number of the armed forces. It is much more than that. All aspects of national life have to contribute their best to the adequate and efficient defence of the country. Even work, in connection with

the defence of the country is closely inter-related with others and thus make up a gigantic and a strong single national war machine.

The nature of war of the by-gone days has passed into history and oblivion. Today war engulfs every individual in the nation and depends for its success on the unbending will of the people as a whole. Soldiers may win any number of victories in the front line but if the home front collapses, the successful prosecution of the war may be jeopardized.

Every branch in a nation—the Government, the armed forces, the civil administration, the farmer, the labour, the factory worker, the businessman, and every other individual, whatever his work in life may be, is an important member of the team and has an important part to play. All components of the national effort are thus geared to the ultimate goal of successfully defending the nation at war.

What then are the basic factors on which the national strength is based? These are : (a) A strong national character and indomitable will to fight, (b) Economic stability, (c) Industrial and self-sufficiency, (d) A high national physical standard.

How can these conditions be achieved and developed? It is only by national unity and creating adequate opportunities for the people to enable them give out their best in times of war. All these points are closely interlinked with the suitable grouping of the states, so that all concerned can develop their spheres of contribution under a congenial atmosphere.

From a study of the principles underlying the organisation of the various states it will be noted that certain points have been considered but some are yet to be given their due weight and importance. This emphasis on the principles will vary in each state but the border states need a different consideration. It is felt that under the present set-up, the States on the border of India, need reorganisation. The problem will be considered in detail in the succeeding paras.

THE BORDER STATES

The present border of India is vulnerable. It has not been based on defensible features but only on political factors. India's border, therefore, requires a more stable and secure governmental organisation than the other States of India.

India has a very long border with the adjoining countries, with all of whom relationship is not very cordial.

The border States are : (a) Jammu and Kashmir, (b) Himachal Pradesh, (c) Assam, (d) Manipur, (e) Tripura, (f) Saurashtra, (g) Rajasthan, (h) Kutch.

The geographical position of the above states will reveal that these border States are situated on India's vulnerable portions and therefore should be organised on a different level. With the exception of Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Saurashtra and Rajasthan all the other States are centrally administered. There are at

present a few other States, such as Bilaspur, Bhopal and Bindhya Pradesh, which are also centrally administered. The main points for such a step are backwardness of the area, economic wealth, nodal points and location of vital natural resources. These may have some importance but not to the extent admitted. In a vast country like India there are many other places which have equally and even more important items essential for the very national existence but it is not possible to have all of them centrally controlled and administered. A line must be drawn somewhere for the demarcation.

It is therefore for consideration as to which of the states on the border of India are strategically important from the national defence point of view? All the border states are not so placed as to be important but some are. These States have already been indicated in the foregoing paras. The principles to be followed should be the following:

- (a) Political and military importance of the State.
- (b) Location of strategic communication system.
- (c) Existence of strategic industrial and natural resources.
- (d) Vital points in India's defence system.

These principles should be borne in mind in the case of the States only on the border. But other States may have some or all of these items and it is not necessary to give them special consideration.

The defence requirements are many. Already the main points have been enumerated and for successful conduct of defence of a country the salient requirements are political and economic stability. The forces operating in that part of the country should never be hampered by disrupted or disorganised conditions in their rear. Then, distances being vast they have to depend on local resources for their maintenance and this the area must be able to give to the troops stationed there. Similarly, the will of the people inhabiting must be strong so that they can stand up to all kinds of stress and strain.

During the process of organisation of the States the Government took into consideration the wishes of the people, their desire to have unions on linguistic, cultural and ethnic considerations, geographical proximity, economic factors and such other matters akin to them, but in the case of border States these may not all be taken notice of. The over-riding and primary considerations of defence and security must influence the decisions in the case of border States.

The units as they exist at present are already constituted according to the wishes of the people who want to be together, but the question that has to be decided relates to the governmental responsibility of these States. Also all border States have not been considered

previously. Hence, it is necessary to review the problem of reorganisation with special reference to defence requirements. Other requirements of integration will have to be considered but the overriding importance should have to be given to the points essential and vital for national security.

All the border States should be centrally administered. The appointment of the chief should be held by an able soldier statesman. This will ensure efficiency and stability of government, continuity and uniformity of administrative procedure, co-ordination of national defence programme between military and civil requirements and adequate and efficient consideration of defence requirements of the State. Direct Central control is necessary not only for adequacy of measures but also for implementing defence measures which is a central subject and is formulated and controlled at the highest level of the government.

CONCLUSION

In view of India's geographical position, defence considerations are of vital importance to the country. Under the present set-up the Centre has little or no control in the internal affairs of the States on the border of India which are not centrally administered. All the border States are not under central control and therefore many important defence requirements might be overlooked. To carry through any proposal, powers to implement and control the machinery must exist. And to bring about such a control it is necessary to reorganise all the important border States which are considered vital in India's chain of defence set-up. As the subject of re-organisation of the States is already under consideration the question of border States should also be carefully gone into.

It will be noted from the historical evolution of the States to the present day, the existing organisation had followed certain principles but in all cases economic factors were given more importance. This might have been so in some cases but not in all. The border States should have been viewed with a different outlook.

It has to be admitted that the present set-up of the States is the best that was possible under the circumstances and the speed in which it was done. But it was not the last answer in all aspects. It could have been better and it is now the opportunity to do so.

Whatever might have been the basis behind the organisation of the other States in India, it is considered that these should not be made applicable in toto to the border States. Some factors should be omitted in preference to the requirements and necessity for defence and national security. This fact has been rather regrettably missing and is vital to our national solidarity and independence.

"JIBANDEBATA" CONCEPTION IN RABINDRANATH'S POETRY As Seen in the Light of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy

By SANTOSH KUMAR BRAHMA, M.A.

VERY few people will disagree if we say that Rabindranath was a poet-philosopher. Now philosophical poetry, like poetical drama, is a peculiar genre composed of warring elements. And one naturally asks where poetry ends and philosophy begins.

But one thing is certain. Poetry is not the same thing as philosophy. Poetical experience and philosophical concept are different things. Philosophers look behind and after and find that "all is right." But poets sing in a different tune. Poets when they look before and after pine for what is not. There is always an element of sadness, an undefinable yearning, in the poetic mind. No one can miss this longing whether he reads the love-laden lines of Keats or the lovely lyrics of Shelley.

The conception of *Jibandebata*, be it poetic or philosophical, has aroused much controversy among the critics of Rabindranath. One school of thought led by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis argues, not without reason, that *Jibandebata* is personal. In the words of Prof. Mahalanobis:

"*Jibandebata* is personal—the presiding deity of the poet's mind—not quite that even—the Innerself of the Poet, who is more than this earthly incarnation."

The other school goes the other way in suggesting that *Jibandebata* is impersonal. It suggests the idea of Universal Godhead. As against these conflicting views we have the opinion of the poet which on the authority of Dr. Thompson runs as follows:

"The idea has a double strand. There is the Vaishnava dualism always keeping the separateness of the Self and there is the Upanishadic monism . . . when the *Jibandebata* came to me I felt an overwhelming joy—it seemed a discovery, new with me—in this deepest self-seeking expression . . . Today I am on the same plane as my readers. I am trying to find what the *Jibandebata* was."

The words of the poet even do not carry us far. To his mind the conception of *Jibandebata* is at once personal and impersonal.

Rabindranath like Sri Aurobindo is opposed to the doctrine of the monistic spirituality. In a famous lyric the poet has condemned in unmistakable terms what Sri Aurobindo has called "the great Refusal of the Ascetic" to recognise the material world. The poet and the philosopher are at one in regarding both Matter and Spirit as real. As Sri Aurobindo says:

"But there is also this other indubitable experience that the Divine is here in everything as well as in all things, that all is in that and is that when we go back from its appearance to its Reality."

Sri Aurobindo goes further and makes the disquieting reflection that the Divine descends into the world of matter. So it is possible to realise the Divine, however imperfect that realisation may be, in the material world. One need not get completely beyond the world of senses to catch fleeting glimpses of the veiled Divine which we can get in the "Overmind stage." This leads us to the conclusion that Rabindranath's *Jibandebata* is a partial realisation of the Divine or Absolute Spirit in the world of Matter. It is not the Supreme Being of God which can only be realised, in Sri Aurobindo's words, on the Supramental stage.

The first thing to note about the idea of *Jibandebata* is that it is an experience of the poetic mind. No less a person than the Poet himself has said in his "Kamala Lectures" on the Religion of Man that

"All that I have tried to speak about *Jibandebata* is an experience of the poetic mind."

Any attempt to philosophise on them will lead us wrong. The second thing that strikes us is that we do not find in the poet's conception of *Jibandebata* that decisive experience or spiritual certitude that characterises a spiritual aspirant who has realised God. Hence, the poet has called it by various names.

The conclusion seems irresistible that the *Jibandebata* in Rabindranath's poetry is an experience of the poetic mind and not a philosophical concept as some learned professors and critics of Rabindranath make us believe.

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THE SPELL OF AMERICA

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Round the world!

Yes, I went as a pilgrim in quest of principles that should guide human life in modern times. I went to give what Indian culture has to offer to the world and the world has to offer India. My job was to find out a harmonious relation between scientific knowledge and the art of life and to preach the world-view given by our ancient seers.

Alas, how many can say that he has spent his time as he will like to recount it. I am not surely in that favoured group. But still I am proud of my travel-experiences. The days I spent in foreign land will remain unforgettable for their varied experiences on the world-background.

Among the many countries I visited, I liked America the best and I shall try to analyse the spell

of that mighty country to the best of my power.

What strikes a foreigner on his first arrival in the United States of America is the wonderful living democracy in that wide and beautiful country.

In a letter of June 8, 1783, the first President, George Washington, wrote:

"The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years are laid open for our use and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government."

This boast is amply justified by the achievements of the American people in the domain of politics.

America is the *oldest* republic on the face of the earth. The American people is world-conscious. Its people is conscious of its peculiar role on the face of the earth. It wants to voice forth the hopes and aspirations of the whole human race upon the wilderness environment of a new country—it wanted to build a new history and it has not failed to fulfil this destiny. It is because of this feeling that the American people are very hospitable, without much introduction I was able to live as guests in different American homes.

America is the great melting pot of races where individuals of different nations, speaking different languages and having different customs and manners are changed into a new nation by the alchemy of two powerful forces, puritanism and democracy, to become the great American nation. The average American is frank and cordial and he is generally hospitable and affectionate. He has no prejudice against you. He, therefore, soon becomes an endearing friend and remains so for your life, for, he has an abundance of the warmth of heart and ardent enthusiasm. I remember meeting a young divorced wife and her mother coming to listen to my lecture. Thereafter they invited me to have a round of the beautiful San Francisco city in their car. In our journey, the old mother talked with me in a very friendly manner and divulged to me the secrets of their personal lives. In no other country on the face of the earth such intimacy can be found. It is the frankness and brave attitude of a brave people.

I remember also the many conversations I had with one of my pupils. She wanted to read the Vedas with me but unfortunately she was the only student I got and the Dean stopped my classes. But I shall never forget her eagerness to learn about the great mysteries of India. She invited me to her flat and had deep discussions on the intricate problems of life. When I

had to leave San Francisco, she invited her friends into a small meeting and asked me to give a little talk so that she and her friends may offer me something for my lecture.

America is a favoured land. Because of its vast natural resources and its wonderful human enterprise, America is the land of plenty. It gives chances to young men and women to make something of life. But this abundance, this plenty does not make them idlers. Even the richest man in America could find nothing wrong in driving his car nor could his wife deem it a dishonour to look after the home-affairs. The dignity of labour is not a copy-book maxim in America—it is the general practice. I loved America because of this.

I was the guest in the riverside drive of Manhattan of a very respectable professor of the Columbia University. He used to wash his own dishes after dinner and I tried to help him to the best of my power and ability.

I had occasion to criticise the love problems of America in some of my lectures. My listeners listened to my pungent remarks with good graces. But still the problem remains and every third marriage in America ends in a divorce. In spite of Hollywood pictures which give many the idea that America is the land of poetry and passion, the fact is that America has the largest number of divorces. But one of the many reasons for it is that an average American woman looks out for glamour in his marital life and it is for this reason that she seldom bears with maladjustments in life's partnership.

Success is the keynote of American life. Everybody is working hard for achieving success. Millions of men are daily panting and sweating to make a success of something or other. There is endless effort to make things work perfectly. The average American is a man with great faith. He believes that there is a keyword which would solve all the intricate puzzles of life and some one or other knows it. Because of this national conviction, everybody is moving and moving.

This speed, this hurry, tires our eastern conceptions of life but it is part of the American life. Along with this, there is always tall talk and self-glorification. Everything of America seems to the Americans to be of the superlative degree. In this brag, there is a childish joy of a new nation which does not hurt you.

The Americans are directly a commercial people. Dollars influence their outlook in life. To many wealth and not the enjoyment of wealth, seems to be the principal aim of life but still they are the most generous people on the face of the earth. The charitable institutions of all descriptions bears gifts from the wealthy classes in profuse numbers. This charity is not simply confined to the four corners of America.

The Sanskrit maxim that to the high-minded the whole world is kith and kin is true to American character than to our own.

Matthew Arnold did not find elevation and beauty in America but I cannot agree with his view. There is a deep earnestness in the American character and they are the most ardent lovers of beauty. An American is eager to identify himself with world-wide and age-long adventure of mankind.

America today is a leader of nations. I found everywhere from the gleaming Pacific to the wide Atlantic, peoples of the different states eager to know more of India. I personally believe that we should gain much if we can have the friendship and love of America, for, America will help without expecting any obligation on our part.

—:O:—

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

In the centre of the Soviet capital, on the largest of its seven hills, stands the Moscow Kremlin, the greatest memorial of Russian culture. It houses the Soviet Government, is the venue of Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and all important conferences.

The gates of the Kremlin are hospitably open to excursions of the working people and to numerous foreign guests. In 1954 alone it was visited by over half a million excursionists including delegations from Britain, France, America, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Japan, Rumania, Finland, China, Korea, Albania, Belgium, Sweden, Israel, Norway, Germany, India, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and other countries.

The Moscow Kremlin is a magnificent architectural ensemble which has been developed and added to over a number of centuries.

Of great historical value are the superb collections of applied and decorative arts kept in the State Oruzheinaya Palata, the oldest museum in the country, which make it possible to trace the development of almost all the branches of Russian applied arts. Especially well represented there are metal handicrafts, articles of carved bone and wood fabrics, gold and silver embroidery.

Most of the art valuables collected in the museum are closely linked with Russia's history beginning with the eleventh century and, specifically, with the history of the Moscow Kremlin. These articles testify to the high level of Russian art. Under Soviet power the Oruzheinaya Palata collections have been replenished by the more historically important treasures from Russian palaces and the patriarchic vestry.

The Moscow Kremlin is rich in architectural monuments. To them belong the Uspensky Cathedral dating back to 1479, the annunciation (Blagovesh-

The dramatic and picturesque expansion of America will be an inspiration to Free India. The spirit of freedom and enterprise which characterises the American nation when mingled with our depth of spirituality will usher in a far more glorious India.

George Warrington Steevens wrote about the American:

"You may differ from him, you may laugh at him; but neither of these is the predominant emotion he inspires. Even while you differ or laugh, he is essentially the man with whom you are always wanting to shake hands."

I must agree with him wholeheartedly when I remember with gratitude the many friends I made in America and their courteous and warm friendly services.

chensky) Cathedral erected in 1489 by Moscow and Pskov architects, and the Archangel Cathedral built in 1509.

Each of them contains a large number of painting memorials. The Blagoveshchensky Cathedral, for instance, is decorated with works by Andrei Rublev, Feofan Grek and Prokhor of Gorodets. To better preserve these memorials the Cathedral has been air-conditioned. Restoration of 17th century frescoes and paintings is nearing completion in the Archangel Cathedral.

Visitors to the Kremlin can see some magnificent samples of the art of foundry, such as, for example, the tsar cannon, cast in 1586 by the Russian master Andrei Chokhov. This 89 centimetre piece of ordnance weighs forty tons and is five metres thirtyfour centimetres long. It was built to defend the Kremlin against a Tatar invasion at the end of the 16th century. The enemy never reached Moscow, however, so that the cannon was never used though it has all the necessary requisites.

A no less interesting monument of the art of casting is the tsar Kolokol, standing near the Ivan the Great belfry. This giant bell, 6 metres 60 centimetres in diameter and weighing over two hundred tons, has no equal in the world either in weight or the quality of work. It was cast by the Russian master Ivan Motorin and his son Mikhail. After the casting it was raised on scaffolding for further treatment. During the great fire of 1737 the scaffolding collapsed and the bell, heated by the flames, fell into a ditch with cold water. The metal cracked and a piece weighing 11.5 tons broke off. The bell lay in the ditch one century, and it was only in 1836 that it was raised and placed on a granite pedestal.

The architectural memorials and other structures in the Kremlin underwent restoration last year.—Tass.

THE ALEXANDER-VON-HUMBOLDT FOUNDATION

THE Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation was originally established in 1925 and reconstituted in 1953 by Chancellor Adenauer to commemorate one of Germany's greatest scholars, scientists and diplomats. Alexander von Humboldt was a friend and contemporary of such figures as Goethe, Schiller, Bunsen, Gauss, and others. Primarily a naturalist and botanist, his voluminous writings were based on an amount of personal exploration, which would have been remarkable even today, but which, in the eighteenth century, was nothing short of phenomenal. In addition to his native continent, von Humboldt's explorations led him through large parts of North and South America and Asia. His name is immortalized by such discoveries as the Humboldt Current in the Pacific Ocean, which flows down the west coast of South America, and by rivers and mountain ranges in many parts of the Americas. His whole life was devoted to bringing spiritual values of classical idealism into harmony with the newly emerging spirit of the natural sciences. That he combined both spirits in himself is best proven by the fact that in addition to his achievements as a naturalist, he had a notable career in diplomacy, serving his country at embassies and legations in France, England and Denmark.

It is perhaps only fitting that in keeping with the great tradition embodied in its name, the Humboldt Foundation today has as its chairman the internationally famous physicist and Noble Prize winner, Professor Werner Heisenberg of Goettingen University.

The Humboldt Fellowships are awarded on an international basis, i.e., there are no fixed number awarded to any one country. The holders of Humboldt Fellowships may therefore rightfully be considered members of an international elite. The fact that many Indians have held Humboldt Fellowships in the past is a tribute to the high level of Indian education and to the respect which her scientists enjoy in the eyes of the world.

* * * * *

Dear Sir,

I take great pleasure in informing you that applications may again be made for the Alexander-von-Humboldt Fellowships for the academic year 1955/56. As you are perhaps aware, the Humboldt Foundation makes a limited number of fellowships available each

year to enable a select group of specially qualified foreign students and scientists to pursue their studies and research at Universities and Institutes of Technology in Germany. The fellowships normally have a duration of ten months, but in special cases can be extended for a further 10-month-period.

To qualify for an Alexander-von-Humboldt Fellowship, the applicant must be the holder of a post-graduate degree who intends to make a career of university teaching or research, or who may be expected to hold a leading position of some other kind after leaving the university. Only highly qualified and particularly well-recommended applicants will therefore be considered.

During the period of his fellowship, the holder receives a stipend of 350 DM per month, of which his room rent will amount to about 50 to 75 DM and his food to approximately 175 DM. All tuition fees, as well as transportation costs from the German border to his place of study and return, are paid by the Foundation.

The applicants must possess an adequate knowledge of the German language. The letter of application should be handwritten in German, and contain a statement of the reasons why the applicant desires to study in Germany. The accompanying application forms should be completed in triplicate and forwarded, together with three photographs, to this office prior to March 1, 1955.

A memorandum stating the terms of the fellowship in detail, together with application forms, is enclosed. Selections are made by the Fellowship Committee in Germany, the result of which will be announced by July 1st.

While the number of these fellowships is naturally limited, we would very much like to see a high percentage of them awarded to qualified Indian students, and would therefore appreciate it if you would circularize this information at your institution as widely as possible.

Should additional application forms be required, the Consulate General will be happy to supply them upon request.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Schafhausen

Vice-Consul, the Federal Republic of Germany



GURU GOVIND SINGH AND THE KHALSA

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

GURU NANAK was the founder of the Sikh religion which had to make its way through organised opposition and tremendous difficulties. At the time of his appearance (1469—1539 A.D.) India was groaning under the tyranny of the Moslem rulers. The nine succeeding Gurus kept the spiritual lamp lighted by Nanakji burning in the midst of tempest. The advent of Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, opened a new chapter in the annals of Sikhism and the Sikh nation. During the period Aurangzeb, the orthodox Moghul autocrat, was the ruling Emperor. His bigotry, fanaticism and unscrupulousness reached their zenith due to which the sufferings of the non-Moslem subjects knew no bounds. His sole motive was to convert the non-Moslems to Islam by any means fair or foul and failing that to cow them down or to turn them into a race of helots. That very policy, pursued by Aurangzeb with much hope and zeal, not only proved abortive but also brought about the downfall of the great Moghul Empire built by Akbar, a far-sighted Emperor and statesman, who followed a reverse policy.

When Guru Govind had to take his seat as the tenth Guru he was only ten years old. He decided to live the life of a recluse in a solitary and safe place for the purpose of gathering strength both temporal and spiritual through *sadhana*, devotion, meditation and study. He retired to the Siwalik hills in the Nahan State of the Punjab where he spent about two and a half decades. He appointed several reputed scholars and poets with whose assistance he learnt Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabi. He made a deep and extensive study of Pouranic, epic and scriptural literature of the Hindus. The young Guru was deeply impressed by the message conveyed through Sanskrit literature that when righteousness would face decay due to the domination of unrighteousness, a divine saviour would descend to the earth from time to time for the revival of religion by rescuing the righteous and destroying the unrighteous. Guru Govind came to believe that God the Almighty had ordained him to discharge the noble duty of the deliverer by emancipating the good and the oppressed and annihilating the bad and the oppressors. He mentioned this in his autobiography *Vichitra Natak*. He may be said to have inherited his poetical gift from his forefathers. He developed a style of his own in composing Hindi poems through which heroic sentiments and martial

spirit found expression. It was Guruji who introduced blank verse in the Punjabi literature. His poems, which were extensively read, infused a new spirit into the hearts of the Sikhs.

During the period of his seclusion Guruji evolved a new scheme of regenerating the Sikhs and with a view to shaping it he directed them to rally on the first of Baisakh, 1736 Sambat (1699 A.D.) at Anandpur in the district of Hoshiarpur. About eighty thousand Sikhs assembled on the occasion. They eagerly waited to have a *darshan* of their Guruji and to listen to the message to be personally delivered by him. The people assembled were astonished when they saw Guruji coming out of his camp pitched nearby with an unsheathed sword in his hand. Addressing the congregation he said that they had gathered there at a time when the Sikh religion and the Sikh nation were in a critical position. Never before the Sikhs had to face such a crisis. If they wanted to save their religion and nation, they would be required to sacrifice their lives. Then he asked whether they were prepared to do that. None responded. Then he repeated his question for the third time. In response thereto a Sikh proceeded to the rostrum and standing before Guruji with his head bending in reverence said: "I shall feel blessed if Guruji orders me to lay down my life." He was forthwith taken to the tent wherefrom Guruji came back alone after some time holding that unsheathed sword as before. His call for sacrifice was heard by the mammoth gathering for the second time with rapt attention. Another Sikh appeared before him and offered himself for sacrifice. In this manner when the fifth Sikh offered himself as sacrifice there, was no further call. After some time Guru Govind Singh with his flashing sword in hand appeared before the congregation accompanied by those five Sikhs all of whom were dressed in new clothes. Some of the people got unnerved and slipped away from the gathering.

Guru Govind called those five disciples *panch piyara* which means the Five Beloved Ones. They were baptised by him. He sprinkled baptismal water with the pointed portion of his sword to the accompaniment of *Gurbani*. He then requested his five followers to administer baptism to him in the same way. His request having been complied with he told them that he was their Guru and collectively they too were his Gurus. They were called the *Khalsa* which

means pure. Guruji laid down a two-fold doctrine for the Khalsa:

"Blessed is he who repeateth God's name and is ready for war for a righteous cause."

The conversion into Sikhism was hereafter to be performed jointly by five Sikh devotees. Guruji gave this message to his co-religionists:

"Where there are five Sikhs there is God."

It was on this auspicious day of first Baisakh known as Baisakhi about 256 years ago Guru Govind, the far-sighted spiritual leader of the Sikhs, inaugurated the Khalsa through which not only a brotherhood of faith but also a brotherhood of arms was built up. His Khalsa which subsequently turned into an invincible army, fought the oppressive Moslem rulers, faced death as martyrs in defence of their faith and liberated their land of birth, the Punjab, from Moslem domination. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the famous Sikh warrior, himself a devoted member of the order of the Khalsa, conquered Lahore, Kashmir, Jammu, Dera Ismail-Khan and other important places and turned out the Moslem rulers from the Punjab and the adjoining places. He founded a Sikh State extending from the banks of the River Jamuna up to the Khyber Pass.

Along with the inauguration of the Khalsa Guruji introduced some changes in the customs of the Sikhs. The word Sikh was replaced by the word Singh as title. In Punjabi, the word Singh means a lion and this title was used only by the Rajput Kshatriyas. He wanted the Sikhs to be as fearless as lions. The form of salutation by touching the feet was dropped; in its place the custom of folding hands for saluting or exchanging greetings was introduced. Furthermore, while greeting each other the Sikhs were to utter this couple of sentences, *Wa Gurujika Khalsa, Wa Gurujiki Fateh*, which means victory of the Khalsa

is victory of God. He made it mandatory for every Sikh to carry a *kripan* (sword) with him as his constant companion. He asked his followers to give equal preference to the cult of *bhakti* as well as to the cult of *Shakti*. The Khalsa brotherhood did not recognise caste system and untouchability. Every human being is a son of God and service to humanity is service to God—this universal truth, propagated by Guru Nanak, was again placed before the Sikhs by Guru Govind with an appeal to follow it with devotion. "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man" is the *summum bonum* of the Khalsa brotherhood.

Guru Govind was not a visionary but a man of action. He himself did what he asked others to do and this was the characteristic of the Sikh Gurus. He himself fought battles and encouraged his sons to fight like a true Sikh. Four of his sons died in the battle-field. His family had a glorious record of martyrdom which was a source of inspiration to him. His great grandfather Guru Arjun Dev was charged with treason and executed by Jahangir (the grandfather of Aurangzeb); the grandfather Guru Har Govind was clapped in prison by Shah Jahan (the father of Aurangzeb); and his father Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed under Aurangzeb's orders. Guru Govind had unswerving faith in his religion and deep love for his mother-country and the nation to the service of which he dedicated his life.

Through unflinching devotion to the leader, sacrifices and sufferings for the sacred cause of religion and national freedom, and death-defying courage and spirit of martyrdom, the great Khalsa of Guru Govind created a tradition of its own which has no parallel in history. This glorious tradition inspired the Sikhs to fight gallantly in our national struggle for liberation from British imperialism. They played a significant role in the Azad Hind Foj—the I.N.A. of Netaji Subhas Bose.



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 CALL OF THE VEDAS: By Abinash Chandra Bose. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1954. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 1-12.*

This is one of the most important monographs that have appeared so far in the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's* Book University Series. It consists of quotations of single verses, numbering three hundred in all, selected mostly from the *Rigveda Samhita* and partly from the *Atharva-veda Samhita* and the *Vajasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda*. The quotations with appropriate titles are accompanied with English translations and short commentaries. In his Preface the author claims to have limited his choice to the texts about which there is no divergence of interpretation between the orthodox scholars and the [Western] Orientalists, but in explaining their spiritual and religious significance, he has drawn upon "Indian sources (including the work of Indian spiritual leaders)," instead of following "the anthropological approach" of the Orientalists. The three hundred verses have been grouped by the author after his own system of classification under five sections representing different spiritual attitudes in the manner of the *Bhagavada-Gita*. These are (a) the Path of Devotion (*Bhakti-yoga*), (b) the Path of Knowledge (*Jnana-yoga*), (c) the Path of Mysticism or Spiritual Realisation (*Raja-yoga*), (d) the Path of Splendour (*Vibhuti-yoga*), and (e) the Path of Action (*Karma-yoga*). The fourth Path in this list is, in the author's opinion, "the most characteristic of the Vedas with their poetic approach to the Divine." The author's long introduction (pp. 1-75) is specially valuable for his very thorough and critical account of Vedic theism differing alike from monotheism and polytheism and conveying a wider connotation than henotheism (the term coined by Max Muller for this religion), as well as his detailed analysis of the basic principles of the Vedic religion comprising truth, order, consecration, austerity, prayer and ritual. The introduction ends with an estimate of Vedic Realism, collectivism and universalism.

The above analysis will help the reader to judge the nature of contents of this work. On some points (e.g., in the author's system of classification, admittedly based upon the late *Bhagavad-gita* and in the relative paucity of the texts quoted from the *Atharva-veda* and the huge literature of the *Yajur-veda*, which is utilised here only in its shortest recension), there may be legitimate grounds for criticism. The present reviewer again finds it difficult sometimes to follow the author's interpretation, as when he makes the sweeping assertion (p. 260) that "the word Brahmana does not imply a caste in the Vedas," nor again is he convinced that the Path of Splendour is "the most characteristic" attitude of the Vedas, in view of the prominent part played by

charms, spells and incantations especially in the *Atharva-veda*. These minor defects of omission and commission however do not detract from the high value of this monograph alike for the general reader and the scholar.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA—1955: *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.*

We have received a copy of *India—1955*, a "Reference annual compiled by the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India."

This year's annual shows a distinct advance on the previous years. The arrangements are more compact and the range of sections slightly wider. The reference value, as seen with a cursory glance through the pages, has also increased due to the inclusion of comprehensive tables and statistical data.

Two sections are wanting in this publication as in the previous ones. Firstly, there should have been a survey of efficiency in the services, public utilities and industrial production. This would have given a better idea of real progress than mere bald figures of moneys allocated and spent and structures erected. Secondly, there should have been a comprehensive bibliography of official and other authoritative publications, wherein there is more detailed information about the various sections included. Nevertheless the publication is useful and handy.

K. N. C.

STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: A survey based on case studies in Bombay and Madras: By A. V. Ramm Rao, M.A., Ph.D. *Publication No. 28. The Gokhale Institute, of Politics and Economics, Poona-4, (India). 1954. Pp. 218 + iii. Price Rs. 7 or 11s. or \$1.50.*

The volume is a consolidated report on the structure and working of Village Panchayats in Bombay, Kolhapur, Amudh and Madras. It sums up the results of investigations carried out by Dr. A. V. Ramm Rao as the Recent scholar at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, during the years 1946 and 1947. As Sri D. R. Gadgil says in his Foreword, "... the study was directed towards obtaining field data regarding the working of Panchayats. It was planned as a series of case studies of a selected sample of Panchayats from different administrations."

In the report Dr. Rao has first of all described the administrative and legislative position of the Panchayats on the eve of enquiry. Next, he has analysed the facts revealed by the survey under four heads: (a) Structure, (b) Finance, (c) Functions, and (d) Supervision and Control. Lastly, he has made

his own observations. On the whole, Dr. Rao's report with its factual material, comparative data and intelligent *obiter dicta* is a very useful publication.

Village Panchayats as units of self-government and schools of citizenship have appeared and re-appeared in Indian history. In the first decade of the 20th century, the Decentralisation Commission appreciated their vitality and recommended their revival. But practically nothing was done till 1920. Since then experiments in democracy in rural areas have spread and these 'little republics' have proved their worth. Indeed, Village Panchayats will play an increasingly important role in the near future. Organisation of Village Panchayats is one of the directive principles of State policy. Article 40 of the Constitution of India may be referred to. The Planning Commission visualizes Village Panchayats as agencies for carrying out rural development programmes. Thus the more the citizens of New India know about Village Panchayats, the better for the country. Against this background the importance of Dr. Rao's book is to be judged. It will serve as a valuable guide to our understanding of perhaps the most interesting sector of public administration in the India of tomorrow.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

RUSO-AMERICAN RIVALRY IN ASIA: By *Hector Abhaya-Vardhan*. Published by *Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2*. Price Rs. 4-8.

Mr. Abhaya-Vardhan's *Ruso-American Rivalry in Asia* is a well-written study of what is perhaps the most important international problem of our age, viz., the relation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and their rivalry in Asia.

In Part I, comprising eight chapters, the author surveys the former's policy in and attitude to Asia in general and China in particular during the last one hundred years. American policy in Asia, the author holds, aims at the subordination of Asia to American capitalism and imperialism. The objective is to be achieved by peaceful means, if possible, and by war, if necessary.

The nine chapters comprising Part II survey the Soviet foreign policy. The aims of this policy too, the author contends, are the subordination and exploitation of China and the rest of Asia. Hence, the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The gulf between them widens and our planet draws nearer the edge of the precipice.

The eight-page epilogue (pp. 175-82) of the volume under review is in the nature of the peroration of a prosecution counsel's argument, the U.S.A. being the prisoner in the dock.

The author, it is true, does not openly champion either the Russian or the American cause. Yet it is evident that he is anti-American, more anti-American than anti-Russian, at any rate. His work is however on the whole, an honest, "critical and non-partisan narrative and analysis of the Foreign policy of the U.S.A. and Russia" in Asia and merits a perusal. All his conclusions need not be accepted.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJEE

A HANDBOOK OF SAIVA RELIGION: By *Subramaniam Katesu*. Second Edition. Published by *G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras*. Pp. 114. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author of the book under review is a retired lawyer and law lecturer of Ceylon. He has half a dozen books on Ceylon law and Saiva religion. The

Tamil Telegraphic Code invented by him is a distinct mark of his genius.

This small book treats within a brief compass the essential features of Saiva *siddhanta* mainly prevalent in the Tamil province and Ceylon. It is shorn of technical terms and pedantic discussions and meant for English-educated devotees and students. That is why the University students of Ceylon have taken to it as an introduction to their deep study of Saiva *Siddhanta*. Sivagnana Bodham and Sivagnana Siddhar, the two foundational scriptures of Saiva *Siddhanta*, are summarised in the third chapter. The last chapter gives a descriptive list of the scriptures and sacred books of this school of Hinduism.

Kashmir school of Saivism is another important branch of Hinduism and is different in several aspects from Saiva *Siddhanta*. The sacred books of the former sect are in Sanskrit whereas those of the latter are in Tamil. Thus various aspects of our religion and philosophy have to be studied and broadcasted as widely as possible in this age. This is needed to enliven the cultural revival necessary for the preservation of our Swaraj.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE GREAT SECRET (Six Monologues and a Conclusion): By *the Mother*. Published in 1955 by *Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry*. Pages 27, 6½"×7½". Price 8 annas.

In it six world-famous men—The Statesman, The Writer, The Scientist, The Artist, The Industrialist, The Athlete—have been thrown together in a life-boat where they took refuge when the ship carrying them to a World Conference on Human Progress sank in the middle of the Ocean. When there was no hope and death was a certainty they narrated the stories of their lives, and expressed utter disappointment in their ultimate achievements. There was an Unknown man in the boat who was so long taken to be a negligible quantity. Now he rises full of serene power and opens before them a new meaning of life. Further he advises them to invoke the intervention of Grace. On invocation, Grace descends upon them and leads them out of destruction to salvation and new life. These Monologues can be staged with profit by students of both schools and colleges.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT STUDIES: By *M. Hiriyanra*. Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore. Price Rs. 4 or 6s.

We have here a collection of nine 'papers of a general nature relating to Sanskrit literature and language of the late Prof. Hiriyanra.' In a simple and attractive style they mainly seek to focus the attention of readers on the characteristic features of Sanskrit literature with special reference to Kalidasa and a number of works of Bhasa and Bhavabhuti. In the last paper on the study of Sanskrit valuable advice is given as to the way in which a serious student of Sanskrit should proceed in his studies. The book occasionally gives a new insight which will interest and benefit the students.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY: By *Rao Bahadur Prof. A. Chakravarti, M.A., I.E.S.* Printed at the *Diocesan Press, Madras*. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-8.

The author of the book under review is a veteran educationist and a retired member of Indian Educational

Service. For very many years he served as a distinguished Professor of English in several Government Colleges in Madras Presidency.

This small volume is a collection of ten articles written by the learned professor in different times and is prefaced by Sri C. S. Mallinath, ex-editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, Madras. The first seven of the ten articles appeared in the *Jaina Gazette* between 1919 and 1933 and the last one was specially written for this booklet. The philosophical, political, social, economic and other aspects of Indian culture are generally dealt with in these essays. Rightly Sri C. S. Mallinath observes in the preface that the views of the author are as true to-day as when they were originally written. The present generation of students and youths will be immensely benefited by a perusal of these suggestive and readable articles. But it is strange how a professor like him can pass such a perverted opinion about the dominant religion of India. In his extreme exuberance of appreciation of the Jaina practices he has gone so far as to call 'animal sacrifice of the Hindus a barbaric act' without trying in the least to realise its underlying significance. There is a number of cases which can be cited from the booklet where the writer has unjustly attacked Hinduism from an irrational outlook. We expected from the learned professor a more sober and dispassionate view of our religious practices. If the book were free from this limitation, its value would have been greatly enhanced.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

COMMERCIAL FRUITS OF INDIA: By *G. S. Cheema, D.Sc., I.A.S., Fruit Development Adviser to the Government of India, S. S. Bhat, M.Ag., Horticulturist to the Government of Baroda, and K. C. Nauk, B.Ag., M.Sc., Ph.D., Fruit Specialist, Madras*.—It bears a foreword of *Mr. Ronald G. Hatton, Director, East Mailing Research Station, East Mailing, Kent, England* and a preface from *Sir R. C. Allan, Commissioner of Agriculture (retired), Baroda*.

The book is the fourth in a series of authoritative manuals prepared for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on subjects relating to agricultural and horticultural research and practice. It deals in considerable detail with the culture of banana, mango, orange and allied citrus fruits, guava, pomegranate, papaya, grape, sapota, fig and ber. And these ten fruits have been dealt with in about 400 pages, and this alone will indicate how exhaustively the culture of each fruit has been described and discussed. In fact all available literature, whether it is a leaflet or a pamphlet or a treatise has been consulted and useful information relating to each fruit has been embodied in it. A bibliography has been annexed with regard to each of the fruits dealt with in the book. And it has to be admitted that the authors have spared no pains to present an authoritative treatise on the ten fruits (they have chosen for their book. And it will indeed be very valuable to those who are interested in the cultivation of fruits—whether on a large or a small scale.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have printed and published the book. Its get-up is excellent and it contains a good many illustrations. It is priced at Rs. 18 only. A treatise of this nature in vernaculars is likely to be more popular and useful towards the development of culture of fruits in the country.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

JUSTICE AND PEACE FOR ALL: By *Abdul Hasanat*. Published by *Pakistan Co-operative Book Society Ltd., Chittagong*. Price Rs. 7-8.

There is something about law and justice that at once attracts and repels. In this book the author wades through the intricacies of law, as it prevails in India and Pakistan, to see if justice, peace and normal living bliss can be had more cheaply and expeditiously. The book is full of practical suggestions for improvement of our laws and the instruments through which they are administered; but how far they will appeal to our rulers is a different question. For example, the author calls our Jury system, and we think rightly, a farce, but in India, at least, it is going to be put on a firmer basis.

Reform of the police is a baffling task; yet an account of the author's own experiments (and he is one of the Police Chiefs of East Pakistan) in this behalf at Chittagong seems to be encouraging. It will, I hope, attract the serious attention of those who have the police reforms in view.

On other cognate subjects, namely, the civil and criminal laws, the judges, the lawyers, the litigant public and the like, the author's constructive criticisms are also thought-provoking. But we miss in his discussions a systematic treatment. Perhaps the author was thinking of the possible dimension of the book if he entered fully into those subjects; but then he might save much of his space if he had reserved an account of his own experiments for a separate monograph. We hope that in the next edition the author will devote more pages to the reform of other agencies of the administration of law.

Law's delay, at least, should have received fuller attention from the author who has, unlike many similar other writers, vast practical experience added to learning and good sense. In Chap. XX relating to factors vitiating administration of justice the author might, for greater effect, cite Indian cases instead of American.

On the whole, the book is an original contribution to our not very copious literature on law and as such it will, we hope, be welcomed by all who are interested in the study of law and legal institutions.

P. C. ROYCHOUDHURY

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE: By *Dr. R. N. Poduval, Ph.D. (Lond.)*. Premier Publishing Co., Fountain, Delhi. Pp. 83. Price not mentioned.

The book contains two lectures delivered by Dr. Poduval at the Madras University in February 1950. In the first lecture, the author discusses the changing pattern of India's foreign trade. Since the beginning of the Second World War and after its close India's foreign trade has passed through several stages. A further development commenced since 15th August, 1947, when two independent Dominions emerged as a result of the partition of the country. Emergence of India after the Great War as a creditor country had new implications in her trade relations with the outside world. Birth of Pakistan has made trade relations between India and her neighbour foreign. Division of India has made one portion mainly producer of raw materials and the other industrial, thus breaking the economy so far enjoyed by the whole Indian Empire. Devaluation by India and non-devaluation by Pakistan of their respective currencies in respect of Dollar have created complications whose result it is not possible to foretell in all its aspects but it may be stated without fear of contradiction that these actions are sure to be disastrous to economies of both, apart from unfriendly political relations already in existence.

The second lecture discusses the commodity balance of trade before, during and after the War, visible and invisible trade, trade balance with Pakistan, effects of devaluation on Indo-Pakistan trade—Disequilibrium—Balance of Trade Problem in International context. The treatment of the subjects is illuminating even to a layman.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

SARVODAYA SIDDHANTA: A Symposium. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

There is a fundamental difference between the ideology of the Communist and that of the believer in the principles of Sarvodaya or Gandhism, though both avow that their sole objective in pursuing their particular path of reform or revolution is the creation of a classless society. For, violence or non-violence as a means to this end makes all the difference between the two ideologies. Shri Mashruwala brings this out clearly in his book while the symposium on Sarvodaya, to which Gandhiji, Vinobaji, Shri Narhari Parekh and others have contributed, only helps to confirm this difference, emphasising at the same time that justice must be assured "unto this last."

G. M.

GUJARATI

VIJNAN MANDIR: By Prof. Dr. Kantilal C. Pandya, M.A., Ph.D. Published by N. M. Tripathi

& Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 438. Price Rs. 4.

Dr. Pandya has served for a long time in St. John's College at Agra as the Professor of Science and is therefore naturally interested in spreading the knowledge of scientific subjects and of scientists in his own mother tongue. He is a practised and known writer connected with literary families both on the paternal and the maternal sides. Biographies of famous scientists of both hemispheres and of India have been set out in easy language, with narrations of the works turned out by them and their discoveries. A thoroughly valuable work.

KALBHOJ: By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 345. Price Rs. 4-8.

Kalbhoj who is identified with Bappa Raval of Mewad (A.D. 734-753), was a king who valiantly withstood the coming onslaughts of Muslim invaders of India, and reigned over a country glorious in every way: a sort of golden age in the history of old Bharat. The practised pen and the splendid vision of this unique novel-writer of present Gujarat, has recreated the state of society prevalent then and presented an enchanting picture of the times which leads the reader into believing as if he was living in those times. It is a novel which will live.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Draft Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61)

Science and Culture writes editorially:

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 as prepared by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis seeks to supply a logical foundation and a consistent frame-work for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan 1956-61. The chief aims are:

- (a) to increase the national income by 5 per cent per year, that is, to double it in about 14 years; and
- (b) to create opportunities of work for about 11 million persons during the plan-period.

This is sought to be done, on the one hand, by large investments in the heavy industries and construction, and on the other hand, by expanding the household and industries to the fullest extent. The development of heavy machineries, iron and steel, coal, irrigation and electricity, cement, heavy chemicals, etc., would lay a sound foundation for rapid industrialization in future. The expansion of hand industries would create a large volume of employment and increase the production of consumer goods to meet the increasing demand caused by large investments in the heavy industries.

Tentative targets of production have been given in the draft Plan-frame. It is not claimed that these are final. In fact, the chief object of the Plan-frame is to have the targets revised as necessary by detailed examination at a technical level. The Plan-frame emphasizes, however, that the targets are related to the rate of increase of national income and the volume of new employment sought to be created during the plan period. Secondly, there are technological connections between the different items; a change in one item may require consequential changes in other items. Finally, the targets of production obviously are related to capital investments. The targets are thus basically inter-connected and also related to the rate of investment, the rate of increase of national income, and the rate of creation of new employment.

The chief merit of the draft Plan-frame lies in the attempt to give a coherent and logical structure to the second plan. This is why great emphasis has been laid on the consistency between different objectives and targets of the plan and balances between supply and demand at every stage.

It is interesting to observe that this type of planning requires thinking at a physical level. In fact, at one time there was a good deal of controversy about the alleged conflict between physical and financial planning. The fact of the matter is that a financial counterpart can always be arranged for any programme which is physically realizable but the converse is not true. The draft Plan-frame has clearly pointed out that the physical and the financial approach are but two aspects of the same reality.

Some of the basic ideas of the new approach were given by Professor Mahalanobis in two papers in 1952 and 1953, in which he reached the conclusion that for a satisfactory growth of the national economy it would

be necessary to have an average rate of investment of at least 10 or 11 per cent and that a large part of such investment should be allotted to the heavy industries. Both these ideas have found expression in the draft Plan-frame.

Work on this subject in the Indian Statistical Institute was more systematically organized when basic studies on planning for national development were inaugurated in the Institute by the Prime Minister in November 1954. Since then there was rapid progress.

We understand that the Central Statistical Organization (which works under the technical guidance of Professor Mahalanobis) has been closely associated with the studies on national income from the beginning. From December 1954 leading economists in the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, began to work with the statistical group and the draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 represents much of this joint thinking. The group was also helped in many ways by exchange of ideas and experience with a large number of foreign economists and statisticians who worked as visiting professors in the Indian Statistical Institute during the cold season of 1954-55.

It is important to notice that the draft Plan-frame is not a copy of any foreign model. In the economy of more advanced industrial countries there is a conflict between consumption and investment. It is usually stressed that investment can not be increased without tightening the belt, that is, without reducing consumption. In the draft Plan-frame, the strategy is to increase both consumption and investment at the same time. In fact, it is the surplus production of consumer goods in the hand industries which would enable large investments being made in the heavy industries.

The draft Plan-frame proposes to restrict further expansion of factory production of such consumer goods as would be competitive with hand-made articles until unemployment has been eliminated. This emphasis on the use of hand products is in keeping with the cultural traditions of the country. However, once the fear of unemployment is eliminated, it is proposed to expand the factory production of consumer goods to attain a continually increasing level of living in future.

Although much-needed emphasis has been given to industrialization, the draft Plan-frame has taken into full consideration the need of expanding agricultural production and giving increasing attention to rural welfare through Community Projects and other measures.

It is also worth noticing that the draft Plan-frame does not contemplate nationalization of organized industries on ideological grounds. In fact, its emphasis is on the expansion of hand and household industries which are all in the private sector. It advocates the use of electricity to supply power for small-scale and household industries and is in favour of a wide disposal of industrial production.

The pattern of economic growth visualized in the draft Plan-frame is thus quite different from develop-

ments in U.S.S.R. and the socialized countries. The present approach has its roots in Indian traditions, is suited to Indian conditions, and has been the outcome of some hard thinking on the part of Indian scientists.

As far as we can judge the proposals made in the draft Plan-frame would be of great advantage to the agriculturists, artisans, the labouring classes as well as to the intelligentsia. There would be no nationalization on ideological grounds. The public sector would expand at a faster rate, and the private sector would have an expanding and assured market. The only basic change would be a restriction on the unlimited expansion of big business which is inescapable in the context of the Avadi resolution of the Congress party affirming its faith in progress towards a socialistic pattern of economy in India.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 is accompanied by a supporting paper of 21 March 1955, giving more detailed information about targets and the financial position, prepared by the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs in consultation with the Central Statistical Organization and the Indian Statistical Institute. The draft Plan-frame and the Secretariat working paper represent much joint thinking and are consistent with each other but not identical. The draft Plan-frame is more comprehensive, and covers a wide range of questions of economic policy and administrative and constitutional changes.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 and the supporting Secretariat paper of 21 March 1955 were considered by the Panel of Economists (consisting of 17 leading economists of India with Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Minister of Finance, as Chairman and Professor D. R. Gadgil as Vice-Chairman) of the Planning Commission on the 8th, 9th and 10th April 1955. The Panel of Economists submitted a Memorandum on the draft Plan-frame which also has been released by Government. This Memorandum (which is practically unanimous with only one note of dissent) gives general approval of objectives of the draft Plan-frame and strongly supports the broad lines of policy. At one time there was some controversy between statisticians and economists which now seems to have had a happy ending with practically complete agreement about the present approach to planning.

The three papers were considered by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council on the 5th May and by the full Council itself (which consists of the Central Cabinet, the Planning Commission and the Chief Ministers of all the States) on the 6th May; and the draft Plan-frame was accepted as a basis for detailed formulation of the second plan. It is intended to get ready a draft outline of the second plan by October or November of this year, and the plan itself by March 1956. The Prime Minister, who presided at both the meetings, desired that wide publicity should be given to these papers.

The most important feature of the present approach to planning is its emphasis on the need of detailed technical work to ensure the internal consistency and the balances of the plan. It is fully recognized that the work of planning itself would call for a large staff of economists, statisticians, scientists, engineers, technologists and administrators (Chapter 6, 1.3). The draft Plan-frame emphasizes the need of a large scale organization for the training of technical personnel; and stresses the importance of re-orienting scientific and technological research to serve the needs of national development (Chapter 2, para 16). It also gives a

warning that the existing administrative machinery of Government may prove the greatest obstacle to the implementation of the plan, and emphasizes that such a bold plan, roughly twice the size of the first plan, can be undertaken only with the full support of the general public.

In view of the importance of the subject it is hoped that every one interested in the future progress of the country would make a serious study of the new approach to planning and offer constructive criticisms.

Whatever changes may be made in the targets and other details, the draft Plan-frame can give a definite direction to economic thinking and scientific and technological research in this country.

The readers of *Science and Culture* will find it of interest to note that more or less similar points of view were expressed in a series of articles on 'Rethinking our Future,' which appeared in this journal early in 1953. These articles were the result of a special study on planning by Professor M. N. Shaha and were later published by the Indian Science News Association in the form of a booklet, *Rethinking Our Future*. The following may be quoted:

"It is clear from the foregoing sections that the economic laws which any Plan for a country has to follow are:

(a) that the existing productive machinery of the country (the word machinery is used in a figurative sense to include all means of production) must be maintained at full strength by the compulsory provision of adequate depreciation (or amortisation). This is not being done in India in many industrial groups (jute, coal, tea, cotton, chemicals, iron and steel etc.).

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(b) There must be large new net investments in new productive enterprises which should be geared to the natural resources of the country. For India, if we want really an increase of national income, and if the per capita income has to be increased within a reasonable period (doubling of per capita income in 10 years) we must have $a=20$ i.e., invest annually two thousand crores for the next 5 years in national enterprises. The amount should go on increasing as the national income increases.

(c) The investments should be such that they yield large over-all dividend i.e., large B.

(d) In an overpopulated country like ours the rate of population growth should be kept down as far as practicable.

It does not appear possible that the Government can take much active steps in (d), except by propaganda and education. This must be left to "God" for the present, as one of the Bombay planners said to Professor A. V. Hill.

The conclusions (a), (b), (c) emerge as consequences of the general laws of economics which are of universal application, and are independent of any type of political ideology. But the political ideology can certainly affect all the three factors (a), (b), and (c) either favourably or adversely, as is apparent from the analysis of planning in the three countries given above.

Mahalanobis's FYP has taken $a=12$, and insured for large B by accepting Prof. Saha's advocacy of heavy, or producer goods industries.

It is a happy augury that the Planning Commission and the Government of India have now a large measure of agreement with the patterns of planning which Professor Mahalanobis and his able workers of the Indian Statistical Institute have indicated in their studies. We hope that the Second Five-Year Plan will be based on these principles and lay the foundation of solid economic well-being of India's 370 millions.

Some Aspects of Life in the U.S.S.R.

Professor Dr. B. C. Guha, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*:

On the invitation of the University of Moscow, a delegation of six Professors and twenty students from six Indian universities visited the Soviet Union last autumn. I went as a delegate from Calcutta University, with three students whose respective subjects were history, law, and applied mathematics. The delegation represented also other subjects including economics, political science, languages and literature, chemistry, medicine, pharmaceuticals, etc. While that delegation visited some general institutions like libraries, museums, and art galleries, different members of the delegation had also ample opportunity to visit the institutions and departments of studies, to which their own activities were related. It was therefore in no sense a 'conducted tour,' as has been alleged. Because of our regrettable ignorance of the Russian language, it was, of course, necessary to have interpreters with us, but these interpreters belonged to Moscow University and were not professional. Our students moved freely in Moscow and actually travelled on their own by bus and the underground railway to different places including the Indian Embassy. Where the Russians could speak English or any other language known to us, such as French, German, Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu, interpreters were not needed and conversation went on freely.

We spent a considerable part of our time in the different departments of Moscow University according to our specializations. The new thirty-two-storeyed Moscow University building on the Lenin Hills is indeed an architectural beauty. It combines massiveness with refinement. It houses not only the teachers and their families, but also seven thousand students, of whom fifty-one per cent are girls. Each student has a cosily furnished single-seated room, and every two rooms have an attached bath-room. I do not think there is in any other country such a gigantic residential university with such amenities.

In the Faculty of Chemistry alone there are one hundred and ten teachers including thirty-six professors. This indicates the scale on which the different departments are staffed. The pay of professors is as high as eight thousand roubles a month. In fact, in the entire Soviet Union professors and similar intellectuals are very well, perhaps too lavishly, looked after. Over ninety per cent of the students of Moscow University receive stipends varying from two to eight hundred roubles a month. This is sufficient, as the monthly room rent in the University is twelve roubles and food may cost five roubles a day. The University course is of five years' duration after the school-leaving examination, which the students take when generally they are seventeen years old. In the last year of the course, they have to do a certain amount of research. After they pass out with a diploma from the University, they may take employment or may choose to be 'aspirants' and pursue a research career. After three years' research they are eligible for the *Candidate's* diploma. After this, they can proceed for the doctorate degree, for which some more years of research work are necessary.

The universities cater for fundamental subjects, such as literature, history, economics, chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, etc. The institutions for applied subjects, such as technology, engineering, medicine, and agriculture, are not under the universities, but are directly controlled by the Ministry of Higher Education with the exception of medical institutions, which are controlled by the Ministry of Health.

In discussion with the Vice-Minister of Higher Education, it was revealed that the Minister of Higher Education was a metallurgist and gave regular lectures at a metallurgical institution, and also the Vice-Minister of Agriculture was an agricultural geneticist and gave lectures in an agricultural college. He said that in this way the ministers 'kept contact with both teachers and students. They do not believe in an 'administrative caste.' People go into different fields of employment

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according to their ability and aptitude. The system is flexible, and it is clear that this arrangement ensures unity between administration and the people and prevents the administration from degenerating into a bureaucracy.

The scale on which science is supported in the Soviet Union is indicated by the fact that the Soviet Academy of Sciences has an annual budget of one billion roubles, with which it runs one hundred and ninety institutions. Besides the Academy of Sciences, there are several other academies, such as the Academies of Agricultural Science, Medical Science, Fine Arts, Architecture, Pedagogy. All these are financed by the State, and they all run numerous institutions. Besides these there are smaller academies in the constituent republics. Altogether there are about one hundred thousand research workers in the different institutions of the Soviet Union. The universities of the Soviet Union, including those of the constituent republics, are financed by the Centre. A comparatively small university like the Stalin University of Tbilisi (capital of Georgia) receives an annual grant of about thirteen million roubles. We had also occasion to visit the Lenin University of Tashkent (capital of Uzbekistan), which was also generously financed by the Soviet Government. All the scientific institutions I visited in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, and Tashkent had modern equipment, and quite a few of them used electron microscopes and radio-active isotopes—all manufactured in the Soviet Union. Their progress, particularly in some applied fields, appears to be revolutionary. In Tashkent it was found that phosphatic fertilizers sprayed on the leaves of cotton plants were better utilized than fertilizers applied to the soil. In this work they are using the most modern isotopic and radio-autographic techniques. Agricultural scientists in Russia have shown that high yields of crops are obtained from a plot of land if it is ploughed only once every three or four years, though sowing is done every year. This builds and maintains the structure of the soil and also eliminates the labour of annual tilling. A plough developed by Maltsev has been very useful in this regard. In the hydrobiological laboratory in Leningrad University they have succeeded in the artificial fertilization of millions of fish eggs in ordinary vessels with fish sperm, both being obtained from male and female fish by means of hormone injections. In the laboratory of Academician Engelhardt in the Bach Institute of Biochemistry in Moscow, further research is proceeding in the successful rearing of these fertilized eggs. This is a method which promises to give enormous yields of fish, if suitable conditions are worked out.

The exchange of professors and students between

India and Soviet Union has been discussed. It seems probable that in future such an exchange relationship may be established. This will be of great mutual benefit to our two countries.

As regards the general aspect of life in the Soviet Union, one cannot say much, as our visit lasted only about a month. But, generally speaking, people are happy and are working hard to build up a new life. Seriousness in work was found in all walks of life. Even children queue up for entrance into the children's section of the Lenin Library and that in the evening after school hours. Highly technical books are sold out in a few days after publication.

Construction is going on apace. In Stalingrad where only ten buildings were said to have been standing after the great battle, so many thousands of houses have been built, and also new theatres, avenues, parks, etc., that it is difficult to find traces of the battle. Both buildings and roads are constructed by mechanized methods and the progress is extremely rapid. One of the members of our delegation said that she had gone over a very rough road in a car in the morning and returned in the evening on the same road which had meanwhile been concreted! To widen roads, huge buildings are put on rails under the foundation and moved. I have no doubt that in technical efficiency the Soviet Union is pre-eminent and we should learn the method of fast construction from them as soon as possible.

Religion, as is well known, is not encouraged by the State. On the other hand, citizens are free to practise the religion they like. Churches and monasteries are left as properties of the believers, who pay for their maintenance, elect the synods that manage them, and appoint the priests. Churches are fairly full and monasteries have considerable numbers of young men who are being trained as monks. In the Central Asian Republics there are mosques but religion is not a force among the people.

The dominating feature of life in the Soviet Union is people's love for peace. The word 'peace' is on every body's lips. Children in schools sing hymns of peace. The big Kirov stadium in Leningrad carries the slogan *Mir miro*, Peace to the world, in huge letters. Talk of war is punishable under the law. The accusation that such a country has aggressive designs does not tally with these facts. If peace is maintained in the world, the Soviet Union will attain unprecedented peaks of production in record time. It is clear that the paramount necessity before the Soviet Union and the entire world is the maintenance of peace, for which unremitting efforts have to be made.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Age-Old Ties

Lev Aspensky, Soviet writer, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, June 7, 1955:

Russians have long known India. True, many people don't know how ancient and firm are the ties that link our two peoples. That is something well worth dwelling on.

A thousand years ago swarthy, enterprising Indian merchants unrolled before the admiring eyes of Northern beauties luxuriant, colourful Eastern fabrics in the market-places of Greater Novgorod, freedom-loving Slav republic. Through the Khazar town of Itil, on the broad Volga, caravans of Russian goods—honey, wax, saffron, and clear amber from the Baltic seaboard—flowed down to the Caspian and from there along peaceful trade routes across the Himalayas into India.

Since that time there live in Russian folk songs, tales and legends delightful images connected with that distant land of sunshine, a land of wonderful treasures and dark-faced people. "India the rich."

The hordes of Genghis Khan divided the world of the time into two, cutting off the peaceful ties of the North with the South. But the Russians did not forget India: they remained filled with determination to renew their friendship with her.

In the 15th century, some thirty years before the rapacious beaks of Portuguese caravels first plunged into the golden sands of the Malabar coast, a Russian appeared in India. He had made his way there by land and by sea, and his name was Afanasy Nikitin, merchant and traveller, a man of intelligence and kindness. He spent several years wandering about the Indian markets and temples, living in towns and villages, studying the unfamiliar world with eyes that were keen and sympathetic. Reverently, without a trace of arrogance or superiority, he noted and recorded everything that he saw, like a true friend. For centuries afterwards his words were read and re-read in his snow-covered native land, arousing an undying interest in the sultry land of the south. The years flew by, the decades marched past, the centuries elapsed. Not only the people but the Moscow government itself began to show a far-sighted interest in the life of their distant southern neighbour. Hardly had the great turning-point in Russian history that is bound up with Peter I begun when the Embassy of Semyon Malenky departed for India. Shah Aurangzeb received the "Muscovites." For five years Russians lived and traded peacefully beneath the blue skies of India. When they departed for home they bore with them a strange gift from the friendly land, an elephant, an animal never seen before in the north.

Again Indian merchants appeared in Russia. Entire settlements of Indians had sprung in Astrakhan, beside the Caspian, by the beginning of the 17th century. Indians made their way up to Moscow along the Volga, and proceeded even farther north, to Yaroslavl.

All these, of course, were no more than separate, rare meetings between two great and powerful peoples.

In the 18th century these meetings grew more frequent. Now, as in times past, resourceful, brave Northerners found their way to the alluring lands of the East. Filipp Efremov, the Atanasov brothers, and Rafael Dolibegov laid new paths in that direction. A lively interest in Indian languages and the culture, art and literature of the country crystallized and grew steadily among our scholars.

At the turn of the century Karamzin, a well-known Russian historian of the time, enriched our literature with a treasure of Indian letters when he translated scenes from the *Shakuntala*. Karamzin spoke with admiration of the pearls of poetry, not inferior to Homer's that were scattered through Kalidasa's immortal work. At about the same time he found among a bunch of old manuscripts a work by Afanasy Nikitin written three centuries before, his *Travels Beyond Three Seas*. "The Indians heard of Russia before they knew about Portugal, Holland or England", Karamzin wrote with justifiable pride.

Finally, modern times. During the 19th century Russians learned more about the life, the joys and sufferings of the industrious, freedom-loving Indian people, weighed down by the unbearable yoke of foreign occupation. A hundred years have already passed since our children first read in Zhukovskiy's brilliant translation the touching, wise story of the love of Nala and Damayanti. The Mahabharata has become as familiar to us as the Odyssey and the Iliad, as one of the finest productions of antiquity.

In these one hundred years no little water has flowed down the Volga and the Ganges, but our eyes still drink in with eager curiosity the wonderful monuments of Indian art, from the cave temples of the Ajanta to that miracle of miracles, the Taj Mahal, and we think to ourselves: there is something elusively similar between Indian architecture and the masterpieces of old Russian architecture, in the flight of Indian mortar and the fantastic laciness of St. Basil's Cathedral, the most beautiful of Moscow's old churches.

We listen attentively to the majestic strains of Sanskrit verse, and our Russian ear detects many familiar sounds, while dwellers in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus find familiar roots in it as well. The lace of the carved temple of Madura, and the sonorous verses of the Ramayana, and the marvellous lines of the portico of the Kondana chaitya grew more and more dear to us. But dearer than the marble and porphyritic tombs, more alluring than the beauties of Bengal roses and tall palms, is the friendship of those who sculptured and wrote, raised and created all that, those who mined the rubies and sapphires for the altars of the grim gods of old, friendship with the tireless architect, ploughman, songwriter, sage and fighter, with our wise and noble brother, the common man of India.

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In the 19th century we heard about India, but we heard it from alien lips. At the beginning of the 20th century India first spoke to us herself through the great Tagore. Her voice moved and captivated us. But only in recent years have we and you had the opportunity freely to stand shoulder to shoulder in mankind's peaceful endeavours, and, stretching out our hands looking straight into each other's eyes, to say: greeting, brother!

The last few years have brought us Soviet people great joy: India has come to visit us!

In Moscow and Leningrad and Kiev people have stood from morning till night waiting to view the work of India's artists. Huge crowds jammed the cinema houses where the unfortunate owners of "Do Bigha Zamin" collapsed from exhaustion, Raj Kapur struggled and triumphed in "Awara", the downtrodden characters in the "Andhivan" died. Soviet men and women were delighted by the age-old art of Gopinath, admired the tender liteness of Tara Choudhary; with bated breath they listened to the voices of your peasants and the chords struck from instruments unknown to us. In all this they persistently sought what is most important: the life of a great people, their joys and hopes.

What joy in the consciousness that although thousands of kilometres, dozens of degrees of latitude separate us, although the histories of our countries are so dissimilar, and our cultures different, your artists draw tears from our eyes, and your songs go straight to our hearts! We are brothers! If we really understand this no evil force on earth can oppose us.

When tender birch leaves are beginning to burst in our groves, wreathing the distance in a faint greenish haze, cool, transparent and acridly fragrant, your eternally burning sun pours down its rays on trees and grasses unfamiliar to us....

Everything in our two countries is different, individual. But both here and there we, the people, are the same, exactly the same on Cape Comorin as on Cape Chelyuskin, with the same desire to live, not die, to rejoice, not suffer, the same desire freely to inhale free, human happiness.

That is why the same human thoughts, hopes and desires live in the Madras jungle and the Siberian taiga, in Bombay and in Leningrad, and the same passionate words—peace, joy, friendship of nations, freedom—ring out.

Man is weak when he goes into battle alone. But together with his friends he can overcome all enemies. United, the peoples of the world can do anything; they

are invincible in the struggle for peace; there is no force capable of standing up against them.

Bhoodan Called Typical of Free World Spiritual Forces

Washington, May 26—Bhoodan Yagna, led by Vinoba Bhave, has been cited as an outstanding example of current spiritual movements that differentiate the free totalitarian societies.

Columnist Malvina Lindsay, writing in the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* today says, "This Gandhi disciple" is stepping up by voluntary means the distribution of land to the landless.

Miss Lindsay says further that "Vinoba's band of followers describe their activities as 'looting with love.' The movement is spiritually akin to that of the Abbe Pierre in France, who is crusading for a 'roof for every Frenchman!'"

"The Indian movement, which is demonstrating that 'Bourbons' of any nationality can experience a change of heart, also has an analogy in the distribution of land by the Shah of Iran.

"Young Briton, Hallam Tennyson, great-grandson of the poet, who travelled for a while with Vinoba's band, believes that *bhoodan* is largely the answer to India's need, to hasten economic change by democratic methods."

Miss Lindsay recalls that Tennyson recently lectured in Washington on his book *India's Walking Saint*. Tennyson, the columnist says, pointed out to Washingtonians that "many if not all of India's 100 millions landless eventually will cultivate 5-acre tracts on a life tenure and have a new purpose in life, as a result of Vinoba's efforts."

Describing the scope and success of *bhoodan*, Miss Lindsay says it is "giving Indian peasants more confidence in the future."

Such confidence, she said, "is synonymous with the 'sense of progress' that Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India, recently told U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee was especially needed by peoples of industrially underdeveloped areas of the world."

Miss Lindsay concludes: "If *bhoodan* can materially increase the tempo of India's land reform, it will have great importance on the entire democratic world. For India's results in bringing about economic improvement by democratic means are being measured by all Asia against those of China, where totalitarian techniques are being employed.

"But the success of the *bhoodan* crusade—and of the other spiritual movements now under way against economic distress—would even have greater significance in demonstrating that the heart is mightier than the ukase."—*USIS*.

Dr. Jonas E. Salk, Discoverer of Anti-Polio Vaccine

To millions of American parents, the name of Dr. Jonas E. Salk now means freedom from an annual summer-time worry: Is there danger of my child contracting poliomyelitis this season?

The announcement earlier this week that the vaccine developed by the 40-year-old University of Pittsburgh researcher is 80 to 90 percent effective has brought comfort to people throughout the world. Regarded as the first great advancement in the fight against the crippling disease, the Salk vaccine is also being hailed as "one of the greatest events in the history of medicine."

What of the man behind this momentous discovery? Jonas Salk was born in Manhattan, New York City, in 1914, the eldest of three sons of a women's wear manufacturer. He was a precocious youngster with unusually neat and tidy habits and equally precise ways of classifying ideas. At 16 he graduated from Townsend Harris High School and at 19 from the City College of New York.

After a period of internship, which followed his passing from New York University's Medical School, Salk was already so interested in research that he did not even consider going into routine practice. Instead, he won a National Research Council fellowship for work on viruses, and went to the University of Michigan to work under his one-time professor, Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr. It was Dr. Francis who was in charge of evaluating the success of the mass Salk vaccine tests made last summer.

In 1947, Dr. Salk with his wife and two young sons (there is a third now) went to the University of Pittsburgh to start a virus laboratory. For the first few months he stuck to his first love, the influenza virus; but soon he decided to "look into this polio problem to see what it was about."

Under a grant from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Salk started work in 1949 classifying the various known strains of polio virus. The task took three years and cost \$1,370,000. And by this time Salk and other scientists had found that all known strains of polio virus could be classified into three types, which meant that any successful vaccine would have to protect against three different viruses.

Of great value to Dr. Salk's research was the earlier work done by Doctors John F. Enders, Thomas H. Weller and Frederick C. Robbins, who had found a way to grow polio virus in non-nervous tissue kept alive in flasks and test tubes. This discovery brought the three scientists the 1954 Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology.

Step by painstaking step, Dr. Salk made experimental vaccines and tested them in monkeys. In June 1952 he was satisfied he had a vaccine safe enough to be given to human beings. Still, for utmost safety, he decided that the first subjects should be those who had already recovered from polio. Thus they should be immune to further disease, but he could measure a rise in their antibody level if the vaccine produced, as he expected, a booster effect. It did.

Salk's vaccine consists of viruses of all three types of paralytic polio, with a solution of formaldesyn to make them harmless. When injected, the vaccine induces the human body into setting up a defence against polio virus invasion by producing antibodies.

In 1953, Dr. Salk described his encouraging results in a nation-wide radio broadcast, and—though fellow

scientists were still sceptical—by this time he had gained the confidence of the officials of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

The National Foundation last summer financed the gigantic project, involving altogether approximately 1,830,000 American school children. Of this number 440,000 were actually inoculated with the Salk vaccine, the remainder being given injections of a placebo (which has no effect) or merely serving as controls.

In all, there were 113 cases of polio among the vaccinated children, with 71 of the cases resulting in paralysis. One child who had been inoculated died of polio, but it was found that there were special and unusual circumstances in this case. Among the children under observation, but not vaccinated, there were 750 cases of the disease, of which 445 involved paralysis.

The evaluation report on the mass tests revealed that even when paralytic polio struck, the severity of paralysis was lessened by the vaccine and chances of complete recovery were improved.

Dr. Salk himself said the tests showed him how to make the vaccine even more effective—by giving the third "booster" shot seven months after the first two injections, instead of giving all three in a five-week period as was done in the tests. He believes the booster injection should have the effect of extending polio immunity for an indefinite period, perhaps years.

The success of the anti-polio tests sets in motion a U.S.-wide programme of immunisation against the disease, which will inoculate nearly 60 million American children. Already six U.S. pharmaceutical firms have started distribution of the vaccine, and the U.S. Government announced that validated export licences will be granted for shipping the vaccine overseas. One pharmaceutical firm has announced that it plans to export 10 percent of current production of the vaccine through established commercial channels.

While the National Foundation, which has a Salk vaccine stockpile for 9,000,000 vaccinations, will carry out an extensive immunisation programme in 1955 in U.S. schools, its participation in the production, distribution and administration of the vaccine will cease after this.

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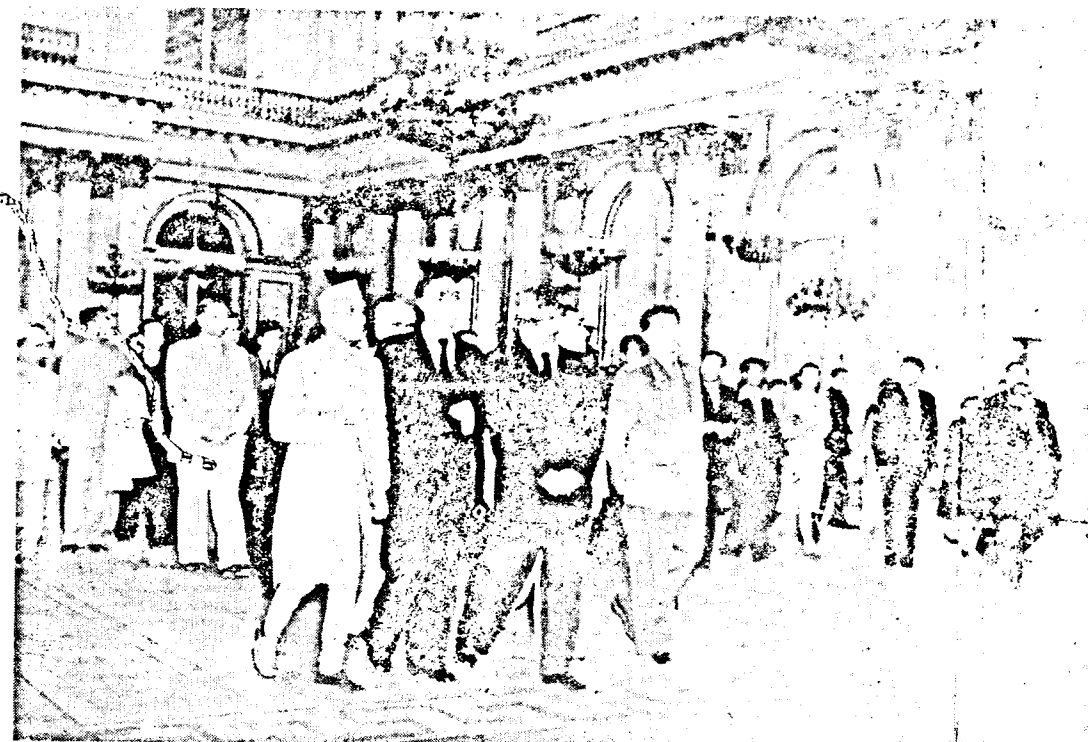
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Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the State Hermitage of Soviet Union

Photo: V. Noreev



Reception of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Tashkent aerodrome

Tass Photo

It is well to remember that the entire cost of developing and testing the Salk vaccine was paid by the American people through their voluntary contributions to the National Foundation's annual "March of Dimes" fund-raising campaign.

To Dr. Salk, his success brings no near-fortune, as the vaccine is an unpatented product. His reward is the satisfaction of serving mankind. But to the man who, when asked why he devoted his life to research, said: "Why did Mozart compose music?", this is reward enough.—*USIS*, April 15, 1955.

Another Anti-polio Vaccine

The Press has already pointed out, in connection with the discovery of an anti-polio vaccine by Doctor Salk, the existence of another anti-polio vaccine discovered in France, by Professor Pierre Lepine.

Jean Diwo writes on this subject in the French Weekly *Paris-Match*:

"This vaccine is identical in its principle with that of Dr. Salk and differs from it only in a few technical details: it is particular through a composition more appropriate to the fight against poliomyelitis such as it is observed in Europe and through its preparation from chickens' embryos instead of Rhesus monkeys' kidneys.

As for Pierre Lepine the problem is not posed in the same way as for his famous American fellow-scientist. "We must not forget," he recently stated, "that in France at least 85% of the children get spontaneously immune."

Indeed, through a curious paradox, polio is the unexpected counterpart of hygiene. The disease takes various forms in countries where children are not naturally immune from it, because they live in almost perfect conditions of cleanliness: such is the case in the United States and the Scandinavian countries. Hygiene in the country, actively pursued in America, has developed exactly in the same proportions as poliomyelitis.

"If all children would rub their slice of bread and butter against the walls before eating it, there would be much less polio," a specialist of the Pasteur Institute declared recently. It was of course a sally, but there was some truth in it. For one serious form of poliomyelitis there are 99 others which disappear and leave no more trace than a cold in the head would. We catch them without even noticing it, but they are miraculously useful to us: they vaccinate us against the acute form of the disease."

Professor Andre Lemaire writes in his turn in the journal *Le Monde*: "It is not really a question of discovery. (1) The general principles of vaccination have been known for a long time. Pasteur had clearly defined them and he knew, according to the cases, how to use germs, killed or only attenuated. (2) For a long time formol has been used in the preparation of vaccines. Formol is an energetic germ-killer and is used as such in the preparation of "killed" vaccines. It is also an agent for the denaturation for proteins, thanks to which the doctors Ramon and Zoeller were able to transform cer-

tain toxins into antitoxins, that is to say prepare very simply efficacious and safe vaccines, which were very soon used the world over.

Formol has the same denaturing effect on certain virus which it transforms into anavirus free from pathogenic power but capable to confer to the organism a specific immunity. According to Dr. Ramon the anti-polio vaccine is an anavirus.

(3) Anti-polio vaccination is not summed up in this sole vaccine made with formol and killed. They have made experiments with live vaccines but attenuated, viz., containing living virus capable of giving immunity without giving the disease. Experiments are proceeding.

These principles having been known for a long time, why have they waited so long to perfect an efficacious vaccination? It is because the means of obtaining the necessary quantities of virus have been known only for a few years. There lies the true discovery made by Dr. Enders who received for this the Nobel Prize. The principle is simple: as the virus develops only on living cells, the question is to use, as breeding place, a culture of tissue or tissue kept alive in a proper nutritive fluid.

Starting from this principle, numerous workers became interested in the making of virus and of vaccine in every form, killed or attenuated, injectable or ingestible. And in this competition French scientists were not the last, since from the very beginning of 1953 the Doctors Blanc and Martin of the Pasteur Institute in Casablanca have vaccinated in that town, with attenuated ingestible virus, 5699 children.

Admitting that the vaccine of Dr. Salk gives proofs of its capacity, must one make use of it everywhere, in France in particular? Nothing is more unlikely, for poliomyelitis is not exactly the same in all the countries of the world. Thus the distribution of the three stocks of virus, source of the disease, is not the same in America and in Europe. On the other hand, the disease is more spread and more serious in the United States than anywhere else. Finally, one should know what is the duration of the immunity given by the Salk vaccine.

For all these reasons, Professor Pierre Lepine, who has long been engaged in the research of an efficacious vaccine, thinks that at least in Europe the latter must be different from Dr. Salk's vaccine, and he has perfected a particular technique of preparation. But he deems that only after a series of most strict checkings, and when sufficient proofs have been gathered on the innocuousness and efficacy of the vaccine and as to the degree and the duration of immunity given by the vaccine, the latter can then be placed at the disposal of the medical profession."

International Short Feature Film Festival Held in Tokyo

The success of the International Short Feature Film Festival held recently in Tokyo attests to the tremendous interest in this type of motion pictures.

Short features from eight nations were shown at the Yamaha Hall in Tokyo on November 18, 1954, and drew an overflow crowd with more than 500 people turned away.

The festival was arranged by the Educational Film Producers' Association of Japan, sole organization of short feature motion picture companies, which boasts a membership of more than 100 production outfits.

The purpose of the festival was two-fold: To improve the quality of short feature motion pictures; and to stimulate an understanding of international problems in this field.

FILMS FROM 8 NATIONS

Among the films screened were the following:

Ski Sport Bariloche (Argentina), *Australia Today* (Australia), *Dozere Mondragon* (France), *Darjeeling* (India), *Primavera Sull Etna* (Italy), *The White Continent* (England), and *Art of Japan* (the United States).

Darjeeling especially won tremendous acclaim with its magnificent colour and excellent arrangement winning the admiration of all concerned. The success achieved by the festival demonstrated the strong desire among the ordinary people for knowledge of foreign affairs through this medium. Furthermore, it was strongly urged that this type of film festival should be continued in the future and should be held at least two or three times a year.

JAPANESE SHORT WIN PRIZE

A Japanese short feature, *Life in the Railway*, won second prize in the documentary film section of the 1952 International Film Festival held in Venice. This gave impetus to the production of short feature motion pictures in Japan.

At the same time, the use of motion pictures for educational purposes has gained wide popularity.

In 1951, 233 short features were produced in Japan. The following year, the number jumped to 304. Last year, 350 shorts were made, and indications are that production will exceed 400 this year.—*Information Bulletin*, Japan.



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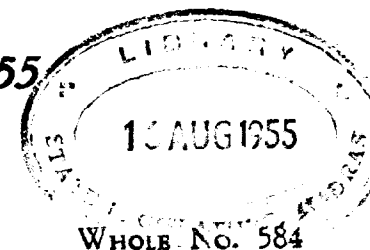
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NOTES

Home and the World

The Geneva Conference marks a new phase in the World Relations of all nations. The tension between the two armed camps, that were engaged in the "cold war" for the last six years and more, has been considerably lowered and a reasonable attitude is marked in the higher executive of the two great Powers. The press has stopped sabre-rattling in Russia, and a slightly moderate tone is found in the more sober of the U. S. papers, though as yet the infantile craze for invective persists. But all the same, so far so good, where peace is concerned. Goodwill may come in a decade or so when power-drunkness passes with the realisation of the true significance of Nuclear Warfare. Scientists have made unequivocal statements regarding the logical consequences of letting loose the hellish fury of atomic fission on humanity.

Pandit Nehru's mission of peace in China and the U.S.S.R. has borne fruit, as the world realises, despite ungracious and exceedingly stupid statements of certain personages in the West. The cold records of history will no doubt prove to posterity where credit was due. But Gandhism lays no stock on credits, as the *Gita* definitely says that there should be no desire for credit for a good action, "*Ma jaleshu kadachana*." And so we are not concerned about credit, let lesser spirits hanker and argue about that.

So much for the world. We have now to consider affairs that are vital for the well-being of our own people. Pandit Nehru may be well-satisfied about the results of his endeavours regarding the establishment of peace and goodwill amongst the peoples of the world, but can he deny that these world-wide perambulations, and long-distance *pourparlers*, have led, as an inevitable consequence, to the gross neglect of urgent and essential work at home? Campaigns for Peace, as in campaigns of War, demand a heavy price, when executed on the scale attempted by Pandit

Nehru, in terms of stress and hardship on the Common Man, whose well-being, mental, moral and physical, is left in charge of inefficient and incompetent party-hacks, while the really great are pre-occupied with issues that lie outside the home-precincts.

Is it not time that Pandit Nehru remembered that he is not merely in charge of Foreign Relations? Is it not time that all of us came down to earth? What matters if we get all the credit for establishing the spirit of Gandhism abroad, if at home we became a *C₃* nation, morally degenerate, mentally decrepit and physically weak?

The First Five-Year Plan is coming to a close. It has achieved a little, in the terms of bare necessities of life, though we are very far off as yet, where sufficiency in protective diet and raiment and adequacy in shelter is concerned. We stand where we were in education and literacy, or rather in ignorance and illiteracy, and our progress has been remarkably and lamentably downhill in moral values and mental rectitude.

Various utopian schemes are in a formative stage in the framing of the Second Five-Year Plan. Academic controversies are being engaged into on the lines of warfare in mediaeval China, where great armies won or lost battles without striking a blow. Mass employment is being planned without taking into consideration the most essential factors that govern the relations between the job and the worker, namely, training, fitness and efficiency. Increment of income is being planned for—or rather hoped for—without taking into consideration the inevitable and steep rise in the cost of living, if mechanical production is primarily frozen and replaced by manual work. And finally decisions are being sought on the basis of shibboleths and abstract hypotheses, while the entire nation is groaning under the stress and strain of inadequacy in all spheres of life, on the basic principles of

Big Four Conference

The "summit" meeting of the "Big Four" Powers was held in Geneva in the neutral territory of Switzerland from July 18 to July 23. The participants were: From the U.S.A., President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles; from the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and Foreign Secretary Mr. Harold Macmillan; from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Prime Minister Nikolai Alexandrovitch Bulganin, Foreign Minister M. Vyacheslav Molotov, Defence Minister Marshal Zhukov, Communist Party leader Nikita Khurshev and Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

This was the first occasion since the end of the War in 1945 that the executive heads of the Four Powers were meeting together for mutual consultations. The subjects for discussion in the meeting were, in the order of discussions held, reunification of Germany, European Security, Disarmament problem and the development of East-West contact.

The conference concluded with an agreement that the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers should meet in Geneva in October next to consider the directives of the "Big Four."

Under the directives the Foreign Ministers were instructed to consider various proposals for the purpose of establishing European security and the solution of the German problem. Accordingly, among other proposals, the Foreign Ministers would consider:

"A security pact for Europe or a part of Europe including provision for the assumption by member-nations of an obligation not to resort to force and to deny assistance to an aggressor.

"A limitation, control and inspection in regard to armed forces and armaments.

"Establishment between East and West of a zone in which the deposition of armed forces will be subject to mutual agreement."

The Heads of the Four Governments also agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The Foreign Ministers will make whatever arrangements they may consider for the participation or for consultation with other interested parties.

The Directives further recorded the agreement of the Big Four "to work together to develop an acceptable system of disarmament through the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission."

The Big Four proposed that the next meeting of the Sub-committee be held on August 29, 1955, in New York and instructed their representatives on the

Sub-committee to take account of the views of the Heads of the four Governments.

The Four Heads of Governments instructed their Foreign Ministers "to take note of the proceedings in the Disarmament Commission, to take account of the views and proposals advanced by the Heads of Government at this conference, and to consider whether the four Governments can take any further useful initiative in the field of disarmament."

The Foreign Ministers were further instructed to study measures, "by means of exchange," to bring about a progressive elimination of barriers interfering with free communications and peaceful trade between peoples and to "bring about such free contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and peoples concerned."

In conclusion the directives said: "The Foreign Ministers of the Powers will meet at Geneva during October to initiate their consideration of those questions and to determine the organisation of their work."

The British and American spokesmen said after the conference that agreement had been reached on all points. The Soviet spokesman said that the conference had "come to a victorious end."

President Eisenhower told the final session of the conference that "the prospects of a lasting peace, well-being and broader freedom are brighter and the dangers of the overwhelming tragedy of the modern war are less."

The President added: "If our peoples in the months and years ahead broaden their knowledge and understanding of each other as we during this week have broadened our knowledge of each other, further agreement between our Governments may be facilitated. May this occur in a spirit of justice. May it result in improved well-being, greater freedom and less of fear or suffering or distress for mankind. May it be marked by more of goodwill among men. These days will then indeed be ever remembered."

Marshal Bulganin said in his concluding speech: "There is no doubt that the present meeting in Geneva of the Heads of Governments of the Four Big Powers has a positive meaning for the easing of tension in the relations between the Governments and for the inevitable increase in confidence between them."

"Despite the fact that on some questions, our points of view did not coincide, on the whole the meeting proceeded in an honest atmosphere and was marked by the efforts of its participants to achieve mutual understanding."

They all recognised the importance of the decisions made in Geneva, Marshal Bulganin added: "These decisions will have a positive meaning also for other countries and for the strengthening of world peace."

If the spirit of co-operation displayed in the

Geneva parleys was "shown by all of us," Marshal Bulganin continued, "this will be reliable pledge that the noble goal of the maintenance of peace will be achieved and the peoples will be able to look calmly towards the morrow."

The conference was presided over by the Four Heads of Governments by rotation.

The Western Powers led by the U.S.A. presented a compact front. They concentrated their emphasis on the solution of the German problem as the key to the overall question of peace in Europe and ultimately of the peace of the world.

Marshal Bulganin on the other hand accorded the German problem only a secondary place, emphasizing that the German question would be automatically solved if a general system of European security was established.

The *Statesman's* special correspondent in Geneva, Shri Prem Bhatia, adds: "Unlike the Western spokesmen who were totally silent on the subject, the Russian Premier reminded the conference of the importance of Asian problems, and in enumerating the causes of relaxation of world tension mentioned Mr. Nehru's visit to Russia."

The omission of all reference to the Far East in the agenda, *Reuter* says, was a distinct gain for the Western view.

Marshal Bulganin proposed a two-point European security plan beginning with the "freezing of NATO and its Eastern counterpart at their existing strengths." The second phase envisaged the progressive dismantling, and eventual liquidation, of both the 15-nation Western alliance and the 8-nation alliance set up in Warsaw in May last. He also called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Europe.

The Soviet Union had decided to demobilise the troops withdrawn from Austria, Marshal Bulganin said and called upon the Western Powers to do likewise. He rejected President Eisenhower's assertion that international communism was a subject for the Four-Power meeting. The conference had been convened to discuss the problem of inter-State relations, not "the activities of some or other political parties in various countries or relations between those parties."

Marshal Bulganin said that his Government had decided to contribute to the international pool of atomic materials of the International Atomic Energy Agency an appropriate amount of fissionable materials as soon as agreement on setting up the Agency was reached.

Referring to the levels of armaments of the Powers, Marshal Bulganin said: "It would be a fact of great importance if this conference were to come out in favour of an international agreement embodying our common consent to establish the level of the armed Forces of the USA, the USSR and China

at 1 to 1½ million men for each, and of Britain and France at 650,000 men, and to limit the levels of the Armed Forces for all other States to 150,000 to 200,000 men."

He further said that in the opinion of the Soviet Government, the present conference should not wait for the conclusion of a general international convention, which might take a certain amount of time, but should reach agreement on obligations which France, Great Britain, the USA and the USSR would assume not to be the first to use the A- and H-Bombs against any country and to appeal to all other States to join that declaration. An exception might be allowed exclusively for purposes of defence against aggression, when the Security Council would take a corresponding decision.

He said that conditions were not yet ripe for the reunification of Germany and rejected a British proposal for a non-aggression pact guaranteed by the Soviet Union, the West and a United Germany.

Marshal Bulganin proposed a 50-year treaty embracing all European States irrespective of their political systems, and the "two Germanies." The USA could also join such a pact.

Reuter says that Marshal Bulganin's proposal for a new security pact for Europe was based on a plan put forward a year ago, but amended to permit existing mutual aid treaties to continue until the expiration of an agreed time limit.

According to the news agency, the modifications were: (1) The preamble of this draft plans said its aim was to facilitate an early settlement of the German problem; (2) the pact now envisaged U.S. participation; (3) it contained references to economical and cultural contacts between East and West; (4) it referred to Chinese observers on any organizations which might be set up within the framework of that pact; and (5) it contained the two-stage concept put forward during the Geneva talks by the USSR.

Launching the historic conference President Eisenhower called for starting "diplomacy in a new spirit." He said that the West was ready to consider "reciprocal safeguards which are reasonable and practicable" to achieve German unity. But "the American people feel strongly that certain peoples of Eastern Europe, many with a long and proud record of national existence," had not been given the freedom promised in the war-time agreement.

He referred to the threat presented by international communism and said: "For 38 years now its activities have disturbed relations between other nations and the Soviet Union. Its activities are not confined to efforts to persuade. It seeks throughout the world to subvert lawful governments and to subject nations to alien domination."

There was the overriding problem of armament

which was "at once a result and a cause of existing tension and distrust. Contrary to a basic purpose of the United Nations Charter, armaments now divert much of man's effort from creative to non-productive uses. We would all like to end that.

Mr. Eisenhower continued: "Surprise attack has a capacity for destruction far beyond anything which man has as yet known. So each of us deems it vital that there should be means to deter such attack. Perhaps, therefore, we should consider whether the problem of limitation of armament may not best be approached by seeking—as a first step—dependable ways to supervise and inspect military establishments, so that there can be no frightful surprises, whether by sudden attack or by secret violation of agreed restrictions. In this field nothing is more important than that we explore together one challenging and central problem of effective mutual inspection. Such a system is the foundation for real disarmament."

The President said: "Let me repeat I trust that we are not here merely to catalogue our differences. We are not here to repeat the same dreary exercises that have characterised most of our negotiations of the past 10 years. We are here in response to the peaceful aspirations of mankind to start the kind of discussions which will inject a new spirit into our diplomacy, and to launch fresh negotiations under conditions of good augury."

In a subsequent statement before the conference on the question of disarmament, President Eisenhower said on July 21 that no sound and reliable agreement could be made unless it was completely covered by an inspection and reporting system adequate to support every portion of the agreement. "The lessons of history teach us that disarmament agreement without adequate reciprocal inspection increase the dangers of war and do not brighten the prospects of peace."

He said that as no effective method of inspection of the "true budgetary facts of total expenditures for armament," had yet been invented he proposed that the Big Four should immediately conclude an agreement "to give to each other a complete blueprint of our military establishments, from beginning to end, from one end of our countries to the other. Lay out the establishments and provide the blueprints to each other."

"Next, to provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography to the other country—"

The British and French Premiers readily accorded their wholehearted approval to the Eisenhower "Exchange of Blueprints" plan.

Soviet spokesman said that while the Soviet Union did not doubt the sincerity of the U.S. President, it was not satisfied with the suggestion for the exchange of blueprints of military establishments and for aerial inspection of each other's territory because the Eisenhower proposal bypassed the basic

disarmament issue—the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Giving the impression the Eisenhower proposals created in Geneva, Shri Prem Bhatia writes in *the Statesman*: "To another section of opinion in Geneva—and this was far from confined to the Cominform—the American offer was unfortunate because it was unrealistic and impracticable. It belonged to the realm of phantasy."

"Inasmuch as the Eisenhower plan was regarded as incapable of implementation, it did no service to the cause for which the Big Four conference assembled, but on the contrary, had encouraged an amusing game of competitive argument."

The French Premier, M. Edgar Faure presented the conference with a "Butter for Guns" plan. His plan for an "International Fund for Equipment and Mutual Aid" envisaged the use of the savings made by arms reductions to help industrially underdeveloped areas.

He suggested that the Big Four should take initiative in facilitating free cultural information and economic relations among nations, as the best means for ending the cold war. Another suggestion he made was that Western Germany should give Russia, as it had given the signatories of the Paris Agreements, an assurance that it would not use force to obtain the reunification of Germany or modification of the present frontiers. He considered the reunification of Germany was the key to the solution of all other problems.

The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, said in his opening speech that his Government was prepared to participate in a "security pact of which those around the table and a united Germany might be members." He also put forward a suggestion for examining the possibility of a remilitarized area between the East and the West.

"Charted at Geneva"

The international edition of the *New York Times* in its issue of July 24, gives under the above caption, a summary of the results of the "summit" talks of Geneva. We reproduce the relevant portion below, in order to record the reaction of the informed and more sober part of the U. S. press:

Out of six days of talk last week at the summit of the Big Four there emerged these broad conclusions:

First, after ten rancorous years, direct communication was established among the heads of government of East and West on terms approaching cordiality and goodwill.

Second, the Russians nevertheless showed no sign of yielding on the hard issues that cleave the free and Communist worlds.

Third, President Eisenhower asserted the American will for peace with a force that left a deep impression in much of the watching world. He appeared to have gone far toward undermining the recurrent Soviet propa-

ganda theme—that the U. S. and the security system it has erected against communism are the chief dangers to world peace.

The nature of the Geneva conference was evident in the pattern of action that unfolded during the six days. At the summit there were plenary sessions in which the leaders for the most part exchanged pledges of good intent and put on the table proposals—some old, some new, some modest, some bold—that at no time came into detailed debate.

Below the summit the diplomatic workmen—the foreign ministers—came to grips with what proved to be the chief question Geneva had to settle. This was: How to negotiate in the future on the hard issues between East and West? The chief stumbling block was the perennial of Germany. As the week wore on the ministers seemed to be wrangling and lawyering in the familiar cold-war fashion.

Yesterday they passed the question up to the summit. Last evening came the agreement: The Foreign Ministers will meet in October in Geneva on all the major issues in dispute. Discussion of disarmament in the United Nations will be given new impetus. The directives from the summit take account of the proposals brought forth in Geneva.

Narrow though this agreement was, it was no less than any of the Powers had led the world to expect. Nevertheless, Geneva made plain that diplomatic trouble is ahead on the issue of Germany. It demonstrated that Big Four agreement on German unification is remote. The pressures on Chancellor Adenauer to deal directly with the Russians on unification in conversations projected for September have multiplied.

The prospect of dealings between Bonn and Moscow holds dangers for the West. Still, the feeling is that Geneva has represented a turning for the better in East-West relations—if only because the conciliatory atmosphere they themselves helped create and the spiking of some of their propaganda guns have limited the Russians' field for maneuver.

When Sir Winston Churchill first proposed the summit meeting on May 11, 1953, it was not with the expectation that the heads of government could quickly reach "hardfaced agreements" on the vast array problems that lay at the bottom of the frozen antagonism of East and West.

Rather he hoped to find out whether the slight thaw in Soviet policy following the death of Stalin was indeed genuine, and also to capitalize on the war-weariness of mankind, the world-wide fears engendered by the appalling spectre of atomic war.

It was with this aim in mind—that somehow the leaders of nations by the very fact of coming to know one another better could inspire a mutual trust that would act as a solvent for problems in later negotiations—that Churchill proposed an intimate meeting, not overhung with a ponderous and rigid agenda.

As it turned out, the Geneva conference did not in

all respects follow the Churchill formula. There was an agenda. There was an array of experts—"Sherpa guides," as one British wit put it, behind "the mountaineers" at the summit.

Nevertheless, the Churchill idea was not lost sight of in the arrangements for the conference. Thus the first day of the conference was given over to statements by the leaders. The plain intent and hope was that their opening statements should set a note of conciliation, optimism and resolve.

Thereafter, the foreign ministers met each morning at eleven, the heads of state at four in the afternoon. In this way the working level—the level that is likely to prove acrimonious—was kept apart from the level of good intent and high purpose. Then late each afternoon, to facilitate those "intimate contacts" on which Churchill had set store, there was a buffet where the principals moved about, making small talk.

U. S. and Nehru's Tour

Sardar J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America and the writer of the subjoined letter, has sent it to us. In view of the conclusion of the Geneva talks this letter is of interest:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The United States press, radio and other media of information have been quite critical of Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union. Your own editorial was quite severe. Americans were not happy either to hear that Nehru had invited Premier Bulganin to visit India. Above all, they were quite annoyed that a joint statement was issued by Nehru and Bulganin.

I venture to suggest that Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, especially in long-range terms, will be very beneficial and helpful to the cause of the free world.

Those who have had the opportunity of watching Chinese Premier Chou En-lai at Geneva last summer and later at New Delhi and Rangoon and again early this year at the Bandung conference maintain that contacts with the outside world, and meeting people like Eden, Mendes-France, Nehru, U Nu and other Asian and African leaders at Bandung, have left a deep mark on Chou En-lai. It is hoped that Bulganin, too, may learn a lesson or two in the free atmosphere of a democratic republic like India.

In the deluge of criticism of the joint statement issued by Premier Bulganin and Prime Minister Nehru, one very important point went unnoticed.

Prime Minister Nehru has unequivocally declared that the activities of the Cominform represent interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Not only has Nehru come out against the Cominform, but the Congress party, the ruling party of India, has officially denounced the activities of the Cominform.

Yet Prime Minister Nehru got Marshal Bulganin to sign a statement in which one of the clauses provides for "non-interference in each other's internal affairs for

any reason, either of economic, political or ideological character." Informed sources in India believe that as a result of the Nehru-Bulganin joint declaration the Cominform is likely to be dissolved. If that happens, it will be most welcome and excellent news. We all know that the danger of overt aggression by the Communists has been greatly lessened, but not the danger of subversion.

It is true that even if the Cominform was dissolved, subversive activities could be continued. But having agreed to non-interference in the affairs of other countries in a joint declaration, if the Communists surreptitiously continue their activities, they will be doubly condemned. Then Asians, too, will lose all faith and trust in the written promises of the Communists.

One more point: The headlines and interpretive writings have created the impression that the joint statement of Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Bulganin took the "extreme" position on Formosa of handing it over to Communist China. This is not correct.

The clause on Formosa in the declaration reads as follows: "It is the earnest hope of both the Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan" (Formosa). The operative word in this sentence is "legitimate." Who is to decide what are the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in Formosa? The Prime Ministers did not say that in their opinion the "legitimate rights" of the Chinese Communists are that Formosa should be handed over to them.

It is obvious from this statement that the question of the "legitimate rights" must be negotiated, perhaps at a round-table conference, under international auspices. This is not much different from the British or the American position.

And what is even more important is the fact that Prime Minister Bulganin agreed to a settlement of the Formosa question by peaceful means.

Finally, one need have no fears that Prime Minister Nehru was "taken in," during his visit to the Soviet Union, or that he is so naive as not to see the difference between dictatorships and free countries. Nehru is one of the greatest living champions of the democratic way of life and the dignity of man. He has fought for these principles all through his life, and he will die fighting for them. And, what is more, his faith in democracy is so complete and intense that he has no cringing fear of communism.

Vandalism in Vietnam

The world witnessed an unprecedented spectacle when on July 20 Government-supported rioters in South Viet Nam attacked the headquarters of the International Truce Supervisory Commission for Vietnam at Saigon with the police looking on silently. The demonstrators, according to *Reuters*, "entered the Hotel Majestic, the biggest in the city, and ransacked the

rooms of the Indian, Canadian and Polish delegates to the Truce Control Commission.

"Papers and personal property of the Control Commission's Indian Chairman, Mr. M. J. Desai, were thrown from the window of his hotel room; the public rooms were also ransacked.

"Mr. Desai and other Indian, Canadian, and Polish members of the Commission lost in their belongings in the attack. A civilian member of the Commission for Laos, who was on leave in Saigon, was injured."

Demonstration against the Commission was organised all over South Viet Nam. However, the mobile teams of the Commission in outlying areas escaped injury.

Mr. M. J. Desai, Chairman of the Commission, lodged a strong protest with Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, the South Viet Nam Premier.

Reuters adds: "The Chief of Staff to the Commission, Brigadier B. S. Bhagat of India, said that the Commission could not operate unless it received co-operation from the Government. 'How can it continue with its work if the safety of its members is not assured?' he asked.

"A French spokesman said General Jacquot, French Commissioner-General in Indo-China, told Mr. Diem today (July 20) that he was 'astounded' to hear of the excesses after he had the strongest assurances from the Government that the security of the International Truce Commission members would be guarded."

The International Truce Supervisory Commission in a resolution asked for effective security measures for its personnel and headquarters and stated that the Commission could not function without those safeguards. At the request of the Commission the resolution was forwarded by the Government of India to the two co-chairmen of the last year's Geneva Conference, which ended the war in Indo-China, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Molotov.

The Government of India, on receipt of the reports of the happenings in Saigon, informed Sir Anthony and M. Molotov of the situation that had arisen and requested them to issue necessary directions to the parties concerned. The two statesmen are reported to have endorsed the anxiety expressed by the Government of India over the incidents in Saigon.

The Soviet Government condemned the riots and handed a Note to the British Charge d'Affaires in Moscow urging Britain to join the Soviet Union in asking France and South Viet Nam to ensure the security of the International Commission.

That the attack on the members of the International Supervisory Commission was premeditated and had the backing of the South Viet Nam Government could hardly be questioned. A few days before

the violence was organized the South Viet Nam Government in a unanimous resolution had decided upon "elimination of Polish and Indian pro-Communist elements" in the Truce Supervisory Commission. On the day, the disturbances occurred, the South Viet Nam Government was to open talks with the Government of North Viet Nam for holding elections in the country according to the terms of the last year's Geneva Agreement. The South Viet Nam Government did not try to conceal its reluctance to take part in those talks and the day (July 20) was declared as a "day of mourning" for the people of South Viet Nam. *Reuters* reported from Saigon on July 19 that Police Headquarters in the city had called on all dance halls, theatres and cinemas to remain closed on July 20. Reiterating the South Viet Nam's Government's unwillingness to take part in talks with the North Viet Nam Government on elections to reunify the country Mr. Diem said in a broadcast on July 16: "We have not signed the Geneva agreements, we are not bound in any way by these agreements, signed against the will of the Vietnamese people."

What was more striking however was the fact in his broadcast after the disgraceful happenings in Saigon Mr. Diem as head of a Government did not consider it worthwhile to offer an apology for the outrage. He only warned the people against "misplaced gestures." *Reuters* reports: "He (Mr. Diem) made no apology for the riots. He said that during the demonstrations, 'which constitute clear proof of the determination of the people to combat Communism, some regrettable incidents occurred.' He said that of the 100,000 demonstrators, who showed 'far-sighted nationalism and the strictest discipline, a small number of about 100 people entered two hotels where officers of the Viet Nam liaison had been seen in recent days'."

Mr. Diem continued: "Contrary to certain erroneous press reports, only some material damage occurred in an atmosphere of general excitement. The Government has decided to repair these damages."

The Foreign Minister of South Viet Nam, Mr. Vu Van Mau, it is reported, told Mr. M. J. Desai that the demonstration had been against Communists and not against the International Commission. But Mr. Desai rejected that explanation and pointed to the fact that the demonstrators had systematically wrecked rooms belonging to Commission members and that police had stood by without interfering.

The *London Times* writes in an editorial article on July 21, the day following the disturbances in Saigon: "The mob's attack seems to have been vicious and well prepared and have already been severely condemned by the British Government among others. But after protests have been made and the Government in Saigon rightly condemned

for failing to prevent—even if it did not actively stimulate—the riots the intractable problem of what is to happen next remains."

Referring to Mr. Diem's assertions that as he was not a signatory to the Geneva Agreement of July 21, 1954, he was under no obligation to hold talks with the North Viet Nam Government for holding elections for the reunification of the country, the *Statesman* writes editorially on July 20:

"Mr. Diem's case can, even on the best interpretation, hardly bear scrutiny. He loudly proclaims he did not sign the cease-fire agreement on July 21, 1954. This seems to be totally irrelevant, since the provisions for elections are not contained in that agreement but in the eight-nation declaration of the previous day, which was signed by the Viet Nam Delegation at a time when he was Premier . . ."

Election Prospects in Indo-China

For some time past signs of anxiety could be visible about the prospects of holding elections in Indo-China for the reunification of the country, according to the terms of the Geneva Agreement, 1954. The attitude of the U.S.-backed Diem Government of South Viet Nam was particularly unhelpful in this connection. While on his recent European tour Pandit Nehru discussed this matter with the Soviet and British Governments whose representatives were the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. So far all persuasions have failed to convince the government of Mr. Diem the reasonableness of holding discussions on elections. The "Big Three" Western Powers—Britain, the U.S.A. and France—have reportedly asked the Diem Government to open immediate talks on elections.

The future is still uncertain. If Mr. Diem yields to the pressure of the "Big Three" it would mean a complete repudiation of his stand so long. Observers have pointed out that Mr. Diem's course of action would be largely determined by the attitude of the U.S.A. "He can defy Britain and France without suffering much but if the U.S.A., which has buttressed his government through a year of often precarious existence, should threaten to withdraw support, his position as Prime Minister will be untenable."

Nehru on Vietnam Riots

Pandit Nehru's statement in Parliament is as follows:

"July, 27.—Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on Wednesday morning that the South Vietnam Government had offered to pay compensation to the International Truce Commission for the damages done during the Saigon riot of July 20.

"It was a matter to be dealt with by the Commission. The Government of India did not come into the picture. Sri Nehru who was replying to a short-notice question

put by four members of the House, said and added that it was for the Commission now to decide how to deal with it.

"The Government of India," Sri Nehru said, "undertook the chairmanship of the International Commission on the clear understanding of protection and co-operation of the Governments concerned. It is clear that the International Commission cannot function unless there is full safety and protection for them."

"The International Commission proposes to continue to work in the hope that the efforts of the two co-Chairmen will succeed and their directions will be heeded," he added.

"Referring to his message to the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Molotov, the Prime Minister said that both of them had condemned the incidents and assured them that they were taking steps to ensure adequate protection to the International Commission in the discharge of their duties.

"The two co-Chairmen had conferred with each other and also consulted representatives of the United States of America and France and it is understood that all those Four Powers had strongly urged the South Vietnam Government to take all necessary action for the proper functioning of the International Commission as well as for steps to be taken to organise elections in terms of the Geneva agreement.

"It would appear that these demonstrations and attacks against the International Commission," Sri Nehru said, "had been planned previously. As there had been some previous demonstrations, the Commission had, on July 13, drawn the attention of the authorities to the need for maintaining law and order and adequate security. Apparently, this request was not heeded" he added.

"I should like to record our Government's appreciation of the courage and determination shown by all the members of the International Commission in the difficult situation that suddenly confronted them," said Prime Minister Nehru who read a statement to give details about the July 20 riot in Saigon."

Eisenhower-U Nu Statement

As is known widely U Nu, the Premier of Burma, paid a visit to the U.S.A. recently. At the end of his visit and after the talks with the President of the U. S., a joint statement was issued, which is given in the subjoined news item:

"Washington, July 2.—President Eisenhower and the Premier of Burma, U Nu, said in a joint statement today that they had reviewed, together the problem of the eleven United States fliers imprisoned in Communist China. The two leaders also had a 'frank discussion' of the major point of difference between Rangoon and Washington, the fact that the United States had been shipping surplus rice to countries in Asia that normally imported it from Burma.

James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary,

declined to elaborate on the language of the joint statement when he was asked whether the heads of government had taken any decisions on either the rice or the prisoner problem."

Following is the text of a joint statement by President Eisenhower and Burmese Premier U Nu:

"The Prime Minister of Burma, His Excellency U Nu, has visited Washington for three days at the invitation of President Eisenhower. The President and the Prime Minister discussed many matters of common concern and exchanged views on current international problems.

"The Prime Minister, the President and the Secretary of State reviewed problems of peace and security in Asia. They had a frank discussion of the complex economic problems arising from the existence of substantial surpluses of exportable rice both in Burma—one of the world's leading rice exporting countries—and in the United States.

"Note was taken of the salutary influence of religion as exemplified by the sixth Buddhist Synod presently being held in Rangoon and attended by leading Buddhist scholars from many nations.

"The problem of imprisoned American fliers in Communist China was reviewed.

"These talks have been of special value in increasing mutual understanding between Burma and the United States. There is a wide area of agreement and a traditional friendship between Burma and the United States resting firmly upon certain noble concepts to which both countries subscribe. Our two peoples, those of the United States and the Union of Burma, share two fundamental goals, a peaceful world and a democratic way of life.

"They reaffirmed their dedication to the ideal of peace and friendly co-operation amongst nations founded on international justice and morality. Both countries are deeply concerned with a subject that is predominant in the minds of all responsible world leaders today—problem of achieving peace with justice, a peace based upon the liberty of human beings and the security of nations.

"Such a peace can best be achieved by loyal steadfast support for the Charter of the United Nations. That is the surest and most practical avenue along which to seek peace with justice in this world. A patient striving to uphold the fundamental, moral and religious beliefs underlying the Charter provides the best hope for the fulfillment of mankind's aspirations.

"The Prime Minister, the President and the Secretary of State deplored the conditions which force the peoples of the world to divert their energies and talents from a singleminded effort to improve and expand those cultural and economic opportunities by which men can raise the levels of their existence. They renewed their own determination to uphold the principles of the United Nations in its unceasing effort to save mankind from the scourge of future war."

Nehru in Belgrade

Pandit Nehru's statement at Belgrade is of interest as it foreshadowed the Big Four talks at Geneva. We adjoin the news summary:

"Belgrade, Yugoslavia, July 2.—War is out of the question in this age, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said today in an address before the Yugoslav Parliament.

"The Indian leader, who received an ovation, asserted that war was 'a relic of a barbarous past.' The only alternative to it, he added, is peaceful coexistence between nations and an attempt to solve problems peacefully through negotiation.

"Such a policy, he said, is neither neutrality nor an attempt to build up a third bloc but a dynamic participation in world events.

"Discussing East-West relations, Mr. Nehru said an Iron Curtain did exist.

"Five days ago in Vienna the Indian leader hesitated to give his impression of the Soviet Union. In response to questions then, he exclaimed: 'What Iron Curtain? I never noticed any curtain, iron or otherwise.'

"Today, Mr. Nehru said: 'We often hear of the Iron Curtain. I think there is some truth in this.'

"But he added, the 'greatest Iron Curtain of all' is the Iron Curtain of the mind.

"This seems to be an allusion to the West perhaps more than to the Soviet Union. The Iron Curtain of the mind, said Mr. Nehru, bars people from seeing the most obvious facts about the major problems facing world statesmen. He said these problems were the Far East, Germany and disarmament.

"There is the great country of (Communist) China, which is denied admittance in the United Nations," said the Indian Prime Minister. 'Anything more absurd than this seems to me difficult to imagine.'

"Mr. Nehru's speech was well received not only because he identified his and the Yugoslav policies but because he affirmed the Indian Government's aim in pursuing socialism."

"Mr. Nehru said he had no 'easy remedy' to suggest for the hatred and lack of security that many nations felt, but he offered the following code in which he believes:

"Freedom and independence of his own and other countries.

"Freedom of the individual and the democratic system of working.

"Recognition that suppression of a nation is an 'evil thing and prevents its growth.'

"The necessity of opposing evil and of not willingly tolerating it, but doing so not with greater evil or violence.

"Nearly two thousand years ago, it was said by a very great man that 'those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword,' said the Indian Prime Minister.

"However, Mr. Nehru sharply criticized the use of the word peace as a slogan.

"There is danger that even good words and good ideas might lose their value by the wrong use," he declared. 'Peace should be peaceful. It should not shout or use the language of threat or condemnation.'

Currency and Finance in 1954-55

The Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for 1954-55 consists, as usual, of a brief survey of international economic developments in Part I, as a background for a detailed review of the Indian economy in Part II. It also contains a wealth of statistical material, in the form of tables and graphs, setting out the data for the Plan period from 1951-52 to 1954-55.

International economic developments: According to the Report, world economy in 1954, assisted by the lessening of international political tensions, gained in strength and continued to be relatively stable. Production was well maintained, prices were generally stable and the international payments position recorded a further improvement. The relatively mild 'inventory recession' that took place in the USA between the summer of 1953 and the spring of 1954, was followed by a recovery, particularly in the last quarter of the year. Monetary and credit policies continued to be flexible in several countries during 1954 as in the past few years, and tended to be liberal for the greater part of the year. Towards the end, however, and particularly in the first quarter of 1955, they were tightened in some countries with the emergence of inflationary symptoms. In the UK, for instance, while monetary policy for most of the year was directed towards easing and cheapening Bank credit, the Bank rate was raised twice within a month in January and February, 1955, from 3 per cent to 4½ per cent—the highest rate since 1932—to correct the weakness of the pound sterling and the inflationary upsurge in the internal economy. In the USA also, the monetary authorities continued their policy of 'active ease' until towards the close of the year, but with the moderate recovery in business conditions and the unprecedented boom in the stock market, the authorities moderated their policy by a shift from active ease to one of less active ease. Trends in the capital market in the leading countries generally reflected the internal economic stability and the prospect of continuing economic growth in those countries, rather than international developments and speculative activities. Gilt-edged ruled, on the whole, firm; equities were buoyant and the new issue market was more active than in 1953.

Budgetary policies in the advanced countries were generally directed towards increasing the tempo of economic activity, while, in the underdeveloped countries, they continued to reflect the need to raise larger revenues to finance development programmes in the public sector and at the same time to stimulate savings and investment. In the sphere of trade and balance of payments, economic developments in the USA, along with the continuation of its defence and economic aid, led to an increase in the reserves of other countries, particularly of Western Europe and the sterling area.

This strengthening of the foreign exchange position together with an improvement in the volume and balance of world trade enabled a number of countries, especially in Western Europe, to relax generally their restrictions on trade and payments, including some against dollar imports, and made the climate more favourable for further efforts in the direction of currency convertibility.

The US Congress in 1954 did not give its consent to the President's liberal trade programme, drawn in the light of the Randall Commission's recommendations, and voted for only a year's extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. In February 1955, however, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Bill was narrowly passed by the House of Representatives without any amendment. The Bill seeks, among other things, to extend for three years the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act with amendments to empower the President as follows: (1) to reduce present tariff rates on individual commodities by as much as 5 per cent per year in each of three years of the new Act, (2) to reduce tariff rates in greater degree in the case of products now imported in negligible volume, and (3) to reduce to 50 per cent any rate in excess of that level.

Indian Economy: Against the background of these international developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during the year ended March 1955. Economic developments, the Report observes, were marked by a considerable expansion in industrial output, a substantial increase in money supply and a decline in prices along with enlarged budgetary deficits, a small surplus on the external account and a better flow of savings. The growth in budgetary deficits of the Central Government and the States indicated the quickened pace of developmental expenditure, which partly made up for the relatively slow progress in the preceding three years. Nevertheless, there was no evidence of an emergence of inflationary pressures and the economy made considerable progress during the year with a measure of overall stability.

Two disquieting features were the sharp fall in agricultural prices and the continued seriousness of unemployment. Over the year, while the general index of wholesale prices showed a decline of 10 per cent, the group index for food articles fell by as much as 20 per cent. The fall in agricultural prices may not continue indefinitely, for, the supply position in 1954-55 was assisted by a run of three good monsoons, which is unusual, and by dishoarding which followed the virtual elimination of controls over foodgrains early in the year. To some extent, the recent decline in prices appears to be a corrective to the earlier high levels; and a lower level of foodgrain prices provides a better base for rapid economic development. But a steep decline, such as tended to occur in some commodities, is liable to cause widespread distress, and particularly if it is due to temporary causes, to lead to some avoidable distortions in the production pattern; it called for State

intervention to smoothen extreme fluctuations in the prices of a few agricultural commodities. To meet the problem of unemployment, labour-intensive schemes were added in 1953-54 to the original Five-Year Plan, while during the year, special steps were also taken to stimulate the expansion of small-scale and cottage industries.

Industrial production in 1954, the Report states, was 8 per cent higher than in 1953, which was itself 5 per cent higher than in 1952. Since the inauguration of the Plan, industrial output has increased by about 40 per cent. Among the factors contributing to the uptrend during 1954 were greater availability of raw materials, better export offtake and continued improvement in labour management relations. Agricultural output also showed a record increase in 1953-54, the estimated output of foodgrains surpassing the target fixed for the Five-Year Plan by nearly 4½ million tons. For 1954-55, total agricultural output is expected to be around the peak level reached in 1953-54.

In line with higher output, the need for larger private finance on the relaxation of controls and the increasing tempo of economic development, money supply, figures for which have been revised to take into account the circulation of *Hali Sicca* currency, showed a substantial rise of Rs. 124 crores or 7 per cent during 1954-55; in the previous year, it had risen by Rs. 72 crores. The increase stemmed mainly from two factors, namely, the Union Government's budgetary deficit and the growth in bank credit. Net borrowings by the Government from the Reserve Bank amounted to Rs. 104 crores; this along with the net decline in cash balances makes a total of Rs. 110 crores reflecting the impact of the budget deficit on money supply. Open market operations of the Reserve Bank, however, tended to curtail money supply to some extent. During the greater part of the year, there was a general broadening of the demand for funds, which was met by banks without any undue strain on their resources on account of the appreciable growth in bank deposits as well as the larger volume of seasonal finance made available by the Reserve Bank. The expansion in the resources of the banking system would indicate that the post-Partition trend of deposit contraction has probably given place to a new phase of expansion under the impetus of development expenditure and deficit financing. The decline in prices would indicate that the expansion in money supply in 1954-55 was far from being inflationary.

In the field of rural finance, a significant event during the year was the publication of the General Report of the Committee of Direction of the All-India Rural Credit Survey. As part of their integrated scheme of rural credit, the Committee recommended the establishment of a State Bank of India, which would take over the Imperial Bank of India and certain State associate banks. Government accepted this recommendation and have since enacted the necessary legislation and set up a State Bank, which has, in the first instance, taken over only the Imperial Bank of India. The State

Bank will provide much more liberal and extensive remittance facilities and embark on a scheme of considerable branch expansion.

The capital market in India, the Report observes, reacted well to the general improvement in the country's economy. The gilt-edged ruled firm in spite of considerable borrowing by the Central Government, while the industrial share market was also buoyant for the greater part of the year. The new issue market experienced increased activity, the amount of consent granted by the Controller of Capital Issues during 1954 at Rs. 111 crores being the highest since 1948.

Reviewing Government finances, the Report states that during 1954-55, the budgetary position of the Central and State Governments showed a perceptible change from the previous year towards larger overall deficits, stemming from the rising momentum of expenditure in the public sector. In the revenue account of the Central Government, a deficit of Rs. 5 crores replaced a surplus of Rs. 8.5 crores in 1953-54, while in the combined revenue account of Part A and Part B States, the swing was wider still with a deficit of Rs. 33 crores instead of a surplus of Rs. 5 crores in the previous year. Excluding the net increase in receipts estimated under floating debt and adjusting for the net changes in investment reserves, the overall deficit of the Central Government in 1954-55 (Rs. 260 crores) was more than twice that in 1953-54 (Rs. 87 crores). In the case of Part A and Part B States, there was an adjusted overall deficit of Rs. 36 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 19 crores in 1953-54—a swing of Rs. 55 crores. For 1955-56, revenue deficits of the Centre and the States (after tax changes) are placed at Rs. 17 crores and Rs. 66 crores, and the adjusted overall deficits at Rs. 327 crores and Rs. 65 crores, respectively.

An event of special significance during the year was the submission to Government of the Report of Taxation Enquiry Commission, which contains far-reaching recommendations for widening and deepening the tax structure. A beginning in the direction of implementing the Commission's recommendations was made this year, with a provision for increases in taxation totalling about Rs. 13 crores in the Union Government's budget for 1955-56.

The balance of payments position showed a smaller surplus on current account of nearly Rs. 4 crores during the calendar year 1954 in comparison with Rs. 59 crores in 1953, but at a much higher level of trade. This sizeable reduction in the payments surplus was mainly a consequence of the larger volume of imports following the intensification of the rate of development, and occurred despite an 8 per cent improvement in the terms of trade. Region-wise, while the surpluses with the sterling area (excluding Pakistan), the dollar area and the rest of the non-sterling area other than the OEEC were reduced, the deficit with the OEEC countries widened further. With Pakistan, the last year's small deficit turned into a moderate surplus.

Control of Private Sector

In his address to the Central Advisory Council for Industries on July 22, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, outlining the industrial policy of the Government of India, said: "Broadly speaking, the industrial policy statement of 1948 still holds the field. It is the emphasis on different aspects of the policy that has now been clarified." He explained that industries included in the public sector would be the definite obligation of the State and development in these industries in the future by bringing into being new units would undoubtedly be the responsibility of the State. If, he added, the entrepreneur showed no enterprise, clearly the State must take the initiative itself. He further pointed out that it was neither correct nor reasonable to consider that the private sector and the public sector were two water-tight compartments and the State could not trespass into the former or that the State could not invite the co-operation of private enterprise in regard to industries in the public sector.

"We do not view with favour the concentration of wealth in a few hands," he added. There were few countries which had such contrasts between the levels of income of the poor and of the rich as India. While the solution of this problem lay in raising the incomes of the poor and their main attack was on poverty rather than wealth, the State had to ensure not only greater production of wealth but also its equitable distribution. Quite apart from this wider social purpose, the several limitations of their resources and the ambitious nature of their planning made it necessary for them to ensure that there be a careful husbanding of resources and that they were canalised into fields most essential for national development.

The private sector must, therefore, accept regulation by the State. In fact, he added, such a regulation existed even now, and the Government should claim without exaggeration that its regulatory powers had not been used to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the private sector. The Union Minister referred to the statements of the Prime Minister in which he had said that there was no desire to resort to nationalization for the mere sake of nationalization. Pandit Nehru indicated in those statements that there were plenty of fields open in which the Government could usefully invest its resources and strengthen the national economy instead of acquiring existing units owned by the private sector.

But these statements and assurances to the private sector should not be taken in their face value, but should be read in between the lines. Evidently, the Government of India has deviated considerably from its industrial policy as was enunciated in 1948. The Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951, as amended in 1953, has undoubtedly modified the industrial policy of the Government as was defined in 1948. The Act provides for a degree of regulation and control of industries in the private sector which were quite unforeseen in the initial stage. Under this Act, the

Government of India has been empowered to take over the management of any industrial concern if it fails to carry out the directives of the Government. Further, the Industrial Policy Resolution gave assurance that the existing industries in the private sector would not be nationalised in the coming ten years. But a series of nationalisation has belied this assurance. The nationalisation of the Indian airways communications, the Imperial Bank, a few railways, and the reported decision of the Government of India to nationalize the Kolar Gold mines are just instances of the modification if not violation of the 1948 industrial policy. The nationalization of the Reserve Bank should, however, be viewed as a national imperative.

The affairs of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills Company raised great misgivings in the minds of the private industrialists. Under an Ordinance of 1950, the Government of India took over the administration and management of the Company, removing the managing directors. The Supreme Court, however, came forward to control the executive power of the Government which amounted in effect legislation for the deprivation of property without payment of compensation. This is the case of *Dwarkanadas Shrinivas v. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.* (1954 S.C.R. 674). The Supreme Court observed that in promulgating the Ordinance, the Government had not merely taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company but had in effect and substance taken over the undertaking itself. In the situation the contention had no force, the Court added, that the effect of the Ordinance was that the Central Government had taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company and that the impugned legislation was merely regulative in character. In the present case practically all incidents of ownership had been taken over by the State and nothing had been left with the Company but the mere husk of title and in the premises the impugned statute had overstepped the limits of legitimate Social Control Legislation and had infringed the fundamental right of the Company guaranteed to it under Article 31(2) of the Constitution and was, therefore, unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court held that Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property. Article 31 gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. In the opinion of the Supreme Court, it is a narrow view that "acquisition" necessarily means acquisition of title in whole or part of the property and cannot be accepted. The word "acquisition" has quite a wide concept, meaning the procuring of property or the taking of it permanently or temporarily. It does not necessarily imply acquisition of legal title by the State in the property taken possession of.

In an earlier case, the Supreme Court also held a

similar view. This was the case of *The State of West Bengal v. Subodh Gopal Bose*, (1954 S.C.R. 587). In that case Mr. Justice Das, however, tried to distinguish between, clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31, by holding that the former relates to the police power inherent in a State in taking over the property of private persons, and the latter relates to the power of eminent domain of the State under which compensation must be paid in case of acquisition for national purpose. This contention was overruled by the majority decision of the Supreme Court which held that there is no scope of "police power" of the State in the matter of acquisition of private property. The Supreme Court held in this case that Article 31 protects the right to property by defining the limitations on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 are not mutually exclusive in scope and content, but should be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of limitations on the State's power referred to above, the deprivation contemplated in clause (1) being no other than the acquisition or taking possession of the property referred to clause (2). The main effect of these two decisions is that the State cannot acquire private property without payment of compensation, no matter whether the property was taken temporarily for management or permanently by acquisition.

However, these two important decisions on the State's right of acquisition of private property have been rendered nugatory by the fourth amendment of the Constitution. The fourth amendment has amended Article 31 and Article 31A of the Constitution to the effect that the State can take over the management of private property without acquiring it and in that case no compensation need be paid. The new Clause (2A) of Article 31 states that where a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a corporation owned or controlled by the State, it shall not be deemed to provide for the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property, notwithstanding that it deprives any person of his property. Article 31A (b) provides that the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property shall not be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14, Article 19, Article 31.

With the fourth amendment in operation, the industrial policy of the Government envisages larger control by the Government over the industrial concerns of the country than was contemplated under the industrial policy resolution of 1948.

Industrial Finance Corporation

When the Bill for amending the Industrial Finance Corporation came up before the House of the People for consideration on July 27, members belonging to all

parties strongly criticized the working of the Corporation. Charges of nepotism and favouritism were levelled against the Corporation in the matter of granting loans. The main allegation was that industrial concerns directly or indirectly connected with the former chairman of the Corporation, and also with several other directors were granted loans, while many industrial concerns genuinely being in need of funds were rejected any financial assistance. After the Report of the Industrial Finance Corporation Enquiry Committee was submitted to the Government, the chairman of the Corporation resigned and that was quite expected of him. Undoubtedly his was an evil influence that shrouded the working of the Corporation and stultified its growth. It was common knowledge that a large portion of the loans granted by the Corporation went to the industrial concerns connected or allied with those of the chairman and in sanctioning such loans his dominating influence was evident. But what about the managing director? He too failed in his duty and failed miserably to pilot the affairs of the Corporation to the satisfaction of all concerned in the fate of the Corporation.

The Inquiry Committee also proved to be an incompetent body because it failed to find out the real corruptions that were solely responsible for the defects in the working of the Corporation. Now some of the members of the Inquiry Committee have become vociferous in denouncing the former managing director. The chairman of the Inquiry Committee belonged to the opposition party and it may be asked why she simply "dittoed" to the findings of the majority of the Committee. She was plainly utilised for serving as a rubber stamp to the findings of the Committee that exonerated the Corporation of all major charges that were brought against it, save a few minor irregularities. Now it is no use crying over opportunities lost and missed to prove to the hilt the irregularities of the former chairman and managing director of the Corporation. It was openly alleged that they were guilty of gross misconduct and it was left to the Inquiry Committee to prove that, but it white-washed the situation.

The most glaring fault on the part of the Industrial Finance Corporation was to make an advance of several lakhs of rupees to the Sodepur Glass Works which closed its doors shortly after the money was received. The Resolution taken by the Government of India over the findings of the Inquiry Committee in this connection states: "Government agree with the view of the Enquiry Committee that the capital requirements of the projects were not properly assessed either originally or on the subsequent occasion when a re-appraisal might have been made, and that this was a major contributory cause for the difficulties met with by the Company. In the opinion of Government, though the primary responsibility for this failure must rest with the Company, the Corporation, having become involved in the fortunes of the undertaking by the grant of the loan and in default by the Company, must also bear a

measure of responsibility for such failure. The Corporation should have made a correct appraisal of the Company's needs before sanctioning the loan."

The Akali Morcha

On July 12 the Punjab Government lifted the ban on the shouting of slogans in Amritsar "to mark the great occasion of Premier Nehru's triumphant return" home. The withdrawal of the restrictive orders was followed by the decision of the Shiromani Akali Dal to suspend the 64-day-old Morcha against the government ban on linguistic slogans. Though the ban was lifted, Government did not contemplate the release of Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders, said Shri Bhimsen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab. He said that law would take its own course and all law-breakers would be tried.

According to the *Statesman* correspondent in Amritsar, about 8000 odd prisoners were jailed in connection with the Morcha. The correspondent writes: "The Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and other Maha Punjab supporters are disappointed at the withdrawal of the ban; only today [July 12] they had demanded firmer action. But in the city there is general relief though anxiety still exists about future developments."

Commenting on the action of the Punjab Government in withdrawing the ban on raising slogans in support of 'Punjabi Suba' the *Kashmir Post* writes: "The explanation given by the Punjab Government for withdrawing the ban—to mark the great occasion of Mr. Nehru's triumphant return—does not, to say the least, make a convincing reading. It appears that this is just an excuse to save face for a decision, which, it is feared, would have been liable to be misunderstood."

The newspaper writes that whatever might have been the reason for the withdrawal of the ban, "the fact remains that the Punjab Government were caught on the wrong foot in connection with the Akali Morcha. The completely untenable stand taken by a large number of Hindus on the question of the Punjabi language has created a lot of bad blood among the vast masses of Sikhs."

The Akali, quickly grasped that opportunity, it continues, and capitalised that disgruntled feeling for their own power tactics. With the vast resources of the Gurdwaras at disposal they went all out to measure strength with the Congress-dominated Punjab Government. "Since the Akali were abusing the Gurdwaras as their base against the Government the whole thing assumed the colour of a fight against the Gurdwaras and large numbers of illiterate and innocent Sikh masses were duped into taking the agitation for the preservation of the sanctity of the Gurdwaras."

The newspaper refers to the fact that the Akali Morcha had not been called off but only suspended temporarily so that the fundamental question still remained as it was. But the Government would get an

opportunity to reconsider the steps. To bring back complete normalcy, continues the paper, the Government would need to take two steps. The first was a more rational and reasonable attitude towards the language question in the Punjab. The second was that the Government should not confine its fight against one brand of communalism only. So long it had sought to counter Akali communalism but had done nothing to curb the spread of subtle Hindu communalism. But it was largely due to the communal activities of the Hindu that the Akali had been able to command such large-scale support among the Sikhs, the *Post* concludes,

Teachers Asked to Recruit Students

Strange things are happening in this vast land of ours. Last year we had a governmental edict in Bombay prohibiting use of fountain pens by school students. Now comes another report of comparable ingenuity.

According to the *People*, the English weekly from Lucknow, teachers in degree colleges in U.P. were reportedly asked by the authorities to bring in students if they wanted to keep their jobs. Recently with many degree class students turning to the Universities there was a thinning of admission in the degree colleges there. And the authorities followed up with their directives to the teachers.

Commenting on the episode the *People* writes that the fact which "makes it an intriguing question is how could the admission touch such a low when at least hundreds of students—the overwhelming numbers of third divisioners—have been refused admission by the University."

"However, it sounds odd that due to thinning admission queues at degree colleges, the teachers should be asked to make up for the lag. It needs an enquiring into the matter, whether the problem in these colleges is really so acute."

The keen competition among teachers for recruiting students to their colleges the *People* notes, led the teachers in many cases to denounce other institutions. "This results in mud slinging, calling each other names and what not. In this perspective one can only appeal to the good sense of the Management who are responsible for bringing things to such a pass. We have had enough of making education a football of self-interest. It is time some one put a stop to this sort of game which has reduced education to nothing better than a commodity," the magazine concludes.

Unfair Practices of Tourist Agencies

The unfair practices adopted by certain tourist agencies in Kashmir in duping unwary tourists comes in for much criticism in an editorial article of the *Kashmir Post*.

Referring to certain cases where outside tourists were subjected to harassment and exploitation by un-

scrupulous tourist agencies the paper urged upon the State Government to take adequate steps to stop such evil practice in the State. "Besides being unfair to the individual tourists who are cheated in this manner it also affects the popularity of Kashmir among the tourists thus damaging the trade."

As a preventive to such malpractice the paper suggests that no travel agency which was not on the approved lists should be allowed to function and no agency should be put on the approved list unless it deposited a cash security with the Government to enable it to compensate the aggrieved tourists and unless it maintained the necessary establishment and possessed adequate resources to conduct the business to the satisfaction of the Government. "Easy-money-seekers and adventurers should have no place in this trade. Tourism is too important for this state to be allowed to be ruined by unscrupulous businessmen," the *Kashmir Post* writes.

Slums in Delhi

Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwala, who has made a personal study of the problem, focusses attention on the miserable plight of the Delhi slums in an article in the *AICC Economic Review*.

There were an average of ten slums in each of the fifty electoral constituencies of the Delhi Municipal Committee. The conditions in which people lived there beggared description. A survey recently conducted in the Jamuna Bazar area disclosed that nearly 6000 persons were living in 470 houses or huts and there was no arrangement for sanitation. "This *Basti* looks like a hell in the capital. The condition of all other such localities is similar," writes Shri Chandiwala.

Shri Chandiwala classifies the slums into four categories; (i) those coming under the Improvement Trust, (ii) those under the Municipal Committee, (iii) those owned by the Custodian (Evacuee Property), and (iv) those which were privately owned.

There were various efforts in the past for ameliorating the distress of *Basti* dwellers. But nothing tangible resulted. The Improvement Trust itself was formed with the object of improving slum areas among other things. But little progress was made in that direction. The record of the Municipal Committee also was not much better. "The worst difficulty is encountered while tackling the problem of *Katras* which number nearly 500 and the Municipal Committee is unable to do much there. The custodian also does not seem inclined to spend anything to improve the condition of *Bastis* under his jurisdiction."

The inhabitants of the *Bastis* came mainly from the small craftsmen, such as shoe-makers, carpenters, potters, sweepers, blacksmiths, washermen, *bhisthis* and other labourers. The only change that occurred in the life of the *Basti* dwellers after independence was the fact their names "have been written on the electoral lists and they

are approached during the elections" with promises of turning their hells into heavens in just a few days' time. "But nobody turns up after the elections."

According to the writer two measures could be helpful in solving the question of the improvement of the slum areas. Those measures were (1) the setting up of a Corporation and (2) the establishment of a development board for dealing with the problem. Moreover the inhabitants of the slums also had an important role to play. "It is necessary that they should unite and make their demands known."

In conclusion Shri Chandiwala writes: "Next Five-year Plan is being framed. It is high time that the attention of Planning Commission be attracted towards these slums and a demand of clean Delhi be made. Delhi is the capital of India and thousands of foreigners visit these slums of Delhi and take their photographs with them. It is a matter of disgrace for us. . . ."

Gaffar Khan and Pakistan Politics

For about eight years Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Red-shirt leader, lived in detention and exile from his home province because of his refusal to obey the orders of the Pakistan rulers. But popular pressure apparently became too much for the present rulers of Pakistan and they were forced to lift all restrictions on his movements though only a little while ago the Pakistan Minister for Interior, General Iskander Mirza had categorically declared that restrictions would not be lifted for international reasons, because Kabul Radio had reportedly been using in anti-Pak propaganda the statements of Gaffar Khan against the "one-unit" plan.

After his release Gaffar Khan was accorded a royal reception on his entry into the Frontier Province. Reports spoke of unprecedented jubilation of the people at the return of their beloved leader.

Khan Abdul Gaffar did not try to conceal his opposition to the "one-unit" plan for West Pakistan. In his view the adoption of the plan would be prejudicial to the national interests of the Pakhtoon people. Before the lifting of the restrictions on his entry into NWFP he said, referring to Government charges that his statements were being used for anti-Pakistan propaganda by Kabul Radio: "The ruling group in Pakistan has been using Kashmir to stifle public opinion on vital matters. But now since it is no more a live issue, it has come out with Afghanistan stunt."

Recently the Pakistan Minister for Interior, General Iskander Mirza and Dr. Khan Saheb, elder brother of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Minister for communication in the present Pakistan Cabinet, who has been nominated to be the first Chief Minister of the proposed one-unit of West Pakistan, went to Peshawar with a view to bringing Gaffar Khan over to the idea of "one-unit" for West Pakistan. Gaffar Khan flatly rejected their suggestion and reiterated his earlier views about the harmful nature of the plan.

Thereafter a campaign of vilification was let loose

upon Gaffar Khan with General Mirza as the leader of the attack. Gaffar Khan was reportedly told by the Central Government that if he continued his 'disruptive activities' he would be "severely dealt with."

Addressing a 40,000 strong rally on July 26 in Mardan in NWFP, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan refuted all charges made against him by General Iskander Mirza. He said, "It does not behove people who themselves, and whose forefathers, have supported throughout their lives their British masters to brand me as a self-seeker and the Red-shirt organization as a band opposed to independence when it was only this party of ours which fought a non-violent battle for freedom. The only difference between us and the present rulers is that they have adopted ruinous policies for the country while we ask for a programme which will assure the people's prosperity and national construction."

Mohammed Ali and the U.S.S.R.

"Aress" writes in the *Kashmir Post* on July 9: "There is a touch of comedy in the request of Mr. Mohammed Ali to the Soviet Union for an invitation to visit Moscow. It appears that the Pakistan leaders are in the grip of such a terrible inferiority complex that they can never decide on their own what is good and what is bad for them."

In this connection the writer recalls that in 1949 the U.S.S.R. had extended an invitation to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, to visit Moscow. Mr. Liaquat Ali had accepted the invitation and had even fixed up an approximate date for his journey to the Soviet Union. "In the meantime the Nehru visit to the United States matured and the tremendous impact made by Mr. Nehru on the American people came as a shock to the Pakistanis. They begged the Americans for an invitation which they, of course, got. . . . Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan deferred his proposed visit to the Soviet Union and instead took the American journey. There he fell in line with the American way of thinking and agreed to be a loyal supporter of the Americans. After this there was no question of the Russian visit coming off and quite understandably it was ultimately shelved."

The writer is of the view that this time it was the unprecedented success of the Russian tour of Shri Nehru that has induced the Pakistan leaders to have second thoughts about their policy and position.

Bandung

The *Worldover Press* gives the liberal American viewpoint on the Afro-Asian Conference in the excellent commentary given below:

"Bandung.—Months will pass before all the end products of the new contacts established in Bandung among the various delegations will manifest themselves. Important to the sponsors was the complete

failure by 'conscious and unconscious agents of other forces'—to use Nehru's pointed words—to 'turn the Conference into a tea party.'

"Yet there was an almost total absence of vitriolic attacks on the West. In commenting on this, the Negro author Richard Wright remarked here that the delegates were more interested in getting Westerners off their backs than in promoting a revengeful counter-racialism. A Negro college instructor from the States, writing for a New York weekly, added that the widely published predictions of a 'hate-America' motif were largely a reflection of the West's guilty conscience.

"This is not to say that the U.S.A. and its allies emerged unscathed from the Conference deliberations. Nehru's slashing criticisms of NATO as 'an aggressive pact' and 'a protector of colonialism,' his 'What about Guatemala?' challenge to Turkey and Iraq when they wanted to condemn the Communist brand of subversion, his avowed determination not to become a 'camp-follower' of any other nation—all these were statements both of India's policies and to a great extent of other unaligned delegations. But by and large there was almost a studied indifference to the big Western powers—and, in the two public speeches by Chou En-lai, a couple of brief, contemptuous references in passing. *The Conference theme was a positive Asianism and a budding Africanism, rather than a negative unearthing of historical grievances, against which India, citing Gandhism, and Indonesia, as host, both warned.*

"Even with this accent on the positive it would be accurate to state that the policies cherished by Washington and regarded here as inflexible, lost out at the Conference—though in ways not generally anticipated. Chou En-lai emerged as the biggest man in Asia while carefully sidestepping the popularity contest with Nehru which American editorial writers had neatly planned for him.

"The magnetism of the Conference pulled the American-oriented Philippines into a closer relationship with the Asian community—to such an extent that Carlos Romulo, chief Filipino delegate, has now urged President Magsaysay to cancel a trip to the U.S.A. and to tour Asia instead. Most observers expect Romulo himself eventually to accept Chou's invitation to visit China. By skilfully wooing the Moslem delegations, Chou probably assured China of *de facto* recognition by at least some of the Arab governments.

"The contact established at Bandung between the delegations of North Viet Nam and Laos led to a 'non-interference' agreement which is bound to bestir anxieties in official Washington. Indonesia and China will soon send trade missions to Cairo as a result of extra-Conference talks, and the signing at Bandung of the Indonesia-Chinese treaty to settle the problem

of dual nationality for overseas Chinese living in Indonesia was cited by Chou as a precedent for similar treaties with other South Asian governments.

"By openly admitting that his country is 'backward,' and by stressing the internal development problems that it faces, Chou En-lai, despite ideological differences, aligned China with his similarly overburdened neighbors who have no time for war.

"Enjoying a greater diplomatic freedom *vis-a-vis* Israel than do his opposite numbers in the Kremlin and the State Department, Chou was in a position to support without qualification the vigorous Arab demands in Palestine. China also lined up solidly behind the nationalist movements in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria—thus spotlighting anew the fence-sitting policies of Washington towards explosive North Africa.

"The importance of Palestine in Conference deliberations focused attention on the re-emergence of El Hussein, the pro-Nazi Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who arrived unexpectedly at the Conference and was immediately accredited by the delegation from Yemen.

"The inarticulateness of the African delegations—Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Libya, Liberia—occasioned considerable comment and prompted Richard Wright (who has recently written a book on the Gold Coast) to express 'disappointment.' It was not until the last minute, Kojo Botsio of the Gold Coast told this correspondent, that his delegation was even sure of coming to Bandung, and then they came only as observers.

"The tight British control of the Gold Coast's external affairs meant that Botsio and his fellow-countrymen had to absent themselves from the final plenary session when 13 pages of resolutions—termed a *communiqué*—were adopted.

"It is generally agreed here that Nehru's insistence on welcoming China into the community of nations was justified at Bandung by the week-long course of events. *For the non-Communist Asian and African statesmen left here with the firm conviction that the Conference had exerted a moral restraint on Chou En-lai—culminating in his public avowal of friendship for the American people and his offer to negotiate with Washington.*

"The initial cold reaction from the State Department, insisting on the unacceptable condition that Chiang Kai-shek sit in on any negotiations, met with a profoundly hostile reception among nearly all the delegations. In dismay and perhaps also in despair at reducing tensions through normal diplomatic channels in Washington, Burma's Premier, U Nu, publicly suggested that President Eisenhower come to Asia and be briefed on the facts of life by Asian leaders who have a one-track will for peace. The speedy reversal of this blunder, when Washington saw the

damage it had done, was useful; but as so often in such cases, the original wounds were slow to heal.

"At the conclusion of the Conference, during which Mohammed Ali praised the 'moderation' of Chou, another Pakistani delegate said privately that his government was facing intense internal pressures against close ties with America and SEATO.

"Four months ago, the most far-reaching result of the Conference was confidently predicated by India's unchallenged spokesman when he observed that 'such conferences set in motion ideas which affect peoples' minds.' No one can measure with exactitude such long-term intangibles. But to one with memories of the huge barefoot throngs of cheering, illiterate Indonesians standing outside the Conference halls in heat and tropical rains can doubt this intuitive knowledge on Nehru's part, of what quickens the pulse of resurgent Asia."

China's 1955 Budget

Mr. Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier and Finance Minister of China, presented the budget for 1955 to the National People's Congress on July 6. He said that the keynote of the budget was to increase production and practise economy in order to accumulate capital for economic construction, especially the construction of heavy industry.

The total revenue in the budget was estimated at 31,192.5 million yuan, 6.91 per cent larger than in the preceding year. The total estimated expenditure was 29,736.7 million yuan, 20.72 per cent over that of 1954. The budget thus showed a surplus of 1,455.8 million yuan.

Of the allocations in the 1955 budget about 60.67 per cent would go to economic construction, and social, cultural and educational services. Defence expenditure accounted for 24.19 per cent of the expenses.

The revenue would be derived from the following sources in the proportions indicated: 69.47 per cent from the State sector of the economy, 11.76 per cent from the peasants and the balance from others.

Giving an account of the receipts and expenditure in the 1954 State budget, the Chinese Finance Minister said that the total estimated receipt in 1954 was 30,745.83 million yuan. The actuals totalled 26,236.83 million yuan. Taken with the surpluses brought forward from the balances of previous years, the total actual receipt amounted to 4,509 million yuan—113.15 per cent of the estimates. The income from State enterprises including taxes made up 65.24 per cent of the total budgetary income.

Of the total State expenditure of 24,632.44 million in 1954, 50.17 per cent went to economic construction. Total investment in all fields of capital construction in 1954 registered an increase of 15 per cent over 1953.

Production of the State enterprises increased 27 per cent in 1954 compared with the preceding year. The proportion of State industry, co-operative industry and joint State-private industry in the total value of industrial production amounted to 75.1 per cent and that of the privately owned industry fell from 36.8 to 24.9 per cent.

U.K.-South Africa Naval Agreement

The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in a statement before the House of Commons the conclusion of the naval agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa. The agreement followed talks between the representatives of the two Governments over a number of years.

Under the agreement close contact would continue to be maintained between the services of the two countries. A new naval command was being set up to strengthen the defence of the sea routes round the Cape. "This is to be based on a maritime strategic zone approximating to the present South Atlantic Station, and will contain an area under the command of a South African flag officer. In a war in which both countries are involved, the whole zone will be under the Supreme Command of a Royal Commander-in-chief.

"A joint maritime war planning Committee is to be set up to ensure satisfactory planning in peace. . . ."

South Africa would expand her navies and had agreed to place orders for ships to the value of £18 million in the United Kingdom. The existing base of the Royal Navy at Simonstown would be handed over to South Africa which had so long no properly constituted naval base. The Royal Navy would however continue to enjoy all the facilities available to it before the present agreement in peace time as well as during any war in which the United Kingdom was involved. The facilities would be available in such a war both to the British navy and to the navies of allies of Britain even though South Africa might remain neutral.

The agreement would continue in force unless otherwise decided by the two Governments by mutual agreement.

Sir Anthony said: "Discussions about regional defence are set out in the first exchange of letters in a White Paper. The two Governments recognize that while the internal security of the countries of Southern Africa must remain a matter for each of individual country concerned, Southern Africa and the sea routes round South Africa must be secured against aggression from without.

"They are further agreed that the defence of Southern Africa against external aggression lies not

only in Africa but also in the gateway to Africa—namely, in the Middle East.

"Finally, both Governments have agreed jointly to sponsor a conference to develop the planning already begun at the Nairobi Conference in August, 1951 on the improvement and security of the lines of communication around Southern Africa and between South Africa and the Middle East."

Mr. Clement Attlee, Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament said: "Generally speaking, this would seem to be a satisfactory settlement of a very difficult question which we have been discussing for many years."

In reply to questions the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden added that the base at Simonstown would be available to Britain and her allies in wartime even if South Africa remained neutral in that war. The agreement would result in the saving of about £500,000 a year in naval expenditure. All Commonwealth Governments had been fully informed about the agreement.

The British newspaper generally expressed satisfaction at the news of the conclusion of the agreement between South Africa and Great Britain. They pointed out that South Africa's hatred of communism was a guarantee of her continued co-operation with the West even though the Union might choose to leave the Commonwealth and become a republic. The importance of the agreement lay in the fact that "South Africa under the South Atlantic Command Agreement, goes some way towards integrating herself in the NATO concept of defence organization," the *Glasgow Herald* points out. It was particularly significant in this context that the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, "should already have held discussions in Paris with the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe and the French Minister for Defence," it adds.

This Naval agreement affects us indirectly as the Indian Ocean will be controlled from one end by the combined fleet.

Kenya Commission Report

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of British Parliament, writes in an article in the *Vigil* that the recommendation made by the Royal Commission for East Africa for sending the reservation of the Kenya Highlands exclusively for European settlers and for opening it up for non-European settlement would evoke fierce opposition from a large section of the European settlers in Kenya. The Commission had met the argument that Kenya farmers would ruin the Highlands by incompetence by remarking that there were good African farmers and given opportunity, there could be more.

While Mr. Brockway welcomes this recommen-

dation and says that its implementation must not be allowed to be shelved he criticizes the general theme of the Report of the Royal Commission which had advised Africans to accept Western concept of the private ownership of property.

Mr. Brockway writes: "On this two comments can be made: First, that it is impertinence of the Commission composed of eight Europeans, only one African and not one Asian to lay down the pattern of the future life of territories in which there are 17 million Africans, less than 200,000 Asians and only about 50,000 Europeans. The social and economic order in East Africa cannot be determined until the people have the right to determine it themselves."

Secondly, the disruption of the deeply embedded African tradition of community ownership of land would arouse resistance and confusion, "And why should individual ownership be regarded as the last word in Western wisdom? In Britain we are moving towards the same principle of public ownership which the Africans have so long practised?"

Needless to say Kenya is a stronghold of British Colonialism of the worst type. The African was dispossessed of his birthright without any humane considerations being taken account of by the rapacious British colonist. The African launched a forlorn hope campaign, after generations of virtual slavery. The result was inhuman slaughter and a campaign of one-sided slander of the voiceless dispossessed. The Royal Commission is the consequence.

The New Burma

In view of U Nu's recent visit to the U.S., the following account in the *Worldover Press*, by Dr. Frank Trager, former Point Four Director in Burma, is of great interest:

"New York.—You start a conversation about Burma, and some of your friends interpolate, 'Oh, yes, Nehru is certainly kicking up a fuss.' Then patiently, you explain that you are talking about Burma, not India, and you begin all over again.

"For Burma, among the newly independent nations of Asia, is a *terra incognita*, an unknown land to many Americans. But she deserves to be known today for herself and her people, even better perhaps, than in the 19th century when Christian, mainly Baptist, missions regarded Burma as a shining example of American conversionary zeal.

"Despite the amazing work of Adoniram Judson and those who followed him to missions in Burma, that country is today an overwhelmingly Buddhist land. It is the *locus* for the present Sixth World Buddhist Council meeting in Rangoon, the capital city of Burma, from 1954 to 1956, commemorating the 2,500th year of the beginning of Buddha's cycle,

That this Council meeting is taking place in Rangoon; that to it have come outstanding representatives of Ceylon, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and other leading centers of Theravada Buddhism, is one indication of the esteem for Burma felt by her Asian neighbors. To understand Burma, you must understand this Buddhism; to understand the Burmese leadership role in the epochal Buddhist revival, one must come to know Burma.

"Burma, in American terms, is about as big as Texas, and almost as self-content! Her 19 million people are mainly descendants of a Sinitic migration out of Tibet and West Central China, which began in the pre-Christian days and continued to the late 19th century. The language, like Chinese, is tonal and syllabary; the script is Indian and perhaps remotely Persian. Since Buddhism, an 'Indian religion,' dominates Burma, it can be accurately stated that Burma represents a culture combining features of ancient India and ancient China.

"The Burmans, the majority stock, come upon the threshold of recorded history in the 9th century. From the 11th to 13th centuries the first dynastic, unified Burman kingdom occupies the land; builds a magnificent architectural civilization, the ruins of which rival Indo-China's Angkor Tom or Egypt's Karnak. Marco Polo makes a record of it. But Kublai Khan—and his China Mongols—overthrow this first Burmese Kingdom. Since then a see-saw history of conflict with China marks the pages of the Burmese chronicles. There is no love for China in Burma, and there is some fear, highlighted by the 1,000-mile, unprotectable, and inadequately defined border between the two countries. *Chinese maps produced both by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-Tung show incursions into Burma.*

"Twice after the 13th century Burma achieved a grand and feudal unity. She succumbed to the march of imperialism in the 19th century. Beginning in 1824 England swallowed Burma in three bites, three wars which by 1885 incorporated Burma into Britain's Indian Empire. From 1886 to 1937 Burma lost even her 'identity' as a conquered 'nation.' She was a province of the British colonial administration of India, an ignominy which the Burmese deeply resented and resolutely 'paid back' by their decision to withdraw in 1947 from the Commonwealth when they at last achieved independence.

"The Burmese had never willingly accepted 'the English connexion'—as it is called by the English authors on Burma. What we call modern nationalism never disappeared in Burma. After the third, and final, Anglo-Burmese War of 1885 the Burmese were 'pacified' by the British—that is, forcibly put down by arms and by that devil's invention called the 'plural society.' This means the use of minority groups by the conquering power to put and keep

down the majority population. It is a devil's invention because it utilizes the typical drives of ethnocentrism and xenophobia, found in (almost) all peoples, to foment or to perpetuate racial, ethnic and national discord.

"The 'pacification' took about six to eight years. Shortly after that the Burmese, using imitations of the West's institutional arrangements, began to organize for national liberation. They formed the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 1906—the seedbed of subsequent nationalist moves.

"Thus Buddhism, and later Socialism—or at least the anti-imperialist sloganeering of Marxism—became the sources of Burmese inspiration. By the end of the 1930's the Burmese radicals sent their young men to Japan for training because Japan seemingly offered a *non-white* nation's hospitality to the Burmese anti-white and anti-colonial aspirations. When World War II began, the Burmese welcomed the Japanese as the liberators against the 'white man's burden.' Japan lost Burma and lost Southeast Asia in part because her slogan of 'Asia for Asians' was not sincere. It was Asia for the Japanese. So the Burmese turned against the Japanese, realigning themselves with the British *only* because they wanted freedom and independence.

"And they got it. On January 4, 1948, after discordant relations between Britain and Burma from 1945 to 1947, the Burmese re-won their freedom. Be it said to the everlasting credit of the then Labor Party government in Britain that it accepted this decision gracefully—and thereby, as in India, retained some Burmese regard for Britain. If only the British had thus acted sooner! France never learned this lesson in Indo-China, hence, in part, the defeat by Ho Chi Minh; the Dutch learned it in Indonesia only after they suffered defeat by force of Indonesian arms and world opinion.

"Burma regained her freedom in January, 1948; an armed Communist rebellion tried to take it away the same year. Other dissident groups joined in the revolt against the central government—including a remnant of the Kuomintang forced out of Yunnan into Burma. For a while the newly independent government was not sure of survival. It survived.

"It survived because its leadership, under the inspiration of a wonderful man—teacher, devout Buddhist, people's leader—was at the helm, supported by a majority of Socialist and peasant leaders who had fought as student rebels in the 1930's, fought with Japan in the early 1940's when they thought the Japanese would help Burma gain independence, then against them, and finally won independence by negotiation with the British. Prime Minister U (meaning honored Mr.) Nu led this coalition to victory in the Constituent Assembly voting of 1947 and in the

national, free elections of late 1951. His government is, along with the Indian and the Philippine, one of the only three democratically elected governments in South and Southeast Asia today."

South Indian Christians

The *Worldover Press* published the following account sometime back:

Trivandrum, South India.—Indian Christians no longer have to carry their churches on their backs. For many years, denominational barriers prevented members of one church from enjoying spiritual privileges with those of another.

People moving from one part of the country to another in which their own denomination did not operate were either compelled to remain aloof, or to enter into local communities "with many mental reservations." These reservations were caused by doctrinal divergence, organizational peculiarities, or orthodoxy lacking imagination.

Today, the same people may look forward to being received in "alien churches" without doctrinal differences damaging their spiritual peace. Over a large part of South India and for a million and a half non-Roman Catholic Christians, a new day is dawning. Mutual appreciation, recognition of each other's theological position, and above all, one's own shortcomings, have become a matter of common experience.

The emergence in 1947 of the Church of South India, comprising British, Continental and American episcopal and non-episcopal denominations, gave an impetus to union movements. Currently, two important church bodies are holding "conversations" with the authorities of the Church of South India, their most recent findings registering a larger appreciation and agreement on fundamental beliefs and practices. The two bodies are the 300,000-member Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar and the 75,000-member Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India. The membership of the Church of South India itself is over 1,000,000.

The Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar is one of the most ancient churches in India, indeed, in the world. It owes its founding (by tradition) to St. Thomas, the brother of the Lord. Its ecclesiastical head, Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma Malabar, is one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches. Once a limb of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar, under the inspiration of the Anglican missionaries it effected certain liturgical and organizational reforms, resulting in its having to sever from the parent body and forming an independent church. Since it has maintained full communion with the Anglicans in India, and since the latter body merged with the Church of South India, it may be said that, in principle, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church is "in communion" with its neighboring churches.

At the end of a meeting between the Lutheran

Federation and the Church of South India last March, held in Bangalore, the representatives came out with a declaration of their accomplishments, together with further plans. It was agreed: (1) that each church body will welcome members from the other churches, temporarily or permanently, offering them all the privileges and status they enjoyed in their home church; (2) each church will recognize the ordination to ministry in the other church, while free to judge each issue with regard to competence, experience, and the like.

Aborigines in Australia

The *Worldover Press* writes:

"Australian aborigines, along with many of their white defenders, have been increasingly stirred by a number of arrests and unnecessarily severe fines for minor 'offenses.' Three men from the Aborigines Reserve at La Perouse were recently sent to jail when they couldn't pay fines of seven pounds, accepting a 14-day sentence. They were charged with cutting mangrove trees, though the men said they cut only branches—in order to get 'elbows' for boomerangs ordered from America.

"Michael Sawtelle, government appointee to the New South Wales Aborigines Welfare Board, ex-coriated the action against the men. Asserting they were members of honest, hard-working families he added: 'Surely if we have one human sentiment left among us it should be to leave the aborigines alone. Over the years we have done our best to grind them down. We have subjugated these people to the point where they must rely almost entirely on handicrafts for a living. Now we are trying to take that away from them.'

East Germany Medical Students

The *Worldover Press* reports:

"East Germany, no less than West Germany, continues to reveal youth hostility to militarization. The *Kasernierte Volkspolizei* (People's Police in Barracks), which is the armed force being prepared in the Soviet Zone, is short of doctors. This in spite of the fact that some medical students have gone into the Russian Zone from the West in the hope of escaping conscription and to avoid the surplus of doctors in the West.

"To overcome the shortage, the Secretary for Universities and the chief physician of the *Kasernierte* went recently to the 700-years-old University of Greifswald and told the Dean that from September 1, 1955, only such young men would be admitted as students of medicine as agreed to become military doctors. The move brought an immediate and hostile reaction. Heated discussions took place in a series of student meetings and were followed by a student strike with classroom desertions."

HAROLD LASKI AND PROPERTY

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College

THERE has been a good deal of speculation among thinkers about the question of right to property. "Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men," says Locke in connexion with the question of defence of private property, "yet every man has a 'property' in his own 'person.' This nobody has any right to but himself. The 'labour' of his body and the 'work' of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." "For this 'labour' being the unquestionable property of the labourer," he further observes, "no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others." Even "the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent." And when President Roosevelt declared on January 6, 1941, that "we seek 'everywhere in the world' the four old freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, freedom from want," Herbert Hoover, an ex-President of the United States, "called attention to the fact that there is a Fifth Freedom—economic freedom—without which none of the other four freedoms will be realized."

"To be free," the latter further observed, "men must choose their jobs and callings, bargain for their own wages and salaries, save and provide by private property for their families and old age."

Of course, he never used the term "Fifth Freedom . . . in the sense of *laissez faire* or economic exploitation."

"Exploitation," according to him, "is the negation of freedom. The Fifth Freedom does not mean going back to abuses."

Moreover, "the Fifth Freedom in no way inhibits social reforms and social advancement."

"Property is an institution," says the conservative thinker Lord Hugh Cecil, "required for the sake of the common good. . . . The owners of it, like other human beings, are entitled to be guarded against undeserved injury."

1. See Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (Everyman's Library, edited by Ernest Rhys), Ch. V, p. 130.

2. See *ibid.*, Ch. XI, p. 187.

3. See William Ebenstein, *Man and the State* (The Fifth Freedom—Herbert Hoover), pp. 359-361.

4. See Cecil, *Conservatism*, p. 158.

And Hobhouse, an advocate of liberalism, means by the right of property

"a system under which a man is free to acquire by any method of production or exchange within the limits of the law whatever he can of land, consumable goods, or capital; to dispose of it at his own will and pleasure for his own purposes, to destroy it if he likes, to give it away or sell it as it suits him, and at death to bequeath it to whomsoever he will."

To the idealistic thinker T. H. Green, "property is realised will." According to him, property is "a permanent apparatus for carrying out a plan of life, for expressing ideas of what is beautiful, or giving effect to benevolent wishes."

It is obvious from the views of these thinkers that the institution of private property has a moral basis and should not be wantonly interfered with even by the Government of a State without the consent of the owners.

Let us now turn our attention to the views of Professor Harold Laski on the question of private property. He admits the fact that the possession of property gives a man an initial advantage in life.

"The man of property," he says, "has a stake in the country. He is protected from the fear of starvation. He need not accept the work he does not desire . . . He can avoid the grim routine, and become an explorer in that intellectual hinterland where the creative faculties most readily discover their channels of self-expression. He can protect his children against the dread of want. He can develop in them the tastes which give them also joy in the life creative. He has direct and immediate access—should he desire it—to the social heritage of Western civilization."

But he never accepts the view that private property is an unmixed blessing to human society. On the contrary, a man with property often does not possess these things nor is a man without property "necessarily deprived of them."

"Those who have security," he says, "often luxuriate in a life devoid of meaning; and those who are poor can sometimes know the rarest things that life can offer. But the latter are exceptional men; poverty for most—and most are condemned to poverty—means a life passed amid mean things."

5. See Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 94.

6. See T. H. Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, p. 219.

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 173.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

with but a fleeting moment, like the first hour of love, when the creative impulse receives a full response. Those who have security may, in fact, live a life as solid and as pointless as the ugly mahogany with which they are surrounded."

He points out, however, the danger inherent in the present system of private property.

"Man", he remarks, "has developed an acquisitive faculty which now forms the basis of all western institutions. The world over, States are divisible into those who, out of that impulse to acquire, possess property which is a safeguard against the wants of the morrow, and those who, lacking that property, are uncertain whether the morrow will give them the means of life."

And "it remains historically obvious," he warns, "that a community divided into rich and poor is, when the latter are numerous, built upon foundations of sand."⁹

An analysis of the present social order shows, he next observes, that "the number of those in any community who own property enough to be significant is always small"; that "such ownership is not necessarily related to the performance of duties or the possession of virtues"; that "the ownership of property involves the control of capital"; that "in a regime of free enterprise the control of capital involves the power to direct the lives of those who depend upon the application of capital to production"; that "a regime of private property makes the State very largely an institution dominated by the owners of private property"; and that "it protects the will and purpose of those owners." In the absence of other considerations, he adds, "a political system in which rights are built upon property is one in which the propertyless man will have no rights."¹⁰ It is true that there are today some mitigating circumstances like the power of combination of the workers, the humanitarian sentiment of the owners of property, etc., which have prevented the owners from realising their rights to the full.

"But, fundamentally, the regime of private property," he declares, "in the background of industrialism, perpetuates the division into rich and poor, and separates the poor from the conditions which make possible their effective citizenship."¹¹

The result, therefore, according to Laski, of the present economic system is that the "production is carried on wastefully and without adequate plan."

"The commodities and services necessary to the life of the community," he further says, "are never so distributed as to relate to need or to produce a result which maximises their social utility."

We build picture palaces when we need houses. We spend on battleships what is wanted for schools We have a large class maintained in parasitic idleness whose tastes demand the application of capital and labour to the satisfaction of wants unrelated to human need. Nor is that class set apart from the rest of the community. Because it has the power to make demand effective it stimulates the slavish imitation of those who seek to join its ranks. To be rich becomes the measure of merit."

Moreover,

"Men may begin to acquire property to safeguard their lives from want, but they continue to acquire it because of the distinction which comes from its possession. It satisfies their vanity and their lust for power: it enables them to attune the will of society to their own."¹²

Laski next draws a grim picture of the modern society which results from such a situation.

Men "produce goods and services," he remarks, "not for use, but to acquire property from their production They will ruin natural resources. They will adulterate commodities. They will float dishonest enterprises. They will corrupt legislatures. They will pervert the sources of knowledge. . . . They may destroy the quality of political life. They may possess themselves, as in America, of the educational instruments of the community. They may even pervert religious institutions to the protection of their ideas. They do not, nevertheless, secure a well-ordered State."

A State so divided into rich and poor, according to him, "is compelled to use its instruments to protect the property of the rich from invasion by the poor." The question of true equality—the very foundation of democracy—can never arise in such a State.

"Political equality," he declares, "is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise, is bound to be the handmaid of economic power."

"Either the State must dominate property," he warns, "or property will dominate the State." The unequal distribution of property is the most common source of faction in a State. And men, "after a period, refuse to suffer quietly." "The concentration of property," he states in another connection, "other than labour-power in a few hands is fatal to the purpose of the State." Revolution "supervenes to alter the balance in the State."¹³

Although, Laski admits in the text of his *Grammar of Politics* that the present system of property is not altogether devoid of justification, yet, he does

13. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

not fully accept the psychological basis of property as an incentive to labour.

"Labour," he says,¹⁴ "only involves the good of the community if what is produced is related to that good and secures good in being distributed."

"Further the power to acquire property may defeat more incentives than it creates," as the fortune of a pre-eminently successful businessman may actually inhibit his descendants from working at all. Nor does Laski accept the so-called ethical justification of property that it is the return made to the individual for efforts, as "the fortunes of many who labour unceasingly never become other than insignificant." Thirdly, he dismisses the argument in favour of private property that "it is reward for abstinence." Fourthly, the justification of property as the nurse of virtues which are essential to society, is also not very sound according to him, as "these virtues have been present in persons who have never amassed property at all." Laski refutes Lord Hugh Cecil's idea that property is the "result of supplying effective demand," since the demand itself may often be morally inadequate. He thinks, however, that there is some truth in the historical argument which takes the regime of private property as a mark of progressive society and collective property as a foundation of backward societies. But the historical argument, too, is "fallacious if it regards the regime of private property as a simple and unchanging thing," as "the history of the rights of property is most largely the record of its circumscription."

"At no period," he emphasises, "have those rights been generally absolute. Political and religious philosophy is most largely the attempt to evolve maxims of control which will at least minimise the dangers which arise from a distinction between mine and thine."¹⁵

It is the industrial revolution and the revolution in France which led to the revision of the individualistic theory of property. "The one gave birth to economic socialism," he says,¹⁶ "the other to a view of rights conceived in terms of personality." And "property became conceived as a product less of individual exertion than of the total forces in society." A new outlook incompatible with the *laissez-faire* State began to emerge.

"The State," he observes,¹⁷ "which had begun the nineteenth century in the terms of *laissez-faire* began, as the twentieth century came into view, to search for a basis upon which it could compromise with socialism. And by socialism was meant the devotion of the productivity of the State to the fulfilment of the natural rights of men."

18. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

"The State," he further says,¹⁸ "had become an instrument for transferring income from the rich to the poor in the hope of making life adequate The survival of the fittest had been replaced by mutual aid."

Finally, Laski thinks that

"All property depends upon the sustenance of society, and its rights are therefore socially created. But rights socially created are relative to social needs. These are the needs of individual persons, and, in the modern State, the majority do not satisfy their needs."¹⁹

Laski is, therefore, anxious to have a theory of property which is morally adequate.

"The need was the more urgent," he says, "because the rapid growth of revolutionary communism had challenged at its root the whole structure of existing civilization. . . . The central issue of the generation was to discover a concept of property which satisfied the moral sense of men."

But in his attempt to remove the defects of the present social order, Laski also tries to avoid the dangerous implications of "enforced communism," the unavoidable consequence of present inequitable system of private property. Man should have material requisites in the degree that such a possession "enables him to be his best self."

"He can," he emphasises, "claim . . . such a share of the national dividend as permits him at least to satisfy those primary material wants, hunger, thirst, the demand for shelter, which, when unsatisfied, prevent the realisation of personality. The claim to such a share, the right to such property as that share implies, is, I believe, most usefully regarded as an individual and exclusive claim."²⁰

Laski supports the individual's claim to a minimum property—"the guarantee to the individual that the pressure of social forces will not leave him helpless and stranded."

But that right must be relative to duty. Laski strongly condemns ownership of unearned property, and says that no man "has a moral right to property except as a return for functions performed," and that "those whose property is the result of other men's efforts are parasitic upon society."²¹ These people enjoy property acquired by others and avoid their own contribution to the total productivity of society.

"They have legal rights," he says, "but because those legal rights are not born of their personal effort, they lack the moral penumbra which entitle them to respect."²²

22. See Laski, *Democracy in Crisis*, p. 36.

23. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 183.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

He refers to the evils of the hereditary wealth which involves two things:

"(1) There is a class freed from the legal obligation to labour. (2) So freed, it is able to utilise its leisure in a way that taxes the productive effort of the remaining members of society."

A class which live by "owning" will have immediate access to the sources of political power and their "economic position involves a definite social predominance." The maintenance of such a class in a society means "not only the denial for them of the need to contribute to society, but also the insistence that society must contribute to their need." "Their position," he remarks, "is an accident of parenthood; and parenthood, however distinguished, is not entitled to levy a permanent tax on social effort."

"The result of our system of property," he points out, "is, in this regard, unrelated to any principle of justice. It cannot, therefore, be part of any theory of property which seeks to win the moral assent of men."²⁷

Laski permits, however, inheritance "where it means the provision of an income for widowhood, on the one hand, and the education of children on the other. But the retention of property beyond that period cannot be justified in moral terms."²⁸

Property is entitled to exist and it is rational when it is the outcome of function. And as it, Laski remarks, "comes from the fact that its possessor has fulfilled a station in society," he is not "a mere tax upon the effort of others."²⁹

Property so conceived, implies a theory of reward and a theory of industrial organization. Laski makes an analysis, in this connexion, of certain theories of reward. About the difficulties of the Communistic theory of equality of income, he says:

"There seems no justice in an equal reward for unequal effort. Nor does it seem just to reward equally where needs are unequal."³⁰

It is worthy of note here that Laski's view on this point is in agreement with that of T. H. Green who also supports inequality of property to a certain degree. As human beings are "variously gifted," says Green, "property must be unequal." "No less," he insists, "must it be so if considered as a means by which individuals fulfil social functions."³¹

Secondly, Laski does not fully agree with the view of men like Lord Hugh Cecil that remuneration should be fixed by the higgling of the market.

"Supply and demand," he observes, "would only be a true index to income if there was an

equal opportunity to apply for the post involved." Nor, "is the higgling of the market a morally adequate test of worth. It leaves one-third of the average industrial community on the verge of starvation. For them it means poor health, undeveloped intelligence, miserable homes, and work in which, broadly speaking, the majority can find no source of human interest."

"The higgling of the market," he further says, "is the apotheosis of inequality. It emphasises all the advantages the employer of labour has in the fact that the average worker cannot afford to wait. The competition involved is not a fair competition because its essence is that freedom of contract is absent. For freedom of contract . . . is present only where there is equality of bargaining power."³²

The third principle of reward that each should contribute to society according to his powers and should be rewarded by society according to his legitimate needs, seems to be more attractive to Professor Laski.

And, finally, "any principle of reward," he holds,³³ "must satisfy the two complex conditions, that it enables the individual to reach out towards his best self, while, simultaneously, it preserves and develops the necessary functions of society."

"Our basic condition," he adds, "must obviously be that every need related to the civic minimum, every need, that is, which, when unsatisfied, prevents the attainment of effective citizenship, must be satisfied before we deal with needs above that civic minimum."

"There is," he insists, "a primary level in remuneration . . . below which no person can be permitted to fall who is capable of acting as a citizen."

Nor can any person "be permitted to secure remuneration except on the condition of performing work recognized as useful."

But the justice in reward can never be secured if the present system of industrial organization remains unchanged. With the abolition of the system of hereditary property, the system of hereditary business enterprise also ought to be changed. The whole system of industry should be "professionalised." The owner of industrial capital should not be, as he now generally is, "the residuary legatee of industry, profiting by the special ability of management, or a rise in price, or the special privilege a monopoly can enforce."³⁴ "Wherever," he continues,³⁵ "functionless property is the controlling factor in industrial production, the abolition of its rights is the necessary path to justice." Of course, he admits, "the abolition

will be no easy matter," and "there is no direct high road to its accomplishment." But, he points out, "there is no birth without pain and those who would confront the prospect of a better life must not turn aside because there are dangers on the road."³⁶

It is evident from what has been stated above that Laski does not support the present system of property which is inadequate psychologically, morally and economically, and which does not enable many persons to "live a full life." Again, such a system often confers rights upon those who have done nothing to earn their property, and "it fails so to distribute the wealth it creates as to offer the necessary conditions of health and security to those who live by its processes." The present system of property "makes a part of the community parasitic upon the remainder." Nevertheless, Laski finds "nothing inherently wrong in the notion of private property."

But this property, he insists, must be "deprived from personal effort organised in such a way as to involve an addition to the common welfare . . . The more equal its distribution, the more likely is the contribution of the citizen to be judged in terms of its social value, to become implicit with purpose as the way to recognition."³⁷

Thus Laski gives a very realistic view on property. He is not a thoroughgoing individualist like Herbert Spencer,³⁸ nor, as the text of his *Grammar of Politics* shows, a thoroughgoing disciple of Karl Marx. He tries to give us a synthetic view on property.

But this synthetic view given by Laski in the text of his *Grammar of Politics* greatly differs from what he has stated in the introductory chapter of the fourth edition of this book published in 1938. There he appears to favour Communism.

"Broadly speaking," says Laski,³⁹ "The Marxian theory of the State has so defined its nature and functioning as to enable us to predict with assurance the course its operations will follow. As an index to the problems of our age it decisively, in my judgment, holds the field."

Kingsley Martin has analysed the reason for such difference between his earlier and later views.

"The essential difference," says Martin,⁴⁰ "between Laski, the Marxist in 1938, and Laski, the Fabian in 1925, was that between the two dates he had seen the great slump of 1929, the

36. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

38. It ought to be mentioned here that, although Herbert Spencer is regarded as a typical representative of the individualistic school of thought, he was really an enthusiastic advocate of socialism when he dealt with the question of ownership of land in a society. "The world is," he stated, "God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it . . . Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body-Society." (See Herbert Spencer, *Social Statistics*, Ed. 1868, Chap. IX).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

31. See Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, p. 221.

32. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 191.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

constitutional device of National Government of 1931, the rise of Fascism in Spain, and the triumph of Hitler in Germany. He had come to believe that democracy was a fraud, unless based on equality, that this equality could not be obtained through Fabian tactics, and that the individual and group liberties on which he placed so much stress in 1925 were unreal safeguards until socialist society had been brought into being."

However, there is some lack of consistency between the earlier and the later views of Professor Laski on property. But is it possible to abolish private property altogether? We feel that there is much truth in the view of the Greek political thinker Aristotle who says⁴¹:

"It is clearly better that property should be private, but the use of it common; and the special business of the legislator is to create in men this benevolent disposition. Again, how immeasurably greater is the pleasure, when a man feels a thing to be his own; for the love of self is a feeling implanted by nature and not given in vain, although selfishness is rightly censured."

Though the present system of property is at the root of much discontent and conflict in the modern era, yet, in practice, it is difficult to abolish it without an instinctive change in human nature.

"The socialization of property," as Miss Follett has rightly stated,⁴² "must not precede the socialization of the will. If it does, then the only difference between socialism and our present order will be substituting one machine for another."

Even in the communistic state of the U.S.S.R. the system of private property has not been totally abolished. There is a provision in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which explicitly declares:

"Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law allows small-scale private enterprise of individual peasants and handicraftsmen⁴³ based on their personal labour, provided there is no exploitation of the labour of others." (Article 9).

Further, the right of inheritance, too, has been supported by the same Constitution: Article 10 thereof lays down that

"The right of personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house and auxiliary husbandry, in household articles and utensils and in articles for personal use and comfort, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law."

39. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, Introductory chapter, p. v.

40. See Kingsley Martin, *Harold Laski*, p. 74.

41. See Aristotle, *The Politics*, p. 62.

42. See M. P. Follett, *The New State*, p. 74.

43. The italics are ours.

Perhaps a balanced view on private property has been given by the idealistic thinker T. H. Green who says :—

"The rationale of property . . . is that everyone should be secured by society in the power of getting and keeping the means of realising a will, which in possibility is a will directed to social good . . . property is held in a way inconsistent with its idea, and which should, if possible, be got rid of, when the possession of property by one man interferes with the possession of property by another; when one set of men are secured in the power of getting and keeping the means of realising their will, in such a way that others are practically denied the power. In that case it may truly be said that 'property is theft.' The rational property, in short, requires that everyone who will conform to the positive condition of possessing it, viz.,

44. See Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, p. 220.

labour, and the negative condition, viz., respect for it as possessed by others, should, so far as social arrangements can make him so, be a possessor of property himself, and of such property as will at least enable him to develop a sense of responsibility, as distinct from mere property in the immediate necessities of life."

The view which Laski maintained previously in the text of his *Grammar of Politics* and the views held by Green and Hoover are both rational and justifiable. These views are in consonance with human nature. Private property should exist provided it is the product of a man's honest labour; is in proportion to the contribution made by him to the social good; and is not of such magnitude as to enable its owner to have an undue influence over the economic and social life of the community to which he belongs.

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JOINT DECLARATION AT MOSCOW

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Joint Declaration by the Prime Ministers of India and the Soviet Union at Moscow, is, undoubtedly, an event of world importance and a document based on constructive statesmanship of the highest order. The Five Principles of "Peaceful Co-existence" or the "Pancha Shila" which were enunciated in the Nehru-Chou statement last year have been reaffirmed more precisely in the Nehru-Bulganin Declaration. The Prime Ministers have resolved that the mutual relations between India and Russia would be guided by the principles of mutual respect for each others' territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each others' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. So far as the principle of non-interference is concerned, it has been made very clear that the two countries will not interfere in the internal affairs of another "for any reasons of economic, political or ideological character." This clearly indicates a definite change in the policy of the U.S.S.R. So far, there has been universal fear in the minds of different nations that the Soviet Union believes in the policy of subtle penetration of their economic ideology through various channels, particularly the Communist Parties functioning in various countries. We earnestly hope that the Joint Declaration at Moscow would now put an end to this fear and suspicion and the policies and programmes of the Communist Parties, specially of the Communists in India, would undergo a basic and visible change.

(The Joint Declaration also expressed the hope that "under the aegis of the Five Principles enunciated in the statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between the two States." "The fact that each country is following a system which is moulded by its own genius, traditions and environment should be no bar to such co-operation." It is evident that the basic economic and political ideologies of India and the Soviet Union differ radically in several respects. India is pledged to a peaceful and democratic way of life in accordance with the fundamental teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. She gained her political independence through non-violent struggle and she is now determined to attain social and economic freedom through peaceful and democratic methods. India has accepted one of the greatest, if not the greatest, challenges of the world in deciding to work out her National Plan of Development under a democratic set-up. No country in the world, so far, has ventured to try such an experiment. The First Five-Year Plan, which is now drawing to a close, has already achieved substantial results. The Second Five-Year Plan is now on the anvil. We are confident that the great experiment of democratic planning in India would not only achieve real success in this country but also demonstrate a new mode of planning to the rest of the world. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has been planning her economic life on a different pattern. Her

economic and political system has been based essentially on a highly centralised and totalitarian organisation. There is no room in that country for different political parties professing divergent views and ideologies. There now appears to be some healthy change in this regard and we hope the Soviet Union would appreciate the system of economic planning in India. We are convinced that democratic planning is a much better method than totalitarian planning. But there is no question of interfering with or criticising each other's methods. We must try to learn the good points of one another and not waste our energies in indulging in bitter and unhelpful criticism. The Joint Declaration has succeeded eminently in creating a healthy atmosphere of mutual co-operation and goodwill and we sincerely expect that this friendly atmosphere would continue to grow with the passage of time.

In the course of his farewell speech at Moscow, Shri Nehru congratulated the Government of the Soviet Union on the several steps it had taken in recent months for lessening world tension. But he also declared in clear terms the economic and political goal of India. Shri Nehru observed :

"We believe in democracy and in equality, in the removal of special privileges, and we have set ourselves the goal of developing a Socialistic Pattern of Society in our country through peaceful methods."

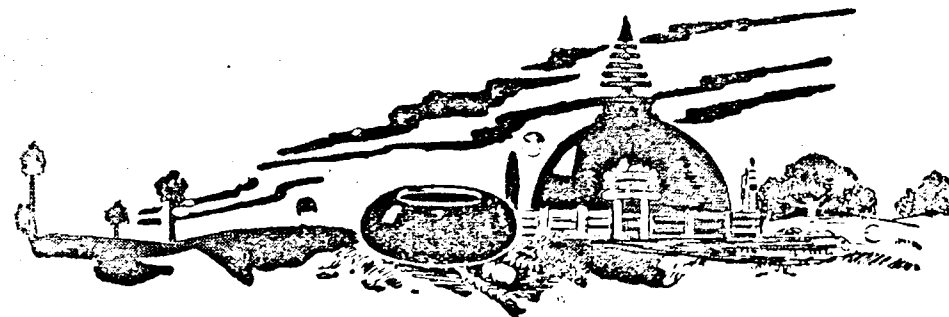
(Shri Nehru paid a tribute to the leadership of "Great Lenin" in the Russian Revolution. But he pointed out that India pursued "a different path under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.")

"In spite of this difference in our methods," continued the Indian Prime Minister, "there was at no time unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union."

(The visit of Shri Nehru to the U.S.S.R. has been extremely helpful in renewing these ties of friendship between the two countries and we do hope that these bonds of mutual friendship and co-operation would ever remain unbroken.) In fact, India has always been eager to seek the friendship of all nations of the world, without any fear or favour. She has stoutly refused to align herself with any one of the power blocs. This policy is bound to continue in future. We are prepared to co-operate with any country on the basis of mutual help, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence.

There has been some criticism, and even apprehension, in some quarters that India's Second Five-Year Plan is being influenced by some experts from the Soviet Union or the allied countries. Fears are being expressed that Prof. Mahalanobis and his associates are trying to lend a "totalitarian touch" to our economic planning during the next five years. While it is true that planning does involve a certain amount of centralisation of policy and control, it would be wrong to think that the Indian leaders would give up so easily the basic principles of democracy and decentralisation which form the very basis of our Constitution. The Indian Constitution lays great stress on the need for organising village Panchayats in the country as basic units of administration and planning. It also emphasises the role of village and cottage industries for ensuring full employment and adequate means of livelihood to the people. The Indian National Congress has, time and again, made it abundantly clear that economic planning in India should be based on the fullest co-operation of the people through local bodies and Panchayats. Great stress is being laid on the organisation of a net-work of Industrial Co-operatives throughout the rural and urban areas in India under the Second Five-Year Plan. At the Avadi Session of the Congress, we coined a new term "Socialistic Pattern of Society" in order to avoid the obvious meaning and association of the term 'Socialism'. Both Shri Nehru and the Congress President, Shri Dhebar, have made it crystal clear in their recent speeches that the Socialistic Pattern is not the same as a highly centralised system of Socialism or Communism. In fact, India's Socialistic Society would necessarily tend towards Sarvodaya which expresses the quintessence of Gandhian thought.

Let it be clearly understood that India will not tolerate any type of planning which would run counter to the Gandhian ideals and push the country towards a totalitarian order. I hope Prof. Mahalanobis and his co-workers will also have no shadow of doubt in this respect. We are prepared to welcome helpful ideas in regard to economic planning from any quarter. It would be tragic to keep our minds closed to new suggestions. But our feet must be firm on our own soil, without giving up the basic principles which constitute the very Soul of our Nation. As Mahatma Gandhi himself observed, India should keep her windows always open for fresh breeze to enter. But she should not allow outside forces to sweep off the very foundations.



THE LAW OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

In the Preamble to the Constitution of India the sole guiding principle adopted has been stated as to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty and equality, religious, social, economic and political.

The chapters on the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy are a direct vindication of the above principle. They constitute the treasure of our constitution, for the value of the constitution lies in them.

POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT

In the Indian Constitution the position of the President has been made unique, and the powers given to him by the Constitution are almost unlimited, and are only comparable to those enjoyed by the President of U.S.A. He stands at the apex of the whole structure of constitutional framework like an all-embracing personality.

He is the executive head of the Union and the supreme command of the Defence forces is vested in him. He appoints the Prime Minister and other Ministers to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions, and they hold office during his pleasure.

All high officials and dignitaries of the Union and the States are appointed by him. He appoints the Governor, the Supreme Court and High Court Judges, the Ambassadors and the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. This power of appointment is not subject to the approval of the Upper House as in U.S.A. where all appointments made by the President require approval of the Senate. He may require either House of Parliament to consider any matter by sending messages to it, and has the power to prorogue the Houses and dissolve the House of the People.

He also enjoys wide legislative powers. Every bill after it has been passed by both the Houses of Parliament require the assent of the President, and the President may give his assent to the bill, or withhold his assent therefrom. In this respect he enjoys veto powers analogous to those enjoyed by the American President. But there are limitations to his powers in this respect. Under Article III of the Constitution he cannot return a bill if it is a Money Bill. Secondly, when a bill other than a money bill is so returned and received back by the President for assent after being reconsidered and passed by the Houses with or without amendment, the President has no power to withhold his assent.

The President has also other legislative powers. Under Article 123 he has the power to promulgate ordinances when the Houses are not in session, and such

ordinances shall have the same force and effect as an act of Parliament.

The President has also been given power under Article 359 during a period of emergency like war or external aggression, or internal disturbances to suspend the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights conferred by Part III by issue of a Proclamation of Emergency.

Thus to say that the President of India is an executive officer, and has nothing to do with legislation is to "talk philosophy, not facts."

Theoretically speaking, these are very wide powers, and a vain man raised to such an eminence may act like a despot. But if we look below the surface, it will be evident that there are sufficient constitutional safeguards to provide against such a contingency.

Firstly, the President may be impeached for violation of the Constitution as is the case with the American President. Secondly, he is to hold office for a limited term of five years although he is eligible for re-election. The limited tenure of his office together with the provision for impeachment acts as a sufficient check on any misuse of his powers. But these are merely theoretical possibilities. Practically, such a contingency can never arise; for the Head of the Indian Union will be an elected Head although the method of election will be indirect unlike in U.S.A. where the President is elected by direct votes of the people. Under Article 54 of the Constitution the President of India will be elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament, and the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND PARLIAMENT

Although under the Law of the Constitution the President is the Executive Head of the Union, and all measures executive and legislative will be taken in his name, the real initiative in all matters executive and legislative rests with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. So long as his party will command a majority in Parliament he can pilot the ship of the State safely according to the declared policy and programme of his party. In this respect the Indian Constitution verges more on the side of the British Parliamentary system of government than of the Presidential type of America. Thus, the Indian Constitution partakes of the character of both Parliamentary and Presidential type of Government, and is in a sense both rigid and flexible. It is rigid inasmuch as the Constitution is a written one, and the powers of the three organs of Government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary are

clearly defined, and the rights of the citizens protected under it. It is also flexible because the Constitution can be amended by Parliament. Under Article 368 an amendment of the Constitution can be made when it is passed in each House by a majority of total membership of that House, and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. Besides development of the Constitution by amendment there is also scope for its enlargement by judicial interpretation.

In this connection we may note the following characteristics of the Indian Constitution:

(1) The Constitution is a grant of powers. The powers of the Union and the States are clearly defined in part XL of the Constitution.

(2) The principle of checks and balances—the separation of three departments of Government, executive, legislative and judiciary.

(3) The doctrine of judicial supremacy, the Supreme Court acting as the interpreter of the Constitution. This is one of the fundamental features of the Indian system.

(4) The theory of constitutional limitation. Neither the Union Government nor the State Government is absolutely sovereign. It is sovereign only within the limits of the Constitution.

In the case of the British Constitution it is said that the British Parliament had always been and still remains the sovereign assembly, and it can make and unmake any law excepting making a man a woman and a woman a man. The same remark equally holds good in the case of the Indian Parliament which holds the key power of amending the Constitution to meet the changing needs of the country.

Some thinkers, however, look upon the supremacy of Parliament in a democratic country where there is a written Constitution and an independent judiciary as "archaic political philosophy." It introduces a sense of competition between the judiciary and the legislature, and this spirit of rivalry does the worst harm to the cause of constitutional progress. As Justice P. B. Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court observes while speaking on "Aspiration of the Indian Constitution" at the Calcutta Rotary Club:

"In a nation governed by a written political Constitution it is vain to look for supremacy in Parliament. The supremacy was of the Constitution. The Constitution was the supreme verdict of the people, and all other organs must subserve that Constitution. If you want Parliamentary supremacy, you will have to scrap the Constitution. Those who think of Parliamentary supremacy in a written political Constitution are therefore thinking in terms of an outmoded political philosophy. It is the lesson of history that the most valued

liberties presuppose an independent judiciary. Indian Constitution had assigned specific functions to the legislature, executive and judiciary. It was the aspiration of the Constitution that each would respect the functions of the other. To the legislature no less to the Courts was committed the guardianship of deeply cherished values."

He emphasised that amendment of the Constitution should be the last resort, and not the first impulse to get rid of every obstruction.

THE SUPREME COURT

It has been rightly said that the Supreme Court has been established by the Constitution of India as the guardian of the liberty and rights of the people, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution. The Court is the paladium of justice, the bulwark of popular rights. The position of the Judges has been made secure under the Constitution, and no Justice is removable except by a process of impeachment. Also, the Constitution does not permit any discussion in Parliament or legislature regarding the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or High Court. The Supreme Court has already begun to assert its authority as the guardian of the Constitution to invalidate laws passed by Parliament which contravene the provision of the Constitution. By so doing that Court has assumed a power which was not expressly given to it by the Constitution, a power which many think has created bottlenecks in the way of implementation of its social and economic policy by Government. The legislation providing for abolition of the Zamindari system in the States by giving compensation is a case in point. Under Article 31 of the Constitution this law was declared *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court, but although Government had to abide by the above decision, this ruling of the Court runs counter to the social and economic policy pursued by Government in accordance with the Directive Principles of State policy. Parliament had therefore to amend Article 31 of the Constitution, so that the laws passed by Parliament providing for land reform may not be invalidated by the Court.

Thus we see that by the power of amending the Constitution the Parliament can bypass any decision of the Supreme Court in cases where it conflicts with its social and economic policy, although the occasions necessitating such action should be few and far between. Barring the above, the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional is now beyond dispute. The action of the Court in thus asserting the right of judicial supremacy has proved beneficial as it acts as a great moral check on the Government. In so acting the Court has also ably played its part as the guarantor of the rights given by the Constitution.



A GLIMPSE INTO THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT IN RURAL AREAS

By PROF. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

THE present paper is based upon statistical data collected in course of an economic survey covering 843 rural households selected at random and spread over 20 villages in the Contai Subdivision, Midnapore, West Bengal. The survey was conducted by the writer under the auspices of the Economic Society, P. K. College, Contai, Midnapore, in May 1954. Out of 843 households, 639 constituting 75.6 per cent of the total were found to have holdings between 0 to 5 acres, 119 constituting 14.1 per cent of the total had holdings between 5 to 10 acres, 27 constituting 3.2 per cent of the total had holdings between 10 to 16 acres, 34 with holdings between 16 to 25 acres were 4.0 per cent of the total and households having holdings over 25 acres were only 24 constituting 3.1 per cent of the total.

When we apply our mind to the problem of unemployment we generally take in view the urban and middle-class unemployment. But the problem of employment in rural and urban sectors of the economy cannot be considered apart from each other. In the national economy like ours where its urban sector sustains itself mainly on the primary production of its rural sector, the well-being of the former cannot but be vitally related to that of the latter.

RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

There are organizations like Employment Exchanges which are helpful in giving an estimate or indication of industrial or urban unemployment. But it is extremely difficult to measure rural unemployment which mostly exists in disguise. If an unemployed person is defined as one searching for a job without success, he will be rarely found in the rural areas. The Indian rural economy is rooted in self-employment and household-enterprise on the subsistence level. Even an agricultural labourer has got some land of his own to till however small it may be. Table I shows the extent of unemployment in the conventional sense of the term.

TABLE I

Distribution of "Unemployed" by Holding class		
Holding class (Acres)	Number of unemployed	Number of unemployed per household
0-5	123	0.2
5-10	5	0.04
10-16	17	0.6
16-25	9	0.2
above 25	9	0.3
Total	163	0.2

The above table indicates that the number of unemployed persons per household is 0.2. The total number of persons above the age of 14 years in all the households taken together is 3117. The unemployed persons constitute nearly 5 per cent of this population. Thus the incidence of unemployment is smaller than what is assumed, the largest being in the case of middle holders.

In such a set-up "unemployment" can be interpreted to imply lower demand and lower prices for the products of the rural households leading to lower incomes and lower production.

If there were any large-scale unemployment in rural areas in the conventional sense of the term, it would have been followed by a large-scale emigration. Emigration from rural areas is perceptible only in a small measure as shown in Table 2.

TABLE II

Distribution of Emigrants		
Holding class (Acres)	Number of emigrants	Number of emigrants per household
0-5	116	0.2
5-10	43	0.4
10-16	18	0.6
16-25	40	1.1
above 25	30	1.1
Total	232	0.3

Table 2 shows that the number of emigrants is larger and larger in the case of large holders. Small holders cannot afford to engage labour from outside and dispense with any services of their own household members. Members belonging to the families with small holdings stay in their own villages and supplement their own farm-earnings by working in the fields of others with larger holdings. Big holders, however, can afford to hire labour from outside and disengage services of some of the household members for larger income-creation. Insufficient work or underemployment is, therefore, the crux of the problem of rural economy.

Employment in rural areas can be expanded only through new investments in rural areas. The investible surplus in the rural economy is meagre. This is indicated by Table 3 relating to the extent of new investment in some selected items.

TABLE III

Investment per Household (1944-54)						
Items	0-5 acres class	5-10 acres class	10-16 acres class	16-25 acres class	above 25 acres (class)	
Reclamation of waste land	Rs. 17	Rs. 36	Rs. 119	Rs. 234	Rs. 1,618	
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	53	215	208	320	1,168	
Installation of machine	2	15	68	10	416	
Construction of houses	156	312	282	745	2,387	
Business	28	165	522	160	616	
Ten years	256	754	1,204	1,468	6,205	
Total	25.6	75.4	120.4	146.8	620.5	

Thus investment per household in the case of households with holdings from 16 to 25 acres is nearly twice as much as in the case of 5-10 acres class. But it may be noted that the increase in investment is less than

A GLIMPSE INTO THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT . . .

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proportionate to the increase in holding at least within the range from 5 to 25 acres. This is an indication of a high degree of consumption propensity in the lower holding group.

It is quite natural that poverty which is mainly due to smallness of holdings results in an investible surplus which is extremely small in comparison with the requirements of economic progress. The insufficient growth of investible surplus is responsible for insufficient growth of skill, business knowledge and enterprise and productive equipments or materials.

PATTERN OF RURAL INVESTMENT

Tables 4-9 are given below to indicate the pattern of investment in the selected items and its variation from one holding-group to another.

TABLE IV

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) as between Different Items (All Classes)

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation of waste land	65,103	13.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	1,04,192	21.0
Installation of machine	15,310	3.0
Construction of houses	2,28,623	46.0
Business	85,495	17.0
Total	4,99,723	100.0

TABLE V

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the case of Holding class 0.5 acres

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation of waste land	10,777	6.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	33,954	20.0
Installation of machine	1,090	1.0
Construction of houses	1,00,087	62.0
Business	18,114	11.0
Total	1,64,022	100.0

TABLE VI

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the case of Holding class 5-10 acres

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation of waste land	4,285	4.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	23,677	29.0
Installation of machine	1,900	2.0
Construction of houses	38,251	42.0
Business	19,631	23.0
Total	89,754	100.0

TABLE VII

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the case of Holding class 10-16 acres

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation of waste land	3,229	9.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	5,620	20.0
Installation of machine	1,950	6.0
Construction of houses	7,630	23.0
Business	14,100	42.0
Total	32,529	100.0

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the case of Holding class 16-25 acres

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation of waste land	7,962	19.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	10,891	20.0
Installation of machine	370	1.0
Construction of houses	25,345	50.0
Business	5,450	10.0
Total	50,018	100.0

TABLE IX

Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the case of Holding class above 25 acres

Items	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Reclamation waste land	38,850	26.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	28,050	19.0
Installation of machine	10,000	7.0
Construction of houses	57,300	38.0
Business	14,800	10.0
Total	1,49,000	100.0

Table 4 shows that the most important item of investment is construction of houses, the next item in importance being excavation of ponds, tanks, etc. Investment in business organization and reclamation of waste land come next. Investment in machine is very small showing that its impact upon the rural economic life is still insignificant. As houses in rural areas are constructed mainly for residential purposes, they come under the category of durable consumption goods excluding which productive capital formation in rural areas is reduced almost to insignificance.

Tables 5-9 indicate that investment in excavation of ponds, tanks, etc., is comparatively larger in the case of holding class 5-10 acres. In the case of other classes the proportion of investment devoted to this item is almost stable varying from 19 to 21 per cent.

This fact points to the future possibilities of further development of tank-fishing, irrigation and gardening for which there is a natural urge.

Investment in the reclamation of waste land has been naturally less important in the case of smaller holdings. It has been larger and larger in the case of larger holdings. This is obviously because large holders have got larger amount of waste lands at their disposal. Any increase in agricultural income due to rising price level may have served as an impetus to reclamation of waste lands in the case of larger holders. Both business enterprise and investment in machine are found to be remarkable in the case of households with holdings from 10 to 16 acres. Investment in machine is also appreciable in the case of households with holdings above 25 acres.

Data relating to sources of finance for investment are presented in Tables 10-14.

TABLE X
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 0-5 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	1,58,480	72.4
Mahajan	52,997	24.0
Co-operative Society	4,707	1.6
Commercial Bank	—	—
Government	7,134	2.0
Total	2,23,318	100.0

TABLE XI
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 5-10 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	84,190	80.0
Mahajan	11,140	11.0
Co-operative Society	2,055	2.0
Commercial Bank	500	0.5
Government	3,150	6.5
Total	1,01,035	100.0

TABLE XII
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 10-16 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	23,610	92.0
Mahajan	1,608	6.0
Co-operative Society	—	—
Commercial Bank	400	0.5
Government	775	1.5
Total	26,393	100.0

TABLE XIII
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 16-25 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	37,040	76.0
Mahajan	10,360	21.0
Co-operative Society	330	0.6
Commercial Bank	—	—
Government	1,200	2.4
Total	48,930	100.0

TABLE XIV
Sources of Finance :
Holding class above 25 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	106,915	84.4
Mahajan	17,200	13.0
Co-operative Society	3,600	2.0
Commercial Bank	1,000	0.8
Government	180	0.2
Total	1,28,895	100.0

The above Tables indicate that self-financing plays the most important part in rural investments. The second largest source of finance is the village Mahajans. The part played by co-operative or Government or commercial financing is still insignificant. Possibly the

importance of self-financing has been largely due to the inflationary increase in agricultural income. This is to some extent corroborated by data relating to purchase and sale of assets presented in Table 15.

Holding class (Acres)	Asset purchased (1944-54) Rs.	Asset sold (1944-54) Rs.
0-5	93,458	1,05,073
5-10	27,830	9,419
10-16	39,600	9,800
16-25	40,850	24,200
Above 25	34,900	23,750

In almost all the cases except in the case of 0-5 acres class value of asset purchased has exceeded value of asset sold. The period in which this has occurred is a period of rising agricultural prices. In fact it was the agriculturists who were most adversely affected by the Great Depression, while the inflation of 1943-50 appears on the whole to have been helpful in expanding agricultural production and improving the economic condition of the agriculturists. The role of price-factor in agricultural planning is too important to be ignored in any case. A guarantee of fair agricultural prices alone would go a long way towards the achievement of agricultural progress in this country.

PROFESSOR MAHALANOBIS'S PLAN

There is a great deal of sense in Professor P. C. Mahalanobis's Plan where he emphasizes the need for expansion of handicraft and household industries for liquidating unemployment and provides a sum of Rs. 200 crores for the purpose. The plan naturally requires a freezing of the production of big industries at the present level. Another valuable point in the Plan is its stress on the expansion of heavy industries and investment output synchronized with the expansion of consumption-output. Investment-output is extremely helpful in generating purchasing power to demand and support the production of additional consumer goods—both resulting in a higher level of employment and social income.

The Committee of Direction for the All-India Rural Credit Survey (1954) has attached great importance to the need of combining rural-minded credit with rural-minded development of agriculture and rural-minded organization of marketing, processing, etc. In addition to this it is also necessary to integrate the programme of rural credit and that for capital construction in rural areas.

A very liberal public expenditure on the construction of inter-village roads, tank-improvement, small irrigation and construction of houses will go a long way towards the creation of finance for rural consumption and private productive investment, provided suitable organizations are built for the purpose. This will solve the problem of under-employment in rural areas. The rural prosperity in its turn will create fresh demand for urban products and lead to expansion of employment in urban areas.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS IN THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

With Special Reference to West Bengal

By R. N. BOSE, I.A.S.

THOUGH full employment is our national policy and though Government stands committed to attempt to solve the nation's unemployment problem by the end of the third five-year Plan by an investment expenditure at the rate of Rs. 1,000 crores per annum with effect from 1956, it is increasingly becoming clear that during the Second Five-Year Plan only a high and steady level of employment will be aimed at. It is important, therefore, that sufficient stress be laid on an aspect of this problem which has been so long and so insidiously with us that being used to it we are often apt to overlook its potentialities for danger.

Particularly after the first world war, this middle-class unemployment became rather acute and then many States set up Committees to look into the nature and extent of this problem. The reports of all these Committees showed that this was not a localised malaise but a chronic disease of an all-India character. It was further noted that

"As it affected the nation's intelligent manhood, it produced a general demoralisation which was cumulative in its effect and finally it struck at the very root of ordered progress inasmuch as the victims of this evil could not help nursing a strong sense of personal injury against a state of affairs for which they were themselves not responsible."

Until the second world war, there were long periods of trade depression with acute middle-class unemployment and only during the peak war years, under the stress of vast public expenditure, the educated youths had better employment opportunities. When the end of the war came, slowly the conditions worsened and the survey of unemployment in West Bengal, 1953 reveals that in the middle class the Bengalee males constituted 91.5 per cent of the total unemployed while in the Bengalee working classes they constituted 48.3% of the Bengalee working classes. It has also been revealed in the same report that in the Bengalee middle classes the percentage of unemployed matriculates to the total unemployed is 44%. In the city of Calcutta alone, out of a total population of 25 69 700, 17 77 200, are in the employable group. Of them, 8,58,800 are fully employed and of them only 4,34,600 are Bengalees. Of the total unemployed numbering 2,57,300, 1,85,300 are Bengalees and of these 1,28,200 come from the middle class. In the countryside the unemployment problem for Bengalee middle class is more acute and it would not perhaps be wrong to say that 75% of employable youths of middle-class families is unemployed.

Once it was held that this problem of middle-class unemployment was mainly one of education which was inefficient and cheap. Universities had been turning graduates of all descriptions on mass production lines and so middle-class youths who by tradition and temperament preferred salaried employment and occupations in distributive trades and services to more productive work suffered from this heavy incidence of unemployment.

Attempts have been made in reorganising educational system and to curb the tendency to mass production and there has been a stiffening of standards and of competitive tests. There has also been an improvement to a certain extent in the general outlook of our youths who instead of looking down upon manual work are now eager to acquire training for livelihood but unfortunately the problem of middle-class unemployment remains unsolved and in fact middle-class unemployment of all grades and shades has become more acute of late. It is now becoming clear that even our engineers and technicians are unable to find suitable jobs. On September 11, 1953, in his interview with the special correspondent of the *Eastern Economist*, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister in charge of Commerce and Industries, Government of India, forcefully posed this problem when he said:

"We are starting new engineering institutions for training young men. After the war, Government sent up hundreds of people abroad for specialised training in the hope that they would be absorbed by increased industrialisation but the pace of industrialisation in the country has perhaps absorbed a third of the products of these institutions, leaving very nearly 2/3rd unemployed. One finds at least one technically trained man unemployed in every alternate or third urban middle-class family."

Thus, unemployment is the reflex of our economic backwardness and according to many, further industrial development can perhaps offer a partial solution, firstly, by starting of new industries stimulating a demand for educated men possessing technical and professional qualifications; secondly, by promoting small-scale and cottage industries which can be linked with large-scale factories where middle-class youths can be self-employed, and finally, by opening up opportunities of employment as traders and middlemen in the distributive trades.

The paradox of increasing production and growing unemployment among the middle class in recent years has led many to question whether in our present-day conditions which differ fundamentally from those that

obtain in the industrially advanced West, it will be possible at all to have the full employment policies developed by the Keynesians directly aiming at the full employment of capital and only incidentally leading to fuller employment of labour. Such policies, according to competent critics, are wholly inapplicable to a country whose root problem is lack of capital and where population is increasing in such a way that in India there will be demand for 10 million extra jobs in five years when population will increase by about 25 millions. It has been roughly computed that in West Bengal alone, after the second five-year plan another quarter million middle-class educated and trained youths will be employable and an investment of 250 crores or more would be required for finding jobs for this group only. So some economists point out diffidently that increase in total employment expected in the Second Plan will be exhausted by the extra needs and shortage of capital, wide-spread poverty leading to restricted demand in the home market and a large labour surplus will cripple all efforts for employment in an under-developed and over-populated country.

The mitigating suggestion is for multilateral expansion of industries into rural community for mutual exchange. It is pointed out that

"There should be a complete change in our orientation to small-scale undertakings if we realise these facts." . . . "We shall use our large-scale industry as a feeder to small-scale enterprises instead of the other way about" . . . "Trade and tariff measures, transport and communications, currency and credit movements would be all designed with the central purpose of nourishing small-scale industry." Some competent authorities have also suggested that

"Handicrafts and household industries where self-employed householder's work should be encouraged by freeing if necessary of production of certain industries competing with these handicraft and household industries. Their advice is to concentrate our limited resources of foreign exchange and essential materials on the setting up and expansion of heavy industries and economic overheads; while providing more employment opportunities for those who are already engaged in the small-scale and cottage industries and trying to find employment for the new additions that are being made to the labour force every year."

The fact remains, however, that these handicrafts and hand industries are technically inferior and cannot obviously face, unaided, the competition of factory industries. At the same time, the needs of development with its accent on increased productivity cannot be reconciled with the continuance of the present inferior technical level of the existing hand trades.

It is, therefore, necessary to have in the next Five-Year Plan a common production programme that will provide a secure market for the products of these industries and at the same time provide for gradual improvement of techniques and skills among the workers.

This may also help in bringing equilibrium in

relation between small-scale and large-scale industries in the field of consumption goods. There are conflicting views on this subject and while every attempt should be made to bring about the fullest possible utilisation of existing capacity in the factory-consumption goods-industry, it may not be wise for the second plan period at any rate to have any significant increase in their installed capacity.

It is exactly here that the chance for survival comes in for the middle-class youths with training and education. It is not perhaps too much to hope that small and medium enterprises employing less than 20 workers will function as links in the chain of national economy as in Japan. It may even be necessary for Government to sponsor some small and medium sized industries where self-employed middle-class youths acquire business training and where they are ultimately given ownership or partnership. This is becoming more necessary as the employment exchanges which could find employment for about 500 in a month in the past year in the city of Calcutta on an average is now able to find employment for only about 200 at the most as practically all the commercial and mercantile firms have either stopped recruitment or avoided recruitment through these exchanges. It is doubtful if the unemployed youths of the middle class can afford to wait patiently till the tempo of development rises and an effective population policy ensures a sizeable population. The reorientation of the educational system will also take time. Accelerated economic progress is necessary. This may be only possible if technically trained youths be organised and the industrial potential of the units so organised be taken in hand by the State till they are able to pay their own way. When these enterprises are managed properly by these trainees, gradually Government's responsibility may be withdrawn. Some employments for the middle class can also be secured by utilising the capacity of all big factory industries to the full. This will not be possible, however, unless the temptation to make the technical and supervisory staff work long hours be resisted. Some form of collective guidance of industry is essential in this connection as it is found that in many cases the managements are apt to by-pass the limitations of work set in the Factory Act under cover of Section 64 and the rules which provide for some exemptions. It should be noted by enlightened businessmen that overtime work does not always mean increase in production. Often overtime means increase in hours of work rather than productivity. In all advanced countries, matters affecting overtime have become increasingly improved and the demand is that the working of overtime should be voluntary. There is a persistent overtime resulting from shortage of supervisory staff in most of the important Indian industries and this should be rectified by employment of more staff. In any case, the extent of overtime now being worked by technicians in many factories is not at all a healthy feature of our industrial life. Moreover, it tends to shut

out many fully trained men who might have otherwise had employment opportunities.

A unified development scheme is necessary, however, in addition to creation of an adequate volume of aggregate demand for technical, clerical and supervisory personnel. Large expansion of public works with adequate total outlay in the promotion of health, education, housing and social services will be necessary. On a rough estimate, it is calculated that provision of social services by public authorities as well as private investments would involve a total outlay of about 1500 crores over the plan period, that is to say about 300 crores annually. It is not optimistic to hope that 10% of this outlay will filter down to the middle-class employees who act in a supervisory capacity.

Economics of our unused resources should also be tapped. Stimulation of foreign demand for export goods will be also necessary and this will in its turn require standardisation and quality control. These are essentially spheres for educated and trained men. The immediate employment target for the whole country in the Second Five-Year Plan must be the absorption of about 10 million workers of whom one million at least will be from the middle class. Considering that in addition some at least of the existing under-employed will have to be given fuller employment, employment target of the plan has to be higher. Agricultural and cottage industries together account for about 75 per cent of the working forces and carry a large amount of excess man-power. There is, therefore, little hope of any substantial absorption of the new increase in labour force in these lines.

Moreover, it should be our aim to withdraw from agriculture progressively increasing numbers into other occupations so as to relieve congestion in agriculture and improve the average productivity. Another important point to note is that employment in factory establishments which was 29.7 lakhs in 1950-51 is expected to increase by about 13 lakhs thus making a total industrial employment of 42 lakhs by 1960-61. Correspondingly, this will not create jobs for more than 3 lakhs in the factories for those who are in supervisory, clerical and other similar posts providing employment opportunities for the middle class.

New opportunities of the order of 10 or 12 million jobs will have to be created on the base of the labour force employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The plan has to provide for substantial investment in heavy industry where relatively greater emphasis will be necessary. In fact, nearly 65 per cent of the total investment in industries is scheduled to be in heavy industries which will augment capital bias of our country and provide fairly adequate opportunities of employment for technicians and trained personnel. Similarly during the course of the next five years heavy investment will

be necessary in the field of machinery manufacturing and this will open up employment also to our educated middle class as also will be the ancillary industries in metallurgical, mechanical and electrical engineering. In addition to providing direct employment these additional employments will be of the order of a little over 10 million in five years and a fair percentage may go to the middle class if effective steps are taken for training and recruitment in time. It has been said that for every additional person employed in manufacturing industries there are at least seven others employed in smaller enterprises, railways, communications, banking, insurance, other commerce and transport, profession and liberal arts and these are pre-eminently the avenues of middle-class employment. Thus it has been even contended that rationalization in other countries has been found to develop employment opportunities and each technical advancement designed to reduce man-power has been followed by an expansion of industry which results in increased production and employment. As an eminent industrialist has pointed out:

"Jobs in horse and carriage business replaced by automobile industry in making, selling and servicing cars ultimately create more employment opportunities and the trend is for employment at a higher level following mass car production by Ford and others providing machines, power, fuel, oil, metals, rubber and road building."

This theme has been further developed by the Employers' Association of Calcutta in a pamphlet, *How Large-scale Industries Help Indian Economy*. This has not, however, shown specifically the percentage of trained personnel absorbed.

The tree is lost in the wood and so the unemployed among the middle class may be lost in the crowd of Indians unemployed but there is just this danger that in the struggle for survival the middle class which is lacking the privileges of haves and the class-conscious collective approach of the have-nots may go under. Though middle-class employment may not be a forgone factor in our social planning yet it is open to question whether sufficient attention has been given to its many aspects. It may be doubted whether our planning should isolate any class and whether it would be in public interest to set up the claims of any section of the society but as employment opportunities are vital to the survival of the middle class especially in West Bengal where they are not participators in the distributive trade and business, it is necessary to focus attention on this problem. Surely, our social planning should safeguard the least class-conscious and therefore in some ways the most socially progressive section of our society which may not be vocal like big business interest and trade union federations but which face nonetheless the challenge of changing times.

THE HINDU MARRIAGE ACT—1955

By Mrs. SUSHAMA SEN, M.P.

AFTER Independence of India, amongst the many objectives and directives for the progress of the country the Indian Constitution promulgated equal rights for man and woman. The Hindu Law did not allow equal rights to both sexes, and it was obviously necessary to alter the one-sided provision as regards marriage and its indissoluble character for women. No country can go forward without the same rights and privileges for man and woman.

As a mark of the awakened conscience of Free India, and as the first step of Social Reform, it will be remembered that the Special Marriage Act, 1954, was passed by the Parliament in September last. It is a permissive measure, yet some dissentient voices were raised during its discussions to the effect that Hindu society was being jeopardised by this measure. So one wonders what an amount of opposition there must have been in the eighties of the last century. When the Special Marriage Act of 1872 was initiated by the social and religious reformer Shri Keshub Chunder Sen when the orthodox sentiments were stronger than now. It was passed in the teeth of opposition in the legislature. It laid down monogamy, restraint on child marriage, and permitted inter-caste, inter-religious marriage. Registration of marriages was introduced, so it has been called the Civil Marriage. That it was only a secular form of marriage, is a wrong notion, for together with the registration, there was laid down an elaborate religious ceremony, with the sanctity of vows taken by the parties to the marriage. Keshub himself was a believer in the sacredness and indissolubility of marriage tie. But the British Government then in power, had to insert the Divorce clause, as a corollary to the rights of marriage, according to the Indian Divorce Act. Thus the divorce system has existed for these 82 years for those married under the Special Marriage Act III of 1872, but the society as a whole adheres to the old Hindu ideals of sacrament of marriage, and save in exceptional cases of hardship and unhappiness, the cases of divorce in this society—the Brahmo Samaj, have been few and far between. Time has shown that the 'Civil Marriage' as it was called had benefited many, even those outside the Brahmo Samaj, and it had no demoralising effect on those families which married under it, because of the provision of divorce.

(1) The Special Marriage Act, 1954, has been made wider than the Parent Act. It will now apply to all Indian citizens, and a new clause of divorce by

mutual consent is added to the new act. The Special Marriage Act III has now been repealed and Special Marriage Act, 1954, has come into force from January 1st, 1955.

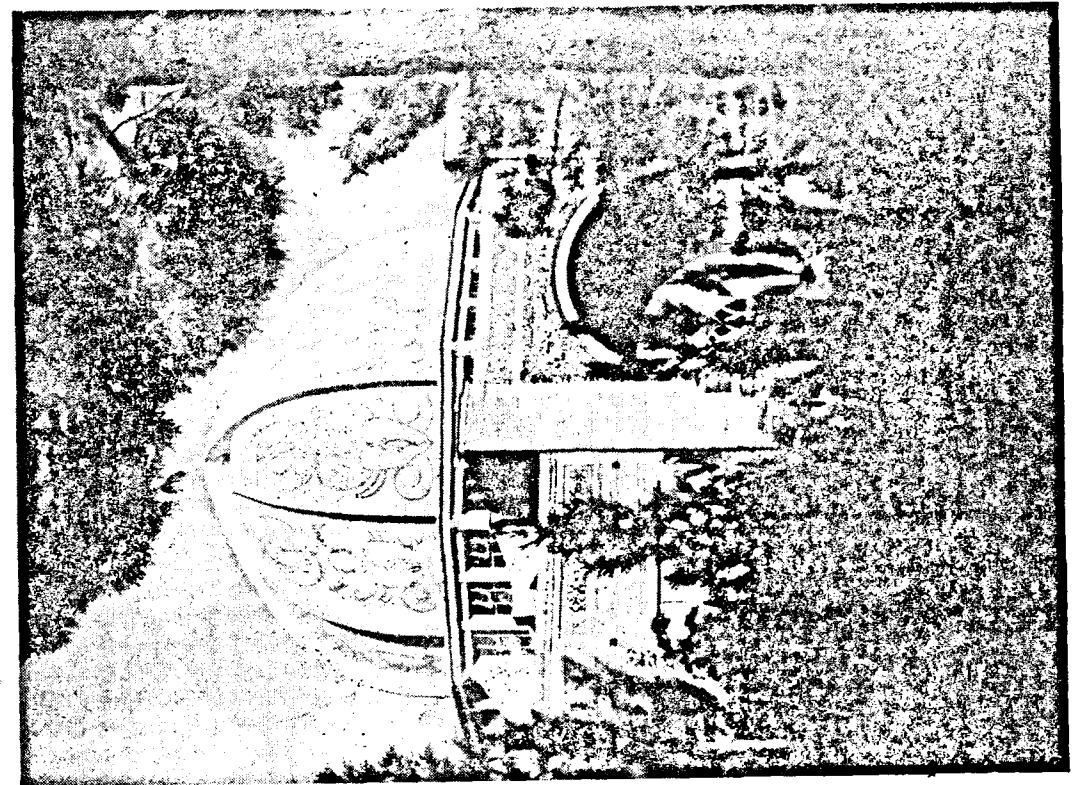
(2) Some other marriage laws containing provision of divorce were enacted during the British regime in India for different communities such as, the domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Parsees. The Malabar Act of 1896 provided a clause of divorce by mutual consent. The Muslims are governed by the personal law, which permits divorce. There are vast tracts of Indian territory, who are governed by their customary laws and divorce is recognised by them. Altogether there is about 80 per cent of the Indian population who have divorce in their marriage laws, and compared to the vast millions of India's population cases have been negligible. So the argument that a provision for divorce either induces the couples to divorce each other or that it demoralises society is devoid of all force against the facts of history.

The next step of Social Uniformity in Free India, and a most important one, as it effects the whole of the Hindu community, was the Hindu Marriage Bill recently passed during the last session of Parliament. It has now had the assent of the President of Indian Union, and is an Act. The main questions involved in it are:

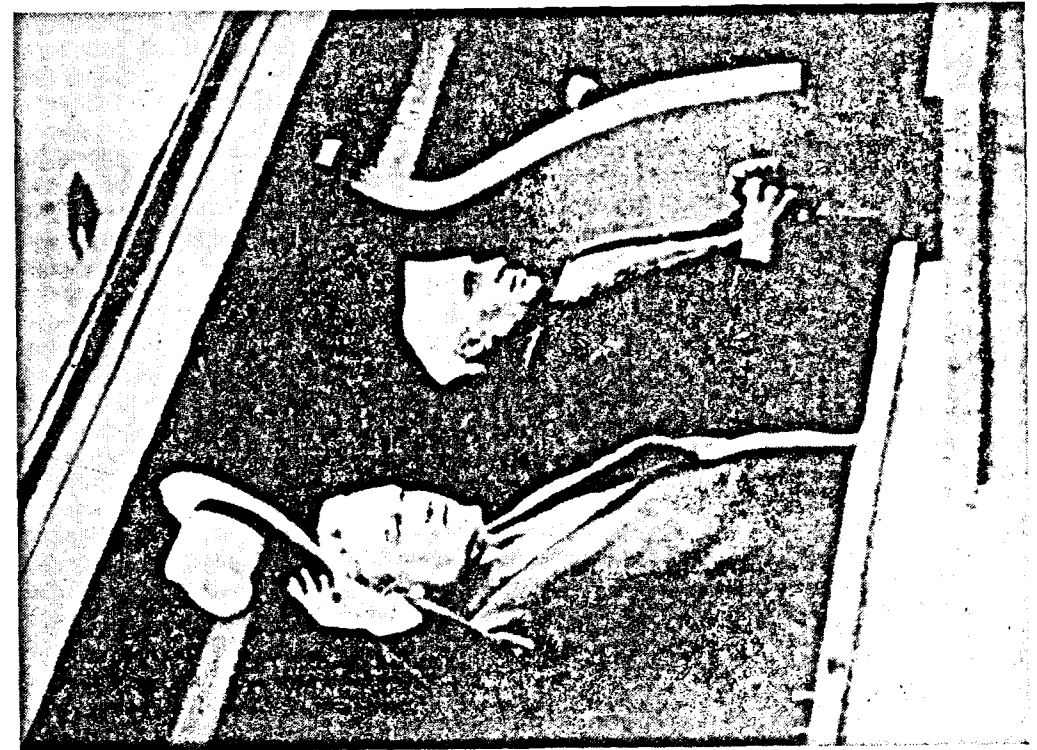
- (1) The abolition of caste as a necessary requirement of a valid marriage;
- (2) Enforcement of monogamy;
- (3) Divorce or dissolution of marriage on certain grounds;
- (4) Restraint of child marriage.

There is also to be registration of Hindu marriages.

The Hindu Marriage Bill is not an absolutely new or an abrupt piece of legislation, it has, on the contrary, gone through a long, tardy and laborious process of deliberations. It has been pending since 1939, and it has been mooted with necessary changes now and then in the Central Legislature for about 13 years. There have been Hindu Law Committees, and eminent lawyers and jurists have deliberated on this question. The Rau Committee was appointed to go thoroughly into the subject. The eminent jurist Shri B. N. Rau was its Chairman. The Rau Committee toured through the length and breadth of India, and recorded evidence from distinguished personalities of the country belonging to all shades



Baha'i Centre, Tehran, Iran
(Recently occupied and demolished by Iranian troops)



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a largely attended meeting of the Soviet citizens at the Dynamo Stadium in Moscow. Marshal Bulganin is seen with Sri Nehru



Fig. 2. Indra riding on his elephant Airavata

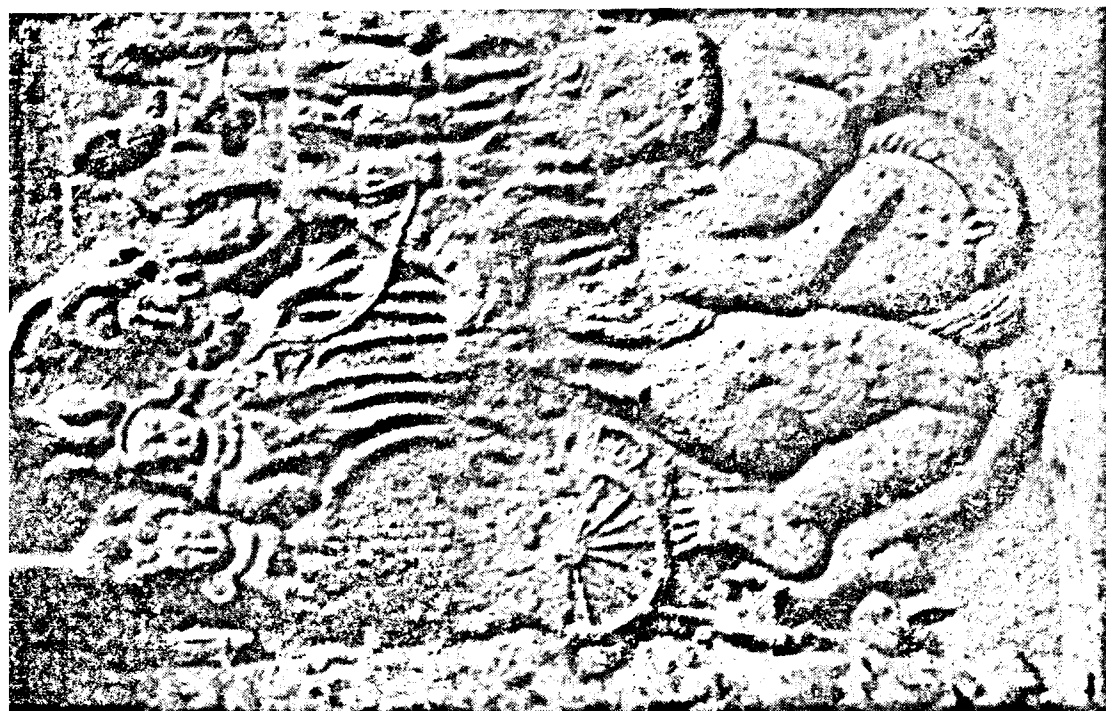


Fig. 1. Aerial journey of the sun-god Surya

of opinion. There were conflicting views on the matter of codification of Hindu law. On the one side some leading men like the late Srinivas Shastri said that the codification and uniformity of Hindu Law throughout was possible and desirable. He said:

"I was astounded at some sensible people's objection to monogamy. I thought the pride of Hinduism was that although polygamy was permitted in theory, it was monogamy which was actually practised. It is, therefore, surprising that when monogamy was sought to be enacted as a rule of law, hands should be raised in horror."

On the other hand, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the staunch nationalist leader, said that codification was not desirable nor possible. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru gave his opinion in favour of Hindu Code. Sir N. N. Sircar, while favouring the Code, added that it was subject to the majority of Hindus supporting it. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, was definitely against codification.

On the vexed and thorny problem of divorce which was incorporated in the Hindu Marriage Bill, the Rau Committee observes as follows:

"It is clear that texts of Narada, Parasara, and Debala permit divorce in certain circumstances. We are unable to accept the view that these texts refer only to cases of betrothal (*vagdana*) and not to cases of completed legal marriage or *kanyadana*. Nor can we endorse the view that the texts apply to unapproved marriages or to *niyoga* connections. Orthodox opinion considers that the texts are Moiddha Acharya in the present age (*Kaliyuga*), but this seems to us only another way of saying that divorce is not now prevalent among the higher castes. There are, however, Hindu communities, particularly in the lower strata in which divorce does prevail even now as a custom except amongst the higher castes. A witness from Orissa said that in his province divorce prevails by custom except amongst the higher castes. Another witness from Bihar said that of a total Hindu population of 32.2 millions in that province, only 4 millions belonged to the higher castes and that the marriage sat rather loose on the 28.2 millions and that there was a valid custom of divorce amongst the lower strata. Although therefore, a Hindu marriage is in theory a sacrament, in practice it is even now regarded amongst large sections of communities as dissoluble. The statement that divorce is an idea which is absolutely foreign to the Hindu Law cannot be accepted as correct."

We find from the exhaustive report of the Rau Committee on Hindu Law, 1947, that one of the objections of the opponents of codification was that any change in the fundamentals of Hindu Law cannot be determined by the Central Legislature, which is not of a representative character, as there had been no election for a number of years (on account of the

Great World War II) and that the then Central Legislature was not competent to make law for the whole of India. This objection cannot hold good now, as the present Legislature—the Lok Sabha, is a truly and properly elected representative body. The Bill had been sent for circulation for eliciting public opinion from the best brains of the country, and opinions received, showed that a large measure of public opinion received was in favour of the main provisions of the Bill. After a full discussion in both the Houses, it was sent to a Joint Select Committee, and the Bill underwent some changes. It was then passed by the Rajya Sabha, and after a critical deliberation, finally passed by the Lok Sabha, practically unanimously, with only one lone voice of "No."

During the passage of the Bill, the opposition to the proposed measure came from the Hindu Maha Sabha members, and one member of the Ram Rajya Parishad. Their objections were that Hindu Shastras and Smritis were being infringed, although they admit that "there have been some minor changes in some places due to traditions, customs and usages." In the present Hindu Marriage Bill, they did not object to monogamy and said that no one was ostracised for inter-caste marriage, and that no one takes such marriages as immoral. Few quoted Shastras to justify polygamy. There is general agreement amongst all sections of the people, that although polygamy is on its last legs, yet it is time now when there should be express prohibition against polygamy. Regarding divorce, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, President of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, and some others, put in strong objections on the ground that it will destroy 'the sacramental character of Hindu marriage.' The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, significantly posed the question:

"Is it sacrament to tie up people to bite and hate each other?" He, however, conceded that "not only marriage, but all forms of human relationship should have an element of sacrament, more so, in the case of the intimate relationship of husband and wife."

He said:

"Manu and Yagnavalkya were great men in the history of India. They had shaped the destiny of the country in their time. But was it right to bring in Manu and Yagnavalkya to bear witness as to what should be done in the present day?"

Hindu Law is dynamic. It is broad and progressive enough to take into its fold every caste and all communities. It is not static; it has changed, and changes have taken place from time to time to suit conditions of the society and country. For instance, Hindu Law must have changed a great deal during the time of Manu, and the laws must have been altered. It is a well-known fact that in Ancient India women occupied a high place. She had co-ordinate

authority with man in religious, domestic and social spheres of life. She had the right to choose her husband—*svayambaram*. But as time went on, numerous circumstances, internal as well as external, conspired to deprive woman of the high position she enjoyed, and she gradually came to be regarded as a mere chattel. Thus the mal-practice of child marriage, *pardah*, female infanticide, *suttee*, plurality of marriages, etc., came into vogue.

The following quotation from Manu will prove the idea of superiority of man over woman. Would anyone agree with those sentiments in these days? Manu says:

"For a woman, the only vow, the only *dharma*, the only worship of God is to serve her husband obediently, whether he is impotent, poverty-stricken, diseased, old or badly placed, the wife must never leave her husband. His happiness is her happiness, his sorrow is her sorrow. A chaste woman always feels this way, whether in prosperity or affliction. A woman desirous of holy bath in pilgrimage, should drink the water in which her husband's feet are washed, because for her, her husband is a god, her Guru, and preceptor, her *dharma*, her pilgrimage, her avowed austerity, so she must worship her husband leaving behind everything."

In an article written recently by Acharya J. B. Kripalani on the Hindu Marriage Bill appearing in the *Hindusthan Standard*, regarding the Shastras, he says:

"It is true that Shastric injunctions are conflicting and anything can be proved or disproved on their basis by learned Pandits. A large section of Hindu Law therefore is based upon immemorial custom. It is through this that Hindu society as any other functioning society, has achieved some kind of equilibrium."

He sums up by saying:

"If, therefore, there is to be the right of divorce, let it be for the time being confined to women only. I am sure the Hindu menfolk will not object to this advantage to be given to their womenfolk as long as women are economically and educationally backward, and the State provides no security."

I wonder how many men or women would agree with his views! Women, as far as I know, would prefer no concessions, as they showed their spirit of courage and conviction during the last General Elections. They did not want reserved seats, and fought without any concessions with the men. The results for the first time, was quite satisfactory. During the Freedom movement also the Indian women showed their worth by going to prison along with the men, and they did not want any preferential treatment. But now all what they want is equal status with men, and the Indian Constitution has given her this right. Man occupied an advantageous position

during the past centuries, and it is time now that the Hindu law was changed. Under it polygamy was permitted and while the husband had the right to divorce the wife, the law permitted no suitable relief to the discarded wife.

The Law Minister, Shri Pataskar who ably piloted the Hindu Marriage Bill in Parliament strongly defended the rights of women. He said:

"First of all, I want to make it clear that this is a measure of social importance, we recognise it, conceived in a spirit of doing good to the country and to every section of it, in this case, the section of women, because men have been all along enjoying in such matters disproportionate rights as compared to women. We cannot in the name of preserving the sanctity of any ancient culture try to treat them in a different way in the present times and conditions of our country. To try to do so will be an anti-social act. And I would appeal to those who are trying to keep up to their privileges in the name of the so-called religion, to think of the consequences which would follow, if women who form half the population of our country, in whom this sovereignty rests according to our Constitution, were denied these privileges and kept out of them."

Shri Pataskar also confirmed by saying:

"Divorce was the target of some of those who opposed the Bill. But it is to be remembered that 80 per cent of the Hindus in the country had the customary right of divorce at present in some form or other. It is only of the so-called 20 per cent upper class of the vast population of millions of Indian people who have not the right of divorce."

The Prime Minister paid a high tribute to the womanhood of today. He said:

"I am proud of their sense of grace, charm, shyness, modesty and intelligence and their spirit of sacrifice. I think that if India can truly be represented, it can be represented by the women of India and not the men, while he could not say that every man who had represented India abroad had brought credit to the country, he could say that every woman who had been sent abroad had brought credit to the country. It was true that fewer women had been sent than men, but still everyone had the greatest admiration for India's womanhood, not merely the ancient ideals but the women of today. I have faith in them and in the solid foundation of their character. I am therefore not afraid to allow them to go forward. I am convinced that no legal restraint can prevent society in a certain direction today. If you put too much legal restraint, it does not bend but it breaks."

Shri Nehru referred to the oft-repeated references which were made in Parliament to the high ideals of Indian womanhood—Sita and Savitri. He said:

"Everyone admired these ideals of Indian womanhood and looked on them with reverence and affection. But were these ideals only for women? Why not for men also? I do not seem to

remember any reference to the ideal of Ram and Satyaban."

The Indian woman has from time immemorial earned for herself the reputation of ideal daughter, wife and mother through her inherent self-sacrificing spirit. She holds fast to the sanctity of matrimony. The idea of divorce would be more repulsive to her than to the man. Women as a matter of fact, in every part of the world, are too fond of their homes and their children—even in the Western countries, where I have had opportunities of mixing and knowing some of them, and I have formed great admiration for them. But no woman would ever think of breaking up her home unless forced by circumstances, when there is no hope of happiness due to estrangement between husband and wife, and in some cases where it is unsafe to be under the same roof. There are proofs of so many cases, where separation would prove a blessing for both parties for the fault of either the husband, or in some cases the wife also. There are of course exceptions, and good and bad man and woman can be found in every society. The right of divorce therefore is provided only in exceptional cases where the aggrieved party is without any other remedy. No woman, I can say safely, would ever face a divorce suit in the court, except as a last resort, because apart from sentiment of the sanctity of the home, it is repugnant for anyone to legally proving the grounds of divorce, and of the expense involved in litigation.

Clause 13 of the Bill laid down the grounds of divorce, and on commencement of the Act, marriage may, on petition presented to the District Court by either the husband or the wife, be dissolved by a decree of divorce, and certain grounds are:

- (i) He or she is leading an adulterous life,
- (ii) Has ceased to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion,
- (iii) (iv) and (v) deal with incurability of unsound mind, or leprosy, tuberculosis and venereal disease in a communicable form, etc.

When we are introducing the system of divorce in the Hindu society, to my mind immediate relief is necessary on grounds of (i) cruelty both mental and physical, and desertion of over one year. We know of so many hard cases on the above grounds. On the other hand, I am against divorce sub-clauses (iii) and (iv) dealing with divorce on grounds of disease and illness, except for venereal disease in a communicable form. With the advance of medical science almost all diseases including mental maladies, leprosy, tuberculosis are now curable. If the husband or the wife is afflicted with any such illness, is it not the bounden duty of either spouse to look after and arrange for treatment, instead of going in for a suit of divorce? It is one of the sacred duties to be by the side of the afflicted partner. Vows are taken at the time of marriage to

this effect. This idea of divorce certainly goes against the sentiments of an Indian wife, for she is prepared for every sacrifice and devotion to the husband, a loving husband too would not discard his wife if she unfortunately falls prey to any illness. I have known of mental aberration of a wife, who, after a period of 12 years got absolutely well and bore normal healthy children, only because she had a good husband who looked after and arranged for proper treatment.

In the controversy and heat engendered by the provision for 'divorce' in the Bill, some salutary and very important provisions of the new Hindu Marriage Act failed to secure the attention of the public. Under this category comes the provision for relief for pre-Act deserted wives, and legitimacy of children. The latter subject is of first rate political importance for the nation. The future of the nation always lies in its children. A nation is doomed if its children are neglected and uncared for. The new Act has taken children under its sheltering wings, and made provision for their status, maintenance and inheritance. This care of children did not exist under the old social order. The new Act lays down in Clause 16 (Legitimacy of children of void and voidable marriages):

Where a decree of nullity is granted in respect of any marriage under Sections 11 and 12, any child begotten or conceived before the decree is made who would have been the legitimate child of the parties to the marriage if it had been dissolved instead of having been declared null and void or annulled by a decree of nullity shall be deemed to be their legitimate children notwithstanding the decree of nullity.

Re Pre-Act marriages, the new law lays down that a marriage shall be null and void, if on a petition presented by either party thereto, be so declared by a decree of nullity if (a) a former husband or wife of either party was living at the time of such marriage or (b) the parties at the time of such marriage were within the degrees of prohibited relationship.

The ages of the bride and bridegroom have been fixed at fifteen for the bride and eighteen for the bridegroom. This is in conformity with the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929. Therefore the consent of the parent and guardian remains, in giving their consent to marriage as far as the bride is concerned.

No new enactment can be perfect, it is only time and experience that can make it perfect. Clause 9 of the Bill—Restitution of Conjugal Right, came in for strong criticisms from all parts of the House. It was described as "monstrous and barbarous." This seems a serious shortcoming of the Bill. The idea that one of the parties to the marriage being unwilling to live with the other should be forced to do so by the decision of the court is preposterous. It is indeed inhuman and immoral to compel two people

to live as husband and wife when one or both find it impossible to do so. The reason given for including this Clause in the Marriage Act, is that it is in the Civil Procedure Code. But this seems hardly a justification for putting it in this Act. During the discussions of the Special Marriage Act also this clause was greatly resented to specially by almost all the women members. The old Special Marriage Act II of 1872 did not have such a provision, and there was no inconvenience on account of it. In the fitness of the progressive idea of the Hindu Marriage Act this clause should be deleted, as we feel it would do no good.

The other clause which came in for protest from a great many members in the Lok Sabha was Clause 24 of the Bill—Maintenance Pendente lite, and expenses of proceedings. It says:

"Where in any proceeding under this Act, it appears to the Court that either the wife or the husband, as the case may be, has no independent income sufficient for his or her support and the necessary expenses of the proceeding, it may, on the application of the wife or the husband, order the respondent to pay to the petitioner the expenses of the proceeding, which may seem to the court to be reasonable."

It is a fact that women still suffer from economic dependence. Before giving her the full right of inheritance in equality with men it seems quite premature to enact a provision as above. It is a novel innovation in the field of legislation. Legislation is a part of social science, and this provision in actual working will lead to no end of hardship and even wickedness. It is inconsistent with this piece of legislation, and it is a retrogressive provision. When several of us objected to this clause, an assurance was given by the Law Minister that it would be amended.

It is rightly anxiously enquired on all hands, as to what would be the effect of these new innovations, such as the 'divorce' on Hindu society. India is a vast country, and comprises in its big sweep a large mass of humanity in all stages of human progress, advancement, culture and civilization. It is difficult to apply one yard stick to such a large mass of humanity. One has to prophesy, or go by results gained from experience. As has been pointed out divorce already exists in the country for 80 per cent of the population. So in reality it was only the 20 per cent of the so-called upper classes for whom the opponents of divorce spoke. The women of this class are now mostly all educated, and they are well able to take care of their own affairs, in fact, some of them are surprisingly intelligent, and they would certainly not misuse the right of divorce. We do not anticipate

that our men, with the social background of our country of which all are proud of, will take any advantage of the divorce provision, as men have had the advantage of divorce all this time, and it is nothing new for them. So it is to be earnestly hoped the new Law is all for the best.

The chief aim is to set our women free from bondage imposed on them by the old system. The new marriage laws should serve as a very effective remedy by abolishing the compulsory and arbitrary marriage system, prohibiting the extraction of money—"dowry," and providing that marriage must be based on the continued complete willingness of the two parties. It further establishes that mutual love and respect are the only ties which should continue to hold a man and woman towards marital relationship. The right of divorce for women on equal terms with men, will come to the realisation of their rights, and women would be in a position to build up happier and healthier homes.

One thing is certain however, that no piece of legislation can make a nation moral or immoral. If the nation is moral in its essence then this measure will afford relief in hard cases. If, on the other hand, the nation is wicked, then it would exploit it for immorality not because of the provision of 'divorce' but because of its inherent inclination to social injustice, as we find sometimes when the nation is power-drunk. We cannot, however, afford to be apathetic or passive in the matter. The carrying out of the new marriage law depends on the consciousness of the masses, and one must proceed to cultivate the consciousness of the nation for marital rectitude, marital faithfulness, gentleness and other virtues and bring about the proper social atmosphere for social justice both for man and woman. The new marriage law is like a bottle of medicine, which a healthy person is under no compulsion to take, so a morally healthy couple will not go in for divorce simply because the new marriage law has provided for divorce. It should be borne in mind that the new marriage law is not exclusively concerned with securing divorce to woman. On the contrary, it has cleaned the Augean stables by providing monogamous marriages, by removing barriers of caste, putting a further restraint on child marriage, etc. It may need further amendments to make the Hindu Marriage Act a perfect one, and the Parliament is ever vigilant to do so.

It is a historic social measure carrying within it the germ of great social reformation, and creating a healthy atmosphere for the future generation of our great country.

THE VELLORE MUTINY

A Reappraisal

By HARIPADO CHAUDHURI

THE discontent that had been brewing against British domination in India found its first mass expression in the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. It was the harbinger of the Great Rebellion of 1857; in fact, it was 1857 in miniature.

1806 AND 1857

Like the Great Rebellion, the Vellore Mutiny had its deep root among the masses of outraged people, but history was evidently on the British side. Due to lack of far-sighted leadership, proper cohesion and organisation, the genuine wrath of the people was misdirected and ended in a fiasco. Here the restoration of Tipu's family was the rallying cry which, in 1857, became the restoration of the Empire with Bahadur Shah, the last Mogul Emperor, as head. In 1857 religious prejudices over the question of cartridge became the bursting point; in Vellore Mutiny the starting point was the 'Turban' issue which, it was alleged, hurt the religious feelings of the Indian soldiers. In both the cases the peasants with the feudal nobles and priests as their leaders fought against the English Company.

But the difference between the two should also be noted. Firstly, the Vellore Mutiny did not spread over the length and breadth of the country as did the Great Rebellion. It looked like an isolated affair and did not overstep the limits of the barracks and enter among the masses of the people to give it a general character. Imperialist historians and administrators too were at great pains to paint it as an isolated event, artificially created by headstrong religious mendicants and other interested persons.

Secondly, and this is the most important point; the Great Rebellion occurred at a time when England had already been transformed into an industrial country; and export of manufactured goods became the dominant feature of English commerce. At the time of Vellore Mutiny this feature was not dominant, nay practically absent, as the industrial revolution, which had just happened, was not yet able to create the requisite transformation in the British economic structure.

Thirdly, the railway and telegraph, the great forces that bound the remotest corners of India closer by linking up the towns and villages, broke down the feudal isolation and subsequently paved the way for the birth of national resurgence, had been completely absent at the time of the Vellore Mutiny.

Keeping in mind these differences and similarities between the two we should proceed to study the Vellore Mutiny of 1806.

By 1806 the English of the East India Company had practically become the paramount power over nearly the whole of India. In the South there was practically none to stand against their aggressive designs. Tipu Sultan

was killed in 1799, his kingdom partitioned and a puppet ruler placed on the throne of new Mysore. His sons and relatives were safely kept imprisoned in the Fort of Vellore. The Nizam of Hyderabad had already become their pliant tool. In the Maratha country "the Peshwa was in abject, and the Bhonsla and Sindhia, in reluctant submission." The Carnatic was annexed in 1801, forcing the son of the late Nawab to abdicate.

GROWING DISCONTENT

But side by side with this growing power of the British, the bitterness and hatred, that were nursed against them, were also gradually rearing their heads. The corruption and brutality of the Company's servants, the ravages of armies moving through the country to extend the British power, the frequent raids of armed bandits, the new system of justice and revenue and the general lack of security of life and property added to the distress of the people.

In this connection what Mill wrote about the regime of Tipu Sultan may be mentioned:

"His (i.e., Tipu's) country was, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated and his population the most flourishing in India; while under the English and their dependants the population of the Carnatic and Oudh hastening to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws, ill-adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict."—*History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 150.

In fact, to the people in general the East India Company appeared to be like the devil that "blasted and destroyed everything that came within its pernicious influence." Discontent was widespread.

To this was added the menace of Christian missionaries who in their zeal "to civilise" the "uncivilised natives" were preaching the gospel of their "true religion" and with official support and patronage were riding roughshod over the religious sentiments of the people. The situation became desperate; only a spark was necessary to cause the explosion.

Fakirs and dervishes were active in scattering the seeds of revolt; astrology was called in to predict the downfall of the Christian and the ascendancy of Muslim power.

"These emissaries of revolt," wrote Lord Bentinck, "were not the commissioned agent of any one man or any party. They were self-created by the original cause which led all men to unite under the same banners, and made agents of the most enthusiastic in their several religious prejudices."

NEW MILITARY REGULATIONS

It was at this time that some innovations were introduced in the military regulations with regard to the Indian soldiers. It was ordered that the Indian soldiers were "to appear on parade with their chins

clean-shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern; they were never to wear on their faces the distinguishing marks of caste or earrings, when in uniform." Changes in dress, tending to assimilate the uniform of the Indian army to that of the English, such as wearing of stocks and waist-coats, had already been introduced.

In April 1806 the order regarding the new Turban was notified to the Sepoys. According to this order,

"The Sepoys are to use a new form of turban; it was to be made, as formerly, of broad cloth covering an iron frame, with the exception of cotton tuit, made to resemble a feather and a leather cockade."

Sir John Cradock was then the Commander-in-Chief and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras. They approved this change and ordered its immediate introduction.

The men were already disturbed over the "shaving order" which they interpreted to mean that their whiskers were to be cut off. Now the new order regarding Turban set the ball rolling; the Sepoys, both Hindus and Muslims, took the new orders as a challenge to their religious custom and tradition. The new Turban became an object of hatred to them as a Christian hat.

EARLY SYMPTOMS OF REVOLT

Early symptoms of disaffection manifested themselves at Vellore and Wallajahbad. On the 6th and 7th May, 1806, the 2nd Battalion 4th Regiment refused to bow down to the new order re: Turban. Their conduct became so disorderly that it verged on being mutinous. Lt.-Col. Darby, Officer-in-Charge, had to take severe measures to force them to submission. Nineteen men were put under arrest, condemned to severe corporal punishment by a court-martial and dismissed from service. Later on, seventeen persons were reprieved and two persons, supposed to be leaders, received nine hundred lashes each.

At Wallajahbad a Subedar was summarily dismissed for "apparent connivance at the disorderly proceedings which had taken place," and three companies of British troops were sent there from Poonamallee.

In both the places apparently the calm was restored; but it was deceitful.

On the 10th July, 1806, when the official despatch containing the assurance of re-establishment of order and discipline at Vellore and other places reached the Government of Madras, the smouldering embers of discontent and disaffection burst out into a flame of mutiny at Vellore.

The Vellore Fort, 87 miles west of Madras, was at this time the prison-house of Tipu Sultan's sons and their families. The whole neighbourhood swarmed with persons sympathetic towards the imprisoned families. No fewer than 3000 Mysoreans, it is said, settled at Vellore and its vicinity and as a result the supporters of Tipu Sultan's Princes in the town and garrison of Vellore were numerically much greater than those of the Government.

THE RISING OF THE 10TH JULY

When the forces of the two opposing sides were thus drawn up, an event took place at Fort Vellore. The wedding festivities of Noorul Nisum Begum (Noorunnissa Begum), a daughter of Tipu Sultan and sister of Prince Muhiuddeen, took place on the night of July 9, 1806. On this day many Mysoreans assembled at the Fort. This event gave a fillip to the insurrectionists and the rising of the Sepoys took place in the early hours of the 10th July.

A sombre atmosphere marked the first hours of the night of Thursday, the 10th July. The wedding festivities had ended, the Princes and their guards had retired to their beds, the British troops and officers were enjoying their dreams of victory, when all on a sudden the booming of guns broke the stillness of the night. The first military insurrection against the British rule started.

Two English Companies were stationed at Vellore. The attack of the insurrectionists was so sudden and simultaneous that the English were taken aback. They were well-armed and advantageously posted, but the intense and fanatic firing of the Indian soldiers forced them to retreat. Col. Fauncourt, Officer-in-Charge of the garrison, hearing the gunshots, came out of his bungalow to ascertain the facts, but he fell almost at the commencement of the affray. The rebels broke into all the British Officers' quarters and murdered every one they found.

The flag of Tipu Sultan bearing "a sun in the centre with green tiger-stripes on a redfield" was hoisted on the garrison flagstaff amidst victorious shouts of "Deen"! "Deen"! The flag; it was alleged, was the property of Prince Moizuddeen, fourth son of Tipu Sultan, who supplied the same to the Sepoys.

The followers of the Princes, it is said, assisted the insurgent Sepoys in getting out the guns, in laying them, in encouraging the Sepoys to kill the English. Princes Moizuddeen and Muhiuddeen presented themselves before the Sepoys and ordered refreshments to be given to them. Prince Moizuddeen, further, was reported to have presented a sword to the son (then in British Service) of Tipu Sultan's Commandant Syed Gaffur and ordered him to take possession of the hill fort of Vellore.

When fighting was going on inside the fort, Prince Moizuddeen and his supporters expected that at least four to five hundred men from the Petah (township at the foot of Vellore Fort) would join, but with the passing of hours it was found that the Sepoys were more and more attracted towards looting than to the lofty ideal which goaded them to this action. The Mixed Enquiry Commission's report on this mutiny runs thus:

"The eagerness with which the Sepoys and men of the Palace (i.e., where the Princes were kept imprisoned) betook themselves to plunder the effects of the Officers, and to escape out of the Fort with their booty, tended in our opinion to weaken the general effect of the insurrection and to prevent,

happily, much of the consequences to have been apprehended."

As a result the Fort did not fall entirely into the possession of the Sepoys; and when one of the mutineers collecting a band of about three hundred persons, presented himself before Prince Moizuddeen and requested him to lead them, he refused to accompany so small a party; he was already overcome with utter despair and despondency.

Four hours after the commencement of the mutiny, news reached Col. Gillespie at the Cantonment of Arcot, 16 miles from Vellore. His troops consisted mainly of Britons who were immediately sent to the succour of the besieged. He himself led the 19th Squadron of Dragoons and a party of the 7th Indian Cavalry, and the rest were ordered to follow under Lt.-Col. Kennedy with the guns.

Col. Forbes, commanding the 1st Battalion 1st Regiment, who took refuge in the hill fort of Vellore with a number of loyal Indian troops and about 30 British refugees, was still holding out and the main gateway was still in the possession of the British guards of the 69th Regiment under Sergeant Brodie. "The presence of the guards on the gateway and the cavalry flanking it to the north allowed Col. Gillespie and his party to reach the first gate almost unmolested while the second was opened by some of the 69th who let themselves down with ropes."

The fourth or inner gateway was under the control of the mutineers. Col. Gillespie made an attempt to break it but lost several men. He then decided to wait for the arrival of the guns and when these reached at 10 A.M., the real counter-attack began. Orders were then given to blow open the gate.

After heavy firing the gate yielded and the forces of Col. Gillespie in conjunction with the new arrivals from Arcot launched their offensive. A hand to hand fight ensued which ended in almost complete annihilation of the insurrectionists.

About 350 mutineers fell in the battle and 600 were made prisoners at Vellore and in various other places to which they had fled. Number of deaths of British soldiers amounted to 113 including 14 officers.

MERCILESS REPRESSION

Merciless repression began. The self-styled Civilisers, mad with terror and rage, ravaged the country with fire and sword, hanging, impaling, or blowing from guns the innocent and guilty alike. Officially, it was said, 17 persons were hanged in connection with the Vellore Mutiny, but the number of unofficial killings, if ever discovered, is sure to mount to four figures.

The 1st and 23rd Regiments who had taken the lead in this insurrection, were wiped out either by cannon or by rope; their names expunged from the army list. The arrested persons were thrown to the prison and kept there without any trial till the arrival in 1807 of the next Governor-General, Lord Minto.

Col. Gillespie, the "rescuer" of Vellore, was in a mood to blow all the members of Tipu Sultan's family

from the cannons, but extraneous circumstances deterred him from taking this step. Though saved from immediate annihilation, the twelve sons of Tipu Sultan could not escape brutal punishment. Along with their families and other relatives they were removed from the orbit of their influence and banished to jungly and malarial Tollygunge near Calcutta, where the whole family remained interned for nearly 60 years. The fate of Prince Moizuddeen was worse; he was kept in strict confinement in the Harinbaree Jail in Calcutta.

Special orders were issued regarding the future recruitment in the army. Persons having any connection with Tipu Sultan were for ever debarred from service under the British Government. Instructions were also given to stop all recruitments, if possible, from the territories of Tipu Sultan. In short, anything connected with the name of Tipu Sultan became an anathema to the foreign aggressors.

The apologists of British Imperialism always try to justify this savagery by stories of frightful atrocities committed by the mutineers. But it should be remembered that the Britons could hardly expect any tenderness from the Indian people whom they had brutally crushed and exploited and yet except for isolated instances, they had been treated well and softly. An instance in support of this statement may be cited here: Mrs. Fauncourt (her husband was already killed) wrote, "He (a Sepoy) told us to go into Fowl House. . . . We were quite exposed to view till the same brought us an old mat, which we made use of by placing it before the door to hide ourselves, and afterwards the same Sepoy brought my little boy a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger." Mrs. Fauncourt along with her son was afterwards rescued by Col. Gillespie's party.

Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor of Madras, too, noted in his minute, dated the 13th September, 1806:

"There were some instances of very great kindness on the part of the Sepoys to save the lives of Europeans"

VELLORE MUTINY BELITTLED

It should be mentioned in this connection that had it not been for the statesman-like policy of Lord Bentinck, the savagery of repression would have transcended all limits, the British Empire in India would have been doomed and Indian history would have been written in a different manner. The new regulations regarding Turban, etc., were revoked; proclamations were issued on behalf of the Government declaring in explicit terms the respect for the religious feelings of the Indians. Further, "all precipitation in punishment which might either have the appearance of revenge, or of rendering the cause of the Sepoys the cause of religion was studiously avoided."

Lord Bentinck fully realised the import of this mutiny and did his best to isolate this great event from the discontent of the people in general; instead of exaggerat-

BY PROF. HIRA LALL CHOPRA, M.A.

ing its importance he tried to belittle it and to divert the people's attention from this form of outburst of mass discontent.

We too have fallen a victim to this diversionary tactics of the Imperialist henchmen and have forgotten to take notice of this first militant outburst of popular discontent in its true perspective, for the latter events proved that the discontent was not limited to Vellore alone. Nundydroog, Bangalore, Chittoor, Wallajahbad, Bellary, Hyderabad and several other places were also shaken by this storm.

According to Sir John Cradock, the then Commander-in-Chief:

"The whole was planned with unequalled secrecy and concealment. The object was to destroy every European, and place a son of Tipu at the head of a Moorish Government. With this view letters were ready, or even were despatched to the Marhattas and to the disaffected chieftains at Cuddappa, in the ceded districts and Vancatigherry, in the Carnatic, to excite a general hostility."—*Report of the Commander-in-Chief to the Authorities in England, dated Oct. 25, 1806.*

GENERAL PLAN OF ACTION

A discussion about the general plan of action behind this mutiny is necessary, but it is very difficult to find out what it really was. The evidence of different persons before the Mixed Enquiry Commission and the confessions of some condemned persons throw some light on the matter, but taking into consideration the circumstances in which these were given, full reliance can hardly be placed on them. But as there is no other way to ascertain the true facts we are bound to depend on them. The following is a short summary culled out from different depositions:

Secret meetings and discussions were going on amongst the Sepoys for a long time and these got a new impetus and push with the issuing of the order regarding Turban, etc. The one held at the tomb called Ameenpir was the most important, where along with ordinary soldiers many commissioned and non-commissioned officers too participated. At this meeting one Jamadar Shaik Dewan took the lead and heartened everybody saying that others might lose their ideal, but they would not. Persons, supposed to be connected with the imprisoned Princes, were also active in inciting the Sepoys.

With the arrival of the new turbans at Vellore, secret meetings in groups became more frequent, the activity of Alla-o-Deen, a foster-brother of Prince Moizuddeen, increased as the medium of intercourse between the soldiers and the Princes, and as a result the contacts between them grew closer and closer.

Prince Moizuddeen wanted, it was said, that the Sepoys should take and keep the Vellore Fort for at least eight days and in the meantime he would collect some ten thousand men in arms with whose help he would be able to rouse up the people and rout the English. Letters from him were sent to different Chiefs and Sirdars in Gurrumeondah, Vencatigherry, Callastry and also to

different Sirdars, then in the service of the puppet King of Mysore. Moizuddeen banked on the calculation that once the Vellore Fort and the Pettah were captured, the people in general, specially the Indian troops, would come under his banner.

The participants in this plan were bound to the oath of secrecy. Groups of four or five met together and took the oath and Alla-o-Deen was always present. Except about half a dozen Indian soldiers and officers at Vellore all took the oath. Observance of secrecy, non-acceptance of the new turban and establishment of Prince Moizuddeen's rule—these were the three tenets of the oath-taking ceremony.

Many of the pensioned soldiers who understood the management of guns and gun-Lascars were won over to the side of the rebels and they promised all help. The people of the Pettah, many of whom were somehow or other connected with the Princes, knew too about the secret plan and stood in readiness for giving necessary help.

The date of the insurrection was twice changed. Before the admission of the 2nd Battalion 23rd Regiment into the secrets a date was fixed and later on it was changed. In fact, the rising took place sooner than was finally decided. The scheduled date was the 14th July (Monday), 1806, but due to the indiscreet utterances of one Jamadar Shaikh Hussain, it came about earlier. On the night of the 9th July, the said person being drunken, divulged the secrets about the insurrection. At about 9 P.M. a hurried consultation among the leaders was held at the barracks and it was decided to begin the insurrection that very night at 2 A.M. The decision was so late and taken so hastily that neither the people of the Pettah nor the Princes could be informed about it.

ROLE OF THE PRINCES

Regarding the role of the Princes, one fact should always be kept in mind, and it is that they were prisoners and when actually the premature mutiny was crushed, they had to find out means to destroy all kinds of evidence of their complicity in the insurrection. Hence all that is left to us is circumstantial evidence from which we are to reconstruct the actual position. We must, however, say that the Princes were not bold and audacious enough to take the lead; all that they wanted was to ride over the success, achieved by the soldiers and reap the full benefit thereof. They were quite unprepared and lacked the necessary courage and determination which alone might have turned the situation in their favour. Still we should give them, especially Prince Moizuddeen, the credit that is due to him for trying to take a stand against British Imperialism.

The Vellore Mutiny did not produce any Tantia Tope or Luxmibai or Azimullah Khan, but this does not make it in any way less important. Its nameless self-sacrificing heroes are the pioneers in showing the path of militant anti-British struggle whose noble tradition has been carried forward by thousands of others to bring it to fruition. Free India will ever remember them and offer her respectful salutes.

BAHAIS, the followers of Baha Ullah, are reported to have been persecuted in Iran once again since the month of fasting (Ramazan). They were forced to observe the fast like pious Muslims and on their refusal (as according to their own faith, the Bahais observe the fast from 2nd to 20th March for 19 days), their houses and shops were looted and the Bahai House for Worship, the *haziratulguds* was desecrated and demolished. Many Bahais throughout Iran were killed and plundered in the sacred month. The plunderers thought this action of theirs to be a great service rendered to the cause of Islam. It is a pity that this thing is continued even now spasmodically.

The Bahai faith has suffered persecutions since its very inception. It was a revolt against the orthodox Mullahs in Iran in the middle of the last century. According to Shia tradition, the hidden twelfth Imam Mahdi held intercourse with his followers through a succession of mediums, each of whom was called a Bab or door and Syed Ali Muhammad Bab claimed to be a door in that succession.

The Bab: Syed Ali Muhammad Bab was born on 20th October, 1819 in Shiraz and in 1844, at the age of 25, he declared himself to be the Bab or door saying:

"Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him, ought to do it through him."

His teaching was marked by a catholicity not yet known in Islam. He said, God is unapproachable: man can only approach Him through some appointed medium. For this purpose a Primal Will has spoken in the Bab, and will speak again in "Him whom God shall manifest."

Bab held discussions with various doctors of religion in Mecca and other religious places. He appointed 18 disciples and himself the 19th for the propagation of his views throughout the world. They were known as the "Letters of the Living" and among them was an Indian also, named Said Hindi, who came to Multan and influenced one Basir Hindi, a rich blind scholar, who propagated the Cause in India and Iran for which he had to suffer martyrdom in the end.

The teachings of Bab naturally aroused widespread opposition in the orthodox circles of Islam in general and in Iran in particular. Husayn Khan, the tyrannical Governor of Fars, undertook the suppression of the new faith. Bab had a long series of imprisonments, deportations, examinations before tribunals, scourgings and indignities which ended only with his martyrdom on 9th July, 1850, when he was shot dead by the Arm in the old barrack square of Tabriz.

One of Bab's ardent followers was the great Iranian poetess, Qurratul Ayn—"the solace of the eyes." The most beautiful lady of her own times, music flowing from her lips, she canvassed for the Cause, here,

there and everywhere. She discarded the *purdah* and had discussions with the most learned men of Iran and vanquished them. The Iranian Government took her prisoner; she was stoned in the streets, anathematized, exiled from town, threatened with death, but she never failed in her determination to work for the emancipation of women. She was strangled for her progressive views.

BAHAULLAH

When the Bab declared his mission in 1844, Bahaullah, then in his 27th year, boldly espoused the cause of the New Faith, of which he soon became recognised as one of the most powerful and fearless exponents. He had already twice suffered imprisonment for the Cause and on one occasion had undergone the torture of the bastinado.



Abdu'l-Baha

Mirza Hussain Ali, later known as Bahaullah, was born on 12th of November, 1817 in Teheran. His father, Mirza Abbas of Nur, was a minister of State. On the death of his father, the Government of Iran wanted to appoint Bahaullah as a minister, but this position he declined and chose for himself the thorny path of the new dispensation. For his progressive views in religion, Bahaullah was exiled to Baghdad, Constantinople and

Adrianople. In 1863, he declared himself to be the Light of God (Bahau'llah), about whose coming the Bab had foretold—the Chosen of God, the promised one of all the prophets. All the Babis recognised in him the prophecy of Bab being fulfilled. Bab, the John the Baptist of this new faith, was a fore-runner of "Him Whom God Shall Manifest" in the form of Bahau'llah. Bahau'llah suffered incarceration for nearly 50 years and during this imprisonment wrote several epistles to the ruling monarchs of the world, heralding to all, his own advent for the salvation of mankind and for the widening of man's outlook on religion. He formulated twelve

12. Recognition of the unity of God and obedience to His Commands as revealed through His Divine Manifestations.

These catholic principles were not acceptable to the orthodox sections of the Muslims and they continued to persecute the Bahais for this revolt in religion. The new dispensation of Bahaism, as propounded by Bahau'llah, had nothing to do with Islam. It was a clarion call to entire humanity and to all religions of the world to shake off superstitions and to pave the way for the uplift of the depressed and the oppressed sections of mankind. It is erroneous to label Bahaism as a sect of Islam like the Qaddyanis. Bahaism, according to the belief of its founder, is the fulfilment of all the religions. Prof. E. G. Browne, the eminent Orientalist of the Cambridge University, met Bahau'llah in 1890 and had 4 interviews with him. He was very much impressed with Bahau'llah's analytical study of the world's problems and their solutions.

Bahau'llah gave to the world a number of books written in prison, which his followers believe to have been revealed.

Bahau'llah passed away on 29th May, 1892 and his eldest son Abbas Effendi, later known as Abdul Baha, the servant of Baha, carried on the work of his father as his representative and the expounder of his teachings. Abdul Baha was born on 23rd May, 1844. He spent his life in jails along with his father and had his training under his father's direct care. After the death of his father, he took up the Cause and propagated it magnificently. He was in Turkish imprisonment till 1908, when he was finally released. He visited some Western countries also. He went to London in September, 1911 and came back to Egypt in December. He proceeded to the United States of America and reached New York in April, 1912 and travelled through the States for nine months. In Chicago, he laid the foundation-stone of the famous Mashriqu'l-azkar, the Bahai House of Worship, a Taj Mahal of the Western world, costing about one and a half million dollars and which has nine gates representing the nine great religions of the world signifying that anybody coming from whichever gate, shall ultimately reach the same beloved. A symbolic interpretation of the following verse of the Gita:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्तमानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

Howsoever men approach me, even so do I accept



Major-General Batmanqilich, Chief of the General Staff of the Persian Army, inaugurating the work of demolition of the dome of the Baha'i Temple in Teheran

principles for the social and spiritual uplift of man which have more or less become the tenets of this faith. They are:

1. Unfettered search after Truth and the abandonment of all superstition and prejudice.
2. The oneness of mankind. All are 'leaves of one tree, flowers in one garden.'
3. Religion must be a cause of love and harmony, else it is no religion.
4. All religions are one in their fundamental principles.
5. Religion must go hand in hand with science. Faith and reason must be in full accord.
6. Universal Peace: the establishment of a federated international order.
7. The adoption of an international secondary language which shall be taught in all the schools of the world.
8. Compulsory education and useful training.
9. Equal opportunities for development: Equal rights and privileges for both sexes.
10. Work for all: No idle rich and no idle poor. "Work in the spirit of service, is worship."
11. Abolition of extremes of poverty and wealth; care of the needy.

them, for on all sides whatever path they choose in mine, O Partha. (IV, II).

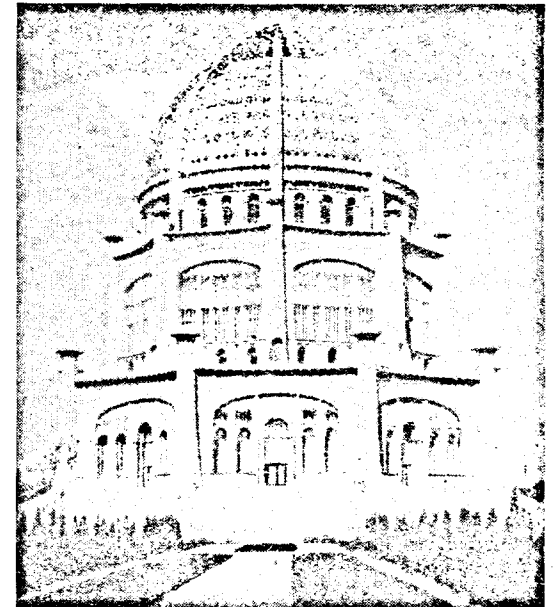
Chicago is the fittest venue for such a Bahai House, as it was here in 1893 in the Parliament of Religions that Swami Vivekananda of blessed memory gave his message of universal love, peace and harmony. It was here in this august congregation that Pratap Chandra Mazoomdar, Mrs. Annie Besant and other delegates of the Indian faiths and cultures gave to the world a true picture of Indian catholicity and India's advance in matters religious, philosophical and cultural. This Bahai House in Chicago presents a symbolic fulfilment of that message.

After the first world war, Abdul Baha was knighted by the British Government. He died in Haifa on 28th November, 1921 and the mantle for the propagation of the Cause fell on the shoulders of his grandson, Shoghi Effendi, the Guardian of the Faith. It goes to the credit of Shoghi Effendi, the scholar of the Balliol College, Oxford, an educated and enlightened Guardian, that he translated into English all books written by Bab, Bahau'llah and Abdul Baha and also wrote himself quite a large number of books detailing the history of the Cause and in exposition of the main tenets of the Faith. It is really the present Guardian of the Faith who made available to the Western world all Bahai literature and enlisted sympathy of the entire world. His headquarters are at Haifa, Palestine. The Bahai administration given by Shoghi Effendi is working so efficiently that Bahais in all corners of the world are being properly watched by the Guardian. Today there are 7 lakhs of Bahais in Iran alone and a considerable number in the United States. Bombay and Karachi have also an appreciable number, who run good restaurants in these towns. Sincere, hardworking, conscientious and honest. Bahais are trusted everywhere.

Their present persecution in Iran has brought the Bahais in limelight once again. Iran has never reconciled itself with this faith. Though it is the land of its birth, yet Bahaism cannot get any literature printed in Iran. Fifty years ago, all literature used to be smuggled from India and in recent years the source has been the United States and other countries. The late Reza Shah Pahlavi was conscious of the piety, honesty and sincerity of the Bahais and in spite of the protests from the orthodox sections, he gave Bahais very important positions in the administration, particularly in the Finance department. It was considered that with the non-interference of the State in their religious affairs, the Bahais would one day get full freedom of expression and they built a *haziratulquds*, a rendezvous for their meetings in Teheran at a considerable cost. The Bahai House is neither a mosque nor a place where political conspiracies are hatched, but simply a Bahai House meant for the congregation of Bahais and it is a sad commentary on Iran's secularism that this House was tried to be demolished by no less an important person than the Chief of the General Staff of the

Persian Army, Major General Batmanqilich in the very presence of General Bakhtiar, the Military Governor of Teheran as will be evident from the photo reproduced here. It was later on occupied by the Persian Army.

Only two years ago, the father of Mr. Hooshman Fatch Azam, the Bahai professor of Persian in Visvabharati, Santiniketan, was murdered in Teheran on account of his being a Bahai.



Baha'i Temple, Wilmette, Chicago

It is through persecutions that the Faith got a good popularity in comparatively a short time. The founders as well as the adherents of this faith numbering in thousands had to suffer martyrdom for their convictions and the tales of their ghastly murders attracted a very large number of people into their fold. These desecrations and persecutions in the twentieth century, an age of science and reason, appear to be no less than an anachronism. The Bahais do not call themselves Muslims. Theirs is a separate Faith altogether. They believe in all the Divine religions and Islam is one of them; Muhammad is one of the prophets of the world and Bahau'llah also belongs to the same line, and yet they are persecuted for their convictions in no other place than the land of the birth of Bahaism. Iran should feel proud on that account as Bahaism is today universally acknowledged as a means to synthesise religion. Thousands of Bahais were done to death in the nineteenth century, but today there is no occasion for that. Islam has also changed considerably and its modern interpretation presents it as an advanced faith, catholic in outlook and tolerant in character, conforming literally to the saying of the Holy Quran:

"There is no compulsion in religion." (2:256)

Men like Tolstoy, Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Radhakrishnan, Mudaliar, Sapru, Jayakar, Sarojini Naidu, Raja Narendranath and Lala Har Dayal have spoken very highly of this faith and in the opinion of all right-thinking men, it ill behoves the people and government of Iran to subject the Bahais to the persecutions reminiscent of medieval times. Moharram, a month of mourning for the Shias is going to set in soon and Shia'ism is the state religion of Iran. It is apprehended that there may be recrudescence of the trouble in that month and to avoid it, the Shah of Iran, a very enlightened monarch, is earnestly appealed to take every possible precaution and issue instructions to his government for the safety of the Bahais and their property throughout Iran.

"Is there any remover of difficulties save God? All are His servants and all are standing by His Orders."

BAB (The Herald)

"Glory is not his, who loves his native land, but glory is his, who loves his kind."

"Is not the object of every Revelation to effect a transformation in the whole character of mankind, a transformation that shall manifest itself, both outwardly and inwardly, that shall affect both its inner life and

external condition? For if the character of mankind be not changed, the utility of God's universal Manifestation would be apparent."

—BAHA' ULLAH (The Founder)

"His Holiness Baha'u'llah has revoiced re-established the quintessence of the teachings of all the Prophets.... These holy words and teachings are the remedy for the body politic, the divine prescription and the real cure for the disorders which afflict the World."

—ABDOL-BAHA (The Promoter)

"How vast is the Revelation of Baha'u'llah! How great the magnitude of His blessings showered upon humanity in this day! And yet how poor, how inadequate our conception of their significance and glory! This generation stands too close to so colossal a Revelation to appreciate, in their full measure, the infinite possibilities of His Faith, the unprecedented character of His Cause, and the mysterious dispensation of His Providence."

—SHOCHI EFFENDI (The Guardian)

"We spend our lives in trying to unlock the mystery of the universe, but there was a Turkish prisoner, Baha'u'llah, in Akka, Palestine, who had the key."

—COUNT LEO TOLSTOY (An Admirer)

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THE HARLEM NOBODY KNOWS

BY ALEX HALEY

HARLEM, that roughly triangular six-square-mile section of New York City where lives the largest concentration of Negroes in the world—375,000—is pointed to by critics as a sinkhole of United States capitalism. Foreign diplomats and businessmen freely report that the greatest obstacle to friendship between the United States and the colored races who comprise two-thirds of the world's population is discrimination against the American Negro, seemingly typified by this overcrowded, dilapidated area.

These critics of our democracy would do well to take a closer look at the Negroes of Harlem today. Probably no community on earth has come so far so fast!

In this area where hardly a Negro owned property at the turn of this century, the collective Negro assessment in 1954 approaches \$300,000,000. One bank with four branches in Harlem reports \$20,700,000 in checking and savings accounts. The postmaster of New York reports \$72,000,000 in postal savings in the entire city, \$12,000,000 of it in Harlem.

Said an old pharmacist who moved to Harlem in 1905, "All we owned were our barbershops and beauty parlors and a few restaurants." Today his drugstore is one of 4,300 businesses which Negroes operate in Harlem. Elsewhere in New York City they own 2,200 more.

Three years ago a radio station conducted a survey for its advertisers. "Income of the average Harlem family has tripled since 1940," it informed them, "This

community, as an annual market, represents 1,000,000,000."

Before 1900, most of the Negroes in New York City were settled in a squalid colony in the middle Fifties. Then a Negro realtor, Philip A. Payton, persuaded several Harlem landlords to fill their vacancies with Negro tenants. A trickle of migration soon became a tide.

From the first, the new community was in economic trouble. At least half its population was unemployed. Having nothing but the labour of their unskilled hands to sell, they suffered from poverty and discrimination. In one city count of 9,561 apprentices in the trades, only 56 were Negroes. Thousands of families managed to escape the public dole only because Harlem's women found jobs as laundresses or household servants.

Manpower shortages created by World War I gave the new community a start. Hiring taboos relaxed, and soon Negroes worked in more than 300 occupations. Both the government and industry sent representatives into the southern states to recruit laborers. Harlem absorbed more than 100,000 southern Negroes; 25,000 others came from the British West Indies.

From churches came the first sign of financial stability. Abyssinian Baptist marketed its property in midtown and built in Harlem at a cost of \$350,000. St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal sold holdings near the site of Pennsylvania Station and hired a Negro architect to design its present brick church and parish house.

Soon afterward the church purchased a row of 13 apartment houses that it yet controls.

Hundreds of individual Harlemites capitalized on steady wages and a buyers' market to make down payments on homes. Hundreds more invested in small businesses. Spectacularly, "Pigfoot Mary" Dean, a popular Lenox Avenue vendor of pig's feet, fried chicken, and hot corn, bought for \$42,000 a five-story apartment building. In one year the number of licensed Negro realtors in the city rose from three to 31.

For the most part, however the efforts of Negroes to set down tap roots in the city went unnoticed by the general public. Harlem was gaining its prominence, instead, as a Mecca of Jazz. By the height of the 1920's, its cabarets and dance halls swarmed with revelers nightly.

In this manner Harlem met the depression. Few communities were so hard hit. Night life had supported flourishing businesses, provided an aura of intra-racial camaraderie—and suddenly both were gone. From the war-inflated pay-rolls, Negroes were the first to be fired—by the thousands. The race riots of this era made headlines around the world. But little notice was taken when the same forces—racial pride and the desperate fight for survival—subsequently were channeled in more disciplined ways to shape Harlem's future.

For example, consider the Harlem Businessmen's Club which was organized in 1931. One of its first acts was to circularize the slogan, "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work!" Negro employees above the level of porter were rare in Harlem retail stores. Then the

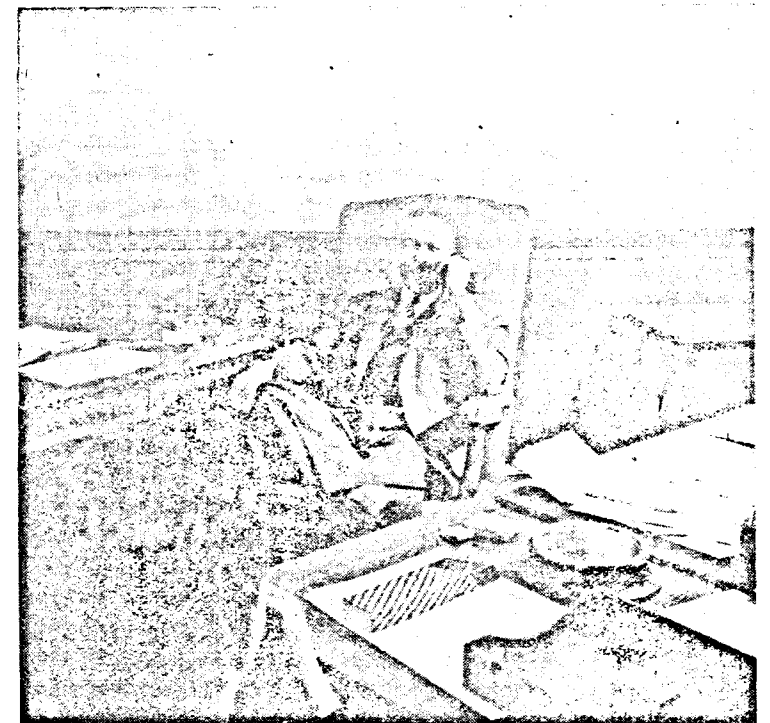
Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, threw its power into the campaign. The slogan produced roughly the effect of a picket line: in a few months Negro clerical and sales help were more common.

The New York Urban League prevailed upon officials of government, unions, and private industry to widen the variety of jobs opened to Negroes. Simultaneously it urged Negroes to develop new talents and skills, and it has never relaxed its campaign.

In 1953 a spokesman for the powerful New York State Commission Against Discrimination said, "There is still not a job for every Negro, but more doors have been opened than there are Negroes qualified to enter." For those who are qualified, and for countless others willing to qualify, these doors lead to gratifying successes.

Amie Associates, Inc., is a family enterprise begun

in 1944 by brothers William, Errol, and Cyril Jones. With \$1,600 and some electronics equipment, they hired a loft and solicited government contracts. By the end of World War II they had hired 75 technicians and grossed \$200,000 for the design and manufacture of electronics devices for the U.S. Navy and Signal Corps and for subcontracts from Bell Telephone and Western Electric. Now Amie Associates, Inc., is making equipment for the U.S. Army and Robinson Aviation, in addition to servicing television sets exclusively throughout



H. E. Jack, a resident of Harlem, was sworn into office as President of New York City's Borough of Manhattan, centre of metropolitan business and industry

the city.

In 1938 Jimmie Adams got a job as shipping clerk in a downtown camera store; in 1951 he became its manager. In 1954 Mr. Adams and two friends raised \$20,000 and opened Uptown Camera Exchange on 125th Street.

Roy Mills moved from a Yonkers dairy to portering for a sports-wear firm. Today he is its national distribution manager and also has a Harlem cleaning business.

Lou Borders arrived in New York City in 1931 with 30 cents. He pressed clothes, studied at night and became the fourth Negro to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. In 1937 his local elected him treasurer; in 1942, president. Five years ago he bought a failing Harlem haberdashery business which is now worth \$150,000.

Harlem women, too, are forging ahead as dramati-

cally as the men. Barbara Watson, daughter of a municipal court judge, heads a downtown New York agency of nearly 200 Negro models, serving accounts for nationally advertised products.



Alex Haley, a well-known writer, started his writing career with articles published in the U.S. Armed Services Publications

Photo: U. S. Coast Guard

Louise Varona, a Hunter College graduate, took over her father's restaurant supply house when he went into bankruptcy. She resumed business with a very small amount of capital, paid off creditors and today has seven employees and two trucks, with customers in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan. Last year her firm grossed \$140,000.

Olivia Stanford, an executive of the Young Women's Christian Association, and Rose Morgan, a hair stylist, in 1943 pooled \$7,000 savings. They leased a five-story Harlem brownstone house, and after four months of renovation and publicity put "Rose-Meta, House of Beauty" into a successful business. Today there is a second, larger salon, with branches in Brooklyn and Long Island. A total of 302 "Rose-Meta" personnel earn from \$55 to \$200 weekly.

Two blocks west of "Rose-Meta" is the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association, an enterprise that many residents of the community view with a proud and proprietary air.

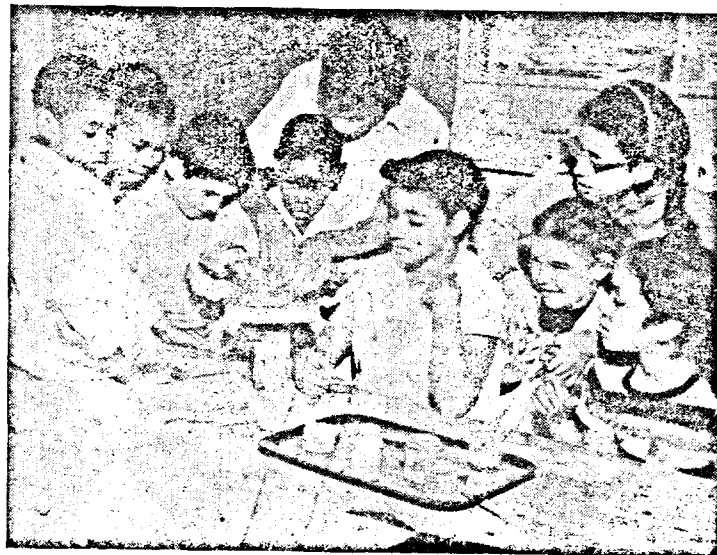
At the end of World War II, a group of Harlem business and professional people set out to establish the first Negro bank in New York State. For several years they visited homes, churches and civic assemblies, explaining the project and what it would mean for Harlem. Then they solicited pledges of deposit. Within three months after the bank opened in 1948, its tellers took in \$200,000.

In December 1953, the Carver bank marked its fifth anniversary, with savings accounts totaling \$3,000,000 and distributed \$200,000 in Yule Club checks, double the amount of 1952.

A special 1953 survey reveals that 8 percent of Harlem families have incomes about \$5,000 a year; 24 percent of American families in general earn this much. In Harlem 15 percent earn \$1,500 or less, about paralleling the national average. More than 60 percent of Harlem families have reached the \$2,000-to-\$5,000 level; nationwide, only 48 percent are in this bracket.

Harlem's appalling housing conditions have been shouted about in sensational exposes. During World War II one of Harlem's blocks was found actually accommodating 3,781 people. At this density the population of the United States could live in one-half the acreage of Greater New York City.

Slowly, however, the situation was improving. Since Harlem River Houses project was completed in 1937, a total of eight federal, state, and city projects have been occupied or are under construction. Altogether they represent 12,859 apartments. Riverton, Metropolitan Life



Manhattan Ville Neighborhood Centre, Inc. is one of the largest corrective agencies in a multi-racial area of the Harlem section of New York City

Photo: Manhattanville Neighbourhood Centre, Inc.

Insurance Company's private development, raised the number to 14,127.

At this writing, private investors have city authorization and Federal Housing Authority aid to clear 24 slum acres and build two housing projects, "Harlem" and "North Harlem," to contain approximately 1,100 apartments each. These will cost nearly \$30,000,000 and will raise to more than 14,000 the number of Harlem families able to move into new homes in the space of 20 years.

It is safe to forecast that many of the social corruptions which plague Harlem will dwindle with its congestion, which tends to nurture them. Gangs, delinquency, and addiction already are under the steady attack of a wealth of guidance and corrective agencies.

Exemplary among these, and one of the largest, is Manhattanville Neighborhood Center, Inc., which functions in a teeming, multiracial area of West Harlem. (Of the 436,000 people in Harlem, 61,000 are non-Negroes.) In the center headquarters, 51 professional and student social workers conduct adult and youth forums, supervise athletics and recreation, and teach arts, crafts, and dramatics. About 10,000 families are in the area served by this agency, whose chairman of the board of directors is Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, noted clergyman and author.

Public schools continue the pattern of progress for Harlem, whose ratio of slum backgrounds is only one of many staggering problems. Public School No. 133, for instance, serves an area of so many pupils that classes must be held in shifts. Yet it manages the distinction of being among the top five elementary schools in the

city. (Relief is in sight: the New York City capital budget for 1954 provides for the building of a new school six blocks away at a total estimated cost of \$2,730,000.) Over-all, more Harlem youths are enrolled in high schools throughout the city than at any point in history, and 10 times as many as 1940 are in college.

Harlem now contains nearly 400 churches, including missions, whose total replacement value has been estimated at \$21,000,000. Their role remains the same—a bedrock and potentially progressive force. Commented a young attorney: "Once our churches prepared you to die; now, they help you to live."

Julius J. Adams is the executive editor of Harlem's oldest newspaper, the *New York Age*. "Man for man, as a community, we are ready to be compared with other communities," he said. "What we need is a crusade of public relations. Harlem's biggest trouble now is that in too many minds the Negro remains a stereotype."

But minds are changing, fast. On New Year's Day 1954, Hulan Edwin Jack, a Harlem Negro, was sworn into office as president of New York City's Borough of Manhattan—the center of metropolitan business and industry, the richest island in the world. In a cornucopia of races, where Negroes are outnumbered five to one, this man, who already had risen from stock boy to vice-president of a manufacturing firm, was elected with the votes of 215,000 of his fellow citizens.

It happened in New York City, in America, in 50 years.—From *The Christian Science Monitor and the Reader's Digest*.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BHAJA RELIEFS

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,

Asst. Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

THE ancient cave-monastery of Bhaja lies to the south of Bombay amidst the hills of the Western Ghats. The *vihara*, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery, is a very old one, and its chronology may be assigned with due precision to the early epoch of the Sunga period. The stone-reliefs at the entrance of the cave depict with extraordinary grace and charm the scenes of Hindu mythology bearing undisguised impress of the Vedic conception and imagination. Among the scenes and figures two large compositions are highly remarkable. One shows (Fig. 1) the sun-god Surya driving his celestial chariot in the sky as usual with his two consorts on two sides. He is trampling under his chariot-wheels a demon of awful proportions, which possibly represents nothing else than the mass of nocturnal darkness. The scene is remarkably aristocratic and the figures of the sun-god and his associates are drawn with a godly grace. Although, the technique closely follows the lines of the Bharhut railings, still the sculpture is distinct with a definite sublime and classical approach. Another relief-work of Bhaja (Fig. 2)

depicts the aerial journey of Indra, the king of gods riding on his favourite elephant *Airavata* accompanied at the back by a flag-bearer. The celestial elephant is depicted with an unparalleled grace and movement. The comparatively tiny figures below the elephant render unusual emphasis to the celestial and massive nature of the elephant and its riders. At the first look at the two scenes of Surya and Indra one is sure to comprehend that the ulterior motive of the artist was to reveal on cold stone not any royal or princely pageant of this mortal earth, but some superbly animated scenes of the high firmament. Unlike the aim of the sculptors of Bharhut which insists on accommodating the interesting and inspiring episodes of the lives of the enlightened Bodhisattvas amidst flowers and foliage on railings of stone, the chief aim of the artist is clearly to represent in some tangible form this heavenly glory and grandeur.

There is a natural difficulty in comprehending the true significance and meaning of these two sculptural depictions of the Bhaja cave. As the cave-monastery was most probably Buddhist, it is apparently strange

to mark the association of Hindu icons with it. Benjamin Rowland advances his opinion in the following lines:

"It might at first seem difficult to explain the presence of these Vedic titans in a Buddhist sanctuary. Actually, they are here, not in *propria persona*, but as symbols of the Buddha who has assimilated their powers. Surya and Indra are allegories of Sakyamuni, as Orpheus in early Christianity is an allegory of Christ. Surya is there to designate the Buddha as the sun and spiritual ruler of the universe, or Buddha as the sun that illuminates the darkness of the world. Indra, the chief of the Vedic gods, is here to designate the temporal power that the Buddha wields to maintain the stability of the universe."¹

But, here it is difficult to accept the view of the learned scholar on the ground that this type of symbolisation as well as regular deification of Buddha is improbable in the pre-Kushan days. Apart from this, if there was any such intention of the artist he could have easily taken recourse to the depicting of the *Jataka* stories as it had been so well done at Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodhi-Gaya in more or less contemporary periods. Coomaraswamy is also eager to explain the presence of Hindu motifs in the Buddhist sanctuary of Bhaja. He observes that

"This is rather a sample of non-Buddhist art which the Buddhists had to adapt to their own edifying ends; and it reminds us that much have been going on outside the limited range of Buddhist art properly so called."²

The scenes of Bhaja may, however, be explained after a study of the Rock Edict IV of Priyadarsi Asoka. In one place of the edict it has been stated as such:

"But now in consequence of the practice of

morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people presentations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures."

(*Ta aja devanampriyasa piyadasino rano dhamacaranena bherighoso aho dhamoghoso vimana-darsana ca agikhamdhani ca anani ca divyani rupani dasayipta janam, etc.*)³

The inscription makes it clear that Asoka in order to elevate the minds of his subjects, exhibited representations of celestial *vimanas*, elephants and figures, although we are not sure as to whether they were shown in actual processions or through sculptural decorations only. The term *agikhamdhani* is more likely to mean something like "radiant beings of another world," as it has been suggested by some eminent scholars, than simply "masses of fire."⁴ The practice of showing *vimanas*, *hastis*, etc., possibly constituted the curriculum of the pious kings of the Maurya and Sunga ages. From this perspective the Bhaja reliefs may be easily explained as to have been motivated for the propagation of religious ideas. Surya with his eternal resplendence and Indra with his celestial lightning are both *vaimanika Devas* and their ethereal characters have a natural enthralling effect. Again, *Airavata*, the vehicle of Indra, was *Eravana* of the Buddhists, which being the vehicle of Sakra with his thirty-three heads was symbolical of the heaven of the thirty-three gods. In short, the very terms *vimana*, *hasti*, *agikhamda* and *divyarupa* wonderfully harmonise with the stone depictions of Bhaja.

3. Vide Hultzsch: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7.

4. Hultzsch: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1913, p. 652. *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 7, footnote.

B. M. Barua: *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Pt. II, pp. 250-52.

1. *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 59.
2. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 27.

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Born 1902 Ramendranath Chakravorty Died July 6, 1955
Principal, Government School of Art and Craft, Calcutta

FIRST NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART A Review

By KAUNDINYA

THE Hon'ble President Dr. Rajendra Prasad opened on the 21st March last, at the Jaipur House, New Delhi, the First National Exhibition of Art, organised by the Lalita Kala Akadami. The show consists of 249 items, judge this "first" National effort by the highest standard of criticism and appraisal. And judged by such a standard, this national show has failed to hit the target and has failed miserably. India is producing in



Offering to goddess.
By V. A. Mali

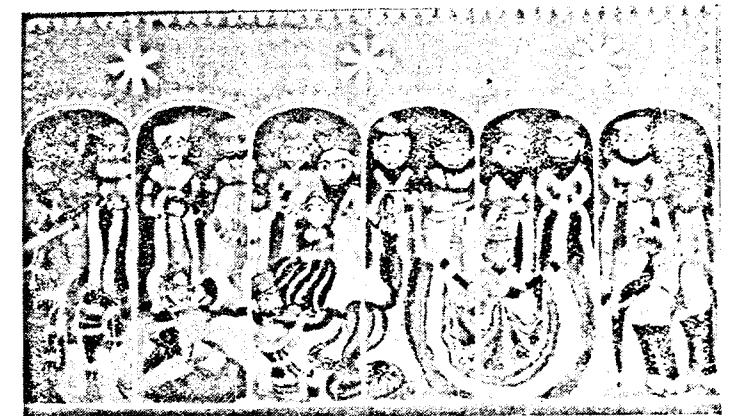


Sleepless night
By M. B. Samant

of which about thirty pieces are specimens of sculpture, and about 40 cover examples of black and white works, etchings, wood-block prints and lithographs. The Selection and Judging Committees consisted of Dr. R. V. Layden, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, G. Venkatachalam, Prof. Bishnu Dey and Sri Rai Krishnadas—none of them artists or art-practitioners, and they have come in for severe criticism in some of the Press Reviews, one of which put a pertinent query: "How is it possible that with so much of the better stuff of today, the selectors could admit a proportion of what only politeness prevents us from calling downright rubbish? There must be about 50 or 60 works in this show of 250 that do not deserve to be hung in any serious show: some of the works are infantile, some amateurish, some sentimental outpourings of second-hand feelings, imitative and based on no inspiration at all." These are hard words, indeed; but unfortunately too true. Arranged under the best auspices, liberally patronized by the Government, and supposed to be supported and nourished by the "best art-experts," one is entitled to

the different art-centres today much better works, which the Lalita Kala Akadami has failed or neglected to collect.

The most outstanding feature of the show is that it is dominated by pictures painted in the most spurious,



Puppet play from Rajasthan
By E. Brunner

servile, imitative modernistic matters, which number about 75% of the total items. This is also obvious in the room devoted to Sculpture, where not one of the exhibits could remind one that India has a sculptural

heritage covering 6000 years. No National Art could progress by totally repudiating its own heritage, its own traditions. And one is reminded of the admonition



Musician in the night
By R. D. Raval



Coconut-seller
By Bhabesh Sanyal

given by a distinguished French sculptor to Chintamani Kar: "Go back to India, we have nothing to teach you in sculpture". Yet this section of the show is full

of imitations of Henri Lawrens, Albert Moore, Archipenko and all other famous moderns of Europe. Could not one Devi Roychowdury be included to redeem this orgy of foreignism? Yet there are several distinguished pieces, e.g., Indumati Laghate's *Head of a Negro*, Chintamani Kar's *Dryad*, S. Chowdhury's *Mother Magnolia*, and a few others in spite of their deliberately un-Indian aims. On the whole, Girish Bhatt's *Toilet* has earned the prize, though Gajjar's *Fisher Woman* was equally good.

The pictorial items are the most provocative and challenge criticism on account of their aggressive "modernism" and their cult of ugliness and frightfulness, which is a negation of all recognized canons of beauty, as understood by ordinary mortals. In Europe, about the close of the 18th century, the spirit of man ceased to express itself in direct and original modes, leading to a series of revivals of style—the neo-Gothic,



Destiny
By Miss S. S. Anandkar

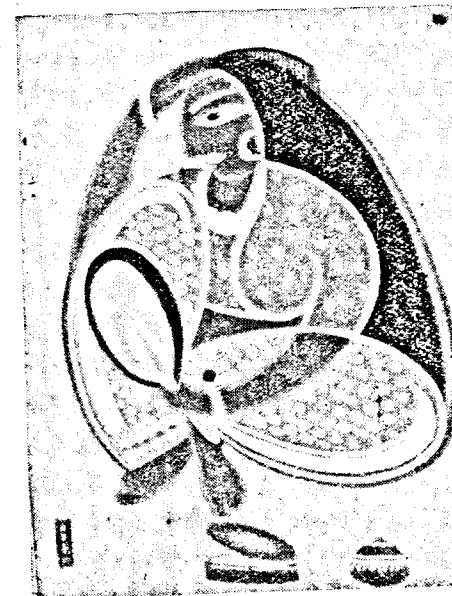
the neo-classic, the debased and barren eclecticism—ending in a general bankruptcy of the academic tradition, revealed at the end of the 19th century. This was followed by the Rebels of Modern Art, who set their back against all that has happened in the past with a search for a genetic concept of Art in the path of empirical methods, leading to eliminations and abstractions, which repudiated all forms of naturalism, similitudes or accuracy or scientific representation. But what was a logical sequence to art-history in Europe is a foolish irrelevance in India, where the current had never dried up nor ended in academic sterility. The modern Cubistic Art has been aptly contrasted with the old Cubistic Art (such as Celtic Art) of Europe. While the masterpieces of Celtic Art were produced spontaneously in response to some spiritual impulse shared by the community, its counterpart today is self-conscious, prompted by intellect, only appreciated by the intellect, with no appeal to the emotions. As Herbert Read has pointed out:

"There is no doubt that the modern artist, feeling himself no longer in any vital contact with

This eminent critic has omitted to point out that the majority of the Moderns of Europe have nothing to communicate to his fellow-beings. This is the tragedy

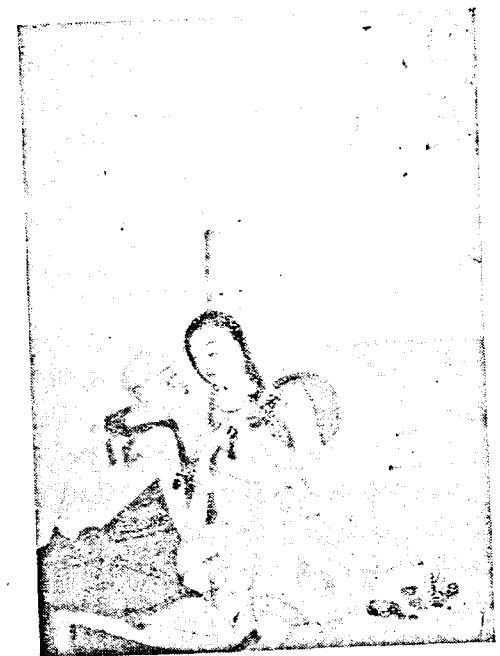


Danuja-Dalini
By D. Bose



Toilet
By Ajit Gupta

society, performing no necessary or positive function in the life of the community, retreats upon himself and gives expression to his own states of subjectivity, limiting himself to this expression, and not caring whether expression is also communication."



Farewell of Nityananda
By Kshitiz Mazumdar

which a group of Indian artists is attempting to transplant to India for no socialistic, philosophic or aesthetic reasons. But if some of our artists are on the mad race of servile imitations of all forms of "isms," that is no reason why unnecessary and wholly un-called-for emphasis should have been given on these slavishly imita-



Cheetah hunt
By K. Sreenivasulu

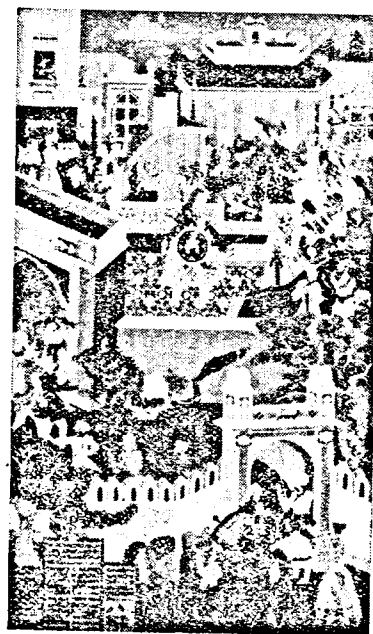
tive works on the walls of our National Gallery of Modern Art. An apology for this exaggerated emphasis on modernistic horrors is sought to be offered by including several examples of other "schools" of modern

Indian works—including several of the imitative, representative, and academic brands. But unfortunately they fail to balance the cargo. Even some of the "traditional" label, such as those by Khitin Mazumdar, Kripal Singh and Prosanto Roy do not count. A few items in the "primitive" and the "folk" manner are indeed pleasing drinks in this arid deserts of Abstractions and Cubistic puzzles. It is doubtful if any sober worshipper of beauty would support the Government's purchase of Hussain's *Zameen*—the winner of the first prize. Yet there are many bright patches in this puzzling show of

items of Graphic Art, somewhat badly hung is the strongest feature of the show with many works of great merit, of which *Sweet Morning* by Kalyani Chakravarty, *Love* by A. Kalam and Haren Das's *End of the Toil* are outstanding highlights. The outstanding question which the Delhi display provokes is what language these perverse moderns of India are attempting to use? Is it a language which the average man or even the educated man can hope to understand? Has India no language of form and colour of her own, after four milleniums of art-history? Have the so-called progressives attempted to learn the A.B.C. of Indian plastic art? The educated



Green Room
By K. Sreenivasulu



Marriage of Rajji Rathore
By Kripal Singh Sekhawati

pessimistic compositions, such as Pannikar's *Mother and Child*, *Girl Reading* by R. Balaraman in spite of its Van Gogh manners. Hebbbar's *The Thonn*, in spite of its superficial modernistic technique, pays a tribute to a fundamentally Indian motif. Anand Kar's *Destiny* is a creditable attempt to worship at the shrine of really Indian ideals. K. Sreenivasulu's *Green Room* is another obeisance to Asiatic traditions, reminding as it does, of the rich effects of emphatic lines and the mazes of Japanese colour-print designs. There are several good landscapes of the sober normal without any abstractions or distortions, of which Bimal Gupta's *Fishing* and *After Rain* deserve special mention. There are several good portraits, two of outstanding merit—Palsikar's *Miss Padma*, and Elizabeth Brunne's *Dr. Radhakrishnan*. An excellent study in genre of *Coconut-seller*, *Mahabalipuram* by Bhabesh Sanyal is a distinguished work recording a type in an enduring vision. The

Indian, steeped in irreligion and atheism, may have repudiated the traditional poetry of Tulasidas, Kabir, and Mira Bai. But have they abjured the language, in which these great sages and seers expressed themselves? When the English language is sought to be banned by declaring the language of Tulasidas as the future medium of communication in the Indian Union, can our artists insist in using a so-called medium of an International Esperanto by ignoring and repudiating the vernacular language of Indian Art? A cynic, a friend of ours of trained vision in Art, with liberal sympathies for all forms of art, drew this reviewer's attention to the 'Indian Civil Service'—which we repeated was not *Indian*, not *civil* and not *service* by any manner or means. He pointed out that on this old analogy, the present Delhi Show is not *Indian*, nor *National*, and much of it could not be labelled as *Art*, even by stretching its connotation to breaking points.

ABANINDRANATH AND HIS ART

By MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

THOUGH Abanindranath is not amongst us* his spirit remains to inspire us with his beautiful art and ideas. He set us thinking anew of the good old tradition of Indian art by opening the vast vista of Indian culture to all the artists of India as well as to all art-lovers. It is known to all that the Bengal School of Painting or the Indian School of Painting founded by him did an immense service towards the cultural regeneration of India. The language of art formulated by him has been accepted all over India, and the art which first originated in Bengal became in no time a sort of *lingua franca* of Indian painting. Different provinces of India have different languages, different dresses and different manners but the language of their art is one. Once an exhibition of the art of the different provinces of India was held in London. An English art-critic was surprised to see the grand unity of art in a country which was divided into many provinces and languages. The first exhibition of modern Indian paintings in Europe was held in Paris as early as 1914 and its account was published in well-known French art journals such as *L'Art decoratif* (February, 1914) and *L'Illustration*. Abanindranath Tagore became famous in Europe in one day. Art-connoisseurs acclaimed him as a great artist.

When Abanindranath first appeared before the public with his incomparable art, India was sunk in imitative art, her creativeness had been lost, but the genius of Abanindranath showed a great possibility in the matter of creativeness and furtherance of art. The advent of his art synchronising with the national awakening in Bengal caught the imagination of the people. A group of young and talented art-students came into close contact with him, and these enthusiastic artists carried on with the new experiment of the master, from whom they had got a new outlook of art.

Now a few words about the life-story of the master. He was born on 7th August, 1871. He was the

great-grandson of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore and the third son of the late Gunendranath Tagore. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore was his uncle.

Something must be said about the eldest brother of the master, the late Gaganendranath Tagore, because in originality and experiments he was also a genius in the field of art. Unlike his youngest brother he was untutored and his art was his own creation. He took up art rather late in life. Though his art had a Japanese inclination he experimented with the modern ideologies of European art, such as Cubism. His art was not an imitation of Pablo Picasso and others. It was entirely



Bust of Abanindranath Tagore in the Government College of Art and Craft, Calcutta

his own. He Indianised the modern "isms" of Europe and created an Indian fairyland.

Abanindranath had his education in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. Afterwards he studied at home. He had art education under Signor Gilhardi, an Italian

* He died on 5th December, 1951.

artist of no mean repute. He learnt from him Life Drawing, Pastel and Oil Painting. He learnt Water Colour painting from Mr. Palmer, an English artist. The young artist had at that time no idea about the traditional Indian painting. Like the scion of a rich Zaminder family of Bengal as he was, he took to art more as a hobby than as a vocation. He endeavoured to be an artist in the European style. The young artist could not have imagined that soon a time would come when he would revolutionise the art of whole India.

It was a minor incident, or we may call it an accident, that changed the whole course of his artistic career. Young Abanindranath by chance came across an illuminated Indo-Persian manuscript in the library of Dwarkanath Tagore, and he was struck with wonder at its workmanship and fineness. An unforeseen realm of art flashed before his mind's eye. He thought he was taking a wrong course in his art and he resolved to paint in the Indian style. His first experiment in this new style was the Krishna-Leela series. He showed these pictures to his art-teacher, Mr. Palmer. The English artist was immensely pleased to see the work of his pupil, and told him that he had nothing more to teach him and henceforth he should work alone. Thus Abanindranath discovered his own path by mere chance. He was then twenty-three. Undaunted he marched on with his new experiment and techniques. It was a memorable day in the history of modern Indian art. The seed which the artist had sown in his younger days soon grew into a mighty tree known as the "Neo-Bengal School of Painting."

He collected masterpieces of Mughal and Rajput paintings and bronzes, which were studied by him assiduously. His collection of Indian art-works was of immense value, but it is a disgrace to the province that they all have gone to a mill-owner of Ahmedabad. Bengal has lost a great treasure. Such a fine collection of Indian art should have been kept here in a public museum.

We can see a little Japanese influence on his work. A batch of prominent Japanese artists who visited India, among whom Mr. Tai Kwan was well-known, resided in his house for some time as guests, and their technique enriched the master.

After ten years since he had worked out his new conception of Indian painting (i.e., the Krishnaleela series) Abanindranath became the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, where Mr. E. B. Havell was then the Principal. His first batch of students consisted of Nandalal Bose, Asitkumar Haldar and others. Thus a nucleus of art was formed under the able guidance of Abanindranath and Mr. Havell in the Calcutta Art School. Mr. Havell was a great devotee of Indian art, culture and philosophy. He did the pioneer work for the understanding and propagation of Indian art.

After he had retired from Vice-Principalship, Abanindranath was appointed as the Bageshwari Professor of Fine Arts in the Calcutta University. His lectures have been published in book-form. Abanindranath was not only an artist but was an art-critic of great importance. His other books on Indian art are *Bharatiya Shilpa*, *Alpona*, and *Artistic Anatomy*. He is a fine prose writer in Bengali. His children's books have a special place in the history of Bengali literature. With literary flavour he mixes an artist's imagination, thus his descriptions in words are but pictures in letters. His *Rajkahini* (Stories from Rajput History) is perhaps the most popular children's book. His reminiscences as embodied in *Jomsankor Dhare*, *Gharoa*, etc., are a treasure in literature. They are charming and fascinating in style.

There is not space enough to give a full description of his innumerable paintings which are well-known. Reproductions of some of his paintings have been published by the Visva-Bharati and the Calcutta Museum. Eminent art-critics have contributed on the various aspects of the art of the master in those two volumes.

I should say something about his technique. His works are generally in water-colour, but he has done a few pastel portraits and oil paintings. *The Passing of Shahjahan* and the *Exiled Yaksha* are done in oil on a wooden panel. The portrait of Rabindranath as a young man is in pastel. It is a fine realistic portrait-study of the poet. The personality and the expression of the poet has come out well. This portrait-study shows the artist at his best in European technique, and proves that he could have been a great portrait-painter had he chosen to stick to that.

Though the revival in Indian art has come through Abanindranath, the master as a painter cannot be termed "a revivalist." Sometimes his work is wrongly alluded to as reminding one of the Ajanta, the Mughal or the Rajput painting. His art was his own creation and he has given us a new technique and a new interpretation of art. If his art is analysed, different currents will be found in it. His main attachment was for Mughal painting but the other influences cannot be ignored. He adopted liberally the British and the Japanese water-colour techniques. But it will be wrong to say that he only borrowed, he gave more than what he took. He accepted everything with a spirit of happy eclecticism. Thus he can be called an eclectic artist rather than an Indian painter.

His technique of wash in different colours has given a new possibility in water-colour painting. Such painting in water-colour was unknown in India, Japan or in Europe. With a broad flat brush a Japanese artist gives wash with water only. Taking this hint from the Japanese, Abanindranath introduced successive washes of different colours over the whole

surface of the picture. Gamboze wash was his favourite, he used emerald green and other colours too in wash. The colour-washes gave a mysterious tone, a homogeneousness and colour-harmony to the painting of Abanindranath, and thus they enhanced the beauty of the picture and added to the great delicacy and refinement of his drawing. Washes were given again and again until the desired effect was reached. Unlike Indian painting, the background of a picture of Abanindranath was multicoloured and it sometimes gave a Rembrandesque effect.

Another peculiarity of his technique was to dip the picture completely in water. First, the design was drawn with every detail finely in pencil from memory. He never used any model. Every picture of his was from imagination. Then the first layer of colour was put after which the picture was dipped in water. When water dried, a wash in colour with Japanese flat brush was given. These successive processes of colouring, dipping in water and washing went on. Shading, finishing, and drawing the outline with fine precision of course was carried on. The picture was finished in drawing the outline with a fine brush and touches were given here and there to relieve the colour. He was a colourist.

In ancient Indian painting, such as the Mughal

or the Rajput painting, dipping the pictures in water was not possible, because those pictures were done in tempera. All the colours would have come out had they been dipped in water. The colours in all Mughal and Rajput paintings are clearly, neatly and definitely laid out. Those colours do not overlap each other as they do in the paintings of Abanindranath. We find this process of dipping the picture in water among the British water-colour artists, particularly the great artist Turner was very fond of this process. For this reason, I think some of the pictures specially the East Bengal landscapes by Abanindranath bear a close resemblance to the work of Turner. Such pictures cannot be classified with the Ajanta, the Mughal or the Rajput painting. On the contrary, when I see the water-colour paintings by Turner, Abanindranath comes to my mind. The mellowness and the mystery of colour in Turner has certainly some resemblance to that of Abanindranath.

I hope I do not minimise the genius of Abanindranath by showing the various influences which he has undergone. This shows only his great power of adaptability and synthesis. Did not the Great Raphael undergo many influences? Did he not sit under the feet of many masters as Mr. Berenson the eminent art-critic tells us?

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EDMUND BURKE AND INDIA

By K. V. RAMAN, M.A.,

Research Scholar, Department of History, University of Madras

"Burke was one of the most human-hearted of our great men."—JOHN MACCUN
"If ever a single-minded and righteous anger burned in the breast of man it was in the case of Edmund Burke as he reflected on the wrongs and miseries of the natives of India. If a revolution took place in the whole spirit of the English Government it was due to the weight of that more generous public opinion which he did more to create than any one else before or since."—LORD MORLEY

It is one of those rare, happy and momentous historical accidents of history that Edmund Burke's active political career should have synchronised with the most formative epoch in the history of East India Company. The commercial company was fast metamorphosing into a territorial potentate. But this though a glorious period for the Company and its Servants, Directors and Proprietors was the most inglorious and cruel period for the Indian masses, for, as Cornwall Lewis said:

"No civilized Government existed on this face of earth which was more corrupt, more perfidious

and more rapacious than the British administration of India between 1765-1784."

But the Indian masses had neither the political consciousness nor the means to raise their voice of protest. Fortunately, they found in Edmund Burke their unelected but true and powerful representative who upheld the cause of India with all the resources of his mind and the brilliance of his eloquence. His

1. In the debate held in the House of Commons on the Bill which finally transferred the Government of India from the Company to the Crown.

severe criticism of Lord North's Regulating Act, his great service as a member of the Select Committee which investigated into the activities of the Company, his tireless efforts in exposing the faults of the Englishmen in India, his stout defence of Fox's India Bill which he believed would secure rice in the pot of every man in India,² and last but not the least his impeachment of Warren Hastings go to make him the 'father of the liberal tradition in India.'

But on that doughty defender of the down-trodden and the suppressed are heaped up all sorts of false motives by some English writers in order to cover up a historical fact, namely, the existence of the soulless administration of the British in India. They argue that his own need rather than India's motivated him to take an active interest. They say, that his thought towards India was turned only when his stock-jobbing operations failed. And lastly, Burke is said to have fallen a victim to Philip Francis's blackmailing tactics.

If these were the reasons that motivated one of the greatest statesmen of the times, one should get a poor opinion of British politics itself. On the other hand, it is not difficult to perceive that the motives attributed by these writers do not stand the test of actuality. But when one goes through Burke's epic speeches on the horrors of the misrule of the Company and its consequent effects on the Indian people one will inevitably come to the conclusion that humanitarian love, sympathy for the oppressed and hatred of tyranny, wherever they might be, rather than selfishness or cupidity, were the reasons that made Edmund Burke champion the cause of India. As Professor Harold Laski observed:

"There is nothing more noble attempt in Burke's career than to mitigate the evils of the Company rule in India. Research may show that he pressed his case too far; yet nothing has so far come to light to cast doubt upon the principles he there maintained."³

The fact that Burke was ready to resign from the Secretaryship when Rockingham mildly suspected him coupled with the fact that he flatly declined the East India Company's offer of a post and a pension go to show how Burke did not care for his personal profit or advancement.

But on the other hand, his strong criticism of the Company's misrule and support for the Indian people were fully in accord with his conviction and settled policy. As Morley said it was India itself that stood above all else in his mind. It had filled his mind and absorbed his time while Pitt was still

an undergraduate at Cambridge. And what kind of India did he have in his mind? It was the land of princes, once of great dignity and power, of an ancient and venerable priesthood, of a nobility of antiquity and renown . . . where might be founded almost all the religions of the world.⁴ Can there be a nobler service than his exhortation of his people and the power-drunk ministry to consider India not as a dark land of barbarous savages but as having a people "for ages civilized and cultivated—cultivated in the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods."⁵ When he realised that these 'venerable people' were subjected to a 'magnificent plan of universal plunder' and the land made 'a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue could adequately tell,' his passions were roused, his imagination fired and his power of eloquence kindled. Burke feelingly said:

"A ministry of another kind would have first improved the country . . . But they felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword and famine . . . their sympathies took another direction; they were touched with pity for bribery, for rapine and oppression."⁶

He even angrily addressed the members of the House of Commons thus:

"Figure to yourself the form and fashion of your sweet and cheerful country from Thames to Trent . . . emptied and embrowelled."⁷

These were not empty words coming from a power-drunk propagandist or a corrupt politician, but sincere words emanating from a deep sympathy with humanity, penetrating understanding and a courage of conviction. Burke pleaded for a better understanding of India. He insisted that the conquering race must abide by a moral law. According to him, England must be in India for India's benefit and not for her own. Thus he said:

"All these circumstances are not, I confess, very favourable to the idea of our attempting to govern India at all. But there we are: there we are placed by the Sovereign Disposer; and we must do the best we can in our situation. The situation of man is the preceptor of his duty."⁸

Professor Laski has rightly pointed out that there has never in any language been drawn a clearer picture of the dangers implicit in imperial adventure.⁹ Burke's was not a blind and uncritical my-country-

right-or-wrong patriotism. Thus when he saw "the cries of India being given to seas and winds to be blown about an unhearing Ocean"¹⁰ he did not hesitate to declare:

"I swear by this book that wrongs done to humanity in the Eastern world shall be avenged . . ."¹¹

What is this but the quintessence of humanitarianism and internationalism? Burke's race-consciousness embraced all mankind. His generosity transcended all barriers. In the words of Lord Morley, Burke had a veneration for all old and settled order, whether in the Free Parliament of Great Britain or in the ancient absolutism of Versailles, or in the secular pomp of Oude and the inviolable sanctity of Benares.¹²

Again, it is said that Burke's mind was poisoned by Philip Francis and that Burke's source of information was objectionable. This is as untrue as it is unbelievable. It would be more appropriate to say that the tortured mind of Philip Francis pictured to Burke the equally tortured minds of the Indian people groaning under 'tyranny sublimed into madness.' Philip Francis, it must be emphasised, was neither the first nor the only man who informed Burke about India. Burke had already met in a coffee club a run-away lad from Calcutta, Emin¹³ by name, who by opening his heart opened the eyes of Burke to the atrocities of the Company rule. From then on he devoted himself assiduously to a study of the conditions in India. He soon came to possess greater knowledge of Indian affairs than anyone else of his time. That knowledge, Lord Morley remarks, grows "from sedulous meditation of long years, directed by a powerful intellect and inspired by an interest in human well-being."¹⁴ Nobody was more conscious of it than Burke himself. He boasted, and justly too, that

"If I had asked for a reward, which I have never done, it would be for the sixteen years I laboured with the most assiduity and met with the least success—I mean in the affairs of India."¹⁵

Lastly, Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings for "high crimes and misdemeanour" which was at once the most spectacular achievement of Burke and the most valuable service he did to India (for that acted as a permanent source of fear for the succeeding Governors-General) is now regarded by some as a result of personal enmity between him and Warren Hastings. English writers like Dodwell and Roberts, wholly forgetting the heart-rending misdeeds of Hastings spend much time in debunking the character of Philip Francis and "his too—Burke." Thus a writer remarks that the investigation was not instituted to ascertain truth, but to fix criminality. According to Roberts, "there lies a false and histrionic glitter" on the whole episode.¹⁶ It is when they view Warren Hastings only from the point of view of the growth of the British Empire that these writers err. Nobody can deny that Hastings was one of the founders of the British Empire, but Burke looked at him and his actions from quite a different angle, from the point of view of the welfare of India. Thus he thundered:

"I impeach Warren Hastings in the name of the people of India whose country he has destroyed . . ."

Lord Morley observes:

"That Hastings was acquitted was immaterial. The lesson of his impeachment had been taught with sufficient force—the great lesson that the Asiatics have rights, the Europeans have obligations . . ."¹⁷

And he even goes further and calls Burke as the "first apostle and great upholder of integrity, mercy and honour in relation between his countrymen and their humble dependents."¹⁸

Edmund Burke's name has taken a permanent place in the annals of British Indian administration as having been responsible for starting a liberal tradition. It is no wonder that his speeches and writings along with those of John Stuart Mill became the fountain-head of inspiration for our freedom-fighters.

12. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, *op. cit.*

13. Speech in the House of Commons, 1784.

14. Edmund Burke—A Historical Study by Morley.

15. Vide Edmund Burke by R. H. Murray, pp. 63-65.

16. Morley, *op. cit.*

17. Quoted by Mr. Newman in his Edmund Burke.

18. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 131.

19. Morley, *op. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*

5. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, December 1, 1783.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, February, 1785.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, *op. cit.*

11. Laski, *op. cit.*

2. Burke's Speech on the East India Bill, December, 1783.

3. H. J. Laski: *Political Thoughts in England from Locke to Bentham*.

4. Rockingham afterwards confessed that his suspicion was unfounded.



THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

Member, Executive Committee, Indian Political Science Association

The declared purposes of the United Nations are, briefly, four: first, maintenance of international peace and security; secondly, development of friendly relations among nations; thirdly, international co-operation for the solution of international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and, fourthly, co-ordination of all international activities.

These purposes have been enumerated in Article 1, but will be found also in other parts of the United Nations Charter including the Preamble.

According to Goodrich and Hambro:

"It is difficult to think of a single matter within the sphere of international relations or affecting relations between states which cannot be brought within the scope of these comprehensive purposes".¹

Maintenance of international peace and security is rightly placed at the head of the list of the objectives of the United Nations, for without peace none of its other aims can be achieved. The United Nations is entitled to take all "appropriate measures to strengthen Universal peace,"² and so Universal peace between and within nations is within the scope of the United Nations. Prof. Hans Kelsen categorically says, "The purpose of the United Nations is world peace."³ For in the first place, a civil war, or any other situation within a state, may be interpreted by the competent organ of the United Nations as a threat to international peace, in which case intervention on the part of the organisation is not prohibited according to the express provision of Article 2(7) which lays down the principle of domestic jurisdiction of nations; secondly, the United Nations Organisation is required to ensure that even states which are not Members of the United Nations Act in accordance with the principles laid down in Article 2 of the Charter "so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security";⁴ and, thirdly, the preamble speaking of the determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" expressly refers to "mankind."

Peace in all parts of the world is thus the first concern of the United Nations Organisation. With a view to maintaining international peace and security the United Nations will not only (a) "take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace", but will also (b) "bring

about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."⁵

Evidently, prevention and removal of war and any other threat to the peace, suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and solution of international disputes and tensions are all more or less negative steps in the interest of peace. But "to strengthen universal peace" the United Nations is also entitled to take definitely positive steps like developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".⁶

It is obviously difficult to maintain peace and security in an atmosphere of suspicion, fear, resentment and jealousy. For removal of this difficulty it is essential that there should be a community of friendly nations through all possible means. The Charter refers to "the equal rights and self-determination of peoples" as a specific means for this purpose. This reference, however, does not involve a guarantee that the United Nations will alter the status quo in accordance with these ideas. The Charter of the United Nations seems to be very cautious in this connexion: it only enjoins that "respect" for these ideas should be the "basis" of friendly relations among peoples or nations.⁷

Peace and friendship among nations may be called the political purposes of the United Nations in view of their direct relation with the struggle for power among nations.

These political purposes, however, may not be effectively realised unless there be some conditions of stability and well-being among nations.⁸ This brings us at once to the economic, social and other purposes of the United Nations. Of course, these non-political purposes are not necessarily ancillary to the political purposes of the United Nations. Aims like greater economic stability, wider prosperity, more complete social justice, higher educational standard, relief against distress, human rights and fundamental freedoms may be pursued independently of all other purposes. But the interrelation between the political and non-political objectives of the United Nations, as of any other association, is too patent to be ignored.

A significant thing about the non-political purposes of the United Nations is that they speak specifically of

human rights and fundamental freedoms. Before the First World War, very little was said about them. But during the period between the two World Wars there had been wide and far-reaching attacks upon even some basic rights and freedoms of human beings on grounds of race, sex, language or religion. As a result there developed some sort of a world public opinion which condemned all such attacks. Discerning thinkers began to see that some of the tensions among nations were basically due to the discrimination practised by certain Governments against racial, religious, social and political groups. This led to an agitation for the international protection of human rights and freedoms and ultimately clauses regarding these rights and freedoms were placed in various parts of the Charter itself. But what are these human rights and fundamental freedoms? Generally, they seem to mean "those minimum rights of the individual which at any stage of civilisation are deemed to be inseparable attributes of the human person."⁹ They are by no means confined to the "four essential human freedoms" listed by President Roosevelt in his message to the Congress on January 6, 1941: (a) "freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world"; (b) "freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world"; (c) "freedom from want—everywhere in the world"; and (d) "freedom from fear—anywhere in the world." Nor can it be said that they are exhaustively defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948 with the affirmative support of no less than 48 States. In any case, there is no unanimity of views regarding either definition of these rights and freedoms or their enumeration.

Just as the reference to "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" does not amount to a guarantee that the United Nations will alter the status quo in accordance with this principle, so also the reference to the human rights and fundamental freedoms does not involve a guarantee that the United Nations must enforce the undisturbed enjoyment of these rights and freedoms. The Charter of the United Nations requires the Organisation only to "promote" and "encourage" universal respect for and observance of "human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."¹⁰ The United Nations can do this by undertaking a study of these rights and freedoms in different countries, by attempting to find what may be called an L.C.M. of these rights and freedoms in them and by persuading them to adopt suitable international conventions in this connexion. As Bentwich and Martin say:

"To promote" is a word less powerful than 'to maintain,' the term which defines the Organisation's authority in matters of peace and security. So that the Organisation should be able to maintain peace,

Member States have agreed to serious inroads on national sovereignty, such as the delegation of executive powers to the Security Council and the renunciation of neutrality. No comparable concessions are made in the economic and social fields."¹¹

However, it need not be supposed that because such concessions have not been made by the members of the United Nations in respect of its non-political activities, the achievements of the Organisation are likely to be necessarily less in these spheres than in others. Far from it. As a matter of fact, the non-political purposes of the United Nations are developed and emphasised in different parts of the Charter of the United Nations; and elaborate bodies like the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Specialised Agencies, Committees and Commissions and even non-governmental organisations have been working in these fields with lesser friction and greater success than the Organisation as a whole in respect of its political purposes.

It is, of course, not possible to make a clear-cut distinction between the political and non-political purposes of the United Nations. Those purposes of the United Nations which tend to restrain the struggle for power among nations have been called political and the rest non-political. Lurking behind many economic, social, cultural and educational matters, and even matters of health, there are often factors which are used by nations to develop their prestige and power.

The fourth purpose of the United Nations is co-ordination of international activities and is administrative in nature. It is, of course, not expected that all international activities in the political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian affairs will flow through the United Nations. This is neither possible nor desirable. For, the world we live in is still more a multiverse than a universe. All that is intended is that the United Nations should be a forum for discussion and a clearing house for information in most international affairs. The Charter, therefore, cautiously speaks of the United Nations being only "a centre," and not "the centre" for harmonizing the activities of nations in the attainment of the common ends.

Of all the ends of the United Nations the political ends are the most important; and their priority has been recognised even in the drafting of the Charter. While international peace and security must be maintained by the United Nations, the Organisation is only expected to make "respect" for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples the basis of friendly international life; and "respect" for human rights and for fundamental freedoms and their observance are only to be "promoted" and "encouraged." The very order of statement of the purposes of the United Nations, peace and security coming first, friendship among nations second, and others later is an

1. Goodrich and Hambro: *Charter of the United Nations*, p. 22.

2. U. N. Charter, Art. 1 (2).

3. *Law of the United Nations*, p. 19.

4. U. N. Charter, Art. 2 (6).

5. U. N. Charter, Art. 1 (1).

6. *Ibid.*, Art. 1 (2).

7. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 7.

8. U. N. Charter, Art. 55.

9. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 8.

10. Arts 1(3), 55.

11. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 117.

indirect emphasis on the political purposes of the United Nations. Indeed, in case of a threat to the peace, an act of aggression or any breach of the peace the first concern of the United Nations is not to enquire whether the status quo was in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. Its first move is for the suppression of all forms of breaches of the peace, and then "bring about by peaceful means," and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations.¹² The ancillary nature of the non-political purposes is also evident from Article 55 which states that various social, economic, and humanitarian acts to be undertaken by the United Nations "with a view to the creation of the conditions of stability and well-being are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." Under Article 73 the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories is accepted as a sacred trust only "within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter." The first purpose of the trusteeship system is to further international peace and security,¹³ and Article 84 also requires that "It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security." Again, under Article 2 (7), the United Nations acquires the right of intervention in the domestic affairs of a nation only when the Security Council takes enforcement measures for meeting threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. Under Article 25, the Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter. But Article 56 only requires that all Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organisation for the achievement of the purposes in the non-political sphere; and this Article has been interpreted as having reduced the responsibility of Members in respect of socio-economic activities of the United Nations only "to giving separately or jointly, such support, as they think fit."¹⁴ Finally, a state can qualify for being a member of the United Nations by being first of all, "peace-loving" and may be expelled or suspended from membership of the United Nations for any contrary act in this connexion.¹⁵ But no similar emphasis is placed on the non-political aspects of the life of a nation in connexion with the recruitment of members for the United Nations or their suspension or expulsion.

Professor Hans Kelsen has pointed out a number of defects in respect of the wording of the provisions

in the Charter in relation to the purposes of the United Nations.¹⁶ (1) As there is little difference between "peace" and "security," the addition of the word "and security" may be treated as rather superfluous. (2) In case of a breach of the peace, the purpose of the United Nations cannot be to "maintain" it but to "restore" it, a terminological distinction which is made in Articles 39 and 51, but not in the Preamble and Chapter I. (3) It is difficult to understand why there should be "prevention and removal of threats to the peace," but only "suppression," and not "prevention" of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace. (4) It is not only that "acts of aggression" have not been defined in the Charter used in association with the phrase "breaches of the peace," it seems to be even superfluous. (5) In Article I "breaches of the peace" has been treated as a wider concept including that of "act of aggression," for the wording here is "acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace." But in Article 39, where the wording is "the breach of the peace or act of aggression," the concept has been treated in a different way.

(6) If "effective collective measures" in Article I means enforcement measures determined by Articles 41 to 50, a threat to the peace cannot be "prevented" by such action, but only "removed," for under Article 39 such action is to be taken only if such a threat actually "existed." (7) The Preamble of the Charter uses a long phrase, "obligation arising from treaties and other sources of international law," which could be far more briefly expressed by two words, "international obligations." (8) Particular stress in the Preamble on the respect for treaty obligation is problematical when Article 14 authorises the General Assembly to recommend measures, including revision of treaties, for the peaceful adjustment of any situation. (9) It is evidently a purpose of the United Nations to secure international co-operation in political and other affairs. But what is "international co-operation in the political field" as stated in Article 13, Paragraph I (a)? The term "international" here might be regarded as superfluous, for by a treaty only international co-operation of states can be established. States may co-operate in the field of international as well as in the field of national politics. But it seems the authors of the Charter do not intend to treat co-operation in the field of national politics as 'political' co-operation. This explains the formula "co-operation in the political field" as used in Article 13 (i) (a) in contradistinction to "co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields" in clause (b). In the interest of clarity of thought the phrase "international co-operation in the political field" should have been replaced by such a simpler phrase as "co-operation in international politics."

(10) The Preamble of the Charter states that an 'end' of the United Nations is "to promote social pro-

gress and better standard of living in larger freedom" and a 'means' to this end is "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." But the 'end' and 'means' seem to be more or less identical. (11) Article 1 (3) states that a purpose of the United Nations is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character." But Articles 13 and 55 authorise the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in certain fields which may be both national and international.¹⁷ (12) After having specifically stated in Article 1(3) that the United Nations has a 'humanitarian' purpose, why the same purpose is not specifically mentioned in Article 13(1)b? (13) Educational and health fields are specifically mentioned in Article 13(1)b, but why not in Article 1(3)? (14) The term 'educational' in Article 13(1)b might be treated as superfluous, for the matter seems to be covered by the term cultural in the same Article. (15) Article 55 states that the United Nations shall promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms." But why was the word 'observance' omitted in Article 1(3)? (16) In Article 1(3) "human rights" were treated as matters for international co-operation. But in Article 13(1)b the function of the Organisation with respect to human rights is not specifically characterised as comprised in the function of promoting economic and social co-operation. (17) 'Progress' implies 'development' and, as such, is redundant in the phrase "social progress and development" in Article 55(a). (18) What is meant by the phrase "larger freedom" in the Preamble? Does it imply the political freedom of democracy or only the economic freedom in the sense of liberalism? (19) Article 55(b) makes a distinction between promoting "solution of international economic, social, health and related problems" and promoting "international, cultural and educational co-operation." But surely solution of the problems referred to implies international co-operation, and international co-operation in the sphere suggested also implies solution of problems in that sphere. (20) Article 62 defining the functions of the Economic and Social Council is superfluous, for Article 60 has already stipulated that all the functions set forth in Chapter IX shall be performed by the Economic and Social Council. (21) Why does Article 62 make specific mention of the functions stated in 55(b) and 55(c) but not of that stated in 55(a)? (22) Why is the phrase "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" carefully maintained in Articles 1, 13 and 55, but dropped in Article 62? (23) The Preamble speaks of "fundamental human rights." There is no reason why the same idea should be covered in other parts of the Charter by the phrase "human rights

and fundamental freedoms." (24) The formula "human rights and fundamental freedoms," may be treated as incorrect, for freedoms are nothing but rights. (25) The Preamble proclaimed the principle of making no distinction as to sex. But why did it not speak also of the principle of making no distinction as to race, language or religion, a principle which has been established in later Articles? (26) Why "the dignity and worth of the human person" and "to practise tolerance" are mentioned only in the Preamble but not in other parts of the Charter? (27) It may be pointed out that the obligation stated in Article 2 (3) is not exactly in harmony with the corresponding function of the United Nations under Article 1 (1). As it is, Members are obliged to settle their disputes only, but the Organisation is also required to adjust situations which do not assume the character of a dispute. Besides, Article 2 (3) requires only that justice should not be endangered; but Article 1 (1) also requires that there should be, moreover, conformity to international law. (28) To speak of maintenance of justice and at the same time of respect for law is problematical. Either law is identical with justice or not. In the former case one of the terms is superfluous. And in the latter case, the question arises whether in case of conflict, the one or the other shall be maintained. But the Charter gives no answer to this question.

These and other similar defects in the statement of the purposes are not very important and might even be ignored as being almost natural in any document drawn up by different persons. But the purposes, as stated in the Charter, may be subjected to more serious criticisms.

In the first place, the United Nations is more concerned with peaceful status quo than with peaceful change. The emphasis on the political purposes of the United Nations, specially on the Organisation's role as a machinery for international peace and security, is unmistakable. In a sense, this is even justifiable on the ground that order comes before the law and that the United Nations, like any national state, must first act as a policeman, before it can act as an arbitrator. But there is a danger—and the danger was noted even at San Francisco—that this rigid attitude toward moral and legal foundation of peace might lead to unjustifiable settlement of the Munich type.¹⁸ In a dynamic world society like ours a greater emphasis should be placed on the necessity, methods and techniques of peaceful change on the maintenance of the existing status quo for the sake of peace only.

In the second place, though the Charter speaks of strengthening "Universal peace," the United Nations as an Organisation is not authorised to have anything to do directly with the problem of national peace. The primary objective of the United Nations is international

12. United Nations Charter, Art 1(1).

13. *Ibid.*, Art. 76.

14. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 118.

15. United Nations Charter, Arts 4, 5, & 6.

16. *Law of the United Nations*, Chaps. 2 & 3.

17. Kelsen: *Law of the United Nations*, p. 23.

18. Bentwich & Martin, *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 66.

peace. National peace included in the idea of Universal peace is only its secondary objective. If peace in all its aspects was directly within the scope of the purpose of the United Nations, the Organisation could deal with a case like the Chinese revolution in 1949 which, when it occurred, was certainly a grave threat to the peace of a very wide area. As it is, the United Nations can deal only with international quarrels which, in some cases, at least, may be of a very minor importance as in the case of a dispute between, say, Uruguay and Paraguay. Thus some of the great problems of peace may be beyond the scope of the United Nations.

In the third place, even the problems of peace that are within the scope of the United Nations cannot be effectively dealt with by the United Nations. For in respect of international peace, the jurisdiction of the United Nations is not exclusive, but subject to the concurrent jurisdiction of the nations themselves. Nations have often played this role of peace-making by arming to the teeth, ostensibly for self-defence but actually in some cases for aggression. If international peace is to be an effective purpose of the United Nations, the authority of the Organisation must cut across the authority of the nation states in respect of peace, and have greater authority over nation states, making them subordinate, not co-ordinate, units of administration. The real weakness of the United Nations in this respect is seen in Articles 2(7) and 51 which speak of the vague principles of the domestic jurisdiction of the nations and their rights of self-defence.

In the fourth place, the purposes of the United Nations for maintaining peace and developing friendship among nations are backed up by some obligations on the part of the members of the United Nations. For instance, Members are required to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; they must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; and they cannot take shelter behind the principle of domestic jurisdiction when the Security Council takes enforcement measures for peace among nations.¹⁹ But there is an influential opinion maintaining that there is no corresponding obligation on the part of Members in respect of the non-political purposes of the United Nations. As Hans Kelsen says:

"... the Charter does not impose upon the Members a strict obligation to grant to their subjects the rights and freedoms mentioned in the preamble or in the text of the Charter. The language used by the Charter in this respect does not allow the interpretation that the Members are under legal obligations regarding the rights and freedoms of their subjects. All the formulas concerned establish

purposes or functions of the Organisation, not obligations of the Members, and the Organisation is not empowered by the Charter to impose upon the governments of the Member States the obligation to guarantee to their subjects the rights referred to in the Charter. The fact that the Charter, as a treaty, refers to a matter is in itself not a sufficient reason for the assumption that the Charter imposes obligations with respect to the matter upon the contracting parties."²⁰

Some, however, maintain a contrary view. According to a Philippine delegate, for instance:

"Signature of the Charter involved the observance of the principle that there should be no distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. This was one of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Any member could call upon another to account before any appropriate organ of the United Nations for alleged infringements of that obligation."²¹

According to a resolution adopted on April 25, 1949, Article 1 (3) of the Charter binds all Members to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and in Article 55 (c) the Members undertook to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948 also states that the Member States have pledged themselves to achieve in co-operation with the United Nations the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In any case, however, the obligation regarding human rights and fundamental freedoms will not be backed by the binding decisions of the Security Council unless issues relating to these rights and freedoms endanger or threaten international peace and security.

In the fifth place, it may also be maintained that the organizational structure of the United Nations and its authority also are not adequate to the great tasks with which it has been entrusted. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council can only recommend measures, but cannot make binding decisions. The decisions of the Security Council are, of course, binding. But it can be paralysed at any moment through the principle of Great Powers' unanimity or veto. Besides, any enforcement action to be taken by the Security Council is based on the principle of the collective responsibility of the state guilty of the threat to, or breach of, the peace, and not on the principle of individual responsibility which alone can make such enforcement action really effective. The International Court of Justice consists of the most highly qualified judges. But the Court has no compulsory jurisdiction, but only voluntary jurisdiction in respect of disputes between States.²² Nor do the

20. *Law of the United Nations*, p. 29.

21. Kelsen: *Law of the United Nations*, p. 30.

22. Statute of the International Court of Justice, Articles 36, 53 (2), 65-8. Charter of the United Nations, Articles 37, 95 and 96.

organs of the United Nations approach in any way the democratic principle of individual as the unit of representation so far as their structures are concerned.

Finally, it may be said that these defects stem from the basic fact that the world today is not yet adequately prepared for world loyalty and world institutions over and above national loyalties and national institutions. The vast majority of mankind consider their nation states as the highest units of allegiance, and they act more for national peace and national prosperity and less for international peace and international prosperity. It will be agreed that national peace and national prosperity cannot be adequately maintained and developed if parties or groups within the nation are treated as of higher importance than the nation itself. But it is not yet duly realised that narrow nationalism which thinks more of the nation and less of the world is a danger or threat to international peace and security. The result is that while politics in a nation are a struggle for power among groups and individuals under the guiding influence of an ideal, politics among nations are essentially a struggle for power without the guiding

influence of any powerful ideal. Thus, power is more important than morality in international affairs; and the nations and their leaders do not feel much scruple to take shelter behind all vague provisions in the United Nations Charter and other international documents. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, once said to a religious gathering:

"The United Nations stands outside—necessarily outside—all confessions, but it is nevertheless an instrument of faith. As such, it is inspired by what unites, and not what divides the great religions of the world."²³ True; but if this instrument is to be effective for international peace, this faith of the United Nations, i.e., loyalty to a world-wide cause must be stronger than the modern religion of nationalism. Basically, this requires that the flag of mankind must be planted on the great psychological Everest of narrow nationalism which during the last few centuries has given cover to all sorts of human vices in all critical moments of history.

23. *The Statesman*, August 23, 1954. Also, *The United Nations Review*, October 1954, p. 23.

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KANGRA VALLEY PAINTING

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

THE history of Indian painting, covering a long period of about five thousand years, comes to an end about the middle of the 19th century with the death of Molaram of Charwal, the last representative of the Hill Schools of Painting. Of the Hill Schools, the most brilliant representative was the short-lived School of the Kangra Valley, which reached its climax during the reign of Samsar Chand (1774-1823). This school, though a late development of the Hill School, has lent a valuable prestige to the last phase of the history of Indian painting through a series of amazing masterpieces, rich in their charming colour schemes, wonderful presentation of natural scenes and an enchanting gallery depicting the shy beauty of Indian women in diverse poses of love and devotion, and, above all, by their sublimated presentation of Krishna-lila heavily charged with a mystic devotion derived from the religion of the *Bhagavata*, popularized by a group of composers of love-lyrics in Hindi, of which Kesavdas, Beharilal and others were the stimulating inspiration for the masters of the Kangra School. Though first recorded by an early English traveller, Moorcroft (1800), the Kangra School was the brilliant discovery of Dr. Coomaraswamy, who first exhibited some specimens at the Allahabad Exhibition in 1910 and which he fully presented with a subjective and penetrating interpretation of their contents in his

epoch-making work *Rajput Painting* (2 Vols., Oxford 1916). The study and exposition of the beauty of Kangra masterpieces demonstrated the amazing vitality of Indian culture surviving in a living form even on the eve of the British conquest of India.

The highly aesthetic qualities of Kangra paintings, their flowing and rhythmic draughtsmanship, their attractive colour schemes and their charming techniques soon captivated the hearts of European and American connoisseurs, who ever since the publication of Coomaraswamy's monograph, have been acquiring and exporting out of India the rarest gems of the school, to the progressive impoverishment of the art-treasures of India, the nation being still unconscious of the great values of its spiritual heritage. Between the year 1916 and the following half a century, an enormous amount of the finest miniatures of this school have been exported out of India, the loss of which could not be covered by the acquisitions of a few private Indian collectors (Tagores, Ghosh, Treasurywalla, Ardesir and Sangram Singh). As things stand at present, the most outstanding masterpieces have found their ways into the European and American collections. The last great exodus was the transfer of the famous Manuk Collection of Patna to England. Even now the exodus of our art-treasures has not stopped, particularly, in respect of miniatures of our pictorial masterpieces.

Pious resolutions of the Government of India as regards acquisition and preservation of the surviving treasures of Indian painting in our National Galleries have not been practically implemented and the narrow and stingy rules of purchase are threatening the exodus of the few remaining masterpieces of pictorial art, now in the collection of private connoisseurs and collectors. Our nationalists with pretensions of higher education and culture are still impervious to the beauties of our old masterpieces and continue to neglect the study of their great artistic heritage. Equally perverse is the attitude of our modern exponents of art and the modern practitioners in India, who cultivate a pose of vanity and superiority complex, turning their backs on our old masters of painting and sculpture, pretending that they have nothing to learn from the Buddhist, Moghul, Rajput, and Gujarati Schools of painting, forgetting that their counterparts in Europe swear by and intensely study the old masters of European Schools, the Gothic, the Byzantine and the Italian Primitives, sometimes slavishly copying the manners and mannerisms of El Greco, Duccio and Margaritone.

Indian painting can never grow before modern artists and connoisseurs bend their knees before the old masters of India and assimilate all the lessons they have to teach to all our modern and future art-practitioners.

It is surprising to find what amount of earnest study and scientific research is being devoted by European scholars to the Hill Schools and the Kangra Valley paintings. The lead given by Coomaraswamy, half a century ago, has not been followed by any Indian connoisseurs (with the exception of Mehta and Mukandi Lal), but has been steadily followed by a group of foreign scholars, Goetz, Kramrisch, J. C. French, Basil Gray, William Archer, Irwin, and Tchoukine. It is therefore encouraging to find an Indian connoisseur taking up, in 1954, the serious study of the Kangra Valley School. Mr. M. S. Randhawa, I.C.S., the Development Officer of Chandigarh, has given us a new study of this school, generously patronized by the Information Division of the Government of India. The great merit of this book is the presentation of 40 examples in full-colour facsimiles (mostly unpublished before) at a very cheap price. The author has been able to tap many private collections in the Punjab and brought forward many new data for the study of this fascinating branch of Indian painting. Except that coarse-grain screens have been used by the Times Press, Bombay, the reproductions have on the whole given a correct colour translation of the originals. If finer screens were used, the strength and delicacy of the draughtsmanship could have been conveyed as in the reproductions of analogous specimens reproduced by Faber and Faber in their *Kangra Painting and Garhwal Painting* (London). In the matter of accurate colour reproductions Indian engravers are yet far behind their counterparts in Europe. And improvements in the standards of colour facsimiles are one of the chief necessities and conditions for the greater understanding and appreciation of Indian pictorial masterpieces by Indians.

Mr. Randhawa's Introduction and descriptive letter-press are somewhat disappointing, as he has denied us the benefit of an accurate iconographic study and documentation of the pictures with quotations from Hindi texts. Addressed primarily to Indian readers, his English descriptions of the subject-matters miss fire. We strongly recommend to the author a study of the popular book: *Love Poems in Hindi* (Little Books on Asiatic Art, Vol. 4, Calcutta, 1936) for citations from Hindi texts in support and explanation of the illustrations in his second edition. The *Bara-masia* pictures cited by him would have made greater appeal if accompanied by the corresponding texts from Kesavadas. The *Feast in the Forest* also called forth the well-known texts of the *Bhagavata*. As regards the *Elopement* (24), the identification of the story from the *Kathasarit-sagara*, was given long ago with citations of three illustrations of the topic (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, N. F. XII, Heft 6, 216-219). Some of the specimens reproduced have been known in earlier or better versions (7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 29, 30, 34). It is a matter of regret that out of the 40 specimens cited, hardly more than 4 could be said to be outstanding specimens. This seems to suggest that the best masterpieces of the school have been combed out long ago and exported out of India. *The Fire in the Village* (28), though an unusual thing, has been 'spoiled' by the introduction of the divine pair Krishna and Radha borrowed from a well-known masterpiece. The *Suklabhisarika* (11) and the *Reverly by Night* (25) are two very rare and unusual illustrations. The *Lament of Separation* (15) is really a ragini motif, that of Todi, frequently illustrated. It is unfortunate that a second-class example, very much clumsy and involved in its composition, has been pasted on the cover. We could warmly congratulate the author for recovering the names of four, hitherto, unknown names in the Kangra School—Gursahaya, Kushanlal, Hastu, and Purkhu of whom future students may help to provide fuller particulars. The letter-press appears to have been done in a hurry in the midst of heavy administrative works. Several irresponsible and rash remarks have crept into the text. To say that "by the 8th century A.D., Buddhism had ceased to be an inspiration to the artist" is to ignore the great glory of the illustrated MSS. of the Pala School (10th to 13th century). To say that "the orthodox art of India declined rapidly after the 9th century" is to forget the monuments of Elura and of Elephanta which include the finest masterpieces not only of India but of the whole world (e.g., Hiranya-Kasipu panel, and the Tri-murti). In spite of these minor blemishes, this profusely illustrated tribute to a great school of painting will be of great help in winning new devotees to one of the finest phases of Indian painting.*

* *Kangra Valley Painting*: By M. S. Randhawa. Published by the Ministry of Information, Government of India, 1955. 18 pages text, 40 colour plates. Price Rs. 18.



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

PERSIAN RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY —II: Sindhia as Regent of Delhi (1787 & 1789-91): General Editor P. M. Joshi. Translated from the Persian with notes by Jadunath Sarkar M.A., Hony. E. Litt. Published by the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay. Pp. i-x + 1-63. Price Rs. 2.

The book, under review, is the second volume of the Persian Records of Maratha History series published under the editorial care of Shri P. M. Joshi. It contains English translations of Persian records preserved in the Salar Jang Library of Hyderabad and in the Bombay Record Office (Parasnis Collection). The Persian papers have been translated by our eminent historian Acharya Jadunath Sarkar.

The book, within its short compass, contains very valuable records which cover the years 1787 and 1789-91. These were crucial years in the career of Mahadji Sindhia and in the history of North India. In 1787, Mahadji invaded Rajputana and in the encounter with the Rajputs at Lalsot suffered a heavy reverse. In the end he was forced to beat a retreat. This famous Lalsot campaign is illustrated in the first part of the book. We can follow the events and discussions in Mahadji's camp with a fulness of detail and accuracy of reporting unparalleled by any other event in Indian history. The period 1789-91 is also of considerable historical interest as during it Mahadji was the actual dictator of the policy of the Delhi Empire. The copious Persian reports from Sindhia's camp covering the years 1789-91 have been published for the first time in the second part of the book. They shed much light on the character and capacity of Sindhia, on the inner workings of the Maratha camp in Rajputana in 1791, and on the growth and development of Sindhia's army under De Boigne. 'No biographer of Sindhia can afford to neglect this original source.' Our thanks are due to the Director of Bombay Archives for publishing this invaluable source-book of Maratha history.

TARIT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA (being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi y to viii centuries A.D.): By Dr. Krishnakumari J. Virji, Ph.D. With a foreword by George M. Moraes, Professor of History, St. Xavier's College (Bombay). Published by Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay-1. 1952. Pp. vi + 354. Price Rs. 22-8.

This monograph which won for its authoress the degree of Ph.D. of the Bombay University in 1947 is a work of considerable painstaking research. The authoress has spared no pains in collecting her materials from all available original sources, literary, epigraphic and numismatic as well as books and

articles published by scholars working in this field so far. The work consists of three parts. Part I deals with the history of the Maitraka dynasty (5th-8th century A.D.) with a concluding chapter on the Valabhi era. Part II describes the social, the religious and the economic conditions as well as the state of learning and the administrative organisation in the country under Maitraka rule. It consists of additional chapters on coinage and epigraphy, this last containing a chart illustrating the development of the Maitraka script out of the original Brahmi alphabet along with complete lists of inscriptions of the dynasty as well as the names of donors, the objects of donations and the beneficiaries mentioned therein. Part III contains a list (illustrated with 2 maps) of place-names found in the inscriptions along with their identifications. The book is further enriched with two Plates illustrating the Maitraka seals and coins as well as bronzes. A comprehensive bibliography and a good index bring this useful volume to a close.

The above brief analysis is enough to demonstrate the high scholarly value of this work. In its admirably exhaustive and critical treatment of its subject-matter, it might well serve as a model for other regional histories. We propose to make a few remarks for consideration by the authoress when a new edition is called for. Instead of drawing upon the data from distant regions and times in our land the authoress would have been well advised in confining herself as much as possible to the material bearing immediately upon her subject. Some of her statements require considerable revision. Such are the references to Skandagupta's succumbing to the repeated attacks of the Hunas and his war of succession with his brother Puragupta (sic.) (pp. 22-23), to the Mauryan polity as "a loose consideration of several States established by the express consent of the constituent units" (p. 230), to the ancient Indian kings performing "religiously" "from a very early age all legislative, executive, military and judicial functions in the State" (p. 231), and to all land in the kingdom vesting in the king as State-property (p. 232). Of the same nature is the sweeping generalisation (p. 231) that "neither in ancient nor in mediaeval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government." The faulty transliteration of Sanskrit texts (pp. 22 n, 253, etc.) and the unfortunately too frequent misprints of personal and place-names should be corrected. In the bibliographical list at the end the most scholarly and up-to-date editions of the original works where available should be mentioned instead of their reverse.

The paper, print and general get-up of the book are satisfactory.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CULTURE OF HARMONY: By Phanibhusan Roy, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar. Published by S. C. Seal, M.A., LL.B., Hony. General Secretary, The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. Price: Inland Rs. 10, Foreign 14s.

The work under review discusses in detail the Vedic and Post-Vedic ideas of Hindu civilisation in its various aspects. It embodies a critical study of the various systems of Indian thought including the philosophy of Buddha. Indeed, much has been said on the nature and implication of the concept of *Nirvana*. One cannot but admire the extent of scholarship revealed in the pages of the book and it must be said without any hesitation that the writer evinces a first-hand study of the original texts which have been the sources and guides of his deliberations. The view-point of the Purvamimamsa school which puts emphasis on the theory of *Karman* and does not deny the necessity of knowledge for the attainment of emancipation has been thoroughly discussed. The Naiyayika position, so far as the concept of God is concerned, has been nicely brought out. It is really interesting to study the positions of the Sankhya and the Vedanta thinkers on cosmic order which has been correctly analysed. It is gratifying to find the writer advocating the cause of the four-fold means of human existence. In his opinion neither rigid and austere asceticism nor absolute quietism for the attainment of *Nirvana* is suitable for the average man in search of happiness and tranquillity. A close and intensive reading of the work will undoubtedly convince the reader of the author's faith in Hindu ideals of life.

Notwithstanding the merits of the work mentioned above, it strikes a critical student that the author has not allowed his penetrating insight to discover and appreciate the depth of implication of the orthodox masters in many places. It is true that his study is extensive and helps one in understanding the original texts but it is equally true that the more curious student will miss a critical evaluation of the theories which have been discussed. It is also a fact that the exposition, in some cases, has been so literal that it is difficult for one who is not acquainted with the original texts to understand and appreciate the worth of the exposition. But it must be said at the same time that the merit of the book outweighs the demerits which do not always harass the reader or prove a stumbling block to a simple understanding of the original texts.

G. SASTRI

INDIA AND MALAYA: By Nedyam Raghavan. Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs by the Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. Price Rs. 2-12.

The charming peninsula of Malaya has been from time immemorial the meeting ground of trade-routes, races and civilisations. It has a composite and heterogeneous population, which comprises mainly the Malays proper, the Chinese and the Indians. According to the 1947 Census returns, they constituted 43.77 per cent, 33 per cent and 11 per cent, respectively, of the population in the Federation of Malaya. The same returns revealed that the Chinese numbered 77.6 per cent and the Malays 12.2 per cent in the Colony of Singapore in 1947.

Malaya has been throughout the historical period a close cultural relative of India. It was the bridge through which Indian culture passed into the Pacific.

The Indian influence on the life of Malaya—spiritual as well as material—has been so profound that “till the nineteenth century she owed nearly everything to India, alphabets, religion, a political system, law, astrology and medieval medicine, literature, sculpture in stone, metal work and the weaving of silk.”

Recent history has made Malaya specially dear to patriotic India. It was an important recruiting and training centre of the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, who arrived at Singapore in 1943. About 20,000 I.N.A. men were trained in Malaya and the efforts put up by the great leader and his selfless followers “brought India's freedom miles nearer.”

Hindu and Buddhist influences were once supreme in Malaya. Islam went to Malaya in the 14th century. Islam, it should be noted, went from India. The whole peninsula became Muslim. A mingling of Muslim and non-Muslim cultures took place. Malaya was later on drawn into the vortex of European power-politics. Her natural wealth, strategic importance and weakness made her for many years a bone of contention among Portugal, Holland and England. Fortune favoured the last-named in the long run and the peninsula became an English colony which it still is, in fact, if not in name. The grant of Penang to Captain Francis Light in 1785 by the Raja of Kedah was the thin end of the wedge.

Japan occupied Malaya during World War II. War-time conditions quickened the growth of nationalism. Malaya is on the march today. She is eager to order her life in her way. But British imperialism clings tenaciously to its ill-gotten gain in South-East Asia.

Mr. Nedyam Raghavan spent 25 years in Malaya and the volume under review bears the stamp of his intimate knowledge of the country and its problems.

SUDHANU BIMAL MUKHERJI

On ART (Addresses and Writings): By A. D. Purani. Published in April, 1955, by Sri Aurobindo Karyalaya, Pondicherry. Pages 90. D.C. 1/16. Price. Re. 1-8.

This small book contains seven pieces providing ample food for thought. It is dedicated to the late Dr. A. Coomaraswamy. The author defines Art in the words of Sri Aurobindo as the discovery and revelation of beauty, as the self-expression of consciousness of aesthetic vision and a perfect execution. He has shown in his own simple way that there are not only aesthetic-values, but also life-values, mind-values and soul-values with which we are to enter into the true concepts of Art.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE DIVINE NAME: By Sri Raghava Chaitanya Das. Published by the author from A/5 Anandasram, Proctor Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 456. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this attractive volume is a distinguished disciple of Sri Bhakti Siddhanta Saraswati, the founder of the Gaudiya Mission in Calcutta and pioneer of a renaissance of Bengal Vaishnavism. He is a learned preacher and deals in this book with the central message of Sri Gouranga Mahaprabhu, the medieval avatara of Bhagavan Sri Krishna. As its name signifies, the book mainly explains the wonderful efficacies of the Divine Name, the panacea of all ills of earthly life. It is divided into sixteen Chapters which are well written and profusely substantiated by Sanskrit couplets from various scriptures on Bhakti. About 550 Slokas from prominent Sanskrit

works as well as 60 Bengali verses from Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita have been quoted to make the book authentic and instructive. The evangelic life of Sri Haridas Thakur, known and respected as Namacharya has been described in some detail while discussing the nature of Bhakti and the practice of Nama-Sankirtan. In the opinion of the author the fourteenth chapter explains the importance of Sri Sankirtan vis-a-vis Smaran, Shrivana and Dhyana where the niceties of the four forms of devotion and the superiority of Sri Nama-Sankirtan over all these *sadhanas* are clearly brought out. The fifteenth chapter contains many suitable quotations from different Puranas in support of the subject discussed. In the last chapter the author tries to show that the devotional repetition of Sri Krishna Nama is the quintessence of all spiritual practices. Sri Chaitanyadeva's discourse on the saving grace of Nama is elaborately expounded in the tenth chapter.

Cordially we welcome this interesting book and recommend it to the devout of all sects and sections throughout India. It is written in a readable style, printed in large type on glazy paper, beautifully bound and decorated with a tricolour picture of Sri Chaitanyadeva. Few works in English on Sri Mahaprabhu have appeared till now. Of all Acharyas it is he alone who declared that Bhakti is greater than Mukti as well as that atonement of all sins and attainment of Mukti is within the reach of every body by means of Nama-Japa. Long ago Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Sri Chaitanya and His Contemporaries* was published; but that seems to be antiquated in the course of several decades. Hence the publication of works like the one under review is the desideratum of the day. The religion of love practised and preached by Sri Chaitanya and recorded in *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Sri Chaitanya Bhagavata* and other Bengali scriptures is unique and universal and should be broadcasted by such English work like the present one all over India and the world.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION IN INDIA: By Mahesh Chand M.A. and Shridhar Misra, M.A. Premier Publishing Co., Fountain, Delhi. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 5.

In eighteen chapters the authors discuss various aspects of organisation of industries in India. In the first seven chapters, Economic Evolution, Village Economy, Indian Agriculture, State and Agriculture, Treaties and Division of Industries, Manufacturing Industries and Organisation of Labour have been dealt with. In next eight chapters—Coal, Iron and Steel, Cement, Cotton, Sugar, Paper, Match and Glass Industries, have been discussed in lucid language suitable for young learners of the principal industries. Jute and tea should have been discussed. The authors devote a separate chapter for college students in U.P., now Uttar Pradesh. Trade Business and Trading Business in India are subject-matters for the last two chapters of the book.

Although the authors discuss the subjects as modern economists, they have never missed to give due weight to the considerations of Indian economy and the common man. The authors rightly devote a portion of their studies in each chapter on rural economy and small industries in the context of world trends. The book will be helpful in understanding the present-day industrial structures of the country.

A. B. DUTTA

RAJNI: By Pushpa Kapur. Distributed by Rama Krishna and Sons, New Delhi. Pp. 265. Price Rs. 3-12.

Set in pre-Partition Punjab this novel reads like one of those trifling purposeless films that one has generally learnt to associate with Bombay. The people in this novel belong to the so-called smart set who have discarded the Indian mode of living as something opprobrious or alien and have found their salvation in a glut of boisterous dinners, dances and parties. Lest all this should bore the unwary reader, there are pompous lectures on such varied topics as women's place in society and home, evils of alcoholism, oppression of domestics in rich men's houses, the virtues of wearing “pure khaddar” and doing social welfare work, etc. What little of narrative is there, is full of silly women's chatter and idle verbiage. The net gain, as one painfully reaches the journey's end, is one moderately successful marriage, one wrecked marriage, an unjustifiably delayed union of two loving hearts and the inevitable final impression that all the good paper wasted on this book might well have been used for some worthier purpose.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

THE PERENNIAL FOUNT: Lyrics of Adoration and Love: By Nana Lal. Translated from the original Gujarati by Balchandra Parikh. Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 3-8.

Sri Nana Lal is one of the foremost modern Gujarati poets. This small volume comprises twenty-three of his fine lyrics. Translation is always a difficult task. Much is lost in the process. Still, through these renderings we feel the fervour of the original poet.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

SIDDHA-SIDDHANTA-PADDHATI AND OTHER WORKS OF THE NATHA YOGIS: By Smt. Kalyani Mallik, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Poona Oriental Book House, 330-A, Sadashiva Peth, Poona. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. Mallik, who has made a special study of the religion and philosophy of the Nathas, now publishes a number of works belonging to them, some of which are ascribed to renowned teachers and founders of the sect. The latter numbering four are in Sanskrit. They principally deal with matters relating to Yoga, the practice of which was essential in Nathism. Other works, all very small in size, published in the volume are six in number. Composed in modern Indian language five of them are eulogies of famous Natha Gurus. The sixth, the *Gorakh Upanishad*, gives an account of the characteristic features of the sect. The manuscript material on the basis of which the works are published is insufficient and defective. The printed text is therefore found to be full of corruptions many of which are corrected by Shri P. C. Divanji who has contributed a foreword to the volume. Dr. Mallik in her learned introduction gives a short account of Nathism and its propounders, along with a brief summary of the contents of the texts published in the present volume. A note on the position occupied by the works among the Nathas and their special contribution, if any, made by them to their literature and thought would have been welcome. Dr. Mallik's idea of collecting and publishing the literature of the Nathas, which is generally inaccessible, is commendable as it will be helpful in the proper appreciation of the sect and its tenets.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLAR AGNI YUG: By Kshirode Kumar Dutta, M.A. Published by Hindi Prakashani Bhawan, 10, Dixon Lane, Calcutta-14. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a short history of the freedom movement of India from 1857 to 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi became the leader of the Indian National Congress. Pre-Gandhian movement was neither non-violent nor non-co-operative. Since 1905, i.e., the Partition of Bengal the movement gathered force and there was national awakening in all spheres of Indian life. The author is a political sufferer and actively participated in the 1905 and subsequent movements and as such is in the know of many facts of the party organisations of those days when most of the Samities were secret organisations to escape Governmental repression. The author has touched all progressive movements—social, literary, educational, journalistic and cultural—of Bengal and India to bring out a comprehensive portrait of the struggle for India's freedom.

We commend this informative volume (Part I) to all interested in the subject. We anxiously wait for the next part.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

KALE NAGAR MEN: By Kamal Shukla. Oriental Book Depot, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 2-8.

The modern city is for the lower middle class specially the Black city,—the dark valley of Death. Its struggle, day after day, for mere marginal existence is likely to wear out even a stone to pulverised dust. A member of this class has very often to fight his battle of life on two fronts, namely, in the office and at home, while his surroundings are sprawled over with temptations, usually too strong to be resisted. Such is the story of Umakant who, however, has some kind of a compensation towards the end in the form of penitent love, with a dash of deep understanding, of his wife, Kanak. *Kale Nagar Men* is a moving tale of the lower strata of our society, caught up to the point of strangulation, nay, death, in the tortuous ways of money as well as of the machine. The author has both skill and style and, above all, imaginative sympathy, without which all art is tinsel, in an abundant measure.

KAL AUR AJ: By Sneha, M.A. Amrit Book Co., New Delhi. Pp. 55. Price twelve annas.

A three-Act, stage-worthy short play, the theme of which is the Hindu Code Bill. It can be used effectively, if reformed widely and artistically, to make a breach in the stone-walls of orthodoxy.

GWALIOR RAJYA KE ABHILEKH: By Harihar Nivas Dwivedi. Madhya Bharat Puratattva Vibhag, Gwalior. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 5.

It is a very useful and informative catalogue of 750 inscriptions, covering in terms of time the Vikrama, Gupta, Shaka, Hijri and Christian eras, which have been deposited and deciphered in the Archaeological Department of Gwalior. It will be of great help to Indian historians.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KAVI PREMANANDNI SANDIGDH KRATIS: By Dr. P. M. Vakil. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 330. Price Rs. 3-12.

His researches into the poetical works of the premier Poet of old Gujarat, Kavi Premanand, has led him to conclude that about 50 per cent of them were apocryphal, i.e., written by others and attributed to his pen. His work has brought him the Ph.D. Degree of the Bombay University. He has been a Professor of Gujarati. The subject has been handled in such a way as to rob Premanand of whatever repute he has had as the premier Poet of Gujarat. The work reminds one of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. Dr. Vakil dubs those eminent men, whom he suspects rather concludes the real writers, hiding beneath the glamour of the poet's reputation, as lovers of falsehood, dishonest money-glubbers, and not straightforward. He is welcome to his conclusions but to charge the eminent writers whom he suspects with trickery is rather going beyond the bounds of decency for a rising young inexperienced debutante. He gives his meed of praise to the distinguished Kavi, but rather hesitatingly. In Gujarat, there is a phrase, which says you can call your mother 'Mother' as well as 'your Father's wife'. The latter is not graceful. Dr. Vakil could have couched his observations in the spirit of that adage.

JYOTI REKHA: By Sundarji G. Betai. Published by R. R. Seth and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated cover. Thick card-board. Pp. 22. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a second edition—the first was in 1934—of Shri Betai's poems. He has taken advantage of the publication of this second edition to add to his collection, one more poem, called *Bahidan* (Sacrifice), describing the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, who died so that humanity may live in peace. The addition is on a par with the previous poems in quality, imagination and expression, perhaps a little better.

JIVAN PANTH: By "Dhum Ketu." Published by Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1949. Illustrated jacket. Thick card cover. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 4-8.

Dhumketu (A Comet) is the *nom de plume* of Shri G. G. Joshi, who has written about 51 notable works in Gujarati and has become an established writer of readable fiction. The present book gives interesting glimpses on his life, in fact, is a book of reminiscences and shows how an unlettered poor village boy rose from obscurity to fame, from poverty to riches. A supplement is on the way, this is what the publishers say.

REPORT OF THE GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA, FOR THE YEAR 1947-48: Published by the Sabha. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 158. Price Rs. 3.

Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, is one of the best and foremost literary societies of Gujarat. This report setting out its activities in the year 1947-48 shows how in spite of great difficulties, in its way, it has carried on its useful work. The Gold Medal given by it every year to some well-known worker of the Province was given to Hari Narayan Acharya deservedly, he being the almost only the Naturalist of Gujarat, and a well-known researcher. Its other

function is to select well-known writers to prepare a review of the progress of Gujarati literature in the previous year. This work too has been capably done by Professor Raval and Danjibhai.

K. M. J.

BHOODAN YAJNA: By Vinoba Bhave. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 12+143. Price Re. 1-4.

The book opens with an appeal to his countrymen by Vinoba. It gives the etiology of Bhoodan, clears some misconceptions, seeks support and winds up by saying that the movement which is true to India's genius will lead to economic and social revolution and bring world peace.

The book proper is made up of seventeen of his speeches selected so as to touch almost all the salient aspects of the movement, with another item—the eighteenth—given to questions put to and answered by him. The pages show that his is no tinker's job. He is there to demolish old values and create new values for a new social order.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

PREMAPANTH, 6: Edited by Desai Valjee Govindjee. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March 1954. Price four annas.

This is the sixth of a series, culled from Gandhiji's writings about himself, edited in such a way as to be easily understood by the reader, and referring to Gandhiji's apprentice period, rather, its first half—as indicated by the name given to the selection by the editor, "Purvavardha of Udyogakanda." It relates among other things to the Congress in 1901, which

Mahatma attended; the Boer War; One Month's Stay with Gokhale; Gandhiji's First Experiences in Calcutta; His Early Struggles. This is a valuable addition to Gandhi literature made available at a cheap price and to be understood and appreciated by everybody.

P. R. SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

Six St. Thomases of South India: By T. K. Joseph, P.O. Chengannur, Travancore. Price Rs. 2-8. *Education and Socialism:* By Kumaraswami. Published by V. R. Koppal Tontadarya Press, Dharwar. Pp. 109. Price Rs. 2.

Socialist Democracy in Yugoslav Practice: By Edward Kardeli. Published by Yugoslav Embassy, 13 Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.

Agriculture in Yugoslavia: Published by Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.

Nutrition: Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Price eight annas.

Basic Education: Published by the same. Price four annas.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave: Published by the same. Illustrated. Price Re. 1.

See India—Hill Stations of Northern India: Published by the same. Illustrated. Price Re. 1.

Towards A Socialist Economy: By S. N. Agarwal. Published by Indian National Congress, 7 Janta Mantar Road New Delhi. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1-4.

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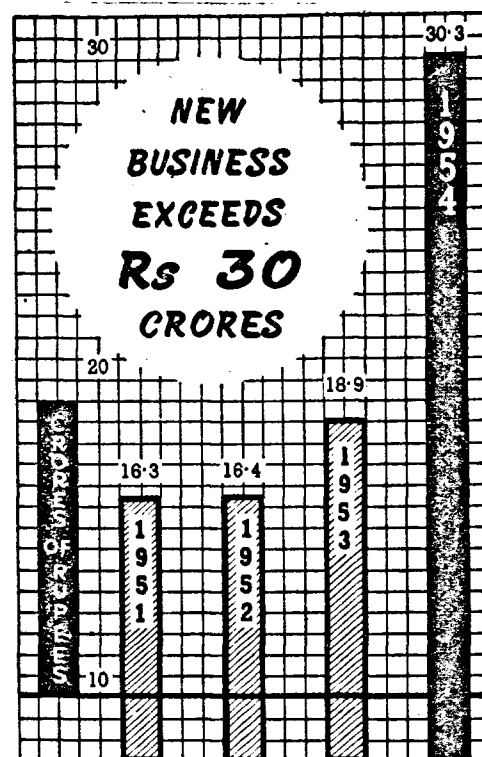
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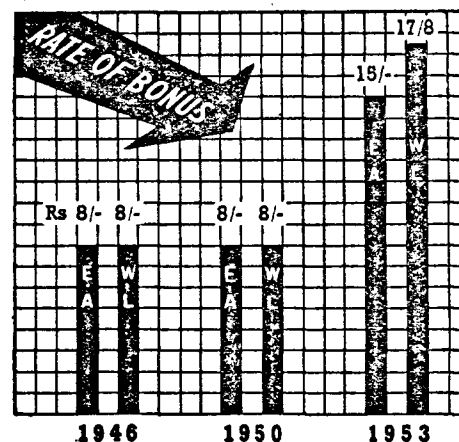
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Expansion of Ancient Indian Culture

V. Raghavan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

In ancient times India had not only cultivated every branch of science and humanistic study but, full of the spirit of adventure, carried on a very active overseas commerce, so that her material goods no less than her spiritual treasures, her spices as well as her doctrines, were in demand in the outside world. Some of her contributions to the world-culture were of fundamental nature: if the West came to know how to spend its leisure hours intelligently with a fable or a game of chess or if it knew counting, it was through India. In the East, she gave the entire South-East Asia its alphabet, literature, music and dance, architecture, code of life and religion, so that even to this day that part of the Orient retains a general unity with India. Thus, of the ancient and mediaeval worlds, in both hemispheres, India played the role of the prime guru.

Indians went out by land routes as well as by the sea and from the evidence of early literature and sculpture, they appear to have been a vigorous ship-building and sea-faring people. A Tamil proverb says: Cross the surging seas and gather your riches.

ANCIENT MIDDLE EAST

The Sumerians who were non-Semitic came from another country by the sea. The terraced pyramids or temple-towers of Assyria-Babylon called *Ziqqaratu* meaning pinnacle or mountain top strongly suggest *Sikhara*.

As early as 1400 B.C., Vedic Aryans had gone from India to *Asia Minor* and at Boghazkoi, clay tablets have been unearthed which record a treaty between the Mitanis and the Hittites in which the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatyau have been mentioned; and a treatise on horses and chariot-racing is also seen here which is in language closest to Sanskrit. Among Kassites circa 1746-1180 B.C., Sanskrit King-names have been found. In 10th century B.C. there was trade between Phoenicians and the Bombay coast and Indian ivory and peacocks went to decorate the temple of King Solomon. In the 7th century B.C., the library of Assurbanipal records the word *Sindhu* in the sense of Indian cotton. Indian teak has been found to have gone into the architecture of the Chaldeans.

GREECE

The Indo-Greek contacts is a favourite subject of research and scholars differ on the question and extent of the mutual indebtedness of the two countries. There are, however, some facts which are admitted, even by Occidental writers here, and these we may point out. They are not inconsiderable. In the sixth century B.C., Greece and India were brought together by Persia as the two wings of the

empire of Darius and Indian contacts led to a growth of new ideas in Greek thought. When the Persian King Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C. there were Indian bowmen and cavalry in his army. Indian merchants went forth with their commercial products to Babylon and farther regions. In one of the Buddhist Jataka stories we read of Indian merchants who went to Baberu or Babylon with Indian performing peacocks. The Indian peacock was a curiosity and the Hebrew name of the peacock *Tuhi* is derived from the Tamil name *Tohai*. Similarly the Hebrew *Koph* for monkey is Sanskrit *Kapi*; Karpas, and cotton as well, are from Sanskrit *Karpasa*; Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Spanish and other European words for Rice go to the Tamil word *Arisi*. Hebrew *Ahal* for aloe is Tamil *Ahil*. To return to Greece: Orphic theology, to which early Christianity was indebted, shows Indian influences in the cosmogony of the world egg (*Hiranyagarbha*), the essential divinity of man (*Upanishads*), rebirth, ascetic purificatory practices, etc. The philosophical and mathematical ideas of Pythagoras (6th century B.C.) were derived from India, his biographer Iamblichus recording his studying the esoteric teachings of the Brahmins. According to Aristotle's music-pupil Aristoxenus, Indian philosophers were seen in Athens interviewing Socrates. In Plato, we have clear echoes of Karma, Punarjanma, Varna-Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya,—as also of Maya and Vedanta. Alexander was very much attracted by Indian ascetics and he took one of them with him to Greece. The doctrines of the Eleatics—such as the unity of the individual soul and supreme soul and the unreality of plurality—are from Vedanta. The Samkhya doctrine of *Sat-karya-vada* is echoed by Empedocles, and Greek tradition says that Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and others went to the East for philosophical enlightenment. Neoplatonism, and Plotinus and his pupil Porphyry chiefly, were completely under the sway of Samkhya and Yoga; and to the same Samkhya system, Christian Gnosticism of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. owed much. Dr. J. Filliozat of Paris, who is specially qualified to speak on matters medical, has reopened the question of the mutual contacts of India and Greece and shown clearly how Greece was indebted to India in medicine. In the post-Alexander period, there were Greek satrapies and settlements on the N.-E. of India and the Greeks there were thoroughly Indianised: some accepted the worship of Vasudeva and Krishna and some of the Buddha. Two outstanding examples of these two phases of Greeks becoming Vaishnavas or Bauddhas must be mentioned: In Gwalior State, at Besnagar near Bilva, you have an interesting stone monument (which I have myself visited)—a pillar with the Garuda—Garuda-stambha; he who set it up was a Greek ambassador named Heliodorus who subscribed himself in the inscription thereon as a most devout Bhagavata, and quoting

from the Mahabharata, said that three were the means of attaining immortality: Self-control, Sacrifice and Vigilance. Menander of Sialkot is an example of the Greek who became Buddhist and he figures in the Buddhist work Milindaprasna. According to this work, voyages to Alexandria were the most common thing in India and there were Indians living in Alexandria in the first century of the Christian era, and in the same century Taxila counted among its pupils Apollonius of Tyana. Clement of Alexandria refers to Buddhists and their doctrines. In fact, Buddhism which was actively spread by special missions sent by Emperor Asoka to the Greek kings Antiochus, Ptolemy-Philadelphus of Egypt, Antiochus Gonatus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus, influenced Christianity also, and along with a kind of Vedanta which went with it, sowed the seeds for the rise of Sufism too. There are striking parallels between Buddhist Jatakas and Christian parables; and Christian ritual, rosary and asceticism were derived from India. In the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, an interesting document left by an Alexandrian sea-captain who visited the Indian coast about A.D. 80, we are told that in return for condiments, spices, silks and unguents, India got, among other things, 'choice girls for royal harems'; the prevalence of Yavani or Greek female guards at Indian palaces are borne out by the Sanskrit dramas.

ROME

The same Periplus of the Erythraean sea referred to earlier speaks of brisk trade between Rome and India. Roman trade with ancient South India is amply attested by literary evidences in early Tamil literature, by Roman coins found on the Malabar coast and Madura and the archaeological finds at Arikamedu near Pondichery. At Muziris on the Malabar coast, and at Puhar, the mouth of the Cauvery on the east coast, there were Roman commercial settlements. On the accession of Augustus in 25 B.C., the Pandyan King sent him a congratulatory mission. Oriental luxuries had captivated the world of Roman fashion so much that Pliny complained about women clad in the too fine Indian muslin and the drain of Roman money by India to the tune of over a million sterling. The intellectual commerce between the two countries is particularly evident in the branch of astronomy, the Romaka-siddhanta in Sanskrit being a reminder of this contact. The astronomical writer Garga says, and Varahamihira quotes his observations, that the Yavanas were out of the Hindu fold, but among them this science of Jyotisha was well established, and to them therefore as much respect was due as to Hindu sages.

LATER MIDDLE EAST

From the 6th century onwards Iran and Arabia began to play the role of cultural liaison between India and the West. If the roots of branches of European science go to the Arabic, the roots of the Arabic themselves go to Sanskrit. The numerals are known as Arabic only because the Arabs conveyed them from India. The place value of numbers and the decimal system were the invention of India, and in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., the Arabs spread Indian arithmetic and geometry over the world. Sanskrit works on astronomy and medicine were translated into Arabic when Indian scholars in both these branches were invited to Baghdad during the times of Caliphs Mansur and Harun. The Arabic Siddhanta is Siddhanta, i.e., the Brahmasphuta-Siddhanta of Brahmagupta; the same author's Khandakhadyaka was done into Arabic as Arkand. Aryabhata is

mentioned as Arjehir. Kanka and his work on lives and the mysteries of nativities and Sanjahal and his great book on nativities all represent translations of works on Jataka. In A.D. 899 an astronomer Sankaranarayana flourished under Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Quilon and wrote a commentary on the astronomical work Laghubhaskariya which has been discovered and published from Trivandrum; this author informs us of the visit of the Hindu astronomers to 'Mlecchadesa.' Indian doctors were much in demand in Arabia and were given places of honour in the hospitals and the Court. Scholars were sent to India to study medicine and Indian scholars were taken to translate Sanskrit medical works into Arabic. The Indian physician Manka attended upon Harun, rid him of an incurable complaint and later translated the Sanskrit treatise on Toxicology by Chanakya. It is recorded that when a Greek physician failed to cure the king's cousin, the Indian Bahla succeeded. Sanskrit works in every branch of medicine were translated: Arabic Sirak is Charaka; Sasrad is Susruta; Ledan is Nidan; Rai, 10th century, wrote on snakebite and he too was translated and it is from the Arabic source, from Masudi, historian of the 8th century, that we learn of a Hindu lady doctor Roosa who wrote in Sanskrit a treatise on woman's ailments. Down to the 17th century it is the knowledge derived from these Arabic versions that formed the basis of European medicine, surgery and surgical instruments.

The Arabs' interest in Indian medicine and astronomy was next only to that in Indian fables. In all these departments the Arabs derived their interest from that evinced earlier by the Persians in all these. The Sassanian king Khosru Anushirvan (531-



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579) had the animal fables of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* translated into Pehlavi from which a Syriac translation was made in A.D. 570—Kahilag and Damanag, i.e., Sanskrit Karataka and Damanaka. From this an Arabic version rose in the 8th century and from that, these fables entered mediaeval European literature. Between the 11th and the 13th centuries other versions arose in Syriac once again, in Greek and Latin, in later Persian, old Spanish, and Hebrew, and then from the 15th century onwards German and other versions began to appear. There is no more remarkable book in this respect in the world of literature. The American scholar Edgerton says that no other work of Hindu literature has played so important a part in the literature of the world; and of its versions which exceed 200 and are in more than 50 languages, three-fourths are from countries outside India. The Christian storybook of Josaphat, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, draws on Indian fables, the name Josaphat itself being merely the Buddhist word Bodhisattva. One of the legends in Chaucer's Squire's Tale had an Indian origin. Some of the fables of Aesop too derive from Indian sources. Thus chess and fable were two precious gifts India gave to the leisure hours of the world.

CENTRAL ASIA

We shall take leave of the Middle East and the West and see how Hindu culture spread forth in the Asian continent itself in a more complete manner. It was with Buddhism that India claimed Central Asia, China and Japan, and nearer still, Ceylon, Burma and Tibet. From the second century B.C. and in some places from even the pre-Asoka period, Buddhism began to flourish in the territories neighbouring the North-West of India, in *Kotlan, Kuchar, Bactria*.

There were Buddhist monasteries here from the ruins of which fragments of manuscripts and writings on different materials have been unearthed, which have not only shed new light on Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures but have helped to reconstruct many local languages of these places, e.g., the Nam language which the doyen of Sanskrit studies here in England, Prof. F. W. Thomas has recently described. That Sanskrit medical lore, Ayurveda, was in vogue there is known from the medical MS. fragments called the Bower MS. unearthed in Kuchar. One of the discoveries made here, which is of utmost significance to the history of Sanskrit drama, is the find of fragments of a socio-religious play called *Saniputra-prakarana* and a farce of the Buddhist poet Asvaghosa, by the distinguished German Sanskritist Luders, plays which have been completely lost in India itself. The play uses abstract concepts like *Straddha* or Faith among its characters and forms the forerunner of the allegorical play in Sanskrit which was again to raise its head only in the 8th century A.D. Sanskrit Buddhist texts in the local scripts or translated into Kofasese, Tokharian, Sogdian and Uigurian have been discovered here. These places were very active with Buddhism and formed the media of the further spread of that faith into China. When the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien came here in A.D. 400 there were 4,000 Buddhists here and when his successor Hieun Tsang visited it, there were 150 monasteries and 10,000 Buddhists; and in the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Sanskrit was very much in evidence; Sanskrit works were even composed here. In the Kuchar region life was thoroughly Indianized, Indian names being taken, Indian music being sung and inter-marriages with Indians being practised.

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The New Materialism

Miss Clare Cameron writes in *The Aryan path*:

It has long been the custom to decry materialism as the root of all evil, and perhaps never more so than now, when the abuse of it is so painfully evident. Yet it was once said to me that our troubles lie, not in materialism as such, but in too much of the wrong sort and too little of the right. I have pondered on that chance remark.

Perhaps ever since man fell into duality, into the creation of "the ten thousand things," there has been the conflict between the "good" and the "bad" in him, the split in the psyche, which is now perilously wide. There must be prolonged self-emptying ere he becomes as No-thing, and in the abyss itself finds Everything. We cannot throw ladders across that abyss, for there are no short-cuts to heaven. Yet the figure of modern man, inflated with power and torn from his roots as he soars towards the stars (now almost literally), is familiar to us. The predominance of mental illness, neuroses of all kinds, crime waves and the violence bred from fear and greed, are also evident enough. The unbalanced state of the world is reflected in and shared by the sensitive person. For all this we blame materialism, which is not a cause but an effect.

True, there are signs of a religious revival throughout the world. Under an intense spiritual radiation from the heavens (which, incidentally, is the cause of much inner and outer disturbance, even such as a healing medicine first causes within the physical body) there is a quickening in the souls of men and women. They are "called", and according to their capacity and in their degree are responding, even though the initial stages of that response are sometimes painful.

We may think we know all the lore of the spiritual life, having read widely and thought deeply and, in a sketchy sort of way, made tentative attempts to put our lives in order. Conscience is appeased. We have many virtues to our credit, are active in good works, members of progressive societies, and pay sincere lip-service to our particular creed. We see the beautiful country of the Future from our threshold. But are we really prepared to help create it.

It is so easy to deceive oneself, to eat of the Tree of Knowledge and imagine we are fed. Usually we have to allow much of it to be removed from us before we are fit to take and even able to taste and appreciate, the simple Bread and the living Water. We have to be shown, in hard experience, the wrong use of materialism. It includes greed for ideas, as well as for possessions; rushing in to do good where angels would not tread, thus piling confusion upon confusion; emotional and intellectual self-indulgence as well as physical; and, in many other ways, denying our own soul.

Having felt the call, or thinking we have, we tend to swing from one opposite to the other. Riches are evil; so we choose to be poor. We bind ourselves to a rigid self-imposed discipline. Self-indulgence is a sin; so we renounce the harmless and legitimate pleasures of life. These reactions are not only the heritage of our Puritan ancestry, but also the result of too literal an interpretation of the great scriptures of the world, and far too little genuine insight. The split in the psyche grows wider as we exchange one tension for another. The conflict remains, since all these fine resolutions are dictated by the little separate self.

Long ago the Buddha discovered that neither in asceticism nor in indulgence, neither in escape from the world nor in submergence in it, was enlightenment to be found. Attachment is the cause of all sorrow. Freedom is won by treading the Middle Way between extremes, without attachment. Neither possessions nor lack of them are wrong in themselves, but their abuse, which derives from our being bound to them through Craving and Ignorance. Lao Tze taught very much the same thing, when he spoke of the Tao which is everywhere, and which we may experience for ourselves once we relinquish our grasp upon the passing, ephemeral forms. The old man of Tao, even though he has scarcely a rag to his back, is always gay and laughing, because he is wholly free. There is no split in the psyche for him! Man cracks himself, through the tension of misunderstood cravings.

What has this to do with the New Materialism? Even at the ascetic extreme we still have our being on the surface of life, on the circumference, unwilling to accept and explore through shame and suffering to the centre where truth abides in fulness. For at the heart of every problem is the point of release. We suffer, yes—because we resist the marvellous transforming process towards liberation. How well we know that travail precedes rebirth! But do we live as if it were true?

Instead, we make frantic attempts to jump this split in the psyche, to close it, by means of courses on psychology, the study of religion and anguished prayer to a God we create in our own image. We kick up such a lot of dust because we are frustrated and unhappy. In this dust we cannot see. We are familiar with the various forms of escape, some of them very subtle. Yet the Hound of Heaven is forever at our heels, and it is good that this should be so. The Beautiful Country of wholeness and peace and joy glimmers like a mirage before our longing eyes.

Yet the Buddha taught that even this longing for enlightenment was a form of craving. How deep this process of self-emptying goes! How patient we need to be while issues far down in consciousness rise up to be accepted, understood and adjusted! Even those from other lives arise at this time of spiritual urgency, when we are being prepared to take our part in New Materialism.

Allan Octavian Hume 1829-1912

K. K. Khullar writes in *Careers and Courses*:

Ganhiiji once remarked that if any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, he would welcome that Englishman as an Indian. If that is the criterion of being an Indian, A.O. Hume will then, perhaps be considered as one of the greatest of the Indians, though of course born of alien parents. A.O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, had the making of an Indian.

FOUNDED INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Curiously enough the Indian National Congress which won for India complete independence and self-rule was founded by a man who was English by birth, and who was a member of the Indian Civil Service. At the time when battles were being fought on the sands of Sabraon and Mudki, when steel was clashing all around on the banks of the Sutlej, young Hume entered the Bengal Civil Service, full of energy and ambition. After a short training, he was made a magistrate and deputy collector in the historic district of Etawah. The biographers of Hume report his eternal interest in Sikh history. It is said that he was never tired of reading anything connected with Ranjeet Singh. Though essentially a student of science, Hume developed taste for Far Eastern and Indian histories.

His stay at Etawah was marked by a marvellous advancement in administration and education. Though a member of the Civil Service, known in those days as the 'White-Brahmin Caste,' he never harboured any official complexes and inhibitions with which his colleagues were accredited. Hume mixed freely with the people and talked openly as no other administrator would do. Thus breaking away from the official tradition he started free schools in the district of Etawah—a novel experiment in the history of Indo-Anglican education. And the medium of instruction was Urdu and Hindi. In this way about thirty schools were opened; roads made, hospitals constructed; with the result that Hume became a household word in Etawah. For people outside Etawah, Hume was a mysterious and legendary name.

A DIP IN JOURNALISM

At Etawah, Hume underwent another bold experiment in the field of journalism. Indian journalism in those days was just a newly born baby. Raja Ram Mohun Roy had started his nationalistic organ, *Sambad-Kaumudi*. Another mouthpiece of Indian Renaissance was, the *Banga-Doot* of Dwarkanath Tagore. The *Statesman*, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, and the *Civil and Military Gazette* came much later. A. O. Hume in collaboration with Kanwar Lachman Singh, initiated a journal named *People's Friend*. It was a brave attempt; and it was given a popular response. Hume's views on education and politics are there in the editorials of the *People's Friend* expressed unafraid. The journal was, therefore, certainly a positive contribution of Hume to Indian journalism. Later in his life, he started another paper entitled *Stray Feathers*, a magazine of birds.

Hume's tastes were intensely varied. Ornithology was his passion and botany his stimulation. In Simla he had a museum of his own with more than fifty thousand birdskins and with a large number of various types of eggs. Hume was very fond of extinct birds especially 'dodo' (a bird once found in Mauritius and Madagascar but which became extinct by the end of the 17th

The old order passes, giving place to the new. We want it to come quickly. Like children, we want it now—our sort of "now," not God's. Our "now" is born of ignorance, the temporal order and duality. Let it go!

At last, we are driven from the circumference to the centre, sometimes in despair, and we are as quiet as the earth in winter. Yet, as in the earth, much is happening in the soul during our winters of discontent, when they are accepted and used.

I believe it is from this soil to which all the leaves of the old order have fallen, both in us and the world, that the New Materialism will spring, in the heavenly time and the heavenly way.

Can we visualize a world in which there will be no competition, but men and women working together in love and unity of purpose because they are united in the love of God which reveals that purpose and, flowing through them, informs the heart, the brain and the hand? Can we see the Light breaking over the earth, as the shadows cast by man's abuse dissolve, when exploitation of the land, animals and peoples is no more? Can we imagine the recovery of health and freedom and joy, since it has been said that disease is the result of the inhibition of the soul's powers?

The choice is in our own hands. The Kingdom of Heaven is within, potential in time as it is ever-present in eternity. And the Kingdom will come when we take our greedy, grubby hands off it, cease trying to bring it in our own way, and let the Supreme Creator educate us in the laws of true being.

If there are only a few as yet who are crossing the threshold, yet they serve to map out the Beautiful Country, and to radiate the first beams of its sunshine. Not by words, not by deeds, but by what we are shall we quicken others to be aware of their lack, their need, and how they may be healed and fulfilled. Then the Tree of Knowledge is seen for what it is, and the Tree of Life begins to put forth its leaves for the healing of the nations.

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century), and he spent a lot of time to know whether the bird had once again settled in New Zealand or not.

Hume also published a huge book on his research and studies, entitled *Game-Birds in India*. It is an exacting work, but truly it is love's labour. It reveals Hume's everlasting interest in birds. It is also said that he could understand the language and the laws of most of the Asian birds. The book is a store-house of information on birds and can be conveniently placed beside Kipling's Indian "Jungle-books." In brief, *Game-birds* is another solid contribution of Hume to Indian Ornithology.

Hume's attitude towards the 1857-rebellion is noteworthy. He always held that the main trouble of the Indian was poverty and it was the economics of poverty and frustration which led the Indian people to revolt against a foreign rule. In 1868, he was made the Commissioner of Excise and Customs in North-West Province and while negotiating with the Rajputs on the question of Sambar-lake silt, he showed boundless affection for the Indian people, with the result that he was transferred to the post of a Home Secretary. The financial policy of Lord Mayo also contained some of Hume's suggestions. Hume was also sensitive to the lot of Indian agriculturists and thus he wanted to ameliorate their conditions but he regretted later on that his hands were not free while in the service. In 1882, Hume retired and after that date a new Hume emerged—gay and happy—still industrious and ambitious. Even at that age his idealism was lofty and he was full of energy and enthusiasm. He set to work out his dreams with zeal and industry unknown to the officialdom in India; he founded the Indian National Congress. It was a step by which he earned the affection of millions of India and out of regard for him, he is called an Indian and the Father of the Indian National Congress. The idea of starting a national organisation had been developing in his mind for a long time, especially as a result of some extremely unpopular measures of Lord Lytton—press legislation, agricultural dabbings, racial discrimination policy and Afghan affairs. "All these measures of reaction combined with the Russian methods of police repression," to quote Wedderburn, "brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak and it was only in time that Mr. Hume was inspired to intervene."

WAY CLEARED FOR NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Therefore in 1883, Hume gave a clarion call to the graduates of the Calcutta University in a soul-stirring letter asking for "fifty men good and true, selfless and fearless," "to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness." Lord Dufferin approved of this call. After that Hume went to England and met Ripon, Lord Dalhousie and John Bright. The Congress was to be held at Poona but due to the outbreak of cholera the venue had to be shifted to Bombay. On 28th December, 1885, in the famous hall of Tejjpaul Sanskrit College, all the leading men of the country well-acquainted with English language attended the conference. It was a four-day session and W. C. Bonerjee was elected as its first president but the moving spirit behind it was A.O. Hume. In all, the session was attended by seventy-two men who "elected themselves as delegates." Prominent among those who attended the conference were Dada Bhai Naroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, G. Subramania Aiyer and D.E. Wacha. And among the officials attending

the session Ranade and Wedderburn are two memorable names. The principal objects of the Congress were to eradicate racial distinction, to promote friendship among the earnest workers in the country's cause in the various parts of the empire and so on.

The Congress then passed a resolution demanding abolition of the India Council, holding of simultaneous I.C.S. Examination in England and India, admission of elected members in the Imperial and Legislative Councils, the separation of the executive from the judiciary. The leaders were quite profuse in their declaration of loyalty to the British throne and of the blessings of British Raj in India. Lord Dufferin gave a garden party to Hume and other prominent leaders but in the years to come his attitude was completely changed. The British press was shocked. *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote that Russian gold was pouring in India and the like.

It is generally presumed that after 1885 Hume disappeared from the scene but history has something else to tell. He remained in India till 1894, attending all the sessions of the Indian National Congress enthusiastically. Then he sailed for Britain. Hearty farewell was given to him at Bombay and it is a fact that people observed tears rolling down his eyes while leaving India, a country where he had spent half a century. There in England he joined the liberal party and led an active public life, supporting the cause of Indian independence whenever he found an opportunity.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tripathi's Address at the International Labour Conference at Geneva

Following is the text of speech delivered by Shri K. P. Tripathi (General Secretary, I.N.T.U.C.), Workers' Delegate, India, to the 38th Session of the International Labour Conference, at Geneva on 6th June, 1955:

As I rise to speak my heart is drawn to India. Mr. N. M. Joshi died a few days ago of a heart attack. He was one of the founders of the Indian Labour Movement and was the Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress twice. He dominated the Indian scene for nearly a quarter of a century. He was a delegate to the I.L.O. for many years and was a member of the Governing Body. At his instance several labour laws were passed in India and his contribution to the I.L.O. was considerable. His loss has been a great blow to the Indian labour movement.

Coming to the Director-General's Report, I think I must congratulate the Director-General for the excellent Report he has presented. He has been rather apologetic about the subject and the manner of its presentation, as it differs from his previous reports, involving comprehensive surveys of world events. But I think he need not be: his treatment of labour-management relations in the context of the present-day situation and with reference to the changing future, evinces fundamental thinking. I think if there is any world institution which has a duty to survey world trends, with a view to guiding men's minds to the changing future, it is the I.L.O. Hence, the effort is worthwhile.

In a masterly analysis, the Director-General has pointed out how the world stands at a new age of atomic energy where man inherits world power, how the actual and the potential productive machine of the world has become so vast that it can produce world requirements many times over through the employment of only a fraction of the world's working population, and stands a little indecisive as to which way to go. The problem is yet a little obscured by the existence of national barriers which impede the free economic flow, the balance of payments question, the low productivity and purchasing power over vast regions of the world, and so on. Yet the problem is unmistakably clear to thinking minds. It is like a huge dam poised over a flat countryside which would be flooded if it burst. Wisdom lies in conducting the pent-up waters to irrigate the countryside, that both may assist each other to prosperity. In other words, the world cannot continue any longer, without the gravest danger to its politico-economic existence, to retain this artificial division into developed and under-developed regions. Either human wisdom will raise up the backward areas through planned development in a measurable space of time towards living standards obtaining in developed regions, or it will bring its own doom.

For this a vast flow of capital and technical know-how is necessary from developed to under-

developed countries. Some assistance at present is being given, but in comparison to the requirements and the urgency of the problem, it is extremely meagre. Those who can give seem yet to believe that the problem can be solved by military might, and therefore seem to be more interested in giving assistance for militarism and armaments, rather than for common development. If anybody believes that the problem can be solved through militarism, he is living in a fool's paradise. There is only one way to solve it, that is by the common development of the underdeveloped regions through the pooling of the resources of all those who have, so that the quickening desire for the well-being of vast masses of human beings now steeped in squalor, misery and hunger, may be met before it boils over into undesirable revolutions.

Consequently, the assistance has to be given without any strings attached. The world is politically cut up into national sovereignties which are extremely jealous of undue outside influence. There are other areas which have yet to become free and their only dominating passion is for national independence. Naturally these areas would forgo any foreign assistance if they felt that this had strings attached. Since it is clear that the development of backward areas is necessary not only for the sake of the countries themselves but also, and equally, for the developed areas, the assistance will have to be without strings, speedy and spontaneous. It must be recognised by governments and nations, as it is already recognised by thinkers, that the development of backward areas is necessary and urgent in the interests of the world as a whole.

In certain quarters, however, there is as yet no sufficient realisation of this. They admire their own prosperity and expect others to do the same. This attitude is born of a belief that their prosperity is entirely of their own making, but history tells us that it is through the sacrifice of the colonies and their industries that the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, and consequently the prosperity of the West, were built up. The countries which owe their prosperity to the 20th century owe

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it to the two great wars when they built up their production potential by remaining neutral while capital and "know how" of other established countries were engaged in destroying themselves.

Therefore prosperity anywhere is a product of adversity elsewhere as much as of the effort in its own place. Looking at this problem from this point of view we have to conclude that the prosperous people owe it as a duty and as a debt that they make adequate sacrifices to bring prosperity to regions which had once to be sacrificed for their good.

Today colonies and dependencies are disappearing. The new countries arising into independence will no longer get the benefit of exploiting others to build up their productive potential through colonialism. Neither will they get it through wars in which they might remain neutral. They do not desire prosperity at the cost of others. Then what shall they do if they want to become prosperous? In the present context, if they produce for export the advanced countries grumble that a low wage economy is competing unfairly with them. If they produce for the home market this can hardly absorb the products because of lack of purchasing power. This is the dilemma of unbalance. This planned expansion of production against planned expansion of wages and purchasing power for consumption on a global scale becomes the problem of this age. The question is, shall we have wisdom enough to tackle it?

Most unfortunately the world continues to be divided into mutually hostile and suspicious power blocs with most deadly weapons of mass destruction poised against each other. A fear complex rules. Even talks of aggression rearmament are indulged in. But anybody with a sense of history will realise that the two economic systems facing each other have come to stay, so that one cannot destroy the other without destroying both. In this context the only solution lies in accepting the necessity of the co-existence of both. Co-existence does not mean each scowling at the other from his own doorstep. It does not mean mere tolerance of each other. It means appreciation of the necessity of both systems with mutual respect. Once this fact is accepted by both camps the cause of tension will disappear and vast resources of mankind now tied up in war efforts could be freed for economic development and a consequent solution of the world's ills. I hope that the Four-Power Conference at the summit will succeed in accepting the fact of co-existence and in freeing the world from the fear complex so that economic issues may be tackled.

Europe developed through the sacrifices of colonies. America developed through the sacrifices of wars. How shall Asia and Africa develop? The answer is through the voluntary sacrifices of Europe and America, not through war or colonialism but through voluntary self-denial by the developed countries, so that part of the capital and "know how" may be diverted to develop the backward areas of the world.

Great powers which hold the destiny of the world in their palm are today on trial. Will they have gained wisdom enough to see the future and act accordingly?

The Director-General has discussed the question of worker-employer relations in the changing world of today. Time was when this relation was one of

master and slave. Later it became one of master and servant. After the Industrial Revolution it became one of employer and worker. Today, however, the worker has improved mentally, morally, culturally and organisationally. He has developed a personality. He has become the equal of the employer. Political power has fallen into his hands, in the democracies through the vote, in Communist countries through the dictatorship of the proletariat. So the employer-worker relationship has also undergone a change. The owner-employer has practically disappeared and has been replaced by the manager, who is himself an employee. The worker has been replaced by an employee who feels equal to the employer, if not like him in personality. The distinction between the worker and the management today is one of degree rather than kind, and the employer-employee relation has been replaced by that of co-partnership. In some countries, if not the boss, at least bossing has disappeared.

This is the most revolutionary change that one could conceive. It is showing itself effectually in workers' housing amenities, working and living conditions, conveniences, holidays, wages, securities, etc., so that in these standards also the difference between the management and the worker is becoming one of degree rather than kind.

The far-seeing employers understand this and try to adjust, but the bulk of the employers have still to realise this. To cloud the issue, in the undeveloped countries the employer has not yet been replaced by the management, so that a difference of kind rather than of degree obtains. Ideas in the modern world know no barriers. Modern ideas have reached the undeveloped areas of the world and vast forces are arising against the master-servant and employer-worker concept of the feudal and the industrial world. Whether the change will be easy or revolutionary only time will show. In India, the absurdity of this situation has been realised and there is at present a Bill pending in Parliament which will replace the hereditary employer concept by the modern manager concept. But co-partnership is still a long way off. The time has come when the industrial set-up of the world should be so recast that (a) the worker-management relationship might be replaced by co-partnership, (b) the lowest worker should be able to rise to the highest rung of the ladder of management through mere gradation, (c) the training of workers within industry or elsewhere should be automatically provided for such a rise, and (d) in working and living conditions, in welfare measures, comparable standards should be provided for the worker and the management.

It is a pity that the I.L.O. has so few chances to get into direct contact with the dictatorship countries and those with a colour bar. If it could come into more direct contact with them, perhaps the workers' lot in those countries might improve more quickly. I hope the I.L.O. will realise its duty to all labour all over the world and not try to confine

its activities to small regions out of political prejudice. The I.L.O. is a persuasive rather than a coercive institution, I say again, and I hope that those who are trying to utilise it for coercive purposes will desist.—I. L. O. News.

WHO's Sixth Year of Activity

Co-operation and mutual aid in health field increased in 1954:

In 1954 the World Health Organization (WHO) completed its sixth year of existence. Nearly 330 major health projects in 75 countries received assistance from WHO last year. At the same time, the Organization made further progress in the task of establishing standards for drugs and vaccines, in co-ordinating research and in developing training facilities for health personnel.

These facts emerge from the 200-page Annual Report for 1954 which Dr. M. G. Candau, Director-General of the World Health Organization, submitted to the Eighth World Health Assembly opening in Mexico City on May 10th.

The essential aim pursued by WHO in 1954 remained the strengthening of the permanent structure of public health services in its Member States, rather than short-term campaigns. Indeed, the fact that countries markedly increased their requests for WHO help in working out long-term plans for the development of their services is considered by Dr. Candau, in his introduction to the Annual Report, as "the most encouraging aspect" of the requests received by the Organization last year.

Another important development, in the Director-General's opinion, is "the growing attachment of Member States to the idea of international co-operation, and their increasing readiness to undertake joint action in solving problems which affect more than one country." The Annual Report lists a number of such joint undertakings, among them the Inter-American Centre of Biostatistics in Chile, the Regional College of Nursing in Egypt, the advanced course for waterworks engineers in Europe, etc.

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE FIELD

In order to strengthen national health services, WHO helps to introduce essential measures and techniques into the permanent organization of the country. These measures depend on the level of development of the country and its health organization. The Annual Report contains many striking examples of the work carried out with WHO assistance in widely different areas, including the S.E. Asia region.

South East Asia: The WHO Regional Office, located in New Delhi, is responsible for an area comprising Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Thailand. In these seven countries the Organization was able to assist 66 health programmes last year. As 85% of the population of South East Asia live in rural areas and have a low standard of living, the essential need is to provide basic health services for such areas.

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As a step towards meeting this need, various kinds of rural health units are being organized by the governments. From a modest start, with emphasis on environmental sanitation and on maternal and child health, they are gradually being expanded as resources in money, material and manpower permit.

WHO-assisted programmes for maternal and child health, control of communicable diseases and for the training of health workers are being integrated progressively into the general public-health services. Basic environmental sanitation remains the most important single problem, and plans have been made to give more assistance in sanitation to all the countries in the region.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Approximately 40% of all health projects assisted by WHO last year were training programmes designed to meet the critical shortage of all categories of health personnel. So far, since its inception in 1947, WHO has awarded over 4,500 fellowships, of which 667 were in 1954. The tendency is to place a high proportion of fellows for study within their own region. In 1954 regional fellowships accounted for 68 per cent of the total awarded. Aside from obvious savings in travel costs, these regional fellowships have the advantage of enabling students to learn under conditions similar to those in their own countries, so that the process of adopting knowledge acquired by them to their home environment is easier.

FINANCIAL POSITION AND COLLABORATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

The regular budget of WHO in 1954 amounted to \$8,500,000. In addition, 128 health projects directly involved in the economic development of various countries were made possible by an allocation of \$3,977,400 from U.N. Technical Assistance Funds. Joint work with UNICEF continued in all fields relating to the health of children. WHO also co-operated with FAO in nutrition, meat hygiene and zoonoses; with UNESCO on fundamental education; with ILO on occupational health activities and on the hygiene of seafarers and finally, with ICAO, on the sanitation of airports.—*WHO Press Release*.

Technical Assistance Mission Takes • Geologist from India to the Amazon Valley

Prof. Calamur Mahadevan, an Indian geologist, is arriving in Brazil this month on a technical assistance mission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to work on a survey of mineral resources in the Amazon Valley.

Prof. Mahadevan's mission comes under Unesco's share in the United Nations world programme of technical assistance for economic development now operating in more than 90 countries. In Brazil, he will join a United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization team working with the Brazilian government on development of the Amazon region.

Prof. Mahadevan is on leave of absence from his post as head of the department of geology at Andhra University at Waltair in South India. He recently headed an Andhra University team prospecting for mineral resources in the Godavari Delta in South India.

Before joining the university in 1945, Prof. Mahadevan had been with the Hyderabad Geological Sur-

vey for fifteen years. He is the author of more than 100 research publications.

Prof. Mahadevan, who will be stationed at Manaus, is the first Indian national to be sent by Unesco to Latin America as a technical assistance expert.—*Unesco News*, June 30, 1955.

Independence Day Celebrations of Israel

The beginning of Israel's eighth year of statehood was officially inaugurated on Mount Herzl in the presence of several thousand persons by the Speaker of the Knesset (Parliament), Mr. Yosef Sprinzak.

In a short address Mr. Sprinzak said that now that the Jewish people had returned as free men to its own land, it was its duty to remember the day of the renewal of its freedom "in order to deepen our appreciation of our independence and to inspire us to preserve and build up our State."

Traditional ceremony of Independence Day eve was the visit of the Diplomatic Corps to the President to congratulate the President and the State on the occasion. The good wishes of the Corps were conveyed by its doyen, M. Pierre Eugene Gilbert, the French Ambassador. M. Gilbert was accompanied by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, the Ministers of Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, the Diplomatic Representative of Greece, and the Charges d'Affaires of Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Sweden and Turkey.

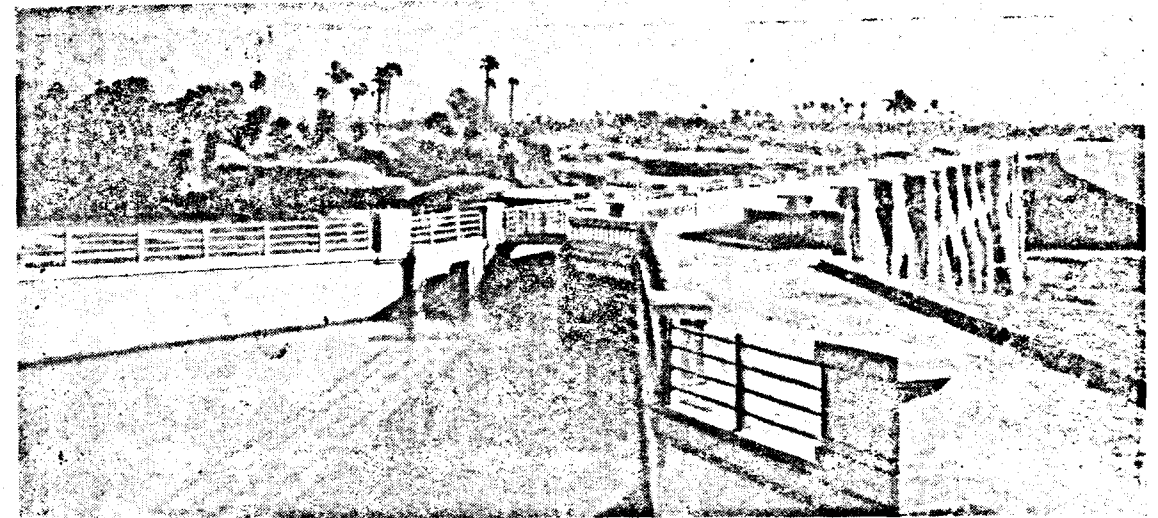
A special thanksgiving service was held at the Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem at which Chief Rabbi I. H. Herzog delivered an Independence Day message.

Broadcasts to the nation were made by both President Ben Zvi and the Prime Minister, Mr. Moshe Sharett.—*News from Israel*, June 1, 1955.

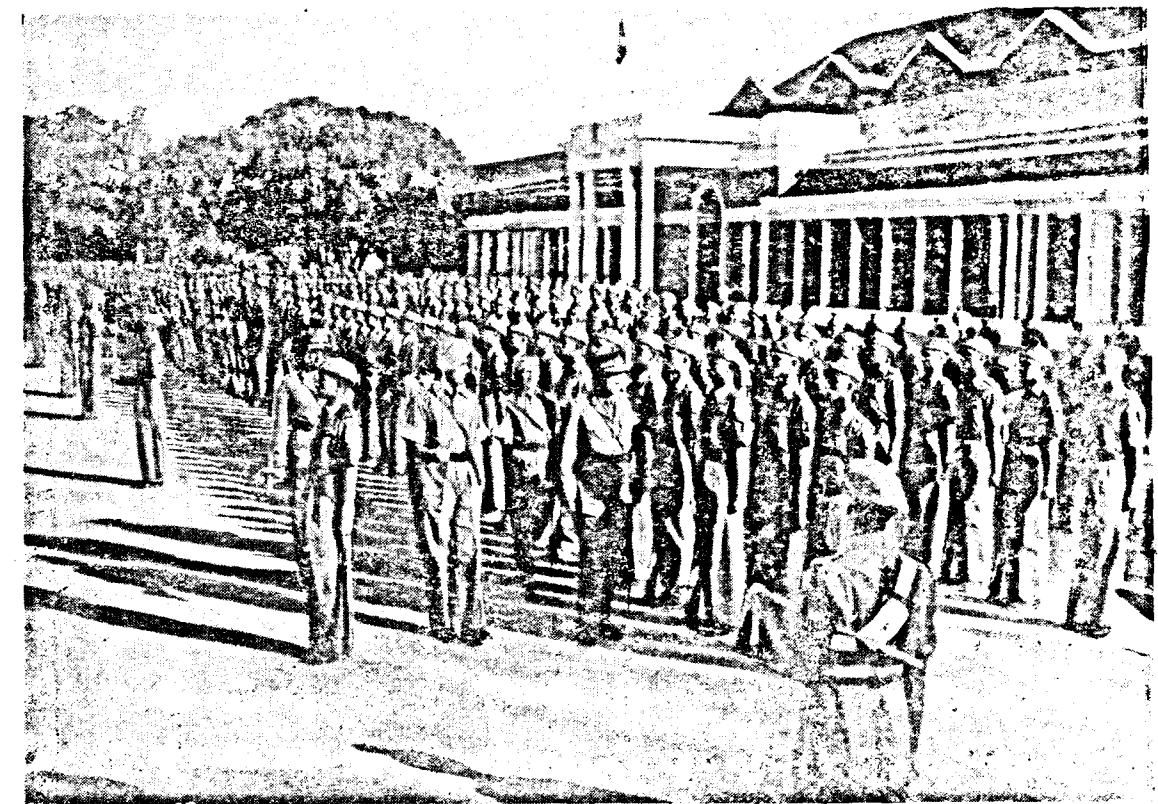
Medical Discovery in France

TREATMENT OF BLOOD DISEASES

The Medical Faculty of the University of Paris has just awarded to one of its Professors, Dr. Jean Barnard, a prize of two million francs. The scientific and medical value of Dr. Barnard's discoveries is not of course, to be measured in terms of money. The prize has been awarded, more especially, for Dr. Barnard's contribution to the treatment of Leukaemia, a virulent disease of the blood, for which no cure had so far been known. Dr. Barnard is the sole scientist who has studied the disease with the best results, and the book which he published in 1948 with the title *Diseases of the Blood* (Flammarion) is well-known in medical circles throughout the world. His methods of treatment, which have been published in the medical journals and more especially in the *Hospital Weekly*, were communicated to the Third International Congress of Hematology which was held in Rome in 1952. The discovery for which he has received the prize, will orient the treatment of blood diseases in a new direction.—*News from France*.



The Kannadi Aqueduct carries the Left Bank main canal of the Malampuzha Project over the Kannadi River, Malabar



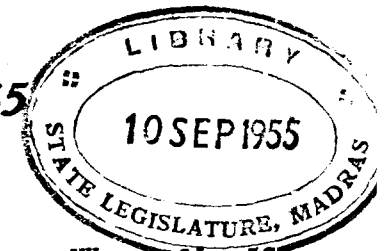
Lt.-General Sant Singh inspects the Passing out Parade of the Military Wing at Dehra Dun

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NOTES

The National Flag

In addressing a vast gathering of students and others at the Gandhi Maidan in Patna, on the 30th of August, Pandit Nehru is reported to have expressed his indignation at the defiling of the National Flag by Patna students thus:

"Mr. Nehru said: 'Let there be no mistake. I do not care if 100,000 or 1 million people have to die for maintaining the honour of the National Flag.'"

The report goes further to say:

"In an 80-minute speech, occasionally interrupted by disturbances created by a section of the gathering, Mr. Nehru said, it was a matter of shame that while Subhadra Bai was holding aloft the National Flag in Goa in the face of bullets, it was dishonoured in Bihar.

"Those who insult the National Flag are traitors and should be punished. I do not care if India is destroyed in upholding the honour of its National Flag."

And finally, in describing the mentality of a section of unruly students, he is reported to have remarked thus:

"Mr. Nehru said 15 students had gone to Delhi to represent their case. They forgot Delhi was not Patna and were arrested at the Delhi station for travelling without tickets. What shame!"

We fully endorse the comments and sentiments contained in the above speech, as it has been reported. There can be no excuse for indiscipline and undoubtedly an insult to our flag is an offence that should be regarded as mortal.

But has Pandit Nehru stopped to think as to why even after eight years of freedom, here in our own land, such an indignity could have been offered by our own young hopefuls. This offence should not have been possible even if they were unlettered rustics which they were certainly not. Matter of fact, it could not have been at all likely to happen in a

rustic area, where the sturdy peasant has a deep-rooted basic sense of pride in the National Flag as an emblem of our liberty and an emblem of the lifelong endeavour and sacrifice of those that fought for it. It is only possible where the callow youth—and grown-up Philistines—can be corrupted by unscrupulous disruptionists and crazy political fanatics, who would say anything or stoop to do anything without any thought about consequences, if only they thought their action or speech would embarrass the party in power. To them liberty or honour of the Nation as a whole does not count at all. All they are conscious of is power, power for their party, and personal power for themselves within the party.

It is easy for them to misguide the half-educated and unthinking. And their influence has led to widespread indiscipline and a distorted and totally diseased condition of the mental process amongst a vast number of the literate townspeople.

Pandit Nehru's Government has done nothing to combat this growing evil. Indeed, it may be said that the Government has helped the work of the disruptionists through its gross neglect of the masses in the matters of education and Mental and Moral Welfare. Moral values today, in Free India, is at a far lower level than it ever has been in our history. Let Pandit Nehru ask a few thoughtful persons, outside his coterie of office-seeking and profit-hunting yes-men, and he will find that to be the truth.

Take the case of education. Today the average man finds it even more difficult to educate his children than ever before. It is more difficult to get them admitted to proper schools, where real education is imparted, and it is almost impossible to put the children in the charge of teachers and tutors who are devoted to the cause of education. The old class of teachers and professors, who led a dedicated life, and imbued their students with a sense of proper moral values and ethical bases, are dying or due to outrageous neglect of the Government.



MIRA INSIDE THE TEMPLE
By Chittaranjan Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Education itself has been taxed by the Finance department, in the imposing of a higher Excise duty on paper. The agile gentlemen in the Finance only thought of a crore or so of rupees, they did not consider the fact that the cost of paper in India, which we claim to be a civilized country, was already preposterously high, nearly 500 per cent of pre-war. No civilized country would have taxed paper under the circumstances, we would venture to say, for education means paper primarily, without taking into consideration these basic facts.

Pandit Nehru has held up—quite rightly—the magnificent example of Subhadra Bai. But can he say that his Government or he himself, has given a moment's thought, prior to the Patna incident, as to how to uphold the shining example of such sacrifice? We would say, on the contrary.

Goa and the British Press

The attitude evinced by the British Press on the Goa issue calls for outright condemnation not only in India, but also outside. We are not objecting to their freedom of expression, but we object to their freedom of telling lies, of varnishing the truth, of expressing calumny. Against whom? Against a senior member of the British Commonwealth in the region of Asia, against the most economically developed and politically stabilised partner of the Commonwealth in South-East Asia. We confess we can understand the attitude of the American Press and their public, but we cannot understand the attitude of the British Press. The British Press is not only conservative, it is being exceedingly unscrupulous, so far as Indian affairs are concerned—no matter whether it is Hyderabad, or Kashmir or Goa. The entire British Press—both the Conservative and the so-called liberal, with insignificant exceptions—dance to the same tune to condemn us whenever the slightest opportunity arises. Today of course liberalism or lukewarm politics has vanished from practice and it exists only in ideas and in that respect it is no wonder that the Liberal Press has to close ranks with the Conservatives. It seems, however, that the British Press is required to dance to the tune of American opinion, but they out-herod Herod even there. The fall of their empires, the crumbling of their imperialism, has undoubtedly maddened the British Press, and has deprived them of their senses of right and wrong. India undoubtedly misjudged the British mind when in 1949 Pandit Nehru waxed eloquent in his defence for the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth. It is Eire that seems to have really understood the former overlord and she has rightly cut off all connections from the Commonwealth because it is a Commonwealth of the British nations whose conservatism dies hard even in the face of changing conditions.

The chameleonic attitude of the British Press in its condemnation of the Indian attitude towards Goa

is, however, understandable in one context, and it is the fear complex. India's guilt before the British Press is that she has demanded the liquidation of foreign colonial pockets from the mainland of India, because India thinks that colonialism is an anachronism in a modern world that professes to stand for democratic rights of the nations of the world. But the British Press cannot but condemn India in her demand for the liquidation of colonies all over the world. To support India will be suicidal for the British interests, to help liquidation of their remaining colonies.

The *New Statesman* and the *Nation* has taken a different attitude in this matter. No wonder that paper is regarded as a black sheep in the context of the trends of British and American journalism. What will happen to Malaya, what will happen to Hong-kong seems the nightmare that seems to ride the Jezebels of British journalism.

Facts About Portuguese India

The so-called "Portuguese Overseas Empire" in India consists of only three tiny footholds on the Western seaboard of India comprising an area of 1532 square miles which is inhabited by 637,591 persons of whom only 1,079 are either European or of European origin. The population of Indian birth was 636,153. The Hindus numbered 388,488 and the Christians 234,275. There were only 14,162 Muslims there.

True to the imperialistic tradition, the Portuguese colonialists made every effort to keep the people in ignorance. As a result nearly 88 per cent of the people were generally illiterate. The percentage of people reading and writing only in Portuguese was only 1.43 per cent while that in Indian languages was more than 10 per cent.

The State revenue Rs. 24,778,358 in 1953 was almost double the figure in 1948 when it was Rs. 12,714,629, thus signifying intensified exploitation of the people. This interpretation of the growth of State revenue would be confirmed when one looked at the figures for expenditure on the import of arms and ammunitions in the colony. In 1948, such expenditure amounted to only Rs. 42,000 but in 1951 it was Rs. 2,934,000—almost seven times the 1948 figures.

The economy of Goa was greatly dependent on India. About 100,000 Goans were living in India. The remittances from the Goans in India kept the Goan economy alive. In 1951, only a little over 41 lakhs of rupees had been remitted from Portugal to Goa while the amount remitted from India was Rs. 68,035,241. Of the 247 ships entering Goa in 1951 only 2 were Portuguese.

Capital Formation in India

Now that India is on the threshold of a Second Five-Year Plan, it is just in the fitness of things that the country should have an idea of the rate and the volume of its capital formation. The annual rate of capital

formation gives the idea of the pace of industrialization of the country and ensures a stock-taking of our resources and their proper utilization. The rate of capital formation is admittedly low in India, in comparison with that of the Western countries. The rate of capital formation in the UK and the USA exceeds more than 20 per cent a year of their national income, whereas it is as low as 6 per cent in India. The result is low *per capita* annual income and the low standard of living. The first Five-Year Plan had the ambition to raise the annual rate of capital formation by about 20 per cent. of the additional income each year. The internal resources thus generated by the process of development would be supplemented to some extent by external resources. By 1955-56 national income, it is estimated, will have gone up to about Rs. 10,000 crores that is, by about 11 to 12 per cent. above the estimated level for 1950-51. Proceeding from the level of Rs. 10,000 crores reached at the end of this five-year period, the rate of progress in regard to national income and consumption standards could be attained if from 1956-57 onwards, investment is stepped up each year by an amount equal to 50 per cent. of the additional output. This means that the rate of saving as a proportion of total national income will have to go up from 5 per cent in the base year 1950-51 and 6½ per cent., in 1955-56 to about 11 per cent. by 1960-61, and 20 per cent by 1967-68. After 1968-69, though the resources devoted to investment will continue to go up in absolute terms, capital formation as a proportion of national income will not be raised beyond 20 per cent. of the national income. On these assumptions, *per capita* income can be doubled by 1977, i.e., in about twenty-seven years, and consumption standards raised by a little over 70 per cent. over the 1950-51 level.

During the first three years of the first Five-Year Plan, the net domestic capital formation improved by over 22 per cent. According to an estimate prepared by the Central Statistical Organisation in collaboration with the Economic Wing of the Union Finance Ministry, the volume of capital formation in 1953-54 is placed at Rs. 719 crores, as compared with Rs. 589 crores in 1950-51 (base year of the Plan). The improvement of Rs. 130 crores in capital formation has been accounted for largely by the public sector. During 1953-54, the total net capital formation in the public sector is estimated at Rs. 277 crores and this compares favourably with Rs. 199 crores in 1950-51 and this is an increase of as much as 39.2 per cent. The private sector also records a capital formation of Rs. 443 crores during 1953-54, as against Rs. 390 crores three years ago, and this represents an advance of 13.6 per cent. During 1953-54, the net domestic capital formation has been estimated at 6.8 per cent., of the estimated national income of that year.

The following table will give the estimates of domestic capital formation during 1953-54, as compared with those for the preceding years :

	(In crores of rupees)		
	1948-49	1950-51	1953-54
<i>Private :</i>			
Construction—			
Urban :	39	97	123
Rural	52	64	81
Improvement of lands and construction of irrigation works—	61	72	83
Agricultural and other implements and small enterprises	45	51	65
Mining and manufacturing enterprises	60	57	61
Transport	35	49	29
<i>Total Private :</i>			
Gross	583	703	786
Depreciation	291	313	344
Net	292	390	443
<i>Government :</i>			
Gross	200	262	349
Depreciation	46	63	72
Net	154	199	277
<i>Total Investment :</i>			
Gross	783	965	1,135
Depreciation	337	376	416
Net	446	589	719

The net domestic capital formation as percentage of national income was 5.2 per cent. in 1948-49; 5.8 per cent., in 1949-50; 6.2 per cent., in 1950-51; 6.7 per cent., in 1951-52; 6.7 per cent. in 1952-53 and 6.8 per cent. in 1953-54.

The above estimates have been derived on the basis of commodity flow approach. The gross fixed capital formation has been classified into buildings, roads and bridges, other construction and works, transport equipment, and machinery and other equipment. The public sector includes Central and State Governments, Port Trusts, Municipalities, District and Local Boards, Improvement Trusts and Village Panchayats. The capital formation in the public sector has been estimated from the budget documents and other connected publications giving details of expenditure incurred by them.

That the gross domestic fixed capital formation in India expressed as a percentage of the gross domestic product at market prices is low can be indicated from the following comparison with a few other countries :

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Australia	20.7	24.3	24.8	30.6	25.9
Burma	15.1	8.7	10.3	12.0	15.1
Ceylon	6.0	8.8	10.5	11.6	13.3
UK	12.0	12.6	13.1	13.1	13.4
Indian Union	8.3	9.1	9.3	9.8	10.0

In computing the capital formation, Defence capital outlay has been treated as consumption expenditure of the Government. While constructions, such as dams, canals and wells are regarded as capital formation, expenditures on forest fire protection, eradication of pests and on research, etc., are included in consumption expenditure. All purchases of financial assets, such as shares of

private industrial concerns, etc., have been excluded. The estimation of private fixed capital formation is broadly placed under three heads, viz., (1) evaluation of construction, (2) evaluation of indigenous production of machinery and equipment, and (3) analysis of import of machinery and equipment. Among these, the data about imports are fairly comprehensive, but the data in respect of domestic output and construction are extremely scanty.

Rice Production

The Commonwealth Economic Committee in its review of world grain crops has revealed that the cooler regions of the world are now making higher yields of rice than those attained in tropical lands that mostly consume rice. Italy leads among the rice-producing countries of the world with an average yield of 26.6 cwt. per acre. Australia comes next with 25 cwt. per acre. This is followed by Japan with 22.6 cwt. per acre, the US with 14 cwt. per acre and Brazil with 8 cwt. per acre. In comparison with these, Burma obtains 7.6 cwt. per acre, Thailand 6.8 cwt. per acre and the yield in India is only 6.1 cwt. per acre. It is not milder temperature that contributes to better results, says the Committee, but intensive and better methods of cultivation and widespread use of selected seeds and fertilisers are chiefly responsible for the higher yields. The rate of rice yield per acre of land in India is extremely unsatisfactory. The First Five-Year Plan has made a considerable progress towards extensive cultivation of rice in this country, and the Second Five-Year Plan must endeavour to direct its resources towards developing intensive cultivation. The production of rice in India during 1954-55 was 2.42 crore tons, as against 2.76 crore tons in 1953-54. The fall in rice production in India during the year 1954-55, took place mainly in Bihar and West Bengal where heavy rainfall and floods in the northern districts and continuous drought in southern districts hampered the sowing and transplantation of both autumn and winter paddy. Out of the total shortfall of 3.4 million tons, these two States accounted for nearly 3.1 million tons.

According to the estimates of the Committee, the world output of rice in 1953-54, outside China, was 20 per cent above the pre-war level. In 1954-55, a slight decline in production is indicated. The world rice harvest for 1954-55 is estimated at 261 million tons of rough rice. The harvest is 2.7 per cent less than the previous year's record crop and about 17 per cent above the post-war average. In 1953-54, the total acreage outside China recorded a rise by 9 million acres to about 193 million acres. Over half the acreage outside China lies in the Commonwealth, the greater part being in the Indian Union. In 1953-54, for instance, both India and Pakistan had a record area under rice cultivation totalling 101 million acres and this was nearly one-third above the pre-war level for the sub-

continent. In recent years, however, there has been considerable increase in rice acreage in Malaya and Thailand, the latter increasing the area nearly twice as great as before the war. Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea and Formosa have also expanded their rice acreage, but the increase in Burma, Indo-China and Japan is insignificant.

The export of rice in post-war years has declined considerably in comparison with former years. In 1951, there was the highest post-war export of rice with 4.8 million tons, but this was less than two-thirds of the pre-war average and shipments since have been on the decline. Before the war, countries of the South-East Asia exported well over 5.5 million tons of rice, representing thereby three-fourths of the world trade; but the export dropped to only 2.5 million tons in 1953. Although Burma has emerged as the largest exporter of rice in post-war years, shipments from that country were only 1 million tons and this represented one-third of the pre-war level. Only Thailand maintained her rice exports, although her peak year was reached only in 1949. Exports from Indo-China continued to decline, while China raised her rice exports to a post-war peak of nearly 300,000 tons. In 1955, up to June, India has exported nearly 53,000 tons of rice. But in view of the devastating floods that are being hurled up against her north-eastern provinces by the furies of nature, she should take caution in the matter of exports of rice, so as to prevent shortage inside the country.

Sugar Production Increased

Although India is the second largest sugarcane producing country in the world, her production of crystal sugar is much below her normal requirements. The production of sugar was 10.01 lakh tons in 1953-54 as against 13.4 lakh tons in 1952-53 and 14.83 lakh tons in 1951-52. The decline is ordinarily attributed to the cane acreage having dropped from about 48 lakh acres in 1951-52 to about 36 lakh acres in 1953-54. This was further accentuated by the diversion of a large quantity of sugarcane from sugar to gur, which commanded higher prices. The consumption on the other hand was said to have swollen from 11.7 lakh tons in 1951-52 to 16.6 lakh tons in 1952-53 and 18.2 lakh tons in 1953-54. As a result of this falling production as against rising consumption, there was a deficit of sugar in the country.

The Development Council for Sugar Industry in its recent meeting at New Delhi has decided to set up a joint committee of the Indian Central Sugar Cane Committee and the Council to formulate a programme for inclusion in the second Five-Year Plan. The Council has been asked to estimate the requirements of the country for crystal sugar at the next Plan and suggest ways and means of achieving the target. The Council at its last meeting had recommended that the production

target be fixed at 22.5 lakh tons, to be attained by increasing the installed capacity of the industry from 20 to 25 lakh tons. This may be done by expanding the existing factories or installing new units or partly by establishing raw sugar refineries in the country and the matter is under the consideration of the Council for some time. The Council is also considering the suitability or desirability of stepping up sugar production by shifting or rehabilitation of factories unsuitably located or lying idle on account of inadequate supply of cane. The Council did not approve the proposal for setting up of refineries to cover up the additional capacity for the second Plan.

During 1954, 16 factories were lying idle and 20 were unsuitably located. In the case of some of these factories, production will be possible if proper measures are taken for developing cane cultivation in their areas of operation. The technical efficiency of sugar factories in this country is on the lower side when compared with that of factories in the more advanced sugar-producing countries of the world. This is due to the fact that most of the technical personnel do not possess the requisite qualifications and training and as a result are not able to effect improvements in the productive capacity of the factories. The sugar industry in India calls for early rationalisation. In India there are 170 sugar factories employing 92,000 workers. The minimum basic wage of the worker varies from Rs. 15 to 30 per month in Bombay to Rs. 8 to 24/6 in Andhra. In U. P. and Bihar the minimum wage inclusive of dearness allowance has been fixed at Rs. 55 per month. The dearness allowance paid to the workers in Orissa, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bhopal and Bombay is according to income groups and ranges from Rs. 21 to 51/12 per month. In Andhra, Madras and Travancore-Cochin, the dearness allowance is linked with the cost of living index. The rate is 2 annas per point of rise.

U. P. and Bihar account for about 68 per cent of the factories and nearly 75 per cent of the labour force employed in the industry. The other important sugar-producing States are Bombay, Andhra and Madhya Bharat. The duration of the crushing season varies considerably in different States. It ranges from 121 to 183 days in Bihar; 101 to 176 days in U. P.; 116 to 176 days in Bombay and 56 to 93 days in Andhra. In other States the duration of the crushing season varies from 88 to 196 days. The services of all the employees, except a few technical hands, clerks and workers, are terminated at the end of the season.

Agricultural Labour in India

The Government of India conducted an enquiry into the socio-economic conditions of agricultural labour in India in 1950-51. The survey is said to be the largest of its kind in Asia and was conducted in three stages, namely, the "General Village Survey," the "General

Family Survey" and the "Intensive Family Survey." The reports of the first two stages have already been published. The report of the third and final stage of enquiry based on a survey of 11,000 agricultural labour families is recently published. It contains data on employment, unemployment, wages, income, cost and standard of living and indebtedness of agricultural labour families collected from each of the sample-families, interviewed every month during the period. The survey was conducted on scientific principles of stratified random sampling under expert guidance.

According to the survey report, the average annual income of an agricultural labour family in India is about Rs. 447. Of this 64.2 per cent is derived from agricultural wages, 11.9 per cent from non-agricultural labour, 13.4 per cent from cultivation of land and 10.5 per cent from other sources. The North-West India claims the highest average income of Rs. 651 per year per family, and South India has the lowest average annual income with Rs. 382. Region-wise, it is Rs. 551 in North India, Rs. 506 in East India, Rs. 391 in West India and Rs. 417 in Central India.

The total wage bill of agricultural families in this country is placed at Rs. 590 crores as against a total national income of Rs. 4,800 crores from agriculture other than plantation and this works to 10.5 per cent of the total national income from agriculture. The survey reveals that the per capita income of an agricultural labourer was as low as Rs. 104 per year as against the per capita annual income which was Rs. 264 in 1953. Thus, the share of the agricultural labour families representing 22.7 per cent of the total number of families in the Indian Union came out to be 8.3 per cent. In Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Orissa, majority of the families fell in the income range of Rs. 100 to 400. In U. P., West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and the Punjab, the income range of the families varies between Rs. 300 and 700. In Pepsu, forty per cent of the families belong to the income group of Rs. 901 and above.

The consumption expenditure is the highest in North-West India with Rs. 674 per year per family, and it is the lowest in West India with Rs. 392. Central India has an average expenditure of Rs. 423, while North India, East India and South India has Rs. 548, Rs. 528 and Rs. 397 respectively. In this respect, States in India have striking differences. Out of a total expenditure of Rs. 468, food alone accounts for 85 per cent. Most agricultural families have to face deficit budgets, the average per family being Rs. 14. The expenditure on clothing and footwear account for Rs. 29 or 6.3 per cent. of the total expenditure. There is practically no expenditure on house-rent and repairs, fuel and lighting, as the agricultural labourers mostly live in *kutcha* house.

According to the Enquiry, men formed 55 per cent.

of the agricultural labourers in rural India. On an average, an adult male worker keeps himself employed for 189 in the year in agriculture and 29 days in non-agricultural labour. The number of days of employment is the highest in North India, being 289. It is 245 days in Central India, 224 days in East India, 196 days in West India, and South India with 181 days has the lowest number of days of employment. As regards the employment of women, North India leads with the highest number of days (143 days) of employment for women, followed next by Central India with 141 days of employment. The number of days of employment for women is 139 days in South India, 116 days in West India, 115 in North-West and 123 days in East India.

On an average an adult remains without wage-paid employment for about 82 days a year. Even for the remaining part of the year, the labourer always faces the uncertainty of being gainfully employed. Nearly 16 per cent of the labourers throughout India did not secure wage-paid employment all through the year. In South India, unemployment is relatively high involving about 20 per cent. of the workers who remain unemployed for 115 days during the year. Unemployment among the agricultural labourers is also equally high in West India where they remain unemployed for nearly 113 days a year, and the number of days of employment is the highest in North India where they remain unemployed for only 44 days a year.

As regards the remuneration of workers, the average daily wage of an adult male casual worker is 17.5 annas for the country as a whole. The average daily wage for a woman worker is 11 annas. About 13.5 per cent. of the man-days worked by men is paid for at rates less than annas 10 and at the same rate women have to work for 56 per cent. of the man-days worked by them. An agricultural worker earns on an average only about one-third of the wage earned by an industrial worker. The average daily wage of a male industrial worker is 54 annas and it is 17.5 annas for a woman worker.

Indebtedness among the agricultural labourers is widespread in the country. Of the total agricultural labour families, nearly 45 per cent. are indebted, the average debt per family is Rs. 105. In South India, the family indebtedness is Rs. 102, in West India it is Rs. 108, in Central India Rs. 103 and it is the highest in North-West India with an average debt of Rs. 335. The total debt of the agricultural labourers in India has been placed at Rs. 80 crores.

The expenditure on clothing and footwear constitutes nearly 6.3 per cent of the total expenditure and it is higher on an average in North-West India. An agricultural family spends on an average Rs. 30 or Rs. 6.5 per cent. of the total expenditure on the services and miscellaneous group of expenditure including items like, tobacco, betelnuts, bidi, cigarette, washing soap and medicine. The expenditure on these items is the highest in South India.

U Nu on Goa

The daily press on August 21 carried the following item containing the clear and forceful remarks of the Burmese Premier on Goa:

"U. Nu characterised events in Goa as the 'kind of spark that can lead to a conflagration.'"

"The Portuguese had no right to be in India, he declared."

"I do not want the importance of the Goa affair to be underestimated. It is the kind of spark that can lead to a conflagration," U. Nu said.

"Such a serious problem cannot be solved by accusing Prime Minister Nehru of being a Hitler or a dictator. Nothing can be more absurd than to accuse such a man who told his Parliament that his Government would not be provoked by the killings (by Portuguese) into military action against Portugal and that he would try to seek the transfer of Portuguese India, the last foreign territory in the country, by peaceful means," U. Nu said.

"Declaring that Portugal had no right to be in India, U. Nu said, in his opinion Portugal's insistence to stay on even long after the British and the French had withdrawn was an amazing political phenomenon."

"The Burmese Premier said: 'Not only Mr. Nehru but also those who are Asians will not be able to tolerate colonialism, whether it is by Portugal or any other country.'"

"What is needed at present," U. Nu said, "is a concerted effort on the part of all peace-lovers to bring the Portuguese and Indian representative together to find a peaceful solution of the Goa problem."

Pandit Nehru on Goa

The following news appeared in the daily press on August 21:

"Sitapur, Aug. 20.—Prime Minister Nehru addressed the Council of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee for 70 minutes this evening."

"Shri Nehru is understood to have referred to the Goa Satyagraha and said that the movement was an intricate problem involving international complication."

"The Goa problem, he said, had to be solved by peaceful methods and there was necessity of self-restraint."

"He said the Government of India was taking steps for early liberation of Goa."

"Shri Nehru is stated to have observed that recent demonstrations at Bombay did more harm than good to the cause of the Goa liberation movement."

Radhakrishnan at Durgapur

The Vice-President delivered a short but exceedingly apt speech at the opening of the long-awaited Damodar Valley barrage at Durgapur, which was a very impressive and successful ceremony. We give an extract from the report from the *Statesman* of August 10:

"Durgapur (Burdwan), August 9.—Over 6,000 people, who had come from the surrounding areas, shouted with joy as Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, opened the Durgapur Barrage, designed and constructed entirely by Indian engineers, and water from the controlled Damodar rushed into the irrigation-cum-navigation canal on the left bank of the river here this afternoon."

"Dr. Radhakrishnan, who dedicated the barrage to the people of India, said it would help to irrigate 100,000 acres immediately and 1.3 million acres ultimately and transform 'a valley of devastation and sorrow into a valley of progress and prosperity.'"

"The function took place in a pavilion erected on an embankment beside the barrage. Standing on the dais and invoking the blessings of God, the Vice-President pressed a switch which opened the head-regulator gates to allow the passage of water from the river into the almost dry bed of the canal."

"Dr. Radhakrishnan said that after Independence the country's first necessity was rehabilitation of refugees. Next in importance came the stepping up of agricultural production. The construction of this barrage was a step in that direction."

"Attempts were being made to control floods. At that very moment, the people of U.P., Bihar, North Bengal, and Assam were suffering from the ravages of floods. 'We appreciate the great courage and determination with which they are standing up to these natural calamities. It is, therefore, very essential that in the second Five-Year Plan we must do our utmost to bring about a greater measure of flood control.'"

"The second Five-Year Plan, he said, should not be regarded as a Government Plan. It was a national Plan in which every Indian should take pride. Unless economic freedom and social rehabilitation went into the content of political democracy, it could not be said that 'we have attained political freedom at all.' Measures were being adopted to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country."

"Pointing out the dangers of caste and provincial jealousies and communal rivalries, he said these impeded the march of a country. Those associated with the construction of the barrage had demonstrated that it was possible to subordinate these evils in the larger interests of the country. Men from different parts of India were here co-operating and endeavouring in a common purpose."

"There was a time in this country when people built sacred temples. Today, the alleviation of human sorrow, removal of poverty, and improvement of the lot of people must be regarded as a sacred task. This was a secular form of sanctity."

"Recently, many Indians had visited different countries and had been impressed by the passionate fervour, sincerity, and dedication with which the people there were working for their solidarity and uplift. Stupendous improvement had been made under a

different form of government. 'Here also, though our methods are different and though we believe in democracy, the same fervour, enthusiasm and national dedication will have to be generated among the people.'"

"A Welfare State should not be content merely with the advancement of the material well-being of the people. History showed how many Welfare States, which had economic prosperity, justice, and equality, had descended into the depths of degradation and the horror of concentration camps. A Welfare State must also be interested in raising the moral and spiritual standards of the people. The country expected from every citizen not feebleness but efficiency, not grudging work but dedicated service."

Corruption in Services

New Delhi seems to have woke up at last to the rampant evils of corruption in the Public Services. But unless a Central Ministry with a fearless and staunch person at the head is put in charge, nothing much will be achieved we fear.

"New Delhi, Aug. 6.—To fight the evil of corruption in public services each Ministry at the Centre will hereafter have an officer of at least the status of a Deputy Secretary to be the Vigilance Officer in that Ministry."

"Each Ministry will nominate its own officer under this procedure, the initiative for which was taken by the Home Minister, Mr. Pant."

"The Vigilance Officer, according to a Government Press release, will function under the direct control and guidance of the Secretary of the Ministry concerned and will concentrate on preventing and punishing corrupt practices in the Ministry and its attached and subordinate offices."

"It is fully realized, the release says, that the battle to root out the evil of corruption has to be waged on many sectors and in a variety of ways and that the main effort and initiative must come from within each Ministry and Department."

Conflagration in Morocco

The daily press of August 21, carried the news-item given below. It is a lurid example of the evils of colonialism:

"More than 60 people were killed or wounded in French Morocco to-day as violence flared up throughout the Protectorate according to reports reaching here."

"Biggest outbreak, which marked the second anniversary of the exile of the Nationalist Sultan Mohammed Ben Yusef, was in the Atlas mountain town in Kenifra where the commander of 3,000 French troops claimed to have caused 60 casualties among rebel tribesmen."

"Today was picked by the Nationalists for anti-French demonstrations but French officials had hoped tension would be eased in time by yesterday's Paris decision to

begin consultations on Monday with leaders of all the Moroccan parties.

"One person was killed and four were wounded in a clash at Rabat this afternoon. No further details were immediately available.

"In the villages of Boujad and Oued Zem, 180 miles south of here, six people were killed including a French official and a French policeman. Police opened fire on small groups of rioters in these villages.

"Reports here said that paratroopers dropped into the Atlas mountains during the night after riots in Kenifra which caused 14 deaths yesterday, sealed off the town and ordered the tribesmen to surrender.

"A paratroop lieutenant was shot and another soldier fatally injured as they tried to smash through barricades."

French North Africa

The weekly news magazine *Time* for August 29, carries a long report on the conflagration in North Africa. We give extracts below:

"Violence that came close to actual warfare blazed across French North Africa. In an 850-mile arc from Constantine in Algeria to Casablanca in Morocco, more than 800 were killed and thousands more wounded in a spreading, sporadic rebellion that brought the wrath of Islam close to the shores of Europe. The uprising threatened to cut off France's vast colonies in equatorial Africa. More than 300 million Moslems were already feeling their impact, from Senegal to the Celebes. In the eye of the storm were 20,000 Americans—airmen and their families stationed at the four Strategic Air Command bomber bases in western Morocco."

"In Paris there was shock and alarm. Premier Edgar Faure, who had appointed an able man to bring peace to Morocco and had then hung back from letting that man put through the reforms he demanded, condemned 'this terror and savageness,' and grimly warned of French retribution. In the Moroccan capital of Rabat, his appointee, French Resident General Gilbert Grandval, was shocked at the bloody collapse of his efforts to win a compromise.

"The man who arrived in Morocco a month and a half ago with the ardent desire to 'restore order and peace by friendship has a broken heart,' said Grandval. 'There is no motive that can excuse such a crime.'

"Day before the fighting broke out, Grandval had rushed back to Morocco from Paris with a special invitation to the nationalist leaders, asking them to meet with the French Cabinet to work out a compromise. Because Grandval had won their trust, most nationalist leaders accepted this last-minute offer. But though the moderates in Morocco urged calm on their impatient people, the extremists would not be stayed. As so often before, the French concessions came too late.

"The seeds of revolt had been sown over 43 years of French insensitivity to the political and spiritual

longings of North Africa's Arab peoples. France gave North Africa roads, hospitals and the works of Voltaire, but not the political liberty it demanded. The spark that ignited the violence was struck one day last week. It came on *La Date Fatidique* (literally, the fateful date).

"It was the second anniversary of the dethronement of Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef as head of some 9,000,000 Moroccan Moslems. On August 20, 1953, the French bundled Ben Youssef aboard a DC-3 and exiled him, ostensibly to 'save' him from his own people, actually because he supported their demand for more political freedom. So flimsy a pretext was an insult to North Africa's faithful. Morocco's urgent nationalists flatly refused to accept the weak and wizened old man whom Paris foisted on them in Ben Youssef's place. Ben Youssef, never very popular as Sultan, became in exile a martyr.

"The French were dismayed and alarmed. Since last month's riots in Casablanca (*Time*, July 25), 60,000 of their troops have been standing guard in Morocco, but more, apparently, were needed. From its limited reserves in Europe, the French army flew a battalion of marines and a company of security police to beef up the Moroccan garrison. It even took space on commercial airliners to fetch hundreds of Senegalese NCO's from their units in Indo-China.

"There were other uprisings in Rabat, Marrakech and Fez, but the worst fighting broke out where it was least expected: among the Berber tribes. Lean, eagle-eyed horsemen who accept the authority of Islam, though not all of its practices, e.g., they eat wild boar, the Berbers are the descendant, of the proud indigenes of Africa's northwest corner. Many Berber tribes held out against the French until as late as 1934, but since then their *Caids* (chiefs) have accepted French gold.

"The French encouraged Berber hostility to the Moroccan Arabs as part of their general policy of divide and rule. Two years ago the Berbers were persuaded to back up El Glaoui, the cunning old Pasha of Marrakech, who acted as France's agent in the removal of Ben Youssef. El Glaoui has teamed up with the right-wing elements among the French *colons* in North Africa to delay and sabotage Gilbert Grandval's plans for reform and self-government.

"An important segment of Berbers had now switched sides. 'There is new hope in Morocco,' the Berber *Caids* wired Premier Faure recently. 'We respectfully ask you to put an end to the El Glaoui myth There is no question of accepting the Pasha of Marrakech as the chief of the Berbers. They form a part of the whole, the Moroccan people.' But when the French continued to temporize, the *Caids* told their Berbers to saddle up.

"While the French army had its hands full beating back the Moroccans, other fanatical Arabs saw their

chance in Algeria, North Africa's richest province and legally a part of France.

"With perfect timing, gangs of Algerian *fellaghas* (rebel bandits) raided French police stations and stormed the railroad station on the outskirts of Constantine (pop. 119,000). Fourteen Frenchmen standing at a bar were blown to bits by a bomb. The *fellaghas* called themselves 'The Army of Liberation'; they were joined by urban terrorists known as 'Death Battalions.' The rebels swept through dozens of French villages, burning, looting and killing. Scores of French civilians were knifed or torn to pieces before the troops swung into action.

"Pitched battles broke out in half a dozen Algerian towns. It was impossible to count all the casualties, but reliable estimates ranged as high as 560 dead (460 of them rebels) and possibly thousands injured.

"All told, *La Date Fatidique* claimed the lives of some 650 Arabs and 200 Frenchmen. French North Africa was in flames, and at week's end there was still no knowing how far the flames would spread, or how they would be put out."

Events in Sudan

The daily press carried reports about a mutiny amongst the Sudanese troops in Lower Sudan. The following extract from *Time* for August 29, gives the background:

"The Sudan moved closer to the pleasures and perplexities of freedom. In Khartoum the Sudanese Parliament voted unanimously last week to ask the British and Egyptians to withdraw their two remaining battalions of troops from the country within 90 days. Under the 1953 Anglo-Egyptian agreement, this clears the way for the Sudan, by referendum or election of a Constituent Assembly, to settle the one big question about its future: Shall the Sudan (pop. 8,800,000) become an independent nation or join with Egypt?"

Stigma of Illegitimacy

The Worldover Press supplies the following news:

"Rome.—The Italian Government is moving to eliminate the traditional stigma attached to children born out of wedlock. Until new legislation was brought forward, the estimated 2,000,000 illegitimates were marked on official records with the initials 'N.N.', meaning in Latin 'no name.' It is expected that soon the state will be permitted to assign fictitious names on birth certificates whenever one or both of the child's parents are not known."

Colour and Herrenvolk

The same source gives the following news:

"Johannesburg.—Figures on the relative success of white and coloured nurses in Pretoria taking identical examinations after training, show that the percentage of colored candidates passing the tests is higher than that of the 'Europeans'."

Pakistan Through U. S. Eyes

The international edition of the *New York Times* of August 14, gives the following editorial on Pakistan's changes in Government:

"Pakistan (area: 365,907 square miles; population: 76,000,000) has one of the best armies in Asia and is firmly committed to the free world camp in foreign policy. But in its eight years of independence it has experienced grave difficulties in establishing democratic self-government. A Constituent Assembly tried for six years, without success, to write a Constitution. It was dissolved in October, 1953 by Governor General Ghulam Mohammed, an appointee of the British Crown under the Indian Independence Act which, in the absence of a Constitution, is Pakistan's basic law. Since then, Ghulam Mohammed, though gravely ill, has ruled by decree.

"Pakistan's political difficulties are not surprising. Carved out of British India as the Moslem counterpart to Nehru's Hindu state, the country is split by a thousand miles of Indian territory into two halves. West Pakistan, including most of the territory and the capital, Karachi, is united in ardent devotion to the Moslem faith, but shot through with provincial rivalries. East Pakistan, a single province (East Bengal), includes most of the people and much of the industry, but has a strong Hindu minority and champs at direction from Karachi.

"At first, the gulf was bridged by the party that won Pakistan's independence—the Moslem League. But the league is based chiefly in West Pakistan. As the lustre of independence began to dim, there arose in East Bengal organized opposition to the League's policy of centralized control from Karachi and a special status for the Moslem religion. Despite the opposition, the League's leader, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, tried to carry on a one-party Government. Dissolution of the Assembly in 1953 was one rebuff to his policy. A second came in Pakistan's first elections two months ago. The Moslem League won only 35 of the 80 seats in the new Constituent Assembly. Two Bengali parties—the United Front under Fazlul Huq, and the Awami party under Hussein Suhrawardy—won 16 and 13 seats, respectively.

"Last week in Pakistan the new Constituent Assembly convened and a fresh approach to the political and constitutional problems got under way. Sunday, Ghulam Mohammed resigned as Governor General because of bad health. He was replaced by a bluff soldier and personal protege, Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza, 55. The same day Mohammed Ali resigned as Prime Minister. He was replaced by another Moslem League leader, former Finance Minister Chaudri Mohammed Ali. The New Prime Minister will head a coalition Government linking the Moslem League with the United Front of Fazlul Huq."

Democracy in Turkey

The following news, taken from the international

edition of the *New York Times* for August 14, shows the working of democracy in Turkey today:

"Istanbul, Turkey, August 13. (AP).—The leader of the chief political opposition to Premier Adnan Menderes' regime was arrested tonight for alleged insults against the Government in a talk at a news conference.

"Kasim Gulek, 45, secretary general of the People's Republican party, the party of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk, was taken into custody aboard the Turkish ship *Erzurum* while on a speaking tour along the Black Sea coast.

"The arrest was announced by Justice Minister Osman Sevdi Cecekdag in Ankara. The announcement said Mr. Gulek's arrest resulted from a news conference remark that last year's general elections were unlawful.

"Mr. Gulek was graduated from Columbia University in New York.

"Former President Ismet Inonu, now President of the People's Republican party, announced here the party might withdraw from Parliament because of Mr. Gulek's arrest."

Atomic Energy Conference

The international edition of the *New York Times* for August 14, gives a very clear report on the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. We append below a comprehensive extract:

"The day that marked man's first use of the most terrible weapon ever devised—August 6, 1945—also opened a prospect of vast potential benefit to civilization. President Harry Truman, announcing the destruction of Hiroshima by an atomic bomb, suggested the promise in these words:

"The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may, in the future, supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil and falling water * * *.

"In the decade since Mr. Truman uttered those words scientists have pushed far forward toward the goal of harnessing the atom. But they have done so largely behind the barriers of national secrecy, cut off from the free interchange of ideas and information which is the lifeblood of scientific progress.

"A major purpose of last week's meeting at Geneva was to give new impetus to mankind's hope in the atom as a boon and source of abundance. The atmosphere at the conference was a mixture of world's fair, industrial convention and scientific conclave. The meeting bore the official title of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Its center was Geneva's imposing marble Palace of Nations, U.N. headquarters in Europe. There history's largest assemblage of the world's leading scientists—1,260 delegates from seventy-two nations—gathered in three sessions each day to hear more than 400 papers.

"Between sessions, the delegates and hundreds of curious visitors thronged the exhibits of the world's first 'atomic fair' in the halls of the Palace.

"The exchange of information at the formal sessions was broad and detailed. The papers—some of which bore such jawbreaking titles as 'Dosimetry of Reactor Radiations by Calorimetric Measurement'—covered virtually every non-military aspect of atomic research. But the subject that created the greatest interest was the potentiality of the atom as a source of power. The importance of the subject was underlined by a British paper delivered early in the conference on the life expectancy of present world sources of conventional fuels. The British report estimated that if the total demand for primary fuels increases at the rate of 3 per cent per year (the demand has been increasing at the rate of 2 per cent, but it is expected to rise), the fuels will be exhausted in about 150 to 200 years.

"The first steps in utilization of atomic power have already been taken. The United States, Britain and Russia all have current-producing reactors in operation. But cost has been one of the main barriers to faster commercial exploitation. Uranium, the primary source of fissionable material, is scarce and expensive, and the capital investment in uranium piles is high. At Geneva last week it was disclosed that new discoveries promise to reduce costs and greatly increase the available supplies of nuclear fuels, with an energy potential many millions of times greater than coal or oil. These were the main revelations at Geneva on the power question and other aspects of atomic research:

Breeder reactor. The breeder reactor has opened the possibility of a huge increase in the supply of fissionable material. In the breeder reactor, plutonium—the man-made fissionable element created by a uranium pile—'breeds' so that more plutonium is produced than was put into the reactor to begin with. The British disclosed that they have achieved a 2 to 1 result from a breeder reactor—that is, ended up with twice as much plutonium as as they started with.

Thorium. The scientists predicted that the element thorium might outstrip natural uranium as a basic source of fuel for atom power. While thorium, which is more plentiful than uranium, is not fissionable itself, it can be converted into U-233, a highly fissionable isotope of uranium.

Commercial exploitation. The businessmen were at Geneva in force. In the downtown section of the city, nine countries had on display industrial atomic equipment. The British, making a strong bid for the export market, had by far the largest exhibit.

Fusion. One of the most startling developments at the Geneva meeting came in connection with the possibility of producing nuclear energy through fusion. Fusion, in contrast to fission which is the splitting of atoms to form lighter elements is the transformation of atoms of a lighter element into those of a heavier. Fusion is the process that produces the sun's heat. It is also the process that gives the hydrogen bomb its awesome power. But because of the intense heat required for fusion—the hydrogen bomb, for example,

has to be triggered by an atomic bomb—the fusion process had been regarded as unadaptable to the production of useful energy. At Geneva last week Prof. Homi J. Bhabha of India, president of the conference, said:

"I venture to predict that a method will be found for liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner within the next two decades. When that happens, the energy problems of the world will have been solved forever, for the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy hydrogen in the oceans."

"Professor Bhabha's statement caused speculation that some important 'breakthrough' in harnessing the fusion process had taken place recently. Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and head of the U. S. delegation in Geneva, said that no such 'breakthrough' had occurred in the United States. But he disclosed that American scientists are working on the problem.

"With the Geneva conference still in progress—it is scheduled to end Saturday—it was still too early for a final assessment of its meaning and results. But some facts already stood out. One was that the conference had taken a long first step toward breaking down the barriers of international secrecy which heretofore had retarded atomic progress. Another was that the conference had further eased international tensions and renewed hope for eventual international control of the atom.

"Beyond these results was the broad panorama of benefits to mankind foreshadowed in the Geneva reports. A new industrial revolution, far greater in scope than the one that transformed society in the 19th century, was clearly in the making."

Thomas Mann

With the death of Thomas Mann, the last of the titans of the pre-World War days has passed away. That his philosophy of life was not always acceptable to the moderns, with their ideas of regimented nationalism will be clearly understood from the following note taken from the *New York Times*, international edition (August 14):

"Thomas Mann's death on Friday (Aug. 12) came more than half a century after the novel *Buddenbrooks* had brought him fame and torment. Torment his life indeed was, at least in part, for he suffered grievously from the collapse of the old Europe and the old values. The world of which he wrote so prodigiously was a sick world, and his genius felt this sickness. Dying at 80, he did not live long enough to experience the triumph of his ideas. He has been compared with Goethe, but in spite of his tremendous energy he lacked Goethe's robustness and confidence.

"Where shall we place him in the story of the world's literature? That he will be considered significant is certain. The impress of his thought on his contemporaries cannot, however, be measured. He would have liked this impress to be for freedom and man's dignity.

But though he rejected nazism with vehemence and repudiated Communism 'as long as the destination is totalitarianism,' he revealed in his later years a deep emotion, a passionate searching rather than a sharp decision."

South Korea

The *Time* for August 22, comments thus on the Korean riots that took place about the middle of August:

"More than 140,000 Americans were killed or wounded fighting Communists in Korea, and the U.S. is still spending \$250 million a year to clear up the wreckage of war. Yet last week, with bayonets and tear gas, U.S. troops were fighting again in Korea—this time against their allies, the South Koreans.

"At Pusan, where the U.S. put division after division ashore to save Korea in 1950, Korean mobs stormed U.S. barracks. Into Kunsan air base, where U.S. warplanes took off to bomb South Korea's invaders, Koreans were hurling bombs of their own. It was a strange and tragic conflict, for the Americans were fighting to protect their enemies: the Communist Poles and Czechs of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

"While the G.I.s were stoned in their defense, the Communists last week sat in safety behind U.S. machine guns, smoking American cigarettes, leafing through American magazines, drinking American beer. With their Swiss and Swedish colleagues, they came to Korea in 1953, ostensibly to ensure that neither side increased its military strength after the armistice signed at Panmunjom. That truce, which South Korea did not sign, was supposed to last 90 days, until a conference met to work out a treaty. It is now 23 months later, and President Syngman Rhee has run out of patience.

"His complaint: truce inspection is a farce, for only the U.N. observes it. Not a Sabre jet leaves Korea, not a howitzer is junked or a Patton tank replaced on the U.N. side, without its being reported to the NNSC and thence, via the Czechs and the Poles, to Pyongyang, Peking and Moscow. U.S. soldier replacements disembarking in Korea are greeted by Communist officers, who click them in with hand counters as they march off their Army transports. Yet on the North Korean side of the truce line, an immense and illegal buildup has gone on unchecked.

"Since the armistice, U.S. intelligence estimates that the Communists have increased artillery firepower by 30 per cent, laid out 40 military airfields and moved in more than 400 aircraft, including 150 MIG jets. Last year, the Swiss and Swedes reported that truce inspection in North Korea was 'completely illusory.' The U.S. called for its immediate abolition on the grounds that 'obstructionist tactics on the Communist side have made (its work) impossible.' Washington even promised Rhee that the U.S. would see to it that NNSC left Korea shortly. It is still there."

Israel Election Results

General elections were held on July 29 to elect Israel's third Knesset (Parliament) in which about 79 per cent of the 1,060,000 voters participated. The election was held on the basis of proportional representation, and 18 parties competed for the 120 seats in the Knesset of whom 7 parties failed to win sufficient votes—1 per cent of the total votes cast—to entitle them to any representation. The table following showed the relative position of the different parties:

Name of the party	Position in—		
	3rd Knesset	2nd Knesset	1st Knesset
			(Present Parliament)
Mapai (Labour)	40	47	46
Herut	15	8	14
General Zionists	13	20	7
Mapam	9	7	19
Achdut Avoda	10	4	—
Hapoel Hamizrachi	11	8	—
Mizrachi		2	—
Aguda	6	3	10
Poale Aguda		2	—
Progressives	5	4	5
Israel Arab Democrats	5	3	—
Communists	6	7	4
Others	—	5	9

* Religious Bloc

The *News From Israel* adds: "Final returns will not be published until the vote of men and women serving in the Defence Forces and who voted in army bases has been counted. When all votes have been finally counted the surplus votes will have to be distributed. (The surplus vote is the number of votes remaining over after dividing the number of votes received by a party by the 'key' required for a seat. For example, if 840,000 eligible votes were cast for the 120 seats the 'key' will be exactly 7,000—obtained by dividing 840,000 by 120. If party 'X' received 15,000 votes, it is entitled to two seats and has a surplus vote of 1,000. The Israel election law provides for party agreements in regard to the surplus vote, which agreements have to be registered before the elections with the Central Elections Committee. A party with a large surplus vote and an agreement with another party may thus still manage to obtain an additional seat in the final computation)."

Malayan Elections

As in the Singapore elections in April, the elections in Malaya resulted in the victory of the coalition of parties favouring immediate independence. So long Malaya had been administered through an executive council and a Legislative Council packed with nominated members. In the new Legislative Council, which would consist of 98 members besides

the Speaker, 52 members were elected from 52 constituencies. The new Council would have a cabinet consisting of nine members with Sir Donald MacGillivray, the British High Commissioner at the head. In the elections, held on July 27, a triple alliance of Malaya, Chinese and Indian organisations headed by Tengku (Prince) Abdul Rahaman swamped all rivals by winning 51 of the elected seats. The component parties of the alliance were United Malaya National Organisation (UMNO), Malaya Chinese Association (MCA) and Malayan Indian Congress. The chief opponent of the alliance was the Party Negara headed by the veteran Dato Sir On Bin Jaaffar but it failed to secure even a single seat.

Of the 29,00,000 adult inhabitants of Malaya about 17 lakhs were eligible to be voters; but actually only 12,50,000 registered themselves as voters of whom about 84 per cent were Malays. About half of the adult Chinese were excluded from the electoral rolls on the ground that they were outsiders.

The defeat of Dato Sir On Bin Jaaffar, who had been the founder of the United Malaya National Organisation but had left it later on, in his own constituency was most unexpected and caused the greatest surprise in political quarters.

The results of the election together with the success of 15 Chinese candidates put forward by the alliance in an election in which the voters were predominantly Malays were interpreted to mean that communalism had lost its hold in Malayan politics.

On August 2, the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray invited ten members of the alliance—six Malays, three Chinese and one Indian—to join Malaya's first elected Cabinet. The Indian in the Cabinet, who would be in charge of Labour relations, was Mr. V. T. Sambandham, President of the Malayan Indian Congress.

U.S. Private Foreign Investment

More than 2,000 United States private business companies and corporations controlled and operated business enterprises outside the United States with a book value of 16,200 million dollars, reports the *New York Times*. They were dealing in the production and distribution, in the words of the newspaper, "of everything from breakfast food to Diesel trucks and from crude oil and dried coconuts to bobby pins and antibiotics."

USIS adds, "Encouragement of the flow of U.S. private capital abroad is an integral part of the basic foreign economic policy of the United States. Recent pronouncements and actions of the U.S. Government provide proof of a policy promoting and encouraging the flow of U.S. private capital abroad, and evince a willingness to do a big part of the job of bringing about a fruitful meeting between U.S. capital and foreign investment opportunities."

The U. S. Government created a new office in the Department of Commerce in April (1955) known as the Office of Foreign Investment with a view to encouraging private capital investment abroad. In May this year the U.S. Congress approved of U.S. participation in the International Finance Corporation which would be established as an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and would work directly and intensively in the field of private enterprise. The U.S. Government would contribute \$35,168,000 as the U.S. share of the \$100,000,000 capital stock of the IFC.

Then there was the Investment Guarantee Programme, which provided, by means of inter-governmental agreements, insurance protection to U.S. foreign investors against the risks of inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts and loss through expropriation and confiscation. Through December 31, 1954, insurance totalling \$48.5 million had been issued to cover 69 investments of U.S. private capital engaged abroad. Of the total, \$45.9 million insured U.S. capital invested overseas against inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts, and \$2.6 million against loss through expropriation. Total fees collected amounted to over \$1 million; no payments under guarantee contracts were required. Up to May, 1955, twenty-four countries had signed such agreements with the U.S.A. The Government of India was reportedly considering the proposal for signing such an investment guarantee agreement with the United States. The latest reports indicate that a 25 years guarantee has been decided upon.

Mr. Eric Johnston, head of President Eisenhower's International Development Advisory Board and President of the Motion Picture Association of America, however, pointed out that while foreign governments were mostly willing to import American private capital, they found it impossible to accept the American terms for such investment.

U.S. Productivity

During the period since the end of the Second World War, factory output in the United States climbed six times as fast as factory employment. One of the high lights of the past decade was that the giant producers had grown bigger. For example, General Electric Company's plants had grown from 93 plants in 72 cities in 16 States to 135 plants in 105 cities in 28 States of America. Standard Oil of New Jersey, the largest oil concern, sold in 1954 nearly twice the petroleum products it had done in 1946. The largest chemical company Du Pont, had a sales volume in 1954 of almost triple its 1946 volume. There was, however, also a growth in the number of small producers. At the start of 1946 there were 264,000 manufacturing firms in the U.S.A. At the start of 1955 the total stood at 311,000.

The post-war decade also witnessed a gradual progressive upgrading of unskilled labour to skilled labour and an almost complete mechanisation of factory work. The percentage of work energy supplied by machine had risen from 17 per cent in 1880 and 84 per cent in 1930 to 95 per cent in 1954.

Another major trend of the period was the entrance of the Southern, South-western and Western States into the industrial age. Before the war those States were mostly agricultural.

This striking increase in the productivity was also reflected in the workers' income. There had been a 23-per cent rise in their real wages since 1946.

Ambassador and Colour Bar

Sri Gaganbehari Lal Mehta, India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., and his Secretary were the latest victims of the colour bar in the U.S.A. when on August 22 they were asked to leave the public dining room at the international airport at Houston in Texas, U.S.A.

Reuter reports: "Texas law forbids serving Negroes and white people in the same room but a Federal Government contract bars discrimination at the airport."

"Mr. John Stevens, the Houston Mayor's executive assistant, said the Government's anti-discrimination contract 'unquestionably applies to the dining hall'."

Nonetheless the Indian envoy and his secretary were asked by the manageress to leave the room. She is also reported to have said that had the Indians not complied with her request she "would have had to have them removed."

Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, sent a formal apology to the Government of India through the U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Sherman Cooper, and also sent a personal apology to Mr. Mehta. *Reuter* adds that the mayor of Houston had apologised on behalf of every citizen of Houston to Mr. Mehta.

Referring to the incident, the *Vigil* writes editorially on August 27 under the caption "Negroes in America and Indians": "We think if we want to show real dignity we should inform the American Government that the apologies are unwanted. On the other hand, we should let the USA know what we think of the 'colour bar' by instructing all Indian representatives to prefer the company of Negroes wherever discrimination is practised as regards the use of any public place or other amenities. We should spurn the 'honour' of being, as 'privileged' foreigners, classed with whitemen who approve or tolerate such discrimination against their own fellow citizens on account of race or colour . . ."

The news paper expresses the view that the attitude, so long maintained by the Indians, in demanding separate treatment from the Negroes in

USA should be given up. Such an attitude had been of no help to the struggle for the end of racial segregation in USA. It had rather helped to strengthen the notion of the Negroes' inferiority in the minds of the white. The cause of the American Negro would be greatly helped and India's dignity would be considerably raised, the newspaper writes, "if instead of asking for equal treatment with the whites, Indians, while in America, show by their conduct that they make no distinction between white and coloured citizens of the U.S. and will, where discrimination is made, choose rather the Negro's side of the partition because the Negro, though as much a citizen of the U.S. as any white man, is weaker, wronged and under-privileged."

This incident has been closed by the extremely correct and dignified attitude of our Ambassador. The U.S. press, in general, has very severely condemned the action of the misguided female in charge, as she has brought her own country down to the level of the uncivilized barbarians of South Africa.

India-China-USSR Film Venture

The *Star*, weekly news-magazine, published from Lahore, reports that an Indo-Sino-Soviet co-production film depicting the life and travel to India in search of knowledge of the illustrious Chinese Buddhist scholar, Hiuen Tsang, was expected to be undertaken next year by Producer-Director Chetan Anand. According to the paper's cinema critic, "Permission to make the film—an unprecedented three-nation effort—was granted by the Government of India last month while the Soviet Government agreed to the proposal in October last when Chetan was in Moscow as a member of the Indian Film Delegation.

"The co-operation of the Chinese Government is being sought and its envoys in India have expressed enthusiasm for the project on the fabulous Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, as he is called by his people and whose name is lost in legends."

The film would be in Russian aquacolor and in four versions—Hindi, Chinese, Russian and another for international screening. The final agreement would shortly be signed in Moscow, the report adds.

U.N. Officials' Illegal Transmitter

That the charges often heard in this country against U.N. officials were not altogether unfounded would be clear from the subjoined news-item taken from the 4th August issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*:

"New Delhi, August 2.—Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, said in reply to Dr. Gidwani that it was true that the United Nations representatives in Delhi had been operating a wireless transmitter without any permission or licence from the Central Government.

"The matter had been taken up with the U.N. Secretary-General in New York, he said."

It would be interesting to know the nationality of the particular officials since obviously the U.N., as an international organisation, cannot have any use for such clandestine news.

Press Commission Report

Sri B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, introduced a resolution in the Lok Sabha on August 19 for consideration of the report of the Press Commission. According to his statement, the Union Government had already reached tentative conclusions on most of the recommendations of the Commission. One or two recommendations only were still under discussion. Yet the views expressed by the House might induce a change on the views of the Government even on matters on which tentative decisions had already been reached, said the Minister.

The recommendations of the Commission that would require legislation by the Parliament were those relating to service conditions of working journalists, the revision of law regarding Press registration, the regulation of the economic aspects of the industry by the price-page schedule and the constitution of a Press Council.

According to the *Statesman's* special representative in New Delhi, the great majority of the members, taking part in the discussion that ensued, held that concentration of ownership was the most serious ailment of the Indian Press. "There was also marked unanimity on the best remedy: Imposition of a price-page schedule. Such a measure, it was argued, would protect small papers from unfair competition and thus prevent them from being taken over by large combines."

"The majority of speakers wanted early implementation of all the recommendations, which, in the opinion of Mr. H. N. Mukherji (Com.) were interdependent. . . ."

The two major Indian news agencies—*Press Trust of India* and the *United Press of India*—came in for sharp criticism for mismanagement and alleged blacking out of news.

PTI adds that Mr. Hirendranath Mukherji, Communist member from West Bengal, analysed the ownership and circulation of various newspapers and told the House that 18 persons, apart from their grip over the Press, not only controlled the operation and management of almost every sector of the industry, but also had a monopolistic position in regard to newsprint, advertising, financial resources, banking facilities and relations with the Government. Such power was dangerous, he said.

Mr. H. V. Kamath (PSP) referred to the "growing unholy alliance between political power and finance capital" and said that there was also an "unholy wedlock between the Government and what I call the Press barons. The manner in which the

Government has seduced the Press barons on some occasions has been very reprehensible . . ."

He said that Asian news agencies were unable to compete with well-established foreign agencies because of the Government's policy regarding cable rates, wireless and other charges which were now high. He urged the Government to help the *PTI*, *UPI* and other Asian news agencies through reduced cable and wireless charges.

Mr. Joachim Alva (Congress) wanted Indian business houses with annual earning of more than one crore to set apart at least 1½ per cent immediately for advertising and break the monopoly of the British and American advertisers.

Mr. S. Gurupadaswamy (PSP) drew attention to the fact that the concentration of the means of information in the hands of a few capitalists presented the greatest danger to Indian journalism. He then referred to the fact that only five agencies were controlling the majority of the advertising material.

Mr. C. C. Shah (Congress) stressed the need for encouraging Indian language papers for increasing the number of district papers.

Sri Sadhan Gupta (Communist) expressed the hope that the Government would not be cowed down by the threats of closing down their papers by the "Press Barons" if the price-page schedule was introduced and that it would "take stern measures to make them desist from closing down their papers."

Sri Gupta said that it was a "calamity" that the country had to depend for news on *Reuters* which was an imperialist agency. He referred to the despatches from India on Goa which had mentioned that "Goan villagers attacked Indian demonstrators with sticks," and on the basis of which Sir Anthony Eden's paper *The Yorkshire Post* had written an editorial article on Goa in a deplorable way. He asked the Government to ensure the prevention of circulation of news coloured by foreign agencies.

Mr. Fulsingji B. Babji (Cong.) asked the Government to ban crossword puzzles. The bill prepared by the Government showed that the Government did not propose to put a ban but only certain restrictions on the publication of crossword puzzle competition in newspapers, he said.

Mr. M. D. Joshi (Cong.) referred to the sad plight of weekly and fortnightly journals which had held aloft the banner of freedom during the struggle for independence and pleaded for help so as to enable them to fulfil their role in the country.

Mr. Jaipal Singh (Jharkhand) and Mr. T. N. Singh, both members of the Press Commission, suggested that the entire evidence laid before the Commission should be published so that the country could know that the "Press Barons" were not the patriots they claimed to be.

Mr. Singh said that from the beginning the

"Press Barons" had attempted to put obstacles in the way of the work of the Press Commission. There had been opposition and non-co-operation. It was only when the Commission had held out the threat of the authority vested in it that they had "climbed down."

Sri N. V. Gadgil urged for the implementation of the price-page schedule at least in the case of the papers published in the Indian languages. He referred to the fact that since the abolition of the price-page schedule 27 papers had closed down. In the case of English papers he suggested that no paper should be sold for less than two annas for eight pages and if the number of pages was increased to 12 then the paper should be priced at two and a half annas. He also urged for a ban on the publication of crossword puzzles.

Many speakers insisted on the immediate implementation of the Commission's recommendations relating to pay and conditions of work of the working journalists. Sri N. V. Gadgil suggested for inclusion in the proposed bill of the relevant provisions of the Payment of Wages Act, so that the journalist could get his emoluments on fixed dates and not instalments as was the case with some papers in Madras.

Replying to the debate, the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. B. V. Keskar, said that it would be wrong to suggest that the Government was trying to avoid implementing the recommendations of the Press Commission. The Government had the fullest confidence in the impartiality and competence of the members of the Commission. The time taken by the Government in reaching decisions over the recommendations was indicative of the importance attached by the Government to the recommendations, he added.

Dr. Keskar said that the Government could not agree to the publication of the evidence placed before the Commission, because in view of the undertakings given to a number of persons that their evidence would be confidential, it would be immoral to publish the evidence.

He agreed that just as in other businesses trends of monopoly were beginning to creep into the newspaper industry. While Government was aware of the dangerous potentialities of this trend, if it went unchecked, it must be realised that the Press was not already in the grip of monopoly. The recommendations of the Commission in this respect were preventive rather than combative of actual evil.

MacCarthyism in Indian Press

Referring to the recent criticism in a section of the Indian Press, more noticeable in New Delhi, of the reporting of political events by Indian newspapermen, the Calcutta *Statesman's* weekly political commentator under the pen-name of "Vedette" writes on August 7: "By an interesting coincidence, criticism of political reporting by Indian correspondents has arisen

only after the Prime Minister's tour of China on last October and of Russia in June. Charges of partiality to these two countries and of working under Communist influence have been freely brandished in certain quarters. Grave dissatisfaction has been expressed by critics in this category over the quality of reporting and the conclusion drawn that not all is well with the hearts and minds of the two Press teams that accompanied Mr. Nehru."

Part of the complaint could be explained by professional jealousy, says the commentator. But the real reason lay elsewhere even if it was agreed, for argument's sake, that the two Press teams that had accompanied the Prime Minister during his tour of China and Russia had left something to be desired in the matter of representation and ability.

He writes: "Over a period of some years now a group of indigenous MacCarthies have been operating in India, sometimes subtly, through rumour and scandal, but mostly by means of scurrilous writing. No means are repugnant to their conscience—'Letters to the Editor' are manufactured by the dozen, other people's views distorted, misquoted and torn out of context and vile personal attacks launched in the crusading spirit of the far away idol whom they seek to emulate."

"Here is yellow journalism in one of its worst forms. Most of these 'journals' have small circulations, and whenever one of them makes a personal MacCarthy attack, the victim is obligingly supplied with a free copy of the publication with a neat printed slip on the cover inviting attention to page so-and-so. Essentially, the object of the attack is the Prime Minister's foreign policy, but placing discretion above valour, they direct their fury at correspondents whose professional decency may prevent them from engaging in an unclean controversy or who may be frightened into silence and discouraged from doing their job with honest objectivity."

The columnist appeals to the public to beware of such little McCarthies and to the Government to take note of their *modus operandi*, which extended "from personal blackmail to pontifical lectures on objective journalism."

We are not unfamiliar with the tactics of yellow journalism pointed out by the *Statesman*. We have to remark that some more subtle poison is in action here, besides mere jealousy or personal feuds, though both of them are potent factors in the production of "yellow" journalism. The standards of journalism have gone down all over the world in the hunt for circulation and in the chase of political power for parties whose cause have been espoused by the journals concerned.

News Procurement Methods

While inaugurating the fourth annual conference of the Federation of Working Journalists, the Finance

Minister of Madras, Sri C. Subramaniam had strongly decried a tendency among the journalists to get news somehow and had compared it with a tendency in certain other sectors to make money somehow. "There is no difference between the two," he said. "I may be pardoned if I say that it is nothing but stealing the news from quarters from where you are not entitled to get it."

The Minister continued: "It is claimed as a privilege of the Press that it should not be asked to reveal the source of news even though it is an illegal source from which a particular item of news has been obtained, it is something astounding which we will have to think about."

The Federation of Working Journalists adopted a resolution reiterating the right of the Press to publish any news it thought necessary to the interest of the public and deplored "the tendency on the part of the authorities to deny journalists free access to sources of information and regiment publication of news."

The resolution added that the public advantage arising from freedom of information far outweighed any inconvenience or embarrassment to individuals, authorities or party interests.

The Executive Committee of the Southern India Journalists' Federation in a resolution adopted on July 29, expressed surprise and regret at the above remark of the Minister about journalists "stealing the news" and observed that "his subsequent effort at elucidation is not calculated to reassure the Press or the public."

While disclaiming any sympathy for those who distorted news, the committee expressed its inability to accept the Minister's view that it was the duty of the Press not to gather news bearing on the Government's plans, policies or actions except from authorised sources and not to publish it until such time as the appropriate authority considered suitable. The characterisation of journalistic enterprise as "stealing the news" was based upon the unsupported assumption that the Press resorts to wrong methods in getting the news.

The resolution concludes: "The committee deplores that the Minister should have thought it proper to warn the Press that the Government might be compelled to keep it at arm's length if it did not agree to the course he suggested. That would be a denial in practice of the freedom of information which is the life-blood of democracy. And it can only encourage wild speculation with consequent damage to public morale."

Law Commission

The Union Law Minister, Sri C. C. Biswas announced the appointment of a Law Commission in the Lok Sabha on August 5. The eleven-member Commission headed by the Attorney-General of India,

Sri M. C. Setalvad, would function in two sections and was expected to submit its recommendations by the end of 1956. The term of one or the other section might, however, be extended if required. The two sections of the Commission would deal with the two main tasks—reform of judicial administration and reform of statute laws.

PTI adds: "The terms of reference of the Commission are: First, to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; and, secondly, to examine the Central Acts of general application and importance, and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up-to-date."

"The Commission's inquiry into the system of judicial administration will be comprehensive and thorough, including in its scope, (a) the operation and effect of laws, substantive as well as procedural, with a view to eliminating unnecessary litigation, speeding up the disposal of cases and making justice less expensive; (b) the organization of courts, both civil and criminal; (c) recruitment of the judiciary; and (d) level of the bar and of legal education."

"The Commission's principal objectives in the revision of existing legislation will be (a) to simplify the laws in general, and the procedural laws in particular, (b) to ascertain if any provisions are inconsistent with the Constitution and suggest necessary alterations or omissions, (c) to remove anomalies and ambiguities brought to light by conflicting decisions of High Courts or otherwise, (d) to consider local variations introduced by State legislation in the concurrent list with a view to reintroducing and maintaining uniformity, (e) to consolidate Acts pertaining to the same subject with such technical revision as may be found necessary, and (f) to suggest modifications, wherever necessary, for implementing the directive principles of State policy laid down in the Constitution."

The chairman was empowered to co-opt as members one or two practising lawyers of a State to assist inquiries in that State.

The members of the Commission were: Sri M. C. Setalvad (Chairman); Sri M. C. Chagla (Chief Justice of Bombay High Court); Sri K. N. Wanchoo (Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court); Sri G. N. Das, (retired Judge of Calcutta High Court); Sri P. Satyanarayana Rao (retired Judge of Madras High Court); Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta (Advocate, Calcutta); Sri V. K. T. Chari (Advocate-General, Madras); Sri Narasa Raju (Advocate-General, Andhra); Sri S. M. Sikri (Advocate-General, Punjab); Sri G. S. Pathak (Advocate, Allahabad); and Sri G. N. Joshi (Advocate, Bombay).

In an article on the tasks before the Law Commission in the *Vigil*, Sri S. N. Dwivedi writes that it

would be regretted that the Commission was not constituted more broadly. The Government was urged to consider the question of enlarging the Commission.

While congratulating the Government "for selecting an able and experienced personnel for the Commission" whose "learning ability and mellowed experience" commanded universal respect the writer points to the strange exclusion of political and economic thinkers as a result of which the judges and lawyers had a monopoly on the Commission.

The writer strikes a note of warning against the danger of the over-representation of the conventional thought in the Commission. The tasks before the Commission was legal planning, not mere tinkering at law reform. No patch-work but a liberal scientific approach was necessary. The Commission's task was to "survey the Indian statute book from two root-points, namely, social justice *versus* private property, and regulation *versus* anarchy."

We are in agreement with Sri Dwivedi's comments in general. The law today is so complicated and the process of justice so tortuous and expensive that the common man can hardly ever get justice on a equitable basis. Law is a lawyers' paradise and the happy hunting ground of the predatory sections of the rich. The few reforms that have been made since the attainment of freedom have increased the arbitrary powers of the government and added worse confusion in legal procedure everywhere. Justice, in short, is even less apparent today to the layman than it was before. It is a hard and bitter statement, but that is the considered opinion of the majority of thoughtful people. Lawyers, however eminent, cannot improve matters.

State Trading

The leader of the Communist group in Lok Sabha, Sri A. K. Gopalan, moved a resolution in the House on August 12 asking the Government to enforce immediately State monopoly of foreign trade in commodities like jute, hides and skins, coconut, pepper, tea, cotton, rubber, manganese, mica, coal and other metallic ores in order to implement successfully the Second Five-Year Plan, reports the *Statesman*.

When the resolution came up for discussion on August 26, according to the *Press Trust of India*, there was general support for the idea of State trading in selected commodities. The news agency report says:

"Mr. Gopalan said that if the Five-Year Plan had to be implemented successfully such a measure was necessary. State monopoly of foreign trade was also necessary in view of the State objective of achieving a Socialistic pattern of society. The present form of foreign trade was not at all helpful to the implementation of the Second Plan and unless it was taken over by the State, progress of State economy would be moonshine."

"As long as foreign trade remained entirely in the hands of private businessmen, there would be violent

fluctuations in the commodity markets. There would be booms and slumps resulting in closure of factories and causing much harm to the country's economy.

"If the State monopoly of foreign trade came into being the Government would be able to negotiate favourably for the disposal of the country's products. The Government would also be able to enter into long-term agreements with other countries which the private businessman could not do.

"Mr. Gopalan said that another advantage of State monopoly would be that the State would always look to the interest of the country, whereas in private hands the sole consideration was profit.

"Another distressing feature of the country's foreign trade was its dependence on Anglo-American market. 'We want to shed once for all our dependence on one type of markets.'

"Foreign trade, he said, yielded an income of about Rs. 125 crores and this could easily be utilised for augmenting the resources of the Second Five-Year Plan if the Government took over import and export trade. This would also lessen the burden on the common man, which he had to share by way of taxes on essential commodities.

"In China, the United States, USSR and many other countries, including capitalist countries, State-controlled agencies were functioning. If State monopoly of foreign trade was enforced, then by no stretch of imagination could it be conceived as a totalitarian method. Many of the foreign countries doing business with India had purchasing agencies here and tried to take advantage of the competition in the market. This proved harmful for the peasants.

"Mr. K. Raghuramaiah (Congress, Andhra) said he had a soft corner for State trading, but could not support the resolution. He said that it was true that the country wanted more money to implement the Second Five-Year Plan, but the question was how to get it. Trading was not a joke. It required contacts and planning. The Government had no such machinery. Moreover, who would take the risk, which was essential in such matters? In Britain, he said, Government tried State trading in raw cotton. But the experience was not happy. In India, too, we had some experience of State trading in foodgrains.

"Mr. Raghuramaiah said that the repercussions of such a measure on unemployment situation should also be taken into consideration. But in certain cases Government could step in and enforce State trading. Tobacco was one of them. India was at a disadvantage while dealing with Communist countries like China, where foreign trade was State-controlled.

"I suggest in dealing with such cases where trade is in the hands of monopoly organisations, whether it is State or some other organisation, and we are dealing with it, we must have an organisation in this

country whether Government or semi-Government,' he said." (*Hindu*, 28.8.55).

The Minister concerned had not replied at the time of this writing.

We, for ourselves, have a great deal of hesitation in advocating State monopoly in foreign trade. Until we have more experienced ministers and high officials and the standard of integrity was raised to a far higher level it would be asking for calamity to plunge into limitless State control. As regards efficiency and know-how, we have very far to go as yet.

Privilege Motion in Madras Assembly

The Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly rejected on August 20 a plea of breach of privilege raised by M. Kalyanasundaram, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, regarding the disciplinary proceedings started by the District Educational Officer of Salem, against a teacher of an elementary school in Rashpuram, on the alleged ground, among others, of his "close contact with top-ranking Communist leaders like Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram and Mr. P. Jivanandam," reports the *Hindu* on August 21.

Raising an issue of privilege M. Kalyanasundaram said that the charge against the teacher tended to imply that contact with members of the House constituted an offence meriting action under the Educational Rules, including cancellation of the teaching certificate. If members of the House were to discharge their duties effectively, it was necessary that they should be able to visit different places and institutions, and contact people in different walks of life, so that they could have first hand knowledge of matters and of people's problems, he said.

The Communist Party was a lawful organization and was recognised as an all-India Party. It was one of the main opposition parties in the Assembly. In the circumstances, Mr. Kalyanasundaram maintained, "the charge made by the District Education officer, Salem, was disparaging and calculated to bring down the prestige of the House and the members in the estimation of the people." He said, "How could members have contact with Government employees or people working in Government undertakings and know facts in order to be able to make proper suggestions in the House for improvement, if the very necessary contact was considered to be 'misconduct'?" The Government should not allow its officials to take such an attitude towards members of the particular party in the House." Referring to the particular case Mr. Kalyanasundaram said that he had been to Rashpuram only once in his life. The teacher had met him on that occasion and they both had gone to his house and had had discussions on educational, and not on party matters. The teacher, so far as he knew, was not a member of the Communist Party. "Even assuming that he is a member of the Communist Party, how is it an offence?" asked Mr. Kalyana-

sundaram. "Are not members of other political parties visiting the houses of Government officials and even staying with them? Some of them are their relatives. Why should this special discrimination be made against Communist Party. I say definitely it is a breach of privilege."

He further said that the analogy of Mr. Geoffrey Cooper's case could not be applicable because there the matter had rested on presumption, whereas in the case mentioned by him, the issue had been raised on the basis of an actual charge contained in a chargesheet.

Supporting Mr. Kalyanasundaram Mr. P. Ramamurthi, Leader of the Opposition, said that the whole matter had raised not only an issue of breach of privilege, but also of contempt of the House. It had a very important bearing on the rights and functioning of the members of the House. "Members of the House, including members of the Communist Party, in order to discharge their functions effectively were entitled to contact members of the public, including teachers. To say that this would constitute misconduct only meant that members of the Communist Party were bad characters and persons not to be contacted. That amounted not only to violation of the privilege of the House, but also to contempt of the House. Contempt had been defined as anything obstructing or impeding members in the discharge of their duties or anything which tended directly or indirectly to produce such a result. Irrespective of precedents they should judge the action of the District Education Officer from this point of view, if the action obstructed or impeded, or even had the tendency to obstruct or impede, members in the discharge of their duties. . . . Their concern was not with the action taken against the individual teacher, but its implications for members of the House and the House itself."

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Leader of the House, said in reply that there had been no breach of privilege and the motion had been brought forward with the intention to intimidate the official for the action he had taken. He said that there had been no intention to treat as offence a contact with any M.L.A. or any member of the public. What had been objected to was that teachers should at all take part in politics—Congress, Communist or otherwise. The question, therefore, was whether it had been correct for the teacher to have discussions on party politics. Mr. Kalyanasundaram had stated that he had not discussed party politics on the occasion. The minister was sure that due weight would be given to that statement.

Giving his ruling, the Deputy Speaker explained the privileges of members and said that in the present case clearly no obstruction had taken place nor anything which tended directly or indirectly to produce such results or which could be treated as contempt.

He then referred to the ruling of the Speaker of the British House of Commons on a case which was almost similar to the one mentioned by Mr. Kalyanasundaram. In 1951, Mr. Geoffrey Cooper, M.P., had alleged in the House of Commons that two Government servants had been dismissed from service on the ground that they had given information to the member. Mr. Cooper had maintained that such action would discourage persons coming to give information to members of the House of Commons and was, therefore, a breach of privilege of the House. The Speaker of the House of Commons had ruled that privilege could not be extended to such cases though "this, no doubt, may be a very desirable matter to discuss and debate on the vote on the Ministry (concerned)." Mr. Kalyanasundaram had not been obstructed and he could still perform the duties of a legislator in spite of the charge against the teacher. Therefore, there had been no *prima facie* breach of privilege, ruled the Deputy Speaker.

Second Pay Commission

Mr. D. C. Sharma, a Congress member from the Punjab, introduced a non-official resolution in the Lok Sabha on July 29 urging the appointment of a second Pay Commission "to go into the question of the pay structure of the country, so that the disparity between the highest salary and the lowest salary is reduced to the minimum."

Moving the resolution Mr. Sharma said that the resolution was conceived in the spirit of the directive principles of the Constitution which enjoined upon the Government to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth. Things had greatly changed since the last Pay Commission had submitted its report. The new socio-economic urges of the people demanded an integrated approach to the pay structure of the country both in the public and the private sectors. "Our pay structure has to be rationalised in terms of the new need of the country," Mr. Sharma added.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in Lok Sabha, said in support of the resolution that there were both political and economic reasons for revising the present pay structure. He referred to the strong desire on the part of the employees in Government and other industrial and commercial establishments for an increase in their standard of living not only on the economic but also the cultural side. The pay scales recommended by the Commission in 1946 had not been a living wage even according to that body. The recommendations made by the Pay Commission had been based on the assumption that the cost of living index would stabilise at a point somewhere between 160 and 175 but today the index stood at 354.7. The same pay structure could in the circumstances hardly be considered enough. There were, moreover, anomalies between the pay scales of the Central and State Governments. The

recommendation of the Pay Commission for fixing the ceiling at Rs. 2,000 per month had also gone unimplemented. He urged for the minimum to be fixed at Rs. 100 per month.

The *Hindu* reports: "Five amendments were moved to the resolution. One of them demanded that the highest and lowest salaries should be reduced to the ratio of ten to one, with Rs. 100 as the lowest and Rs. 1,000 as the highest."

Supporting the demand for a Second Pay Commission, the *People* writes in an editorial note on the 31st July: "That there is need for a yet another overhaul goes without saying. There is nothing wrong in revising, what has already been worked out, in ever-changing circumstances. Adjustments and readjustments have to be made. Therein lies what is termed as the dynamics of our society. The new pay commission, if and when it is set up, would do well to remove the incongruities which are still present in the pay-scales for various cadres."

The resolution for the appointment of a Second Pay Commission, though it secured approval of the Opposition and some Congress members, however, faced official Congress opposition in the Lok Sabha and was consequently defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Replying to the debate, Mr. M. C. Shah, Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure, dilated on the financial implications and said that raising the minimum wage of Government servants to Rs. 100 per month would require annually Rs. 28 crores. For raising the salaries of teachers a sum of Rs. 36 crores was needed. Roughly Rs. 100 crores would have to be raised annually to meet all the demands. The Government favoured that sum to be invested in the Second Five-Year Plan which aimed at raising the standard of living of the people as a whole.

Press Trust of India reports: "Mr. M. C. Shah said the minimum wage of a Government servant now was Rs. 70 per month and the disparity between the highest and the lowest paid had been reduced from 1 to 280 before 1946 to 1 to 30 or 31 after acceptance of the Pay Commission's recommendations. Before 1946, the lowest pay average was Rs. 12 and the highest Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 3,300 after deducting income-tax. The minimum today was Rs. 70 and the maximum Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 2,200 or so after deducting income-tax at the present rate."

"Mr. Shah said that if the suggestion that the highest salary should be reduced to Rs. 1,000 was accepted, the Government would save about Rs. 15 lakhs. If this amount was distributed among the other Government employees, each one would get an increase of Re. 1-4. He assured the House that the Government would endeavour to better the lot of the lower paid staff as much as possible. He requested Prof. Sharma to withdraw the resolution."

"Mr. Sharma commended the resolution to the

House but when the Deputy Speaker was about to put it to vote he begged leave of the House to withdraw the resolution. The Opposition refused permission to withdraw and when the resolution was put to vote it was declared lost by 69 votes to 27."

States Reorganisation Commission

The *Bombay Chronicle* published a dispatch from its special correspondent in New Delhi according to whom the States Reorganisation Commission was "sure to recommend the formation of two new States, Karnataka and Kerala." The correspondent writes that there was unanimity in the Commission about the formation of those two States though the possibilities of a Marathi-speaking State was not altogether ruled out. Another certain recommendation was the abolition of Part 'C' States. The cases of Delhi, Cutch, Manipur and Tripura would, however, require separate consideration. "Delhi is special case on account of its being the capital and the other three because of their strategic position. The question of hill areas also is receiving special attention."

The Commission, which would submit its report in September, would also recommend the appointment of a special Minister for Hill Affairs, the correspondent adds.

Text-Book Publication Delayed

The *Hitavada* in an editorial note on July 30 comments upon the inordinate delay in bringing out text-books by the Madhya Pradesh Government. It notes that though schools had opened a month ago, no work could be done in the absence of text-books.

A later report published in August 14 issue of the newspaper says: "While the primers and readers published by the State Government have yet to reach the students and teachers in the primary schools in the State, experienced primary school masters whom one contacted expressed the opinion that the books were undoubtedly attractive and well brought-out, but the planning of lessons in some of them left much to be desired."

1857 Martyrs

The Congress Working Committee recently decided (on July 23) that the centenary of India's first war of independence in 1857 should be celebrated throughout the country in 1957. A five-man committee was appointed to submit to the next meeting of the Working Committee a scheme for celebrating the occasion.

From an editorial note of the weekly *People* on August 28, it appears that there was also a move afoot in the Congress circles to collect information and statistics regarding persons who had lost their property through mass confiscations for participating in 1857 movements. The newspaper also refers to a move to grant adequate compensation for their living descendants and writes: "This is obviously a national task and deserves attention from all and sundry."

PANCH-SHILA

By SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJEE,
Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly

THE Panch-Shila or the five principles of international relationship have been the logical culmination of independent India's foreign policy constantly and openly advocated by our beloved Prime Minister since attainment of independence and since he assumed charge of the Department of External Affairs. To fully appreciate Panch-Shila it would be necessary to state the background of Pandit Nehru's mind even prior to independence. It was Pandit Nehru chiefly who in his books and from Congress platforms, had from time to time given expression to his views on the kind of foreign relations that independent India should pursue. In successive Congress plenary sessions prior to Independence it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi sponsored the resolutions on foreign policy, which independent India should adopt.

Since attainment of independence it has been the consistent policy of India's Prime Minister to allot a number of days for debate on the foreign policy of India as it was developing in the midst of explosive situations prevailing in the neighbouring countries in Asia as also in other parts of the world. We have before us exhaustive records of parliamentary debates from 1947 onwards from which it is easy to get a glimpse of the view which the leaders of the country held as also the other different views which the different political parties held. Today in the year 1955 it is much easier for us to have retrospective analysis of the various view-points on the foreign policy of independent India as reflected in the debates of the Parliament and expression of views outside. The doubts and fears, distrust and apathy that were reflected in the earlier years after independence are gradually being replaced by trust and confidence, respect and courage about the soundness of India's foreign policy. This is not my assumption or inference but I am speaking with reference to the records of parliamentary debates during the last seven years that confidence is gradually dawning on the leadership of India at least, so far as the foreign policy is concerned.

The architect of this foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru, has in his various utterances during these seven years given unmistakable evidence of his deep debt of gratitude to Gandhiji's teachings and it is but natural that his foreign policy should bear the indelible stamp of Gandhian philosophy. In his last public utterance at Delhi at the public reception after

his historic tour of Soviet Union and East European countries with whom treaties based on Panch-Shila were for the first time executed, the Prime Minister declared in the language of Mahatma Gandhi that "an answer to Atom and Hydrogen bombs was not more of them, but truth and non-violence" and he pleaded with the huge audience to observe in their individual and social life the principle of peaceful co-existence by being tolerant towards all religions.

Let us now analyse these five principles. What are they?

- (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;
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

They are called Panch-Shila according to the Buddhist language prevalent in Burma and Indonesia representing five principles or codes of human conduct. They for the first time came into limelight of international politics when on 29th April, 1954 an Agreement was entered into between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on trade and cultural intercourse and facilities of pilgrimage and travel between India and Tibet. These principles form the preamble of the Agreement and are its most important part. The legal quibble over exercise of 'suzerainty' or 'sovereignty' by China over Tibet vanished as soon as China could effectively control Tibet and her sovereignty became a fact. China's sovereignty over Tibet had a historical background of centuries even recognised by some foreign powers. New India was not therefore interested in merely treating Tibet as a buffer State as was done by the British in her own colonial and Imperial interest. In consistency with another fundamental policy of India, viz., not to align herself with either of the two power blocs but to remain friendly with all countries, especially with her neighbours, she never took up a position which would have strained her relations with China and at the same time made the position of Tibet worse. Tibet never belonged to India and the charge commonly levelled that India sold Tibet to China is unwarranted. Judging from the above background the entire provisions of this trade and travel agreement have been based on these five principles and with a view to promote each one of them effec-

tively so that friendly relations between two great Asian neighbours may grow. The working of the Agreement for more than one year by implementation of its provisions justify the hope of its framers.

This Agreement of course has only a limited scope. Shortly thereafter, that is within two months, on 28th June, 1954, the two Prime Ministers issued a joint statement from Delhi with regard to mutual relationship between the two countries in which they reaffirmed their faith in the five principles mentioned above and they expressed the hope that these principles should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia and other parts of the world. They further felt that if these principles are applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

Let us examine if these hopes have been fulfilled. Subsequent to the signing of the Agreement between India and China, similar agreements on international level have been entered into between India and Burma, India and Indonesia. In the Bandung Conference 29 nations of Asia and Africa have adopted these five principles with further extension to suit the need of other countries who due to special problems of their own wanted collective security pacts for self-defence. Further, the principles of their agreement have also, as hoped for by its sponsors, been extended to other parts of the world. An agreement based on five principles have been entered into between India and Yugoslavia, India and Poland and lastly between India and Union of Soviet Russia. The hopes expressed by the two Prime Ministers in the Panch-Shila Agreement about lessening the tensions in the world and creating a climate of peace as a result thereof are also on a fair way to fulfilment as will be apparent from records of world events in the East and in the West during the last 14 months which I need not repeat.

Let us now trace the background of these principles of peaceful co-existence. The question of peaceful co-existence can arise between two nations only when they do not exist on equal basis or differ in fundamentals and stand on opposite social or political structures. No question of co-existence can arise between nations who exist on equal terms and identity of interest and on uniform social and political systems. Therefore, peaceful co-existence can only arise between nations who have different political and social systems. India and China, two of the greatest nations of Asia, have entirely two different political and social systems now. But their historical and cultural associations date back to centuries—such contacts only having been snapped during the last two or three centuries. Both having shaken off the colonial

and Imperial dominations almost simultaneously both countries in their own democratic interest of rapid development and progress wanted peace above anything else. They wanted peace not only for themselves but for the whole of Asia and the world because in the context of the present-day world a conflict at any part is bound to have its repercussions on other parts. Therefore, they wanted to evolve a method of working out effectively the goal of peaceful co-existence and they devised the basis of peaceful co-existence as firstly mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. I want to lay emphasis on the word *respect*. The first principle, therefore, enjoins creation of a mental make-up and attitude of mind of each State and its people to develop a sense of respect for other nations' not only integrity but sovereignty also—be it sovereignty of the people or the party or the dictator. The second and third principles involve some action to implement the first principle of development of mental attitude. Both are negative actions, i.e., not to do some acts, such as aggression and interference in each other's internal affairs. The third principle needs a little elucidation. It had been a consistent cry for years past in democratic countries that totalitarian States through extra-State organisations but backed by the resources of such State infiltrate into democratic countries totalitarian ideas through seemingly innocent organisations. This principle has been further amplified in the latest agreement between India and Soviet Russia, to define and extend the scope of non-interference in internal affairs to the extent of economic, political and cultural fields. This is the strongest safeguard against preserving the sovereignty of a nation. The fourth principle is a principle of positive action. Both countries are at liberty to take such political, economic and other measures as would mutually benefit them as equals and not with a superiority or inferiority complex. If these five principles therefore are fostered in each country on a national basis and gradually receives international recognition—human ingenuity fails to understand why nations should fight unless it be for the purpose of beastly instinct in men of self-interest and self-preservation alone at the cost of others. Panch-Shila therefore is an extension of the scope of human conduct in society between individuals, between different groups in the same state and further extended to the relationship between different nations in the world. As in society individuals want to live in peaceful co-existence with different views and outlook on life, as different groups within the same state having different social or political outlook want to live in peaceful co-existence for the benefit of the State, so too nations with different political and social ideologies can live in peace for the benefit of each nation and the world as a whole.

In the very first speech as foreign minister in the Parliamentary Debate on foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru observed:

"A country's foreign policy ultimately emerges from its own traditions, from its own urges, from its own objectives and more particularly from its recent past."

The corner-stone of India's foreign policy is her desire to have peace and prevent war. Her policy of non-alignment in any power bloc arises out of this desire. She wants to be friend of all and it is with that view she has pinned her faith in the United Nations in spite of its weaknesses and failures.

This foreign policy of India which ended in that dynamic Panch-Shila is the logical outcome of the

struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji. Gandhiji held that "end cannot justify the means and that everything must be fair in politics." It may sound utopian still to many but I may conclude by quoting the memorable words of Gandhiji uttered in 1927:

"If India has patience enough to go through the fire of suffering and to resist any unlawful encroachment upon its own civilisation which, imperfect though it undoubtedly is, has hitherto stood the ravages of time, she can make a lasting contribution to the peace and solid progress of the world: If we are to be saved and are to make a substantial contribution to the world's progress, ours must emphatically and predominantly be the way of non-violence and peace."

BENGALLEES IN ASSAM—THE RECENT ROY-MEDHI TALKS

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE problems of Bengalees in Assam have drawn sharp public attention all over India after the Goalpara incidents. There was an enquiry by Shri Madhavan Nair, the General Secretary of the Congress, and there was also a Resolution of the Working Committee suggesting a meeting of the two Chief Ministers and two P.C.C. Chiefs. The All-India Congress Committee, at its last Berhampore Session, also expressed its sorrow and concern at the Goalpara incidents. After that, S.J. Saratchandra Sinha, the President of the Goalpara District Congress Committee, has also issued a public statement expressing his regret for organising public meetings and processions, etc., on the eve of the visit of the States Reorganisation Commission in contravention of the directions of the Congress Working Committee. Lastly, Shri Bishnuram Medhi, the Chief Minister of Assam, came down to Calcutta along with S.J. Mahendra Mohan Chowdhury, the President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, and held discussions with Dr. B. C. Roy. After the talks were over, Dr. Roy told the Press the subjects they discussed and the views they held on different questions. It appears from those Press Reports that S.J. Medhi has tried to impress that Bengalees have no difficulty in Assam and the rules do not discriminate against them. Unfortunately, this is not a fact. Even from S.J. Medhi's statements it would appear that there are discriminatory rules which operate against the Bengalees. Moreover, S.J. Medhi has not given all the facts. From the days of the Line System up till even now there are rules in Assam which discriminate against the Bengalees of Assam. We do not propose here to cover the whole ground, but it is necessary, at least, to examine what S.J. Medhi has said now.

PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY DR. ROY

In his talks, Dr. Roy has enunciated the following principles:

- (1) A child in the primary stage must have education in his or her mother tongue.

- (2) Students of higher classes should learn Assamese, though facilities must be given for imparting instruction through Bengali or English or Hindi, provided there is demand for the same.

S.J. Medhi does not appear to have disputed the soundness of these principles.

SJ. MEDHI'S ASSERTIONS

- (1) In reply, Shri Medhi has denied that discrimination is being made between one school and another, so far as aid to Bengali schools is concerned.

- (2) As regards secondary schools, S.J. Medhi has said, (a) there was no discrimination about aid, (b) there was no discrimination about admission, (c) there was no discrimination about the grant of Scholarship.

- (3) The question of domicile was then discussed. Let us now examine these points *seriatim*.

THE BACKGROUND

In Assam, restrictions on landholding on the basis of indigenous and non-indigenous population has substantially affected the language statistics. The fear that non-indigenous persons may not be permitted to hold land*—and those who do not have Assamese as their mother tongue are not regarded as indigenous persons—has compelled people to return their mother-tongue as Assamese, even when it is not so. (See *Assam Census Report 1961*). In all discussions it will be necessary to remember always this background. Otherwise the picture will not be clear.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

1. Let us quote the Government Reply to the Question put by S.J. Santosh Kumar Barua, 4th session of the Assam Legislative Assembly, 11th September, 1953.

* See Letter No. Rs. 195/47/188 dated Shillong, the 4th May, 1948: "Government reiterate their policy that settlement of land should in no circumstances be made with persons who are not indigenous to the Province."

Statement showing the number of Primary Schools in Dhubri Subdivision, having as Medium of Instruction, Assamese, Bengali, etc., separately shown for different years.

	No. of Schools	1947-48 Expenditure (Rs.)	No.	Exp.	No.	Exp.	No.	Exp.
			1948-49		1949-50		1950-51	
1. Lower Primary Schools with Assamese as Medium of Instruction	348	96,135	582	211,470	773	384,063	833	358,990
2. Lower Primary Schools with Bengali as Medium of Instruction	250	66,000	130	48,360	45	22,236	3	4,674
3. Lower Primary Schools with Hindi as Medium of Instruction	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	983	2	1,367
4. Lower Primary Schools with Caro as Medium of Instruction	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	336	1	336
Total	598	162,135	712	259,830	821	4,07,648	839	3,65,397

Two facts emerge from this very remarkable statement. (1) It will be contended, in the first place, that Assamese-speakers have now increased very much. But in that case we shall have to remember the artificial and unreal nature of the increase. (2) But even granting for the sake of argument that there has been an increase in the number of Assamese-speakers, the Bengali-speakers yet constitute, even in 1951, by their own computation, 17.4% of the total population of the district of Goalpara. The percentage would be much higher in the Dhubri Subdivision which is more Bengali-speaking. The number of schools, using Bengali, is however much lower than 17.4%. In absolute number it is now only 3, while the number of schools using Assamese has gone up as high as 833.

Is this not discrimination?

2. There is also more direct evidence of discrimination. I give only a few instances collected at random from the different memoranda submitted before the States Reorganisation Commission:

(i) Order dated 4-12-48 by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Dhubri,—Order No. 5965—4920 dated 4-12-48:—"Sishupathsala all the Local Board M.E. and L.P. and aided schools must take up Assamese in their Schools." Sd. H. Tamuli Phukan, D.I. of Schools, Dhubri.

(ii) Order by the Inspectress of Schools, Assam, as recorded in the Inspection Note on the Bidyapara Girls' Middle English School, Dhubri, as forwarded by her memo No. 696-700 dated 18-1-49:—"All the primary classes should have Assamese as the medium."

(iii) Letter No. PSO/15/48/534-48 from the Secretary, Provincial Primary Education Board, Assam, Shillong to the Secretary, Dhubri Subdivisional Primary Education Board, sanctioning a recurring grant of Rs. 210:—"The grants are sanctioned on

condition that the medium of instruction must be Assamese."

All these instances relate to primary schools. Can it still be contended that there is no discrimination about the primary schools, no discrimination about grants, no forced Assamese-isation? Can it be said that the principle enunciated by Dr. Roy that primary schools must give education in the mother-tongue of the pupils is being at all respected?

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Here, the domicile rules act as a great discriminating factor. But of that later on. Here also, the facts are too many to permit detailed recapitulation. We give only a few illustrative examples:

The medium of instruction in the Government High School at Dhubri was Bengali in the lower classes from the very inception of the school some 60 years back, English being the medium in the higher classes as elsewhere. When in the thirties, Calcutta University prescribed vernacular to be the medium of instruction, the Dhubri Government High School remained the only Government High School in the Assam Valley Districts, with Bengali as the medium of instruction. Arrangements were made however, to impart children speaking Assamese through the medium of Assamese. But since March, 1954 the medium of instruction has become Assamese, and there is no arrangement for teaching Bengali-speakers in Bengali. Similar situations have arisen in the Hamidabad Aided High School and south Sālpara Aided High School.

Can it be said that there is no discrimination, even if we leave out the question of domicile at the present moment?

GRANT OF SCHOLARSHIPS

Sj. Medhi has said that there is no discrimination in granting Scholarships. We mention below two cases:

(1) Policy in this regard was laid down in Circular Letter No. 27868-933 dated 10-9-48 of D.P.I., Assam to the Heads of all Government and affiliated institutions. The Circular stated, "Government of Assam have decided that they would not henceforth be responsible for the payment of any Scholarship in any institution to those students who do not have their domicile in Assam, as constituted after the transfer of a portion of Sylhet to East Bengal."

(2) The most glaring case of discrimination in this regard is that of Shri Ranjan, Prasad Sen Gupta, who stood 10th in the University of Gauhati in the 1953 Matriculation Examination (Roll Dib. No. 398) from the Tinsukia Bengali High School. He has been refused Scholarship because he is not domiciled, though his father is a railway official at Tinsukia, has landed property in North Laming and is living in Assam for three generations.

(3) A girl-student, Sabita Dam, Roll Gau. No F-7, found eligible for a Scholarship on merits among girls, was refused the Scholarship, though her father owns a house at Gauhati and is an advocate of the High Court there. He is also a permanent resident of Assam Valley as certified by the Deputy Commissioner. The same was the fate of three other girls Miss Sabita Sinha, Chitra Ghosh and Bela Chowdhury, who are refugees from East Bengal and now citizens of India in Silchar, Assam. They were deprived of Scholarship earned by merit from Silchar Government Aided Girls' High School on the ground of domicile.

I believe the facts speak for themselves.

THE QUESTION OF DOMICILE

I do not know how domicile can be still enforced even after the passing of the Constitution. Bihar and Assam have long been insisting on domicile. After the commencement of the Constitution, the Bihar Government had to take recourse to a subterfuge. In reply to a Press statement issue on behalf of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Bihar Government came out with a Press Note, which stated *inter alia* as follows:

"The rules were further liberalised after coming into force of the present Constitution. It was laid down in a circular of the State Government dated November, 26 1950, that no Indian national could be eligible for any employment under the State Government on the ground only of residence, or place of birth, though the State Government allow preference to candidates, who are natives of or domiciled in the State, for purposes of appointments in the offices under the State."

Assam Government, however, has not felt the need of even this subterfuge and having just written a letter to the Government of India, are continuing their policy of domicile in a remorseless and unabashed fashion.

Sj. Medhi has tried to give the impression that the domicile rules have now been liberalised. Let us understand its exact implication. The original policy was laid down in the Chief Secretary's Circular No. AAM/10/53/137. It is too long to be quoted in extenso, but we mention the salient points:

(1) *Employment under the State Government*: The first paragraph stated that "a person belonging to any of the following categories shall have to obtain a certificate to the effect that he is a native of, or domiciled in, or a displaced person migrated to Assam for the purpose of employment under the State Government." The second paragraph says, "A person who is not a native of Assam shall be deemed to be domiciled in it only when he has become the owner of a homestead in the State, has already lived in that homestead for 10 years and intends to live in that homestead until he dies." It now seems that a person living in a rented house has also been made eligible, but other conditions remain as they were. About the last condition (living till he dies) the official explanation, as laid down in letter No. AAM-14/48/233 dated the 21st October, 1947 from the Secretary to the Government of Assam, Appointment Department, is as follows:

"The last condition as to intention is not capable of such easy verification. At the same time this is the most important ingredient in determining domicile—it is necessary therefore that in deciding this point such circumstantial evidence as to whether the applicant has landed properties or other interests in his native place and whether he pays frequent visits there should be taken into consideration."

Now, what does this really mean? A Bengalee, residing in Assam for three generations, cannot obtain domicile if he has any property in Bengal or visit Bengal? Is this the way to respect the spirit of our Constitution?

(2) About displaced persons, the said Circular of 1948 lays down that

"The Government policy in the matter of appointment of displaced persons is that the cases of displaced persons shall be considered only if suitable local candidates (i.e. the candidates who are natives of, or domiciled in Assam) are not available."

It is very remarkable that while in other states, refugees are getting priority, even at the cost of the children of the soil, Assam follows an opposite policy.

(3) In the 3rd paragraph of the said Circular, it has been laid down that

"For the purpose of contracts, settlement of fisheries, ferries' toll bridges, forests, excise shops, etc., a person shall be deemed to have acquired a domicile in Assam if he has been in residence in the State for at least 10 years along with his family and can also speak Assamese or one of the tribal languages, if resident in districts other than Cachar, or can speak Bengali or Assamese or one of the tribal languages of Cachar, if resident in the Cachar District."

Now is this not discrimination again? If this formula is now put into operation in West Bengal, I wonder how many non-Bengalees who come here for the

season, stay almost invariably without their families, get jobs and contracts and send out money to other states will have to be driven away! But still it is not considered to be discrimination in Assam! If this is regarded to be a satisfactory formula for Bengalees in Assam, why then should it not be applied by the Government of West Bengal to non-Bengalees in West Bengal?

(4) The last paragraph of the Circular refers to admission into State-managed educational institutions. It lays down that

"For the purpose of admission to State-managed or State-aided educational institutions, a candidate who is not a native of or domiciled in Assam shall be deemed to have acquired a domicile in Assam if he/she or his/her parents fulfil all the requirements as stated in para 3 above" (i.e. qualifications for getting contract, etc.).

It is of course essential as Dr. Roy has said that a person working in Assam should speak Assamese if he is to be useful. But in case he does not speak Assamese and wants to stay in Assam say only for 5 or 7 years, will he be deprived of all advantages of education? Is that the policy followed in West Bengal? Had it been followed, how could the sons of thousands who come and stay in Calcutta for service or for business for a limited period, get education? The problem is really more acute in an under-developed state like Assam, where, unlike West Bengal, State-managed and State aided institutions are the only ones of their kind, there being no other private institutions of that type? And yet we would not call this discrimination?

CONCLUSION

Above facts speak for themselves. They conclusively prove that in spite of whatever picture S. J. Medhi may try to draw about Bengalees in Assam, there is undoubtedly victimisation and discrimination. Scholarships are not given even when earned by merit; even in primary classes Assamese is being forced upon pupils, Assamese is becoming the only medium of instruction even in predominantly Bengali-speaking areas; discrimination is being made in the matter of State-employment and admission to State-managed and State-aided, educational institutions and the slight concessions granted so far, even in the face of the Constitution, do not lessen the rigours of the system in the least. And if we remember in this context the highly discriminatory policy on the matter of ownership of land, the picture becomes an extremely dark one.

In fact if we study the atmosphere in Assam, we find that unless there is a radical and fundamental change of policy, the picture cannot improve in spite of all assertions. For what is actually Assam? We do not want to go back to history, but even now Assam is not at all a homogeneous province. It is not a province like Uttar Pradesh or West Bengal where the overwhelming

majority of the population has the same affinities, speak the same language and so on. As Assam Census itself observes, it is a veritable Babel of tongues. According to the Assam Census of 1931 (p. 177) the proportion of Assamese-speakers in the whole of the then Assam at successive Census enumerations was as follows:

Percentage of Assamese-speakers in Assam

1931	1921	1911	1901
21.6%	21.6%	21.7%	22.0%

In other words, only about 1/5th of the total population spoke Assamese. The Census of 1951 is absolutely unreliable in this respect and even the Census Superintendent of Assam has practically admitted that. But even according to that Census, where the proportion of Assamese-speakers has been much inflated, the Assamese-speakers constitute only 56% of the total population. Moreover, they are concentrated heavily in five districts. Thus it would be wrong to suppose that Assam is a State of the Assamese-speakers in the sense that West Bengal is a Bengali-speaking State. A minority language rules forcibly over the entire province. Now if for the purpose of State language Assamese has been adopted, though there is no reason why it should be so, it may be understood that all persons seeking State employment must understand and speak Assamese. But can there be any cogent reason why a contractor operating, say, in Mizoram or Garo Hills, must speak Assamese before he can be allowed to get contracts? Is this not an unnatural state of affairs? Perhaps this is bound to be so, so long as it is not clearly understood that Assam is not an Assamese-speaking province but a polyglot one and the Assamese language must resort to all unfair tactics if it has to be spread all over the province. The sooner the proper linguistic situation in Assam is understood the better for all concerned. Let us hope, the States Reorganisation Commission will not overlook this fact.

One word more. As the facts narrated above prove, Bengalees in Assam are being sharply discriminated against and the rules are not fair to them. Bengali as a language is also being unmistakably repressed. It is also clear from S. J. Medhi's statements that he considers the rules to be fair and the situation all right and he has no intention to introduce any change. But while having no intention of really doing justice, S. J. Medhi is trying to impress upon people that Assam is now anxious for the welfare of Bengalees and even seeks the help of West Bengal for her own development. We wonder what is the real implication of this policy. Is it the idea to lull the States Reorganisation Commission into the sense that everything is now all right for Bengalees in Assam and it would not therefore be necessary to transfer the Bengalee-speaking areas of Assam to West Bengal though in reality Assam wants to do nothing for them?

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

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

INTRODUCTION

THE natural resources of a country are of primary importance for the development of the economic life of its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, natural resources determine the economic life of a nation. England, for example, is an industrial country but she owes her present position to her coastlines, rivers, the proximity of rich coal mines and iron fields and the temperate climate which induces hard-working habit. The U.S.A. is an agricultural as well as an industrial country. She possesses the requisites of industrialisation, coal, petroleum, timber, cotton and other agricultural raw materials, and at the same time its soil at places is very fertile and climate suitable for human development. Japan, too, is an industrial country only because there is no scope for agriculture, as the very nature of the soil is not favourable for agriculture. France is an agricultural country and Germany an industrial country only because of the natural resources available in those countries. Man may grow rich in knowledge and intelligence, he may conquer nature, span seas and cut mountains, travel under water and annihilate distances by fast means of locomotion, and by electricity turn night into day and tone down the rigours of climate to suit his living and working conditions and through irrigation schemes may secure his independence from Nature in the matter of rain and he may, above all, harness mighty forces of nature in his services, but his mastery of nature is not complete and unquestioned. Nature has a knack of escaping from chains and asserting her way. All operations, even living, are hampered by weather conditions. Some physical disturbance might upset human plans. Thus he has been able to conquer nature only partially, and therefore, the effect of geographical environment on the life and working of any people cannot altogether be ignored and completely eliminated. "Undoubtedly men's choices are limited and conditioned and their projects limited by physical framework they live in."

The term 'geographical environment' in relation to man covers all those features of land in which he lives, in respect of their effects upon his habit of life in whatever connection. "Such features include the surface of the land, with all its physical features and natural resources, the nature of the soil, whether fertile or unfertile, well-watered or dry, its position, whether insular, continental or peninsular; its relation to other lands surrounding it, its climate, vegetation and mineral wealth, the distribution of land, and water, mountains and plains, plants and animals and

all the cosmic forces—gravitational, electric, radiational, that play upon the earth and affect the life of man."

In the case of India, a study of her population problem and her economic activities should start with an investigation of the physical environment. This subject may, therefore, be considered under the heads of situation and coastline, physical features, geological structure, climate, water resources, flora and fauna and the facilities of transportation.

LOCATION, SIZE, ETC.

India is a vast country lying entirely to the north of the Equator between latitudes 8 deg. and 37 deg. north and longitudes 66 deg. 20 min. to 97 deg. It is one of the central and largest of the three irregular peninsulas of Southern Asia. It bridges the space between the semi-arid Southern Asia and the rice-producing and rice-exporting countries of the South-Eastern Asia. It, therefore, occupies a central position between two distinctly different regions. It possesses a highly favourable position as regards the rest of the world for purposes of international trade. She stands at the head of the Indian Ocean at the very centre of the Eastern Hemisphere commanding trade routes running in all directions and connecting India with U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, France, etc., in the west; S. Africa in the south-west; Ceylon in the south and China, Japan and Indonesia, etc., in the east and Australia in the south-east.

It measures 2,000 miles from north to south and 1,700 miles from east to west. It has a land frontier of 8,200 miles and a coastline of about 3,500 miles. Extending over an area of 12,69,640 sq. miles, she comprises 29 States (including Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra). Measured by the extent of its territory, she is the seventh largest country in the world. It is about 13 times as large as U.K.; 8 times the size of Japan; two and a half times the size of U.S.A. and more than a third of Canada and of Europe and a seventh of U.S.S.R.¹ Its shape has been defined by the great Greek geographer, Strabo as "rhomboidal rather than triangular with an acute apex pointing southwards into the southern Indian Ocean."²

2. Davis: *Earth and Man*, p. 3.

3. *India Reference Annual* (1954), p. 1.

	sq. miles
U. K.	1,21,000
Japan	38,45,144
Canada	32,86,000
Brazil	
Russia	87,08,000
Europe	39,00,000
U. S. A.	30,22,387

(Source: *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 1952, p. 246).

4. Holdich: *India*, pp. 2-3.

1. F. Thomas: *Review of the Environmental Basis of Society*, Vol. I (1925), p. 409.

The situation of an area relative to the larger mass of a region often exercises a significant influence. On a land frontier, the people, by force of circumstances, have to develop a turbulent and martial spirit and may develop a defensive or aggressive spirit, according as their region is better or worse than that across the border. They are brave and courageous through elimination of the weaklings and are in the front rank in attack or defence.

There is no part of the world better marked off by Nature as a region by itself than the Indian subcontinent.⁵ The northern borders are well-defined by lofty mountains with their snow-capped peaks penetrating far into the sky. There are no easy ways in and out through the mountain-wall which shuts off India from the rest of Asia but there are a few difficult passes like Zozila and Shipki passes in the north. Towards the east the eastern offshoots of the Himalayas are not much high but due to deep gorges and ravines and impenetrable forests ingress and outgress of people to and from Burma is quite impossible except through the recently made Ludo Road. On the southern extremity the Indian Ocean with its two arms—the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea—washes her eastern, southern and western shores. In the south, Ceylon represents itself as a lotus flower paying homage to mother India. Thus India is a geographical entity due to the separation from the rest of the continent of Asia by the Himalayas. This geographical isolation explains the uniqueness of Indian culture. Indian ideas and institutions, taken as a whole, resemble those of no other people. They have tended to transform and absorb any foreign elements that trickled into the region, for Indians though sometimes politically conquered by outsiders, were never—except possibly by the original Aryans—culturally conquered.

India has a coastline of 3,500 miles, which gives one mile of coast to every 400 sq. miles of area. India for its extent has one of the shortest coastlines of any important country bordering the ocean. Its outline is scarcely broken by a single inlet.⁶ Even this short stretch of coastline is remarkably uniform and straight and characterised by a general absence of deep indentations. The sea around the coasts is nowhere deep, the 100-fathom line running parallel to both the Arabian and the Coromandal Coasts; this combined with the flat and sandy nature of the seabottom makes navigation extremely difficult. The coast of India belongs mainly to the Atlantic type and are non-embayed, reefless and continental in nature.⁷ These coasts are practically devoid of natural harbours

5. L. D. Stamp & S. C. Gilmour: *Chisholm's Handbook of Commercial Geography* (1954), p. 554.

6. Morrison: *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XXI (1905), p. 457.

7. S. Krishnaswamy: "The Coasts of India" in the *Indian Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1954), p. 18.

and hence the great paucity of good ports. The whole is storm-swept and scourged by fierce currents; there are hundreds of miles of bare rock-walls in the western half and of mangrove-swamp in the eastern half; the river harbours are the most expensive and dangerous in the world, and the only sea-port that is natural and always firstclass is Bombay,⁸ while Madras, Vizagapatam, Calcutta, Okha, Kandla, etc., are artificial harbours made by the enterprise of man. The Gulf of Kutch, Cambay, the backwaters of Cochin and Malabar, the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar, the Palicut, Kolar and Chilka lakes and the indentations on the mouths of the Ganga are the few inlets and straits found along the Indian coast. These are all shallow and permit navigation when they are made deep by dredging operations.

The coastline of a country plays an important part in promoting or retarding the economic development of an area. If the coastline is broken and easily accessible from the interior, as in the case of the Gujarat and Malabar Coasts, intercourse and trade with foreign countries by sea are facilitated, and the people not only become progressive and civilized, though ease- and peace-loving, but they also develop a broad cosmopolitan outlook instead of becoming sectarian or communal, while the nearness to the sea makes them adventurous and enterprising with a well-developed commercial instinct. If, however, the coastline is not easily accessible from the interior, as in the case of Konkan, the people tend to be intelligent, progressive and ease-loving, but, being isolated are simple and backward, though adventurous, and make good fisher-folk and seamen.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

There are very great differences in the physical conditions of India. In the north, there are magnificent snow-capped mountains. At their feet lie smooth wide spaces of depressed river basins—either dry or sun-scorched or cultivated and water-logged under a steamy, moisture-laden atmosphere. To the south spreads the Deccan Plateau. There the indigenous forests still hide the scattered classes of aboriginal tribes, flanked on the west by the broken crags and castellated outlines of ridges overlooking the Indian Ocean, and on the south by gentle, smooth, rounded slopes of green uplands. On the one hand, there is in Bengal a land of constant heat and damp, luxuriant vegetation, river banks, rice fields and cocoanut groves with a few cities and densely inhabited by a mild and unaggressive population. On the other, there lie East Punjab and Western U.P., scorched with winds like the blast of a furnace, with a cold and bracing winter climate, covered with wheat and barley and products of temperate zone, and the famous cities and splendid monuments containing a strong and virile population.

8. L. W. Lyde: *The Continent of Asia* (1938), p. 356.

On the basis of topography, India may be divided into four well-marked parts:⁹

1. The Himalayas,
2. The Indo-Gangetic Plain,
3. The Deccan Tableland,
4. The Coastal Plains.

1. The Himalayas extend over a distance of 1500 miles in a sword-like direction and are 150 to 250 miles in width. They are more steep towards the plains and are gentle towards the Tibetan Plateau. They consist of a series of parallel but converging ranges intersected by valleys and big plateaus. They are built of three parallel ranges¹⁰ and have the world's highest peaks, viz., Mt. Everest (29,141 ft.), Mt. Godwin Austin (28,500 ft.) and Kinchinjanga (28,146 ft.). In addition to being the highest, they are also the newest mountain-fold range in the world, having been formed by a Gangetic upthrust from a former ocean-bed known as Tethys. As a result they are eroding rapidly and sending out rich loam to the plains below. The region contains the fertile Kashmir and Kulu Valleys (so famous for fruit cultivation), and in the east, the mountain ranges are much lower and are known as Patkoi; the Naga Hills are in the north-east and the Khasi and Garo Hills in the south-west of Assam.

The Himalayas have acted as a barrier to piercing cold winds of the north and have protected India from the foreign attacks from the north. Historically its importance lies in isolating India from the rest of northern and central Asiatic and other European countries. For ages natural barriers of high mountain walls and stormy tropical seas have largely protected India from the influence of the rest of Asia,¹¹ so that

9. The 1951 Census Report divides the country into four topographical categories: (i) Mountainous area which rises over 7000 ft., contains 10.7 per cent of total area of the land; (ii) Hilly tracts, which are about 7000 ft. above sea level, comprise 18.6 per cent of all land in India; (iii) Plateau region, which lies between one and three thousand feet above sea level, measures 27.7 per cent of the total land area; and (iv) Plains region, which is below 1000 ft. above sea level, contains 43 per cent of the area. The following table gives the relevant figures for the country:

Zone	Total land area	Mts.	Hills	Plateaus	Plains
N. India	726	79	41	34	572
E. India	1,675	145	521	204	804
S. India	1,075	4	278	286	506
W. India	957	..	198	284	476
C. India	1,852	..	333	1,125	395
N.-W. India	1,226	97	88	300	742

India (including J and K) 8,126 873 1,506 2,248 3,498
(Census of India, 1951, Vol. I.A., p. 8)

10. The three ranges of Himalayas are: (i) Great Himalayas—1500 miles long with an average height of 20,000 ft.; (ii) Lesser Himalayas—South of Great Himalayas, average elevation of 15,000 ft.; and (iii) Outer Himalayas lying between Lesser Himalayas and the plains, average elevation 3000 to 4000 ft. above sea-level.

11. G. C. Clewell & H. T. Thompson: *Land and People*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

they have checked the flow of barbarians into the country developing its own art, industry and culture peacefully uninterrupted by the turmoil of the rest of the world. But at the same time they have made trade through the northern border difficult and tedious. The main Indo-Tibet trade routes pass through the Gelepla and Natulal Passes. There are also other Passes like Rohtag, Bara Lapcha and Jojila in the west and Shipki in the centre but they are not so important.

The Himalayas act as a barrier to the monsoon winds and prevent them from going across. This gives plenty of rains to the Himalayan region and a number of the big rivers—particularly the Jamuna, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Sutlej, etc.—which receive their waters from the mountain snows and are fed by rain water in the rainy season, originate in this area. Like two great arms the Ganges and the Brahmaputra completely clasp themselves round the Himalayan ranges so that all the rain that falls and all the snow that melts (whether in their northern or southern flanks) is bound to come into India. Geographically, the Himalayas belong as much to Tibet as to India, but the river systems have lent all the benefits of these mountains to India alone.¹²

The main rivers of India together with their numerous tributaries have their sources in the Himalayas and all bring down water and silt that has made the Gangetic plain, covering the whole of north India, the most fertile area of its size in the world. In a way, this plain may be called the "Gift of the Himalayas and its rivers."

Varieties of climate on these mountains have facilitated the growth of natural fauna of various types. Owing to the heavy rainfall these mountains are clothed with dense forests containing from the silver spruce, *deodar*, fir on the very high altitude to *neem* and *shesham* of the lower slopes. The lesser and outer Himalayas are rich in animal and forest resources. There are extensive tea-plantations in the outer Himalayas from Assam to East Punjab. Physical difficulties do not permit cultivation excepting in the Lower Himalayas where rice, chilly, ginger, tea, wheat, potato and fruits are cultivated.

The scenery and mighty peaks of the Great Himalayas attract tourists and climbers from different parts of the world and this provides a source of income to many hill stations like Darjeeling, Simla, Nainital, Mussourie, etc. Because of such influx of people, many hill stations have developed hotel industry in India, although it is not comparable to what exists in such countries as Switzerland and Italy.

The mountains have also influenced the life and character of the people living in this region. A hard life, isolation in valleys, and difficulties of intercourse

12. C. Morrison: *A New Geography of India and Burma* (1926), p. 67.

are characteristic features of these regions, so that people in these regions are sturdy, brave and liberty loving, but often simple, backward and unprogressive, slow and stolid. They are essentially conservative and outside influences do not reach them. Being conservative, they are sensitive to criticism, suspicious of strangers, superstitious, religious and strangely attached to home and family. The struggle for existence is hard and this develops in them the qualities of frugality, providence, industry, honesty and indifference to luxury. These regions by isolation and retardation often preserve old customs and practices. Mountain people have to raise their food supplies from an unproductive soil and under the stimulus of hunger they often raid the fields and stores of their rich neighbours on the plains below and also indulge in the habit of cattle-lifting in the time of drought.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain lies between the fold mountains of the north and the stable tableland of the peninsula. It is a part of the great depression which is traceable across Northern Africa, Southern Europe and Southern Asia. It occupies an area of about 250,000 sq. miles and extends for nearly 1,500 miles from east to west with a width of 150 to 250 miles. This region is served by a number of rivers, viz., the Ganga and its tributaries—the Jamuna, the Gomti, the Gogra, the Gandak—and in the east the Brahmaputra and its tributaries. The Delhi Ridge divides it into two parts. This plain is wholly composed of the sediments deposited by three great rivers of northern India. It is literally the dust of the mountains.¹³ The great depth of the alluvium has made this plain very fertile. No rock-bed is disclosed by boring done from 500 to 1,000 ft. It is the region of the deepest soil. Geologist R. D. Oldham has concluded that the maximum depth of the soil is about 15,000 ft. near its southern edge. The deposits include a great thickness of clay, loam and silt. Every year new silt is laid by the rivers which make the soil very fertile for the growth of crops.

This plain contains nearly one-third of the land and two-third of her population and also has the highest density of population. Due to extensive irrigation facilities dry and desolate tracts have been turned into populous spots of smiling plenty. This region has always been known for its inexhaustible supply of people who wanted to enjoy its bounty either through the sword or through the scale.

Because of fertile alluvial soil, favourable climate, flat surface rendering possible the construction of roads and railways, navigable rivers and canals, agriculture is the chief occupation of the people in this plain. The chief crops raised are rice, wheat, sugarcane, tobacco, gram, barley, oilseeds, etc.

Although of great importance as the principal theatre of Indian history, geologically speaking this plain is the least interesting part of India. Geologically the history of this plain is only the annals of yester-years of being the alluvial deposits of the rivers brought down from the Himalayas and deposited at their foot.¹⁴

In plains, the characteristic feature is the facility of communication and intercourse, leading to the development of intelligence and the evolution of civilization and progress. It is the small and protected plains that have seen the rapid achievements of human progress. Easy life brings about a desire for ease and pleasure and peace; but the development of intellect breeds cunning or shrewdness and ambition. The people of the plains, therefore, tend to become politically minded and intriguing. They have a great diversity of occupations, commercial and industrial; they are amenable to discipline but are not martial.

The Deccan tableland is an elevated plateau separated from the Indo-Gangetic plain by a mass of hill ranges varying from 1,500 to 4,000 ft. in height. The more important of these being the Aravalli, Vindhya, Satpura, Maikal and Ajanta. On the west it is hemmed off from the Ocean by the Western Ghats and on the east by the Eastern Ghats. It is a part of the earth's outer shell that is composed in great part of generally horizontal rock-beds that stand upon a firm and immovable foundation and that have for an immense number of years remained so in a passive state amidst all cataclysm and revolutions that have again and again changed the face of the earth. The rocks composing this plateau are the various gneisses and other crystalline rocks and there is a great richness of wealth associated with them. Overlying these rocks is a great thickness of unfossiliferous rocks. The rift valley of the Nerbada divides this plateau into two irregular parts—the Northern being known as the Central Indian (Malwa) Plateau and the Southern the Deccan Tableland. On the former are to be found large areas of ravines which are quite unfit for cultivation besides some fertile regions too which produce much wheat; while on the latter are found dark-coloured basalt rocks and the black cotton soil which represents one of the most fertile soils of India. This tableland is at places very rocky and uneven and extends to a number of hilly ranges in far south which are over 4000 ft. high. Of these, the Nilgiris, and the Cardamom hills are the more important. This plateau is traversed by the rivers Nerbada and Tapti which fall into the Arabian Sea, and the rivers Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Cauvery which drain into the Bay of Bengal. The plateau is poor in forest resources but it is rich in mineral resources and regarded as the 'store-house of minerals.' The principal

crops of the Deccan are cotton, coffee, tea and spices. Cinchona and cocoanut are also available.

The peninsula is flanked by coast ranges known as the Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats. The former are much more considerable and form a gigantic and continuous sea-wall rising over 3,000 ft. above sea-level. They are pierced by no valley of any size and are unbroken except for a very curious gap (Pal Ghat) two hundred miles from its southern extremity on the Nilgiris. In the north also at two places the Nerbada and the Tapti traverse these Ghats, viz., at Thal Ghat and Bhor Ghat through which Central and Southern Railways pass. As these Ghats have steep slopes towards the sea, the rivers are swift-flowing and short and therefore give rise to waterfalls in their lower courses.

The Eastern Ghats (1,500 ft. high) are much less formidable and are broken, discontinuous and interrupted by many broad valleys of the rivers like the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Cauvery—all flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These rivers are rain-fed and hence dry up during the summer. Their course is rapid and they abruptly descend from a higher level and are, therefore, little useful for irrigation but are favourable for the producing of hydro-electricity. The important products grown are rice, pulse, sugarcane, cotton, millets and oilseeds.

The coastal plains are the narrow strips of land on both sides of the plateau. These have been formed by the wearing down of the oldest tableland into coastal plains. The western plain is very narrow and is 40 miles wide in some places. It extends from Cambay Gulf to Cape Comorin. On this coast the monsoon floods bring enormous silts and help the growth of forests and plantations. Cocoanut, palm, cardamom, rubber and spices are largely grown. The shores of these plains have very few creeks and outlets. On the Malabar coast there are some lakes, lagoons and breakwaters, which are joined by canals. They serve for good coastal traffic by boats, rafts and canoes. These plains are thickly populated.

The Eastern Coast stretches from the delta of Ganga to Cape Comorin. It is wider and the beach is surf-beaten. This coast is intersected by numerous swift-flowing rivers. The lower section of the plain consists of the deltas of the rivers and is entirely alluvial while the upper section consists of plains in the upper courses of rivers and hence is partly alluvial and partly paneplain. These plains produce good crops of rice, sugarcane, jute, etc.

Geological Structure

According to Edward Suess, there was a hypothetical southern Palaeozoic continent known as the Gondwanaland, which included practically the whole of Africa, Madagascar, Peninsular India, Australia, Tasmania, Antarctica, the Falklands and all South America (except the extreme west and north-west)¹⁵

—these were all rigid masses of the south,¹⁶ while over the areas where now exist the regions of the Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar and Bengal, the tides of a wide and shallow sea ebbed and flowed. This continent finally broke up during the late cretaceous period due to a series of volcanic cataclysms and violent earthquakes which entirely changed the natural features of this vast continent separating America, Africa, India and Australia—one from the other. Finally, as the result of a slow process of geological evolution extending over thousands of years, India acquired her present shape and physical characteristics.

Geologically, India comprises all the rock formations of all ages from the Archaen to the present day, covering a period of nearly 2,000 millions of years. The peninsula is a 'Shield' area geologically composed of very ancient rocks of diverse origin most of which have undergone crushing, recrystallisation and metamorphism. Over these ancient rocks lie a few basins of Pre-Cambrian and later sediments and extensive sheets of horizontally bedded lavas of the Deccan trap formation. The Mesozoic and Tertiary sediments are found mainly along the coastal regions. The extra-peninsula, though containing some very old rocks, is predominantly a region in which the sediments, laid down in vast geosyncline (Himalayan Geosyncline) continuously from the Cambrian to the early Tertiary periods, have been ridged up and folded into the Great Himalayan mountain chain. They thus show enormous thickness of sedimentary rocks, representing practically the whole of the geological column, which have been compressed and raised into dry lands only in geologically very recent times. The core of the mountains is composed of granitic intrusions of presumably Tertiary age. The southern fringe of the Himalayas bordering on the plains consists of fresh-water and estuarine deposits of Mio-Pliocene age derived largely from the rising Himalayas. The Gangetic plains are built of layers of sand, clay, etc., of geologically very recent date, filling up a deep depression between the Peninsula and the Extra-Peninsula.¹⁷ The depth of the alluvium in the Indo-Ganges depression is tremendous, estimated to be from 6,500 ft. to 15,000 ft. The trough is not of uniform depth along its whole length; it is probably at its maximum between Delhi and the Rajmahal Hills and shallowest in Rajasthan and Assam.¹⁸

The successive geological formations have left their marks on the physiography of India, and they may be had under six heads, viz., (1) Archaen,

15. Quoted from an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., p. 514.

16. Steers, J. A.: *Unstable Earth*, p. 12.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Dr. R. N. Dubey: *Economic Geography of India*, 7th Ed., 1952, p. 35; H. L. Chibber: *Physical Basis of Geography of India*, Pt. I, 1945, p. 199.

13. T. W. Holderness: *Peoples and Problems of India*, p. 34.

14. Wadia: *Geology of India*, pp. 3-4.

(2) Vindhyan, (3) Gondwana, (4) Basaltic, (5) Tertiary and Cretaceous and (6) Alluvial.¹⁹ As, however, a detailed examination of these formations is not necessary for our purpose, we shall content ourselves with a brief discussion of the various kinds of soils and minerals that owe their existence to them and which in turn determines to a great extent the distribution and activities of its population.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research set up an All-India Soil Survey Committee, which submitted its report in 1953. According to this Committee, in India the following soil groups are found:²⁰

(1) Red soils, (2) Laterite soils, (3) Black soils including black cotton soil, (4) Alluvial soils, (5) Forests and Hill soils, (6) Saline and Alkaline soils, and (7) Peaty and Marshy soils.

Agriculturally the most important soils are the alluvial ones which occupy extensive tracts of land in the Northern, North-western and North-eastern parts and include greater parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Bihar and Assam (centre areas of Lohimpore, Darang, Sivsagar, Kamrup, Goalpara and parts of Garo Hills), West Bengal, the Godavari, the Kistna and the Tanjore districts of Madras and the strips extending along the eastern and western coasts of the Peninsula. The depth of this soil exceeds 1600 ft. below the ground surface. These soils are derived mainly from the debris brought down from the Himalayas or from the silt left by the old sea which has not retreated. These soils differ in different parts of the country in physical texture and chemical composition. In North and North-west India, it is dry, porous and in some places sandy giving rise to crops not requiring the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots. In Bengal, it becomes more compact, less coarse and moist where rice, sugarcane and jute are largely cultivated; while in the deltas of the Peninsular India, it is actually clayey, non-porous and of dark colour. The chief advantages of porous and light soils are that they are easily worked by the plough and easily permeated by water, leading to greater fertility of land where water supply is abundant; but their great defect is that they allow water to sink into the lower strata, and are unsuitable for the growth of those crops which require the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots and thus they cause nonfertility in regions where showers are not frequent.

Alluvial soils are rich in chemical properties. Phosphoric acid, potash, lime and magnesium are found in sufficient quantities but are deficient in nitrates

and humus contents. These soils are of marvellous fertility producing under irrigation splendid crops of rice, sugarcane, tobacco, and jute. The regions of these soils are heavily populated.

The desert soils occur under arid and semi-arid conditions and occupy a large tract in Rajasthan and South Punjab. The Thar desert alone occupies an area of 40,000 sq. miles. These soils consist mostly of sands which have been derived from old sea-coasts. These soils contain a high percentage of soluble salts, varying degrees of calcium carbonates and are poor in organic matter. The limiting factor being mainly water, the soils may be reclaimed if proper facilities of irrigation are available. Very few crops specially millet, jowar and bajra are grown for want of water supply and hence the population supported by the regions is very small.

SALINE AND ALKALINE SOILS

Many parts of the arid and semi-arid regions of the north specially of Bihar, U.P., Punjab and Rajasthan give rise to saline and alkaline efflorescences. It is known under various names like *Reh*, *Kallar* or *Usar*. These efflorescences are mainly salts of sodium, calcium and magnesium. Soils impregnated with these salts are rendered unfertile and hence uncultivable. These salts are transported in solution by the Himalayan rivers, which later percolate in the sub-soils of the plains. This salt goes on accumulating in the areas of arid climate and insufficient surface drainage during the dry seasons; the soluble salts are sucked up in solution by capillary action to the surface and are deposited there in the form of white efflorescence. Similarly in places under irrigation by canal waters and in those in which the sub-soil water level is high as in the coastal tracts, this transference is facilitated. It is in this manner that saline and alkaline soils of the irrigated tracts of Bombay, Deccan, Madras and of those near the sea-coasts and in the Punjab and U.P. have originated. Such soils occupy over five million acres of land in Saharanpur, Mathura and Aligarh districts of U.P.;²¹ in Nira Valley of Bombay, Alkali land has arisen from canal irrigation and it has been recorded that 51,000 acres have been damaged in this way. The damage is enormous, the area representing more than 25 per cent of the actual area of irrigation.²² In the Punjab such area extends over 300 sq. miles.²³

Saline soils (Solon chak) containing free sodium and other salts are prevalent in the drier tracts as in Western Rajasthan; whereas alkaline soils (Solonetz) which do not contain any free salts are found in the irrigated tracts as in Bombay-Deccan. The degraded alkaline (Solodi) soil is rarely found in India due

perhaps to the presence of calcium salts in the saline soils.²⁴ The alkaline soils are deficient in calcium and nitrogen and are highly impervious.

PEATY AND MARSHY SOILS

Peaty soils originated in humid regions as a result of an accumulation of large amounts of organic matter in the soils. They may contain considerable soluble salts. Such typical peaty saline soils (Kari) have been observed in Travancore-Cochin. The depressions formed by dried river basins and lakes in alluvial and coastal areas sometimes give rise to peculiar water-logged and anaerobic conditions of the soil. The soils of these places are generally blue-coloured due to the presence of iron and also contain varying amounts of organic matter. Marshy soils of this type are found in coastal tracts of Orissa, in the Sundarbans and other places in Bengal, in the central portions of North Bihar, in Almora districts of U.P. and in the South-east coast of Madras.²⁵

BLACK SOILS OR REGAR SOILS

Such soils are the products of the decomposition of lavas. These soils occupy greater parts of Bombay and Saurashtra, the western parts of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad and the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Kuddapah, Coimbatore, Salem and Tennevelly in Madras. These soils are highly retentive of moisture and extremely compact and tenacious and rich in chemical properties. These soils are loamy to clayey in texture; vary in depth from 1 to 2 to several feet; and contain lime *kanhar* and free calcium carbonates, and contain heavy cracks in summer season. These soils are endowed with inexhaustible fertility and are useful for commercial crops. They are generally deficient in nitrogen, phosphoric acid and organic matter but potash, lime and iron are usually high. The kind of crops most suited to these areas is the *rabi*, but the *kharif* crops are also grown in many cases. Cotton, wheat, linseed and millet are the chief crops.

RED SOILS (TRAP SOILS)

The commonest form of red soils is sandy clay coloured by iron peroxide. It is either derived from the rock *in situ* or from its products of decomposition worked to a lower level by rain. The red soils comprise practically the whole of Madras, Mysore, South-east Bombay, East Hyderabad, and a strip of tract running along the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to Chota Nagpur and Orissa. In the north, its area extends into and includes the greater part of the Santal Parganas in Bihar, the Birbhum district of Bengal, the Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of U.P., the northern portion of Madhya Bharat, the Aravalli's and the eastern half of Rajasthan. The red

soils differ greatly in consistency, depth and fertility. On the uplands they are thin, poor, gravelly, sandy or stony and porous light-coloured soils on which food crops like bajra can be grown. But on the lower plains they are rich, deep, dark-coloured fertile loam on which under irrigation can be produced excellent crops like cotton, wheat, millets and pulses. These soils are rich in potash and lime but are poor in nitrogen and phosphoric acid.

LATERITE OR LATERITIC SOILS

These soils are characterised by compact vascular rocks composed essentially of a mixture of oxides of iron and aluminium. They are derived by the atmospheric weathering of several types of rocks under monsoon conditions of alternating dry and wet seasons. Such soils are specially well-developed on the summits of basaltic hills and plateaus of Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Deccan, Raj Mahal, the Eastern Ghat regions of Orissa, South Bombay, Malabar and parts of Assam. These soils vary in quality. On the higher levels, they are exceedingly thin, usually of a pale colour, shallow and gravelly with little power to retain moisture and poor in nutritive substances, producing millets and pulses. But on the lower plains and in the valleys they are dark, heavy loams and clay of finer texture, which readily retain moisture and produce good crops like cotton, wheat, millets and pulses. These soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime but humus is present in quantities decidedly better than in most other Indian soils.

In the midst of these varying features one characteristic is found to be common to almost all soils, *viz.*, their comparative dryness. This absence of moisture in the land makes the supply of water an absolute necessity in Indian agriculture.

RIVERAL RESOURCES

Such is the surface of the earth as we find it in India. It is needless to say that it is of the greatest importance in the economic life of her people, whose material and moral welfare is indissolubly bound up with the soil. But of equal importance is what lies beneath the surface. The wealth of a country and ultimately the prosperity of its people in modern times corresponds, in a large measure, to its output of economic minerals.

It was a common notion sometime ago that the Indian mineral deposits were too poor to be worked profitably by modern methods but more recent investigations have made it clear that if not unlimited they are at least enough to maintain the existing industries of India. V. Ball quotes the statement of Megasthenes that "India has numerous underground veins of all sorts of minerals," and regards it as absolutely true. He goes on to say:

"Were India wholly isolated from the rest of the world, or were her mineral productions pro-

19. For detailed information, see Wadia, D. N.: *Geology of India*, 1943, Chapters III, VI, IX, XVI and XXII and Dr. Chibber: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 171-188.

20. I. C. A. R. Bulletin, No. 73, on All-India Soil Survey Scheme (1953), p. 13.

21. Mamoria, C. B.: *Agricultural Problems of India*, 1953, p. 47.

22. N. P. C. Report on River Training and Irrigation, p. 51.

23. Mamoria: *Ibid.*, p. 296.

24. I. C. A. R. Bulletin, No. 73, on All-India Soil Survey Scheme (1953), pp. 15-16.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that they would be able from within her own boundaries to supply very nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly civilized community.²⁶

It is true although India is not so much rich in mineral resources as U.S.A., U.S.S.R. or Germany, yet she is by no means deficient in them.

NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN MINERALS

The fact is that (i) India has an exportable surplus in respect of 5 minerals compared with 6 in U.S.A. and 5 in U.S.S.R. (ii) India is self-sufficient in four, whereas U.S.A. is so in 5 and Russia in 7 and Germany and Pakistan in 1 each. (iii) With respect to major minerals like iron ore, coal, manganese, magnesite, mica, chromite, bauxite, India is well provided. She is deficient in copper, zinc, tin, lead, sulphur and petroleum. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. are well provided with petroleum, but are deficient in mica, and U.S.A. is also deficient in manganese; Germany and Pakistan are comparatively very deficient in mineral resources.

India has large supplies of mica and produces between 60 and 80 per cent of the world's output. Its supplies of manganese, ilmenite, monazite and high grade iron ore (contain over 60 per cent iron) are amongst the largest in the world.²⁷ The reserves of the high grade manganese ore (49 per cent content) are of the order of 18 to 20 m. tons and those of lower grades will amount to about 3 times the above quantity. The reserves of iron ore are estimated to be over 10,000 m. tons.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MINERAL RESOURCES

The mineral resources are widely distributed over the whole area. According to Dr. Dunn, on the west of a line drawn from Mangalore to Kanpur and to the Himalayas, mineral resources are not only sparsely distributed but are also perhaps unimportant with the exceptions of mica, lead, salt and some coal and perhaps copper in Rajasthan. Among individual States there is an unequal distribution of minerals.²⁸ Dr. D. N. Wadia says, "Nature has made a very unequal territorial distribution of minerals in the Indian region."

The vast alluvial plains tract of North India is devoid of mines of economic minerals. The Archaen terrain of Bihar and Orissa possesses the largest concentration of ore-deposits, such as iron, manganese, copper, aluminium, chromium, valuable industrial minerals like mica, ilmenite, phosphates and over three-fourths of India's reserves of coal, including cooking coal. The iron-ore reserves lying in one or two

districts of Bihar and the adjoining territories of Orissa are calculated to be over 8,000 million tons, surpassing in richness and extent those of any other known region. There are large reserves of manganese areas; over 50 per cent of world's best mica (Ruby mica) block, splittings and sheet are supplied by the mica mines of Kodarma and Gaya in Bihar. The second minerally rich State is Madhya Pradesh, carrying good reserves of manganese, iron, limestone, coal and bauxite. Madras has workable deposits of iron, manganese, magnesite, mica, limestone and lignite coal. Mysore has yielded all the gold of India, besides producing appreciable quantities of iron, porcelain clay and chrome ores. Hyderabad has good reserves of second grade coal, besides being a potential source of several industrial minerals. Travancore possesses enormous concentrations of heavy-mineral sands of high strategic importance, calculated to contain some 250 million tons of ilmenite, besides containing monazite, zircon, rutile, and garnet in workable quantities. Bombay (N.-W. districts) and East Punjab have been far less productive and have scarcely as yet figured in India's mineral statistics. Rajasthan for a long time absent from India's mineral returns is gradually becoming a productive centre, holding promise for a bright future in non-ferrous metals—copper, lead and zinc, mica, steable, beryllium and precious stones like emerald and aquamarine, asbestos, lignite and gypsum, building stones, manganese. Assam supplies about 60 million gallons of much needed petroleum, besides carrying important reserves of tertiary coal. Of the vast extent of the Himalayan region, the only proved mineralised regions of importance is the territory of Kashmir, south of the Great Himalayan Axis, with its coal (some of it is anthracite), aluminium ore, sapphire and some minor industrial minerals. But for the partly-known copper deposits of Sikkim and Kumaon and some fairly widely-spread iron-ore bodies in these areas, the rest of the Himalayan region is a veritable *terra incognita* as regards economic minerals. West Bengal's mineral resources are confined to coal and iron ores. The Damodar Valley area is very rich in mineral resources, containing as it does the concentration of 100 per cent of India's total production of copper ore; 100 per cent of kyanite, 93 per cent of iron ore; 80 per cent of coal, 70 per cent of chromite, 70 per cent of mica, 50 per cent of fireclay, 45 per cent of asbestos, 45 per cent of china clay, 20 per cent of limestone, 10 per cent of manganese and 10 per cent of building materials.

It is generally known that no country in the world, not even the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R., is entirely self-sufficient in all the mineral resources necessary for its economic development. It is, therefore, an extremely hazardous task to venture on a final opinion about the mineral resources of India, as only a few

portions of the vast territories have been intensively surveyed. The mineral wealth of India as at present known, though by no means inexhaustible, comprises an adequate range of useful products that are necessary for industrial development; but at the same time India has certain important deficiencies. The following gives a good idea of the position of India's mineral resources, their adequacy and deficiency, etc.:²⁹

I. Minerals in which India has large exportable surplus to dominate world markets:

(i) Iron ore, (ii) Titanium, (iii) Thorium ores and (iv) Mica.

II. Minerals of which the exportable surplus forms an important part:

(i) Manganese ore, (ii) Magnesite, (iii) Refractory Minerals, (iv) Bauxite, (v) Granite, (vi) Silica, (vii) Beryllium, (viii) Steatite, (ix) Corundum, (x) Monazite, (xi) Natural abrasives.

III. Minerals in which India may be considered self-sufficient:

(i) Coal, (ii) Cement materials, (iii) Aluminium ore, (iv) Copper ore, (v) Chrome ore, (vi) Building stores, (vii) Marble, (viii) Slate, (ix) Limestone, (x) Dolomite, (xi) Mineral pigments, (xii) Industrial clays, (xiii) Sodium salts and alkalies, (xiv) Gypsum, (xv) Glass sand, (xvi) Pyrites, (xvii) Borax, (xviii) Nitrates, (xix) Felspar, (xx) Phosphates, (xxi) Zircon, (xxii) Barytes, (xxiii) Arsenic, (xxiv) Vanadium, (xxv) Antimony, (xxvi) Alum, and (xxvii) Precious and semi-precious stones.

IV. Minerals in which India has to depend largely or entirely on foreign imports:

(i) Silver, (ii) Nickel, (iii) Petroleum, (iv) Zinc, (v) Lead, (vi) Tin, (vii) Mercury, (viii) Tungsten, (ix) Molybdenum, (x) Platinum, (xi) Graphite, (xii) Asphalt, (xiii) Potash, (xiv) Fluorides, (xv) Sulphur.

The main features of our mineral industry might be enumerated as below:

(1) The mineral resources of India are vast and varied.

(2) The distribution is capricious in territorial sense, some parts of the country being poor, others being comparatively rich.

As inland waterways have not been well-developed in this country, the railways are the chief agencies of transport. Minerals are unequally distributed, they have often to be moved long distances to reach the consumer. The cost of transport, therefore, becomes high. The effect of the disproportionately high freight is to shut out some of our minerals from certain internal markets.

(3) Only a few small areas may be said to have been examined by geologists in a fairly detailed manner. There are large regions, the geology of which is not known, while in the case of some areas in Orissa and Assam even general information is lacking.

(4) In most cases the reserves, though known to be large enough, are not known in sufficient

detail, especially in regard to quality for purposes of development.

(5) Until recently, mineral exploration and their exploitation received little attention. Except coal, iron ore and petroleum required for internal use, the majority of the minerals especially mica, manganese, magnesite, kyanite, ilmenite were raised for purposes of exports without any dressing, processing and fabrication. These exports brought but a small return to the country.

(6) The mineral industry also suffers from these defects:

Lack of policy and organised plans for prospecting, mining and utilisation of minerals and economical marketing of the minerals; lack of effective State control, assistance and encouragement; absence of basic industries; lack of trained men and technical skill; want of real estimates and reliable information regarding the reserves, the possibility of new sources and the industrial application of minerals; the haphazard mining of the ore bodies with an eye for immediate gains, leading to the rapid depletion and waste of the useful portions of the deposits, and inroads by foreign firms who have taken up concessions for most of the important Indian minerals; and mechanical methods are not common in the mining fields.³⁰

The mines and quarries coming under the Mines Act, employed over 471,761 persons in 1950 and if we include smaller quarries, the number of persons dependent on this type of employment may be well over 600,000. The many industries based primarily upon minerals probably employ over 2 million persons. The mineral industries not only support this large population but pay income-tax on their profits, customs duties on their imports of machinery, tools and appliances, and contribute to the State coffers in other indirect ways. Mining contributed to 0.7 abjas of rupees to the national income in 1950-51.

Minerals are wasting assets and unlike forests, once they are used up, they cannot be replenished. Hence, conservation of these resources is greatly emphasized. Besides the conservation and control of minerals, attempts must also be made to develop basic industries in India in such a way that our mineral resources can be utilised inside the country, and mining industry need not be dependent upon the economic uncertainties of other countries for its prosperity. Further research must also be conducted with respect to the best possible uses of the available minerals in India. Substitutes for some of the minerals for which we are entirely dependent on other countries must also be discovered. Attempts must also be made to diversify the mineral industry in India by trying to utilise resources available in different parts of the country.

(To be continued)

26. V. Ball: *Economic Geology*, p. xv.

27. C. N. Vakil: *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 219.

28. *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Indian Science Congress (Calcutta)*, Pt. II, p. 80.

30. See (i) The Report of the Industrial Panel on Non-Ferrous Metals Industries and (ii) Dr. M. S. Krishna's article "Mineral Resources and Development" in *Industrial Problems of India* edited by P. C. Jain (1951), pp. 87-96.

29. First Five-Year Plan (1951).

VICTORY AT GENEVA

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that the Big-Four "Summit" Conference at Geneva was "a complete success." The heads of the U.S.S.R., the United States of America, Britain and France agreed on all points. It was agreed that the Foreign Ministers will now meet during autumn to study and discuss the subjects of German re-armament and European security. The recommendations of the Foreign Ministers on disarmament will be addressed to the U.N. Disarmament Sub-Committee. This is the first time that the Big-Four Powers have been able to discuss together in a cordial manner various difficult problems in international affairs. Although it was not possible for them to agree at this stage on certain specific proposals, the secret of their success lay in their manner of approach and in the spread of mutual goodwill and co-operation. As Shri Nehru observed at a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, it was the "cordial spirit" in which the issues before the Conference were discussed, which was largely responsible for the success of Geneva. "For once views were expressed moderately and without rancour or bitterness." One of the important factors which was helpful in creating this atmosphere of goodwill was the recent visit of our Prime Minister to Soviet Union, Britain and some of the Eastern European countries. "Panch-Shila" or the Five Principles which formed the very basis of India's foreign policy have been amply vindicated. The Big Powers have now sincerely realised that lasting peace in the world ultimately depends on the principle of "live and let live." It is the fear-complex which creates a sense of insecurity and nervousness in the minds of the people. If all the nations, big and small, decide to live at peace within themselves and not interfere with the affairs of other nations, all will be well with the world. This does not mean isolationism. In this modern age no nation can afford to live in isolation, unaffected by the events that take place in other parts of the globe. But non-aggression and non-interference essentially mean that each nation tries to develop itself in accordance with its own genius without trying to impose its pattern on others. It is good to learn from one another. But imposition of one economic or political system on other nations or the imitation of the ideology of another nation is never a sound principle.

It must also be realised that peace is not an end in itself. It is only a means to an end. The ultimate objective of world peace is the social, economic, cultural and gradual development of humanity. It is impossible to give the highest priority to the develop-

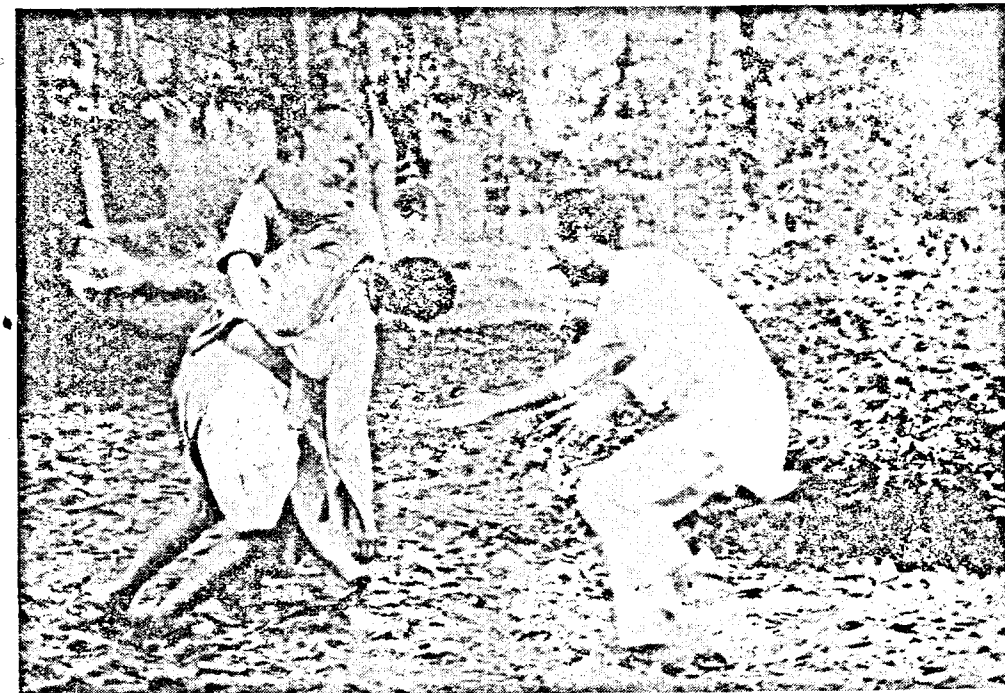
ment of human beings in a world which is torn with fears and suspicion. The Prime Minister of India has stated repeatedly that India has no time to think about wars and international conflict because she is primarily concerned with the social and economic development of the millions of her people. The same is the case with other nations as well. It is now being realised on all hands that wars do not solve any problems, economic or political. In fact, they only result in additional worries and difficulties.

In the course of his address to the A.I.C.C. Session at Berhampur Acharya Vinoba Bhave remarked that the international situation was like the case of a sick person about whom the doctors issue bulletins from time to time. Sometimes the condition improves and then again deteriorates. The ultimate solution of international conflict is, therefore, not to be found in mere "patchwork" or joint agreements on superficial issues. The fundamental problem to be tackled by different nations is the reorientation of the basic values of life. So long as money continues to play a vital role in our lives and material considerations remain predominant in social relations, there is not much hope for lasting peace and goodwill. As Gandhiji always told us, the ultimate solution of international conflict lay in the philosophy of decentralisation and the ideal of simple living and high thinking. So long as the motto of different nations continues to be a rise in the material standards of living, there was not much scope for the development of the moral and cultural values of life. It will, therefore, be necessary for all of us to effect radical changes in our lives by substituting mutual love and co-operation for mutual hatred and exploitation. The pattern of social and economic development of various nations will also have to undergo certain basic changes. A society or a State based on a highly centralised and regimented economy would necessarily engender violence and conflict. A society based on the philosophy of "bread-labour" and non-exploitation cannot defuse the climate of peace and brotherhood.

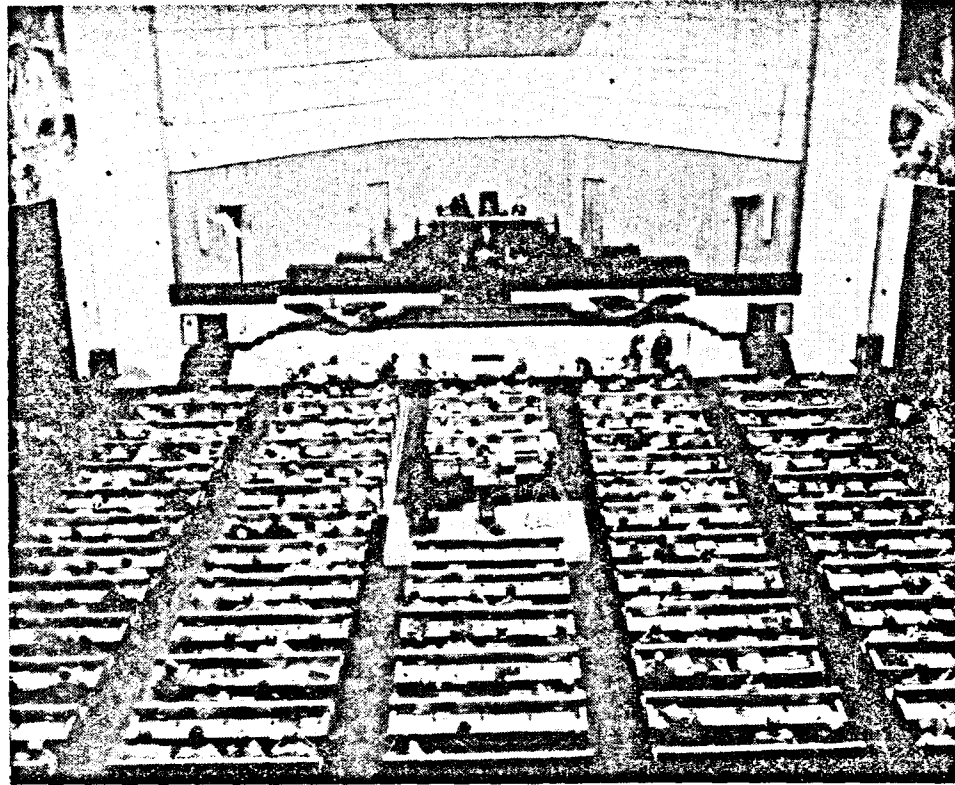
The problem of peace, therefore, is the problem of life itself. If individuals change the pattern of their lives, the social pattern changes. With the change in the social pattern, the pattern of international relations also undergoes a radical change. India has learnt these basic values of life from her great sons and leaders through the centuries. We are confident that the message of India would be helpful in recreating an atmosphere of peace and co-operation in this war-weary world.



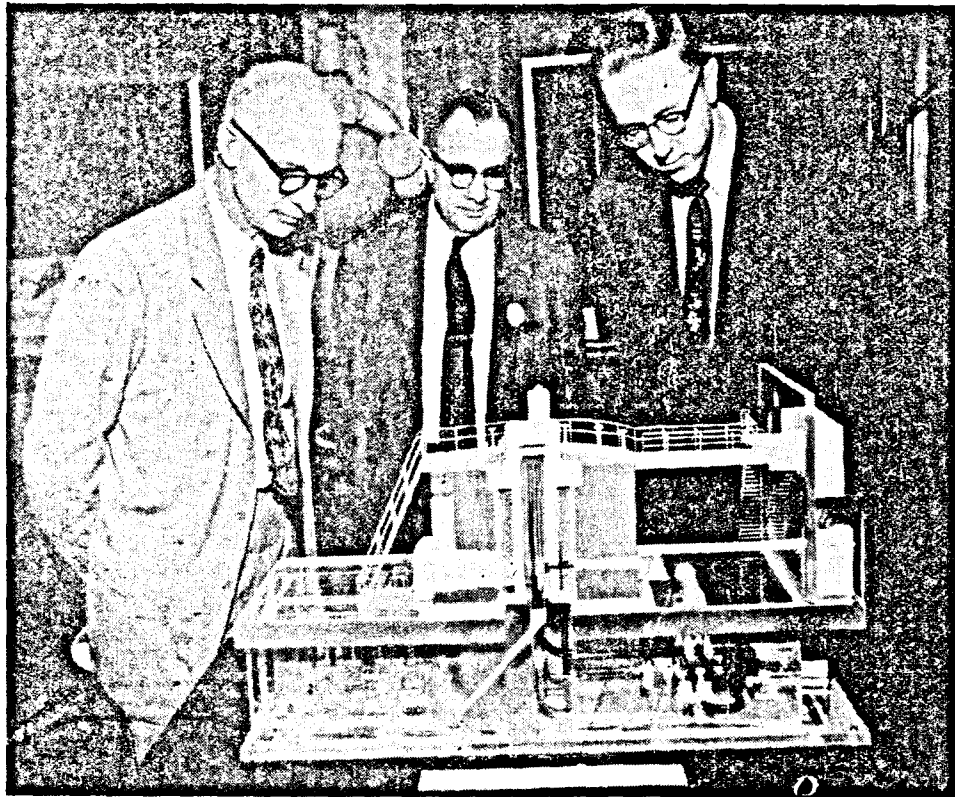
Satyagrahis boldly facing the bullets of Portuguese soldiers who can be seen on the veranda of the house on the right



Arthur Bonner, an American camera-man, brings to the Indian border the body of a Satyagrahi after he had been shot dead by Portuguese soldiers



The 12-day International Conference of the United Nations on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which opened at the Palais des Nations in Geneva on August 3



Three American scientists look over a model in the Soviet Union's atom exhibit at the U.N. International Conference in Geneva

DEVALUATION OF PAKISTAN RUPEE

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

THE Government of Pakistan devalued their currency on the 31st July, 1955 to the same extent as India did about two thousand one hundred and forty two days ago. This brings down the value of Pakistan rupee from 0.268,601 to 0.186,621 grams of fine gold and in terms of dollar from 30,225 cents to 21 cents. In certain circles this decision has been considered to be a belated action and also termed as the return of the 'Prodigal Son.' According to some, the main reason attributing to this action has been the deteriorating state of her balance of payments' position due to the cessation of the export trade boom consequent upon the silencing of guns on the Korean front in 1952. She has been suffering a setback in her export of almost monopoly goods due to slackness in demand and close competition. On the other hand, an announcement of the Pakistan Government has justified this action because "Pakistan's economy has been developing at a fast pace. The exchange rate that has been appropriate so far is no longer suited to the needs of the growing economy of the country." In a subsequent statement following the devaluation, the Pakistan Finance Minister, Chaudhari Mohammed Ali is reported to have said in a press conference that the government's decision to devalue her Rupee had not been taken under pressure from any quarter but the present needs of the country due to its transformation from complete agricultural economy to semi-industrialised phase required this adjustment.

DEVALUATION OF 1949

The seed of devaluation was sown on 18th September, 1949 by U. K. after the 1931 worldwide depression by devaluing her currency in terms of gold and dollar to an extent of 30.5 per cent. The decision was based on peculiar British position as regards the Convertibility of Sterling and dearth of production. The Sterling-Dollar difficulties had become insurmountable and Britain's gold reserves had begun to "run at much too fast a rate despite the Aid she was receiving from Marshall Plan." The desire of the people for the conversion of £ in gold and dollar was so much pressing that the U.K. Government decided to ease the situation, *inter alia* by lowering the exchange value of £ sterling from \$4.03 to \$2.80. The Moscow radio comment as reported by *P.T.I. Reuter* on 20th September, 1949 said that "devaluation had led to financial panic throughout Marshallised Europe" and that the British Government had "surrendered to the U.S.A." in spite of assurances by Labour leaders. Yet such an

action was approved by the International Monetary Fund and in the words of the then Managing Director Mr. C. Gutt, it was a step in the right direction. The decision was quickly followed by announcements in several Sterling Area and Non-Sterling Area countries devaluing their currencies in diverse magnitude. 17 countries including India devalued their currencies against dollar by 30.5 per cent but maintained parity with Sterling. 4 countries devalued their currencies against the dollar by 5.6 per cent to 22.2%. 12 countries including Pakistan declared that they will not devalue their currencies against dollar. From the International Monetary Fund membership standpoint, nineteen countries out of the then total membership of 48 with an aggregate quota in the Fund of more than 71% of the total subscription excluding that of U.S.S.R. had readjusted their par values in the middle of October 1949.

Along with U.S.S.R., Japan, Turkey, Persian, Italy, Switzerland and Poland the only sterling area country, which did not devalue her currency was India's next door neighbour—Pakistan. This decision of Pakistan at that moment was highly criticized by India as it brought about serious repercussions on the Indo-Pakistan trade in the very early stages of post-partition period. Before reviewing the Pak policy, it is necessary to throw some light on the Indian decision to devalue her currency in tune with sterling. While India was sure to suffer from an increase in her liabilities in respect of increased value of dollar loans from the world bank and depreciated value in terms of dollar of her sterling balances. She gave due importance to her alignment with the sterling area in the absence of which she would have been deprived of her share in the dollar pool from which she had drawn next to Britain. Moreover, India in 1948-49 had more than 70 per cent of her trade with sterling and soft currency areas. Moreover, the Finance Minister of Government of India expected higher earnings from exports and improvement in the investment of foreign capital particularly from dollar area into India.

There was least apprehension in Indian official quarters that after 48 hours of their decision the Secretary General of Pakistan will throw the "No devaluation Bomb" on 20th September, 1949. The Finance ministry communique from Karachi on the 21st September, 1949, clarified their government's standpoint by stating that the decision was in the interest of Pakistan because *firstly*, the balance of payment position did not necessitate devaluation, *secondly*,

LABOUR TRAINING—AN INTEGRAL PART OF MAN-POWER PLANNING

By PROF. SANTI KUMAR GHOSH, M.A.

A steady flow of skilled and technically qualified personnel is a *sine qua non* of industrial progress. The importance and urgency of training and equipping rank-and-file workers to fill various positions in industry can hardly be overemphasized. Adequate job-training promotes job-efficiency and reduces labour turnover. To the individual worker, it means a possibility of increased earnings and the personal satisfaction and self-confidence derived from the ability to do a job well; a knowledge of several jobs is a protection against unemployment.

The facilities now available in this country for training in industry are woefully inadequate in relation to the number of trades and occupations and the number of persons employed therein. This lack of provision for comprehensive and systematic training has an important bearing on labour-efficiency. The level of an average Indian worker is far below that of his counterpart in other industrialized countries of the world. Possessing an agricultural background, the raw and illiterate recruit enters the factory and tries to pick up whatever knowledge he can from no qualified instructor but his senior operator and thus learns and perpetuates bad habits and slipshod methods.

In the initial stages, industrial training was considered as lying outside the sphere of the Government of India. But as early as 1888 the Government was forced to call the attention of the provincial governments to the need for extending industrial and vocational training. Already in 1877 the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was established in Bombay under private initiative. In 1901 an educational conference called by Lord Curzon resulted in making some improvements in the teaching of science at the universities and providing a number of scholarships in the provincial budgets for the higher technical training of students in foreign countries. But the trainees were not placed in suitable concerns.

During the First World War the question of industrial training received some consideration at the hands of the Industrial Commission of 1916 which recommended the establishment of a school of mines, a school of sugar technology and a few engineering colleges. Later, in 1936, the Government of India appointed a Committee of two experts (the Abbot-Wood Committee) to recommend measures for the provision of facilities for vocational education.

The shortage of skilled personnel within the country was brought into bold relief during the Second World War. In accordance with the recommendations of the Technical Training Enquiry Committee under the

Chairmanship of Sir Sargent, the Government of India launched the Technical Training Scheme for imparting technical training to suitable persons who were later to be employed for work as technicians in the Armed Forces or in factories engaged in war work. Training was imparted in over fifty engineering and building trades and its duration was about a year. During the five years of its existence the training scheme turned out more than a lakh of trained men. Provision was also made under the Bevin Training Scheme for higher technical training of some of the munition workers under modern factory conditions of England.

The wartime training schemes were not based on any firm foundation of theoretical knowledge and were confined only to mechanical engineering. But these schemes laid the foundation for building up a skilled labour force for India. The post-war training schemes of the Government of India had the object of providing facilities for training to demobilised servicemen and displaced persons in certain trades and particularly engineering and building trades, and vocations particularly non-engineering trades and occupations, i.e., mainly cottage and small-scale industries.

An increasing amount of attention has been given to technological education during the last five years. Facilities for undergraduate study have increased considerably, but similar facilities for post-graduate education and research are still inadequate. Also the provision of training for industrial workers, technical teachers and instructors has not kept pace with the needs of the country. The existing technical and vocational institutions have therefore to make up considerable leeway in point of efficiency, both with regard to equipment and the quality of teaching. Moreover, vocational schools are run on lines similar to those imparting purely liberal education, with short working hours and long vacation, rather than under ideal factory conditions. Again, most of the training institutions cater at present for the urban population. The establishment of rural training centres, each at the centre of a group of villages, will, therefore, go a long way towards improving techniques and skills of the villagers.

There is one important lacuna in our schemes of technical training. The facilities that now exist in this country for the training of technicians of the foreman class are extremely limited, with the result that in many lines of manufacture, India has still to depend for this type of technical ability on foreign sources of supply. In any scheme of technical training intended to promote the supply of this type of skilled labour it is essential that the training imparted should be of such a high

calibre as to enable them in due course to take independent charge of particular technical processes in the industries from which they were recruited.

Apart from technicians, there is acute shortage of persons trained in the principles and techniques of industrial engineering and organisation. The circumstances of industrial development in India during the last fifty years did not favour the rise of this technological class; the industries relied on foreign specialists or consultants for high-level technical advice. The measures recently taken to strengthen technological education through the activities of the All-India Council of Technical Education and its Boards of Studies have expanded the facilities for technological education in this country. The establishment of an Institute of Higher Technology at Hijli (West Bengal) is a notable step in the same direction, but clearly there is need for more institutes of this type.

In planning training of skilled personnel for industry we have to take into account three classes of personnel: managerial, supervisory, and skilled workmen. Efficient organisation demands that training should be imparted at all the three levels. The first stage in the training of the younger generation of factory workers should start with general compulsory basic education with an industrial bias, and should precede vocational training in any one of the specific trades. Schools imparting such liberal education should be equipped with workshops for different crafts, where boys and girls could receive manual training. Their object should be to prepare boys and girls for further specialised training in specific trades.

Vocational schools enable young persons to discover and try out their aptitudes, to learn to use some of the basic tools of their chosen trade and to acquire the fundamental disciplines of work—carefulness, precision and thoroughness. Individuals with such general preparation must learn the details of their particular jobs in the plant itself. Vocational education at its best can never take the place of training in the job. Job-training is essentially learning by doing. At their jobs they learn by observing others and from instructions given by their foremen. However, an increasing number of employers consider that this "pick up" method of job-learning has deficiencies. The alternative to "breaking in" on the job is short, intensive instruction by trained instructors away from the production line.

In the present stage of her industrial development, and considering the limited resources at the disposal of the Government, it may be advisable for India to adopt

a system of training more or less similar to the one obtaining in the U.S. with, of course, suitable modifications to suit local conditions. This system has two types. In the case of training in the job, a textile worker, for instance, may be started as a cleaner and by a process of upgrading finally becomes a spinner, having been trained by close contact with the job. Under the 'vestibule system,' a part of the machinery is set aside on which learners may practise under the guidance of special instructors without interfering with the normal course of production.

The problem thus is first, to train the necessary number of persons in appropriate trades, and second, to train them up to a high degree of skill. The existence of a considerable number of semi- and under-skilled persons who are unacceptable to employers is creating problems for government to solve. The way to check this growing evil is by providing adequate facilities for higher training of craftsmen. Training should be intimately wedded to the needs of industry so that there may be a correspondence between the demand and supply of available skills in specific trades. Since employment policy demands that labour should be steered towards the under-staffed occupations, there is need for a system of advisory service to provide guidance as to the most suitable trades in which they may be trained with advantage.

In respect of large-scale industries, technical institutes should be started and maintained by the large industrial concerns themselves for the benefit of their employees. The Central Government will have to take the initiative by offering liberal grants-in-aid. It should also maintain an inspectional staff for planning, supervising and co-ordinating the training activities all over the country.

Talent for future needs could be encouraged by legislation calling for foreign enterprises to train Indian staff for responsible positions. Practical training should be combined with the theoretical as well as industrial with commercial training. Competent administrators should also be trained in the fundamentals of business administration and in scientific methods of industrial management. Technical and managerial skills are, however, developed not merely by formal training but also by environment. This can best be done by promoting widely diversified small industries which will train a maximum number of people in new skills and will provide a wide technological climate favourable to the emergence of capable leaders. In this way an effective system of 'training within industry' may be evolved for turning out a highly skilled and efficient labour force.



non-devaluation would cheapen imports and curb inflation, *thirdly*, Pakistan would be in a better position to get capital goods and raw materials from dollar and sterling areas both, *fourthly*, it would stimulate the earnings from the export of her almost monopoly products, raw jute, cotton, tea and hides and skin. Though the decision was received with surprise in economic circles in India and Washington the International Monetary Fund set its seal of approval of Pakistan Rupee exchange rate at the time of Pakistan's admission to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in 1950.

JUSTIFICATION OF PAK-RUPEE DEVALUATION

Recently in the statement cited above the present Finance Minister of Pakistan, in support of the past and present decision of Pakistan Government in this connection, said that had Britain not devalued her currency in 1949 no one would have ever thought of devaluation. "At the present stage we are in a position to augment our foreign exchange by exports of manufactured goods."

According to the Pak Finance Minister, the decision has been taken by the government after a very careful consideration as a deliberate step designed to strengthen Pakistan's economy. "Government have no doubt that the decision will lend new strength to the economy of the country and lead to greater happiness and prosperity of the people."

One of the main reasons of non-devaluation of Pak Rupee in 1949 was to keep up the price of jute sales and thus increase the purchasing power in the hands of the East Pakistan cultivators which they got mostly by selling jute. Once again the jute prices have become one of the main consideration of the devaluation. The price fell down from the pre-devaluation Rs. 31 to Rs. 14 and once again the consideration of the purchasing power with the jute-growers has become so significant. Moreover, during these six years there has been a lot of smuggling so much so that the non-official Pak-Indian currency Exchange ratio had almost been the reverse of the official one. "The two main considerations leading to the present decision are to ensure a reasonable return to the grower of jute and cotton and to facilitate exports so as to increase our foreign exchange earnings." The agriculturists in Pakistan are suffering on account of the fall in prices of jute and cotton in international markets. It is expected that now the disposal of the jute crop would be easier. Moreover, Pakistan by now has got 10 jute mills as against two at the time of partition. These mills naturally would require more raw jute to be utilised with a view to increasing the export of jute manufactures. This would help in bringing better returns on sales to the jute-growers in East Pakistan. As the cotton textile mills in Pakistan are consuming more cotton than before, the quantum of cotton export has

been lowered. The Government of Pakistan has, therefore, decided to step up the production of cotton. This can be encouraged by a rise in cotton prices consequent upon the increased consumption by cotton textile mills. The mills would also now be able to manufacture more for export after satisfying the local needs. Thus the increased exports of jute and cotton—raw and manufactured goods—and tea would bring in more of foreign exchange earnings and would facilitate the acceleration of the pace of development in the country. It will at the same time check smuggling and anti-social practices. In principle devaluation brings inflation due to rise in prices of imported goods but since the Government of Pakistan is keen on developing the productive capacity of the country the implied danger of inflation has been lessened. Much depends upon how the Government manages and controls the situation particularly in respect of price structure.

EFFECT OF DEVALUATION ON INDO-PAK TRADE

The devaluation of Indian rupee and non-devaluation of Pakistan Rupee in 1949 brought about immediate deadlock in the Indo-Pakistan trade. This deadlock should be viewed in the light of the peculiar economy of the two countries. While East Bengal had the monopoly of the production of raw jute, West Bengal had almost all the jute mills to manufacture jute goods. Both Bengals were then solely interdependent. After devaluation India refused to buy jute from East Pakistan. This brought about closing down of some jute mills in Calcutta, causing widespread unemployment and in East Bengal jute prices fell tremendously due to accumulation of unsold stocks of jute. Almost similar was the case of cotton. While Pakistan was a chief producer of cotton India was deficit in raw cotton, for her cotton textile industry happens to be one of the most organised and expanded industries in India. India's refusal to buy raw cotton from Pakistan led to closure or reduced working hours in Indian cotton mills and thus to an increase in unemployment. India also refused to supply coal to Pakistan which was in great demand there due to her plans for industrial development. Thus both the countries adopted retaliative policies in respect of control, duties and restrictions. The situation was gradually made more comfortable due to the growing sense of mutual goodwill and co-operation. But both the countries since then have been trying to become less dependent upon each other. Pakistan has increased the number of jute and cotton mills so as to increase the consumption of raw jute and cotton inside the country, thereby maintaining their prices. On the other hand, India has increased her production of raw cotton and raw jute.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the effect of the devaluation of Pakistan Rupee on Indo-

Pakistan trade. While the Pakistan Finance Minister believes that the trade between the two countries would be facilitated, certain circles in India believe that the devaluation would not have any great effect on Indo-Pakistan trade. It has to be confessed that devaluation has brought about immediate effect on Indian policy as regards jute. For the first time after World War I, Indian jute goods have been exempt from export duty. In 1949 immediately after devaluation India raised the export duty on hessian from Rs. 80 to Rs. 350 per ton and it reached Rs. 1500 per ton during Korean war. The present rate of export duties was Rs. 80 per ton on sacking and Rs. 120 per ton on hessian. Immediately within 24 hours of devaluation of Pakistan rupee an announcement was made by the Indian Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) in a press communique on Monday, the 1st August, 1955 that "in accordance with their policy of keeping export duties under constant review, the Government of India have decided to exempt with effect from August 2, 1955 all types of jute manufactures from the export duty leviable thereon." It is correct that the Government of India might have granted this exemption even in the absence of devaluation of Pak-Rupee but the promptness with which it has been done clearly depicts the influence of Pakistan's decision to devalue her currency.

It should not be lost sight of that the devaluation of Pak-Rupee may confront India with competition from Pakistan as the latter has developed industries from a completely agricultural economy and can export goods at competitive prices. Pakistan can now export jute goods worth Rs. 7 crores as against an import of the same worth Rs. 4 crores a few years back. Pakistan has planned a target of 1.5 million bales for export. Devaluation would bring Pakistan jute prices nearer to Indian jute prices and India would benefit in respect of whatever quantity of jute she imports from East Pakistan. Since Pakistan and other European countries are also developing their jute mill industry with a view to competing with Indian jute goods in the American market, India's situation has become somewhat delicate. As Indian jute goods have just been able to stabilise, their exemption from export duty is most welcome at this hour to nullify the special advantage to other jute manufacturing and competing countries from the effect of Pak rupee devaluation on Pakistan jute prices.

As regards cotton the situation would not be much affected as Indian cotton prices are lower than those of Pakistan. The landed cost of Pakistan cotton in India is twice that of Indian cotton. Only to a limited extent Indian cotton mills may benefit

from purchasing some staples of cotton from Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan also has at present 67 textile mills as against 6 at the time of partition and her internal demand of cotton is so high that it would not enable her to compete with India in this field for some years. As regards tea, Pakistan is not a large contributor to the world tea trade and would not affect India's position. Hides and skin and betelnuts would be available at cheaper rates to India.

CONCLUSION

The immediate effect of Pak-Rupee devaluation has been reflected in the immediate rise in the prices in Pakistan. Prices of consumer goods, textiles, medicines and chemical goods have risen by about 25 to 50%. Prices of jute has, however, slightly risen by about Rs. 3 per bale, the present price being Rs. 132 per bale. Cotton has also registered an increase. The unofficial rate of exchange has deteriorated and 65 Indian rupees have been quoted for 100 Pakistan rupees as against 85 Indian Rupees for 100 Pakistan rupees quoted prior to devaluation.

While on the one hand reaction in the business circle has been evidenced by the appreciation of this opportune decision by the Dacca-Narayanganj Chamber of Commerce and the Pakistan Jute Board, it is observed that certain circles in Pakistan are highly critical of the devaluation not only on economic grounds but political as well. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Leader of the United Front, is reported to have said:

"I cannot on any account agree to a decision being taken by the Central Government without any previous notice to the province concerned because, it gives me the impression that wise men at the centre think nothing of the provinces lying far away. The action taken by the Central Government resembles very much what a Bengali proverb says about rubbing oil on an oiled head. Devaluation of Rupee will fill the pockets of the millionaires with crores of rupees by profits they shall make on their foreign exports but a poor Bengali trader with a small capital whose transactions are limited within the province will incur heavy losses leading in some cases to utter ruin."

Whether there is any substance in this statement or not the main purpose of quoting it is to bring to light the grave discontentment and political rivalry that is in vogue in Pakistan and this state of affairs is bound to jeopardise the economic policy of the Government of Pakistan. Under such circumstances a clear and accurate assessment of the repercussion of devaluation of Pakistan Rupee on her economy will not be easy.

THE ROLE OF DRAMA IN EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

THE role of drama in the education of children as well as adults should not be underrated, inasmuch as it constitutes an important means of self-expression. Education in the true sense of the term does not consist in mere theoretical instruction to be imparted in the class-room. Nor is it something imposed on the minds of children from outside. The object of true education should be the cultivation of their instincts as well as the proper development of their innate powers and potentialities. So their attempts at self-expression, however crude these may be, should be encouraged by all means, if the true aim of education is to be achieved. Drama provides one of the excellent media through which the imagination, emotions and sentiments of children can find an outlet. When acting a part, they have to attribute their own feelings and sentiments to the characters they are personating. They have thus to identify their own thoughts and ideas, joys and sorrows, passions and interests, with those of the characters whose part they are acting. The scenes to be enacted as well as the situations to be realised have to be visualised as vividly as possible for the purpose of reproducing those on the stage. All this calls for a good deal of powers of imagination and imitation on the part of the children. To ensure accurate reproduction and natural acting, the actors and actresses have to project their own mind, so to say, into that of the characters of the drama. None can prove good actors or actresses unless they can forget their own entity for the time being, and can merge their identity into that of the characters whose part they happen to be playing. Thus both children and adults derive immense pleasure from the pretence or make-believe called forth in dramas and stories. Hence the educational importance of the cinema and the theatre. Drama leads to the gratification of children's play-impulse and their innate love of play. The love of play is an instinctive urge of childhood as well as a vital need of it, as is indicated in the play activities of the young of the species—human and other than human. Apart from the biological utility of these activities, the educational value of play cannot be overestimated. The thrill of intense pleasure and the rapture of spontaneous joy, springing from the pretence or make-believe that is called into being in drama make for the happy and healthy development of the budding minds of children. Every opportunity should be provided in all the educational

institutions for promoting the development of their mind on the right lines during the formative period of childhood. We all know how fond children are of imitating their elders. Very often they are found to be playing at being adults. This is indicative of their innate urge to imitate the grown-ups by way of play. So the instinct of imitation as well as imagination can be appealed to in and through drama. In all the educational institutions ample scope should be afforded for the development of children's personality by encouraging their attempts at self-expression in both team and individual work. The present-day educational system of our country seems to be incomplete and defective, as it hardly meets the social and emotional needs of pupils. If the education of the 'whole man' is to be aimed at, these needs of children should not be overlooked.

If the emotional needs of children are to be satisfied, creative activities should form an important part of the school curriculum. These activities, in which the creative powers and energies of children are called into play are conducive to the development of their personality and individuality. Drama constitutes an important creative activity, the educational value of which should not be underestimated. Tagore with the unerring insight of a true educationist fully realised the importance of drama as a means of developing children's personality. With this end in view he assigned an important place to dramatics on the programme of education chalked out by him. He composed several dramas and playlets, suited to the needs of the occasions on which those were staged by the students of his educational institution. He as well as the pupils and teachers of his school took part in many of the dramatic performances, organised from time to time on various occasions. For this he was ridiculed and looked upon as a person, bent upon bringing about the ruin of the entire educational structure of his province. His educational theories were decried as being positively harmful and detrimental to the interests of the education of his country, as his ideas happened to have run counter to those obtaining in Bengal at the time. At the present moment the educationists of the day are gradually awakening to the necessity and importance of the activities that found a place in the curriculum evolved by the poet. There is no gainsaying the truth of his observation that "during the early period of education, children should come to their lessons of truth through

natural process—directly through persons and things." Rousseau and other pioneers of modern education also advocated the same theory. It is a commonplace of modern pedagogy that at the early stage of education, instruction should be made as concrete as possible, inasmuch as mere abstract teaching hardly appeals to small children. Tagore rightly hit upon the gravest defect of the average educational institution of his time, which was designated by him as 'a manufactory specially designed for grinding out uniform results.' According to him, the prevalent system of education was "a mere method of discipline which refuses to take into account the individual." Even at the present moment very little scope is provided for the development of children's personality or individuality at the average educational institution of our country. This constitutes one of the most serious defects of the present-day educational system of our country.

The cultural value of drama as a creative art, too, should not be ignored. It is an art by means of which the personality or individuality of children can be given its fullest expression. A person has to recreate himself in the character whose part he is playing and has to be fully oblivious of his own identity for the moment. Acting is an unrivalled art of reproducing the emotions and sentiments of the actor in an outward form, the beauty and perfection of which cannot but captivate and enthral the mind of his audience. Drama is, therefore, an important art in which the creative talents and energies of the actors can be in full play. If the education of the 'whole man' is the real objective to be achieved in the educational system of the day, the cultural side of education should not be overlooked. The aesthetic and cultural training given to children at an early and impressionable age is of an immense value. Those who are specially gifted are thus afforded ample opportunities of assessing their talent and laying the foundation of a future career.

Dramatisation serves the purpose of an important audio-visual aid in teaching also, and as such it can be turned into a valuable educational method. The necessity and importance of audio-visual aids in teaching are being borne in upon all the educationists of the day. What is taught by means of drama is likely to leave an indelible mark on the mind and character of children, inasmuch as they can thus be appealed to through more than one sense. They are afforded the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and information direct from persons and things and not through the medium of books. The boredom of dry, uninteresting theoretical instruction can be reduced to a minimum, if dramatisation is restored to in the class room. It helps to enliven the lessons and to make them both agreeable and

impressive. In this manner it serves to get the lessons fixed in children's memory. Drama as a method of school instruction, involves the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The acquisition of knowledge is thus motivated by children's innate urge to learn and solve the real problems they are faced with. Dramatisation may be taken recourse to for the purpose of playway methods too. All this is sure to mark an agreeable departure from the hackneyed and stereotyped methods of teaching and to make the process of learning a joyous pursuit. The atmosphere of make-believe or pretence created in drama does away with the boredom of drill and affords relief and diversion from the dullness and monotony of class routine.

Drama constitutes an important method of teaching literature, reading, and history. Good pieces of literature, if learnt by heart, help to enrich children's vocabulary and develop their powers of expression, both in speech and writing. The beauty of language, thus mastered, unconsciously affects their mode of expression and style of writing. But the mere memorising of 'set pieces' is likely to bore children, who fail to appreciate the need of it. So Bertrand Russell suggests that "learning by heart should be associated with acting, because then it is a necessary means to something which every child loves." From the age of three onwards children take immense pleasure in acting a part. When learning their own parts they get to learn those of others too. The beautiful forms of expression, thus learnt by heart, naturally find their way into their vocabulary and influence their style of speech and writing. In this manner, dramatisation may be of great help in teaching a foreign language also. Children may be taught how to read naturally and with proper information by means of acting. Drama admirably lends itself to the teaching of history too. Many of the deeds of valour, chivalry and bravery of the ancient heroes of different countries, enshrined in legends, myths and songs as well as in the annals of history provide excellent material for dramatisation. The glorious heritage of the past—its joys and sorrows, its manners, customs and conventions—its religious, moral and social ideals—its cultural traditions, crystallised in the literary and artistic achievements and aspirations of the country—can be recaptured by dramatists and play-wrights and can be represented on the stage and the screen. The historical events of bygone days, the history of religious, social, political and economic upheavals may serve as themes for dramas and plays. If historical stories are thus dramatised, the true significance as well as the emotional appeal of the past events of great moment can be vividly brought home to children, so as to enable them to reconstruct and to revive the past in a lifelike form. In that case,

history will cease to be a mere catalogue of dull events of the dead past and of dry facts to be memorised. In this manner the historical judgment of children can also be formed. The historical personages represented on the stage will appear to be real human beings of flesh and blood—men and women with hearts throbbing with life and emotions, whose deeds and actions can be assessed and appraised both by children and adults. The evil deeds of the historical figures enacted on the stage and screen serve to alienate the sympathies of the juvenile audience, who feel inclined to condemn those strongly, while their laudable acts are applauded by them. Dramatisation thus serves as an important method of teaching history to small children, to whom the lessons are thereby made both concrete and interesting. National and patriotic feelings may well be fostered by staging suitable historical dramas, by means of which children may be induced to imbibe the noble ideas and ideals of the past and the present. Whatever is noble, good and praiseworthy in our national ideals and traditions may well be upheld on the stage and the screen for the edification of both the young and the old. Drama may thus play an important part in the training of children's characters.

Drama may come to the aid of social reform as well as social education. In and through social dramas, the magnitude of many of the social problems may be brought to the fore, and the evil customs of society may be made a target for scorn and ridicule. The audience may be so carried away by the feelings roused by a play that they may forget for the time being that what is being enacted on the screen and the stage is not real but mere acting. The evil deeds of a villain on the stage are denounced and cried down by them, while the noble acts of the good characters meet with their applause and approbation. So a good deal of moral and ethical lessons can be inculcated on children and adults by means of drama. The audience may be impressed and enraptured by the scenes of a play staged in such a manner that they remain spell-bound for hours on end. Drama thus helps to ennoble their mind and sublimate their spirit for the time being at least, by purging it of all sordidness and grossness. The nobility and greatness of the lofty social, moral and religious ideals can be impressed on the audience through the medium of a drama. The impressions thus formed cannot but be deep and lasting. Drama can be an important instrument for social education too. Formerly, *jatras* and *kathakathas*, some crude forms of dramas, were in

great vogue in our country, and were of great help in propagating moral and religious truths among the masses. The ideas and ideals of abiding interest, embodied in the mythologies and religious scriptures of the country, which were once a perennial source of joy and inspiration to the people of our country furnished the material of these dramas. Unfortunately at the present moment these indigenous forms of art are dying out for want of sufficient encouragement. The Indian stage and the screen are being remodelled on Western lines. As a result of this, these crude and ancient forms of dramas, which once proved so helpful in educating the illiterate masses, have ceased to find favour in the eyes of the public at large. Now-a-days these are considered to be rather crude and vulgar, as in these, sometimes, attempts are really made to appeal to the vulgar taste of the audience. An all-out effort should be made to popularise these social institutions again in the rural areas of the State, inasmuch as these form an excellent medium through which moral and religious ideals can be brought home to the people of the country. Drama may thus prove of immense help in the task of national uplift and nation-building as well as in social reform. The masses may be taught the elementary principles of hygiene, sanitation and citizenship with the aid of suitable film-shows and dramas. They may be taught how to be useful citizens of the State too, by rousing their civic sense.

If possible, a dramatic club may be organised by the students in each school by way of extra-curricular activity. They may be called upon to compose dramas and plays suitable for different functions, to dramatise suitable stories, to improvise a stage and to take part in the dramatic performances organised by themselves. Such extra-curricular activities are sure to develop their initiative and organisational ability as well as a sense of responsibility. The need of such students' organisations cannot be stressed too strongly, the entrusting of self-government to pupils being essential for the maintenance of discipline in a school. Besides, such activities help to boost self-confidence and self-reliance on the part of children, who are thus able to get over shyness and nervousness. Drama can also serve as an important means of speech training and teaching elocution. The rehearsals will thus constitute the lessons in elocution. In dramatisation children will be required to enunciate distinctly each word spoken and to speak loudly enough to be heard by the whole audience. They can be trained in public speaking, too, by means of drama.

THE BODH-GAYA RAILING

By R. N. SIRCAR, BAR-AT-LAW

ONE of the most characteristic features of Buddhist architecture is the railing surrounding a *stupa* (a mound funerary or commemorative) or a *chaitya* (sacred memorial structure generally used as an assembly-hall). The railings such as survive today bear elaborate sculpture on them, and such sculpture has preserved for posterity a picture of the India of two thousand years ago in a manner which no other single medium of recording has done. The railing at Bodh-Gaya, quite apart from its artistic merits, and its importance for the history of Indian art, furnishes an invaluable "document" containing a record of the contemporary manners and customs of the people.

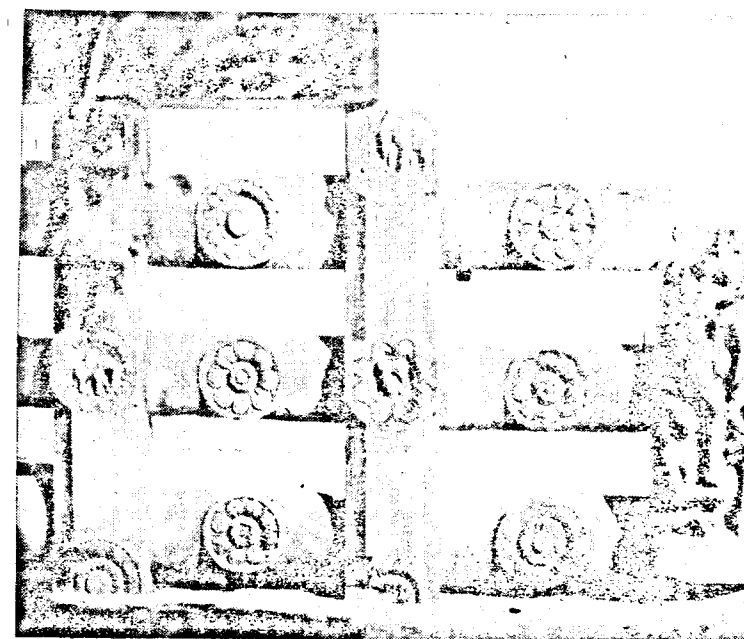
HISTORY

Buddhist ritual demanded circumambulation, that is, going round and round a monument or an object of worship which represented the creed symbolically, such as the Bodhi-tree (popularly, Bo-tree, which is the pipal or the *aswattha* tree) which stood for the Great Enlightenment, the Chakra (the Wheel of the Law) representing the Buddhist creed of the *Stupa* which was usually an emblem of the Mahaparinirvana (i.e., the death of the Buddha). Actually, all such symbols represented the Buddha in a non-anthropomorphic form, for early Buddhism did not allow a graven image of its Founder. Circumambulation required that a path or a corridor for going round should be provided, which was done by erecting a fence (*vedika*) round the object of worship. The earliest fenceings were all wooden palisades. The space between the monument and the fence was used as the circumambulatory (*pradakshina patha*). In Bodh-Gaya the object of

worship is the temple, known as the Mahabodhi Temple, and which is in fact a huge *chaitya* marking the spot where Siddhartha of the Sakya clan attained Enlightenment and became the Buddha. It is not a temple in the sense in which the word is usually understood by Hindus. The railing was disposed round this monument with the processional path in-between. The original monument, however, was quite unpretentious. It was a simple *chaitya* with the enclosed space on which the sacred tree stood, open to the sky. The spot was visited by the Emperor Asoka (3rd. Cent. B.C.), and this visit is pictorially recorded on a stone panel of the Bharut railing. This *chaitya* was later replaced by the brick temple which we see today, and which has approximately the same shape as it originally had, sometime during

the Kushan period (1st.—3rd cent. A.D.). Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese scholar and traveller, visited it in the 7th cent. A.D., and has left us a valuable record of his visit.

Besides the Bodh-Gaya railing, there are three other railings which we know, viz., those at Sanchi, Bharut and Amaravati. Sanchi is situated in what was lately the Bhopal State in Central India, and Bharut also was in Central India (in the little State of Nagodh). Amaravati was situated near the mouth of the River Krishna in the Andhra country (near modern Vijayawada). Bodh-Gaya is about 7 miles to the south of the modern Hindu pilgrimage town of



Railing on South Eastern end, outer face. Shows Jataka scenes, winged elephant, and medallions. On extreme right: A yakshi climbing a tree (Sunga period)

Gaya in Bihar. The existing rails of Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi are to be found mostly *in situ*. Those of the other two exist in museums only, and their sites are of interest solely to antiquarians. Of Amaravati, however, only a few sculptural fragments now remain. The exact dates of the commencements of the construction of these railings are not beyond controversy. However, it may be stated, without being too precise, that the railings of Bodh-Gaya, Bharut and Sanchi commence from the 2nd cent. B.C., while that of Amaravati from the 2nd. cent. A.D. The Bharut railing is supposed to be slightly older than the Bodh-Gaya railing.

STRUCTURE

The original railing at Bodh-Gaya, as elsewhere, was undoubtedly of wood. The wooden railing was re-

placed later on by the stone railing which we see today. The existing railing belongs to two distinct periods. The earlier part belongs to the Sunga period (2nd—1st cent. B.C.), and the later part to the latter half of the Gupta period (4th—7th cent. A.D.). The rails of the Sunga period are in grey sand-stone, while those of the Gupta period are in coarse-grain granite. The former are in a much better state of preservation than the latter which have suffered greatly from the ravages of the elements, and have a worn-out appearance. The railing of Bodh-Gaya is not tall; the pillars are about 6 ft. 8 in. high from the plinth.

The railing (*vedika*) consists of: the plinth (*alambana*), the upright posts (*stambha*), the horizontal cross-pieces (*suchi*), and the coping (*ushnisha*). The plinth is of brick; the others are of stone. The posts again are of two kinds: pillars and intermediate posts. The pillars are found at the corners (the railing being square to conform to the square design of the temple); they are also found flanking the open-

wooden structure which it replaced. As a matter of fact, it does look "wooden." The technique of construction is that of the carpenter, not that of the stone mason. The carving also has the appearance of the wood-carver's art not that of the sculptor's. Vincent Smith rightly says that these carvings "may be regarded as pictures executed in stone." Further, there is reason to believe that these "pictures" were painted over in vivid colours, exactly as their wooden originals were. The sculpture on the gateways at Amaravati was certainly painted. The reason usually suggested as to why the "wooden" technique was followed with stone (although stone was being regularly and increasingly used from Asoka's time) is that Indian stone-workers had not yet acquired sufficient skill in the working of the new medium. E. B. Havell, however, repudiates this suggestion and says:

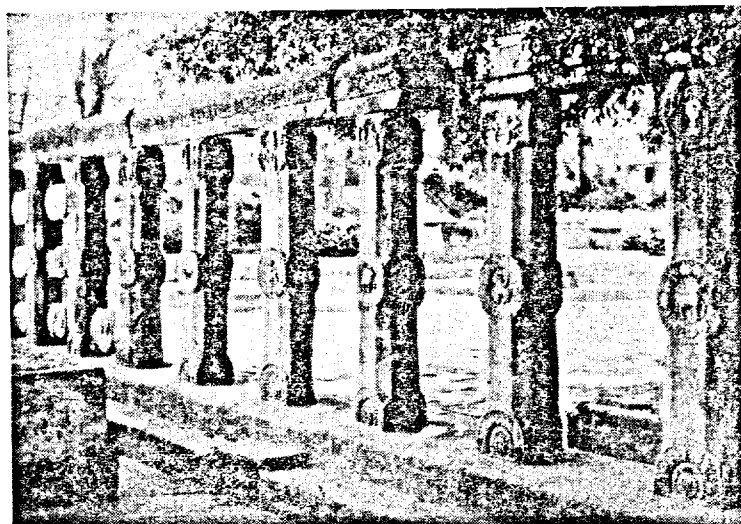
"It was not because they were unpractised in the use of stone, but because they wished to avoid a break in the railing and to maintain the sacred associations of the old wooden work."

SCULPTURE

The carvings on the rails cover a varied and extensive range of subjects and motifs, and give a very vivid picture of the details of the life of the age. There are scenes from the Jatakas (stories of the Buddha's former births), the purpose of which was presumably to instruct the laity in matters of the Buddhist faith. There are scenes of religious life showing stupas, sacred trees, chakras and other symbols of the Buddhist faith, and also of devotees worshipping such symbols. There are representations of altars, vedikas, and chaityas. On some posts secular dwelling houses are represented, and the costume of the people is clearly shown in many of the carvings. Even non-Buddhist mythological personages are figured in the carvings, such as Lakshmi (the Hindu goddess of

plenty) standing on a lotus springing from a vase. This has been brilliantly interpreted by Mons. Fouché as symbolizing the Nativity of the Blessed One, Lakshmi being identified with Maya, the mother of the Buddha. A figure holding a trident is undoubtedly the Hindu god Siva. It occurs on a pillar of the late Gupta period. It has been conjectured that this figure was introduced by Sasanka, the Hindu King of Gaur (7th cent. A.D.), with the object of investing the temple with a Saivite character.

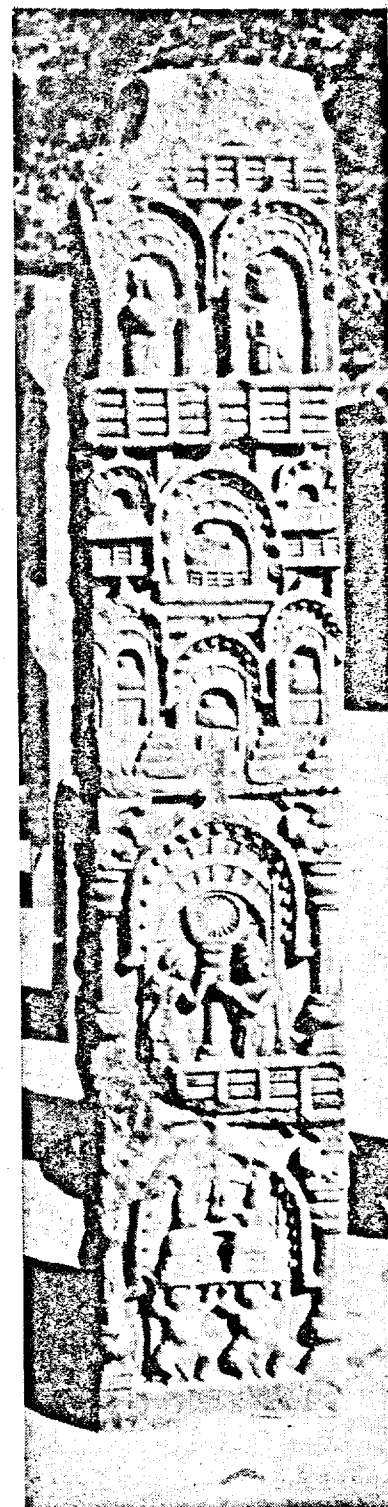
Tree and serpent worship in India is of high antiquity, being long anterior to Buddhism. Such worship has been a considerable ingredient of the popular Buddhist cult from the very inception of the latter. It is still extant in an active form in various



Railing on South inner face
Shows Jataka scenes, religious symbols, and animals. Carving on coping (Sunga period)

ings in the railing. Actually, there were three such openings in the Bodh-Gaya railing—one each, on the south, the east, and the west sides. The pillars are carved on two, or even on three, consecutive faces. The intermediate posts occur in between the pillars, and are carved on two opposite faces, the outer and the inner. The horizontal crossbars are simply but tastefully decorated with carvings of lotus-shaped medallions in the middle, on both sides. The coping stones, however, are profusely carved on both sides. The outer faces have floral designs carved on them, while the inner faces are ornamented with long friezes of animals.

The railing which one now sees at Bodh-Gaya is supposed to be a replica, in shape and design, of the

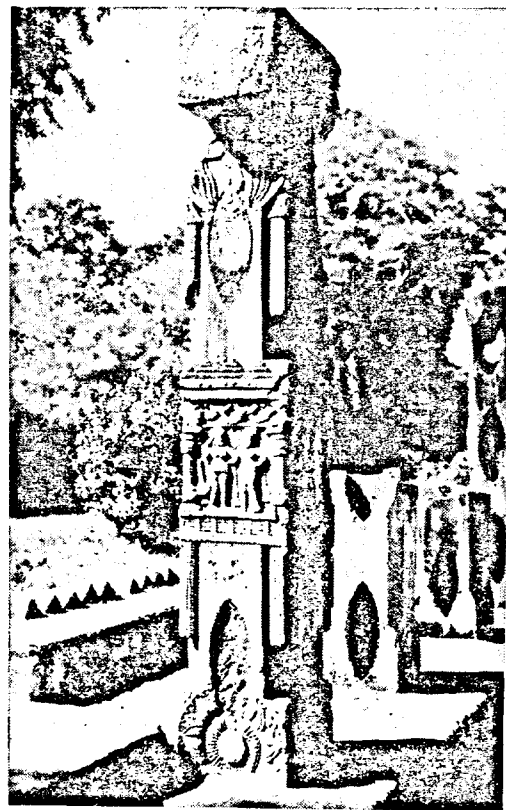


Pillar on S.-W. corner, south face
Shows Chaityas. 2nd panel from top: Chaitya with stupas. 3rd from top: Chaitya with a 'chakra' being worshipped by devotees. Bottom: Dwarf yakshas with stupas on their heads (Sunga period)



A post on S., inner face
Top: A sacred tree with railings; umbrellas and garlands. Middle: A centaur (half man, half horse (Sunga period))

parts of India. Trees were worshipped not for their own sake, but for the sake of the deities (*vriksha-devatas* or arboreal deities) whose abode they were supposed to be. In olden times they were known as *yakshas* (male) and *yakshis* (female). Their importance



A pillar on S., east face in sun
Top: Lakshmi standing on lotus. Middle:
A mithuna. Note the mortice-holes in the
pillars, showing "wooden" construction
(Sunga period)

and their characteristics varied a great deal, but all were supposed to have the power to control and direct the forces of Nature on which depended fertility, and

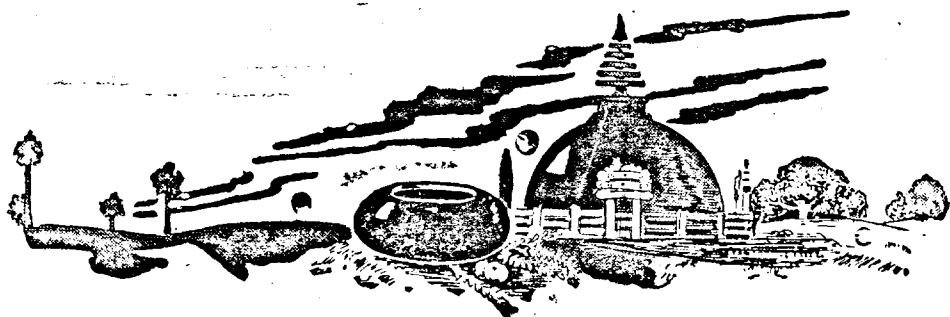
therefore prosperity and riches. Hence, it is that in epic and classical Sanskrit *yakshas* are the guarantors of treasure. The dwarf *yakshas* are usually represented as supporting heavy loads. The bottom panel of the pillar on S. W. corner shows two gnomes or dwarf *yakshas* each supporting a stupa on his head. The *yakshis* are dryads or wood-nymphs. The almost headless and armless figure of a female climbing a tree (railing on S. eastern end) is that of a *yakshi*. On her person she bears the classical *mekhala* (hip-girdle) as also the classical *nishka* (breast-ornament), and is supported by a dwarf *yaksha*. This type of *yakshi* is known in Indian art as the *salabhanjika* (literally, a statue made of sal wood)—a tutelary deity of human fecundity. Many are the old Hindu temples which she adorns with her supple grace. The idea is derived from the ancient Indian festival of gathering flowers of the sal tree, which is essentially a fertility-rite. The connected literary motif that the Asoka tree does not bloom until kicked by a fair young damsel is familiar to readers of classical Sanskrit drama. Hence, Sir Edwin Arnold's:

"As pale Asoka buds
Wait for a woman's foot!"

A not inconsiderable portion of the sculpture has no religious significance, being entirely secular in character, and even includes scenes of such unspiritual activities as drinking, gambling and love-making.

Speaking of the sculpture of Bodh-Gaya and Bharut James Fergusson says:

"It is thoroughly original, almost without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed—at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculpture known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and, where grouped together, combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like per-Reaphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."



KANGRA : THE VALLEY OF THE GODS

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

I

KANGRA with a population of about 10 lakhs is the largest district of the Punjab. Its 9,978 square miles are rather sparsely populated. Culturally and geographically, it has not much in common with the Punjab plains. It has been rightly pointed out that "it is not only the natural features of the country, but also the character of the people, their manners and their customs, which take one back to primitive conditions, and which make Kangra partake more of the characteristics of Hindustan than of the rest of the Punjab in which the District is for the purposes of administration included. As soon as one enters the valley, one is in an old world with its own problems with a beautiful scenery, with its old stone temples, slate-covered houses, running hill-torrents, snow-peaked hills one one side, and a valley full of fertile lands below."—*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. VII, Part—Kangra District, Introductory, pp. 7-8.



Kangra Valley

Kangra Valley is only a part of the district of the same name. It is 30 miles long and 10 miles broad. The Valley lies at the foot of the Dhavaladhar Range of the Himalayas and is the only fertile region in the whole Kangra district. It is divided into five *tehsils* or revenue Sub-divisions. They are: Kangra, Nurpur, Palampur, Hamirpur and Dera.

Hindu cultural influence and tradition are dominant everywhere in Kangra. As pointed out above, Kangra has little or no affinity with the Punjab plains. The geographical position, natural scenery and manners and customs of the people of the two are quite different. Consideration of administrative convenience and that alone is the only *raison d'être* of their amalgamation. If ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinities and common hopes, aspirations are any consideration for the amalgamation of adjoining regions, Kangra should have been included in the newly created State of Himachal.

Kangra, in fact, seems to be a world by itself. It has nothing in common with the rest of the Punjab. Kangra's problems are peculiarly her own. Nature has showered her bounties upon Kangra.



Dhavaladhar

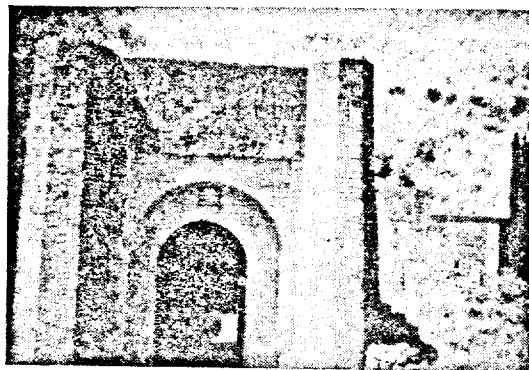
"No scenery," observes G. C. Barnes, the second English District Officer of Kangra (1847-51), "presents such sublime and delightful contents. Below lies the plain, a picture of rural loveliness and repose, the surface covered with the richest cultivation, irrigated by streams which descend from perennial snows and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit trees. Turning from these scenes of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills confront us; their sides are furrowed with precipitous water courses, forests of oak (?) clothe them and higher up give place to gloomy and funeral pines, above all, the works of snow or pyramidal masses of granite too perpendicular for the snow to rest on."



General view of the ruins, Kangra Fort

Kangra's percentage of literacy is among the lowest in India. Economically Kangra is among the most undeveloped areas of the country. But if the honesty of the people, the meanness of their temper

and their willingness to help others are any criteria of culture, Kangra does not culturally lag behind the rest of India. It is, on the contrary, well ahead of not a few regions.



Main Gate, Kangra Fort

Pre-historic Kangra Valley formed a part of the kingdom of Trigarta or Jalandhar, which once included the hill tract between the Sutlej and the Chenab, and the Jalandhar Doab (between the Sutlej and the Beas) and Sirhind in the plains. Trigarta literally means the "Land of three rivers." These rivers may be the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi or the three tributaries of the Beas—the Vana Ganga (Baner or Bander), the Nogle and the Kurli—that flow through Kangra Valley. Trigarta in the post-6th century era was however much smaller than before and was synonymous for Kangra Valley. It was split into eleven petty principalities. These were: Nurpur, Guler, Datarpur, S'ba, Jaswan, Kangra, Kulehr, Mandi, Suket, Kulu and Chamba. They were subdued and forced to pay homage to the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and the kings of Kashmir one after another. But their internal affairs were never interfered with.

A narrow gauge railway line from Pathankot on the Northern Railway connects Kangra and part of Himachal with the plains. There are motor services besides.

Nurpur, about 15 miles from Pathankot, is the gateway to Kangra Valley. The ruins of the once famous fort of Nurpur seem to stand guard over the Valley beyond. The Pathania kings of Nurpur once became a power to reckon with in the Punjab hills. They annexed a portion of the Punjab plains as well. The kingdom of Nurpur was founded about 1,000 A.D. by one Jhetpal, who claimed to be a Tomar Rajput. The Tomars, who once ruled over Delhi, are said to have descended from the Pandavas of the Mahabharata fame. Jhetpal had his capital at Pathankot. Nurpur submitted to Emperor Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century. The capital was later on transferred to Dhameri by Raja Vasu or Vasdev. Jehangir,

who paid a visit to Kangra Valley in 1622, returned to Agra by way of Nurpur. Dhameri was renamed Nurpur in honour of the Emperor, whose real name was Nooruddin.

Jagat Singh, the greatest of the Pathanias, was on the throne from 1619 to 1646. He fought on many a field for the Mughals. He helped Prince Khurram when the latter revolted against his father. Nur Jahan however saved him from the Emperor's revenge. Jagat Singh revolted against Emperor Shah Jahan in 1641. He was, however, reduced to submission within a short time. He died in 1646. Jagat Singh was a favourite of Nur Jahan and addressed the Empress as *beti* (daughter). His name has been immortalised by poets and wandering minstrels. One of the well-known doggerels about him says: Raja Jagat, son of Vasdeva (*i.e.*, Vasudeva), was a great devotee (of God). His conquest extended beyond the Indus. He pitched his tents on the snow-capped peak and aimed firearms at the sky. He is therefore called Jagat (*i.e.*, the world).*

The Pathanias submitted to the Sikhs after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Ranjit Singh dethroned Bir Singh, the last of the Pathanias, and annexed his kingdom. Bir Singh, however, refused to



Darshani Darwaza, Kangra Fort

be reconciled to his lot and made a bold bid to recover his lost kingdom once in 1826 and again in 1845. He died in the attempt and breathed his last at the foot of the walls of Nurpur. Bir Singh's sacrifice is no less noble than that of the great Tipu Sultan of Mysore. It is a tragedy however that history does not remember all its martyrs.

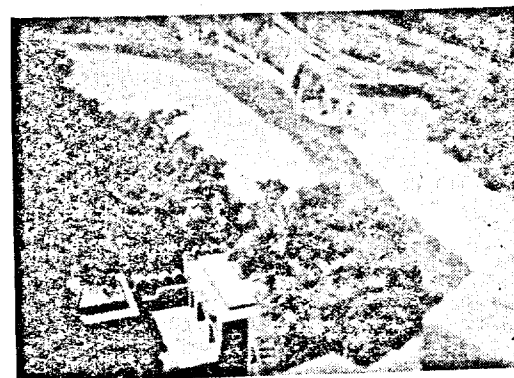
Nurpur passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1846 after the first Sikh War. Bir Singh's son was granted a pension by the Company. The

* "Jagta Raja, Bhagta Raja,
"Vasdev ka jay.
"Sindu mare, Sagar mare,
"Himachal dera pay.
"Akash ko arb kita,
"Tan Jagta kahay."

main branch of Pathanias still lives at Nurpur. The fort is a protected Monument under the supervision of the Archaeological Department to the Government of India.

A little above 30 miles from Nurpur lies the modern Kangra town, known locally as Tehshil Kangra. The old town called Town Kangra or Kot Kangra, lies about 2½ miles away. Tehshil Kangra is a small rural town with a population of about 5,000. The district headquarters, Dharamshala, is 11 miles away from Tehshil Kangra. Dharamshala is famous for its scenic beauty, rainfall and slate industry. Barring Cherapunji in Assam, it has the highest rainfall in India. The only college of Kangra district is situated at Dharamshala. It is a Government institution imparting instruction up to the degree standards of the Punjab University.

The ruins of the fort of Kangra occupy 3½ square miles. The colossal ruins, the tragic grave of departed greatness, stand at one end of Kot Kangra, *i.e.*, old Kangra. Narrow, stone-built paths full of ups and downs, shallow, open drains on the roadside and a



Mahaton ki Darwaza, Kangra Fort

few ancient temples are the only reminders of Kangra's antiquity. Everything else has been wiped out of existence by a terrible earthquake in 1905. About 200 refugee families from the West Punjab have been recently resettled here. It was the headquarters of Kangra district till 1905.

Kangra has been known as Susharnapur, Bhim Nagar, Bhimkot and Nagarkot in different ages. The present name gained currency from the Mughal period. The beginnings of and the earliest chapters of its history are lost in obscurity. A Kshatriya class with the surname of Katoch is found ruling in Kangra in the historical period. Bhum Chand (Bhumi Chand?), a Kshatriya of the lunar dynasty, is said to be the founder of Katoch royal line. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kangra in 1009 A.D. The garrison in the fort surrendered after a nominal resistance. The invader collected a huge booty from here. The Muslims were driven out of Kangra in 1043 A.D.

Muhammad Tughlak of Delhi conquered Kangra in the second quarter of the 14th century. He could not, however, keep it in his possession for a long time. Muhammad Tughlak's successor Firoz Tughlak reconquered Kangra. Again the Muslim rule was short-lived. Khawas Khan conquered Kangra during the



The mouth of the tunnel from the Palace to the Patal Ganga, Kangra Fort

reign of Sher Shah in 1540-41. The conqueror plundered the temple of Vajreshwari or Mata Devi, the family deity of the Katoch Kings. The stone image of the goddess was sent to Delhi where it was broken into pieces to be used as measures of weight by the butchers of the capital. The copper umbrella of the goddess was utilized to make water vessels for the use of Khawas Khan and his household.

Kangra was the first among the hill States of the Punjab to submit to the Mughals. Jehangir deposed the ruling chief and annexed Kangra to his empire in 1620. Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch made futile attempts to recover the fort of Kangra in the late



Lakshmi Narayan Temple, Kangra Fort

18th century. He, however, succeeded in retrieving much of the departed glories and fallen fortunes of his family. He founded a new capital at Sujanpur known today as Tira Sujanpur. Ghamand Chand's grandson Sansar Chand II, the greatest king of his line, ascended the throne in 1775. India had been passing through some of the darkest days in her

annals at the time of Sansar Chand's accession at the age of ten. The once mighty Mughal Empire had fallen in all but name. Alien and indigenous soldiers of fortune had been fighting all over the country. Sansar Chand drove out the Mughals from Kangra fort 1783 and his Sikh ally Jay Singh Kahneya took possession of the fort. It came to Sansar Chand's hands only three years later when he surrendered all his conquests in the Punjab plains to Jay Singh in return for the fort and town of Kangra.



Gaddi man and wife

Sansar Chand reduced to submission the whole of the Kangra Valley. All the local chiefs promised to pay him tributes and to fight under his colours. A patron of fine arts, Sansar Chand appreciated talents and was tender-hearted. He dreamt of extending his sway over the Punjab plains. Desire makes man adventurous. Adventure invites dangers and disasters. Inordinate ambition brought Sansar Chand to grief. He invaded Hoshiarpur and Bazwara in the Punjab plains in 1803 and 1804. But the Sikhs of the Punjab had awakened to new life under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The "Lion of the Punjab" had breathed new life into them and they were poised for action. The invader from the hills was pushed back on both occasions.

Ambition dies hard. Rebuff at the hands of Ranjit Singh only served to whet Sansar Chand's. He cast his eyes on the hills beyond Kangra Valley and grabbed a part of Kahlur (Bilaspur in Himachal) in 1805. This act of wanton aggression was the immediate cause of Sansar Chand's final discomfiture. The infuriated hill chiefs invited the Gurkha leader Amar Singh Thapa to invade Kangra. The sturdy Gurkhas of Nepal had long been dreaming of an empire from

Kashmir to Kathmandu. They had even invaded Kangra. Defeated, they had accepted the Katoch authority up to the Sutlej.

The hill chiefs promised to desert Sansar Chand as soon as the Gurkha army crossed the Sutlej. The Gurkhas invaded Kangra in 1806. The hill chiefs made a common cause with them. The Katoch army was defeated in the battle of Mohal Morian. Sansar Chand abandoned Tira Sujanpur and took shelter in the fort of Kangra. It was invested by the enemy. Four years passed away Kangra was still besieged. Sansar Chand appealed for help to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The old rivals met in the tangle of Jwalamukhi, about 25 miles away from Kangra. The Katoch prince promised to hand over the fort of Kangra to the Sikh chief. The latter assured the former in return that no harm would be done to him. Sansar Chand is found plotting with the Gurkhas against Ranjit Singh even after this agreement. "All is fair in love and war!"

The Gurkhas beat a retreat on the approach of the Sikh army. The fort with the town of Kangra and 66 villages around was annexed to the growing kingdom of the Punjab. The newly annexed territory is known as Sandheta in Sikh records. Sansar Chand became a Vassal Prince under Ranjit Singh and lived at Tira Sujanpur as before. He ruled over almost the whole Kangra outside Sandheta. Kangra, annexed to the Sikh kingdom on the death of Sansar Chand in 1823 or 1824, passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1846 after the first Sikh War.



Gaddi women

Every visitor to Kangra Valley must pay a visit to the fort of Kangra, rather the ruins thereof. The earthquake of 1905 which destroyed Kot Kangra did not spare the fort. The ruins are under the supervision of the Archaeological Department to the Government of India. A small establishment of the Department near the ruins look after the protected Monuments of Kangra Valley.

The main gate lies at the northern end of the ruins. The gate, protected with thick wooden doors, was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A second gate stands at the end of the yard immediately behind the first. The first is called *phatak* and the second *darwaza*.

is to be found in one of them. The inscription on the pedestal shows that the image belongs to the 15th century. The ruins of a gateway known as the Darshani Darwaza stand at the entrance of a yard by the side of the above group of temples. The visitor comes across another ruined gateway on the way from the Darshani Darwaza to the site of the palace. It is called Mahalon ki Darwaza. Not far off lies a paved yard. A few stone pillars without capitals stand on a side. The Katoch princes used to hold their court here. An elevation at one end of the yard was perhaps meant for the throne. There was a tunnel from the palace to the Patal Ganga which flows



A Gaddi child

A number of ruined gateways one after another lead into the heart of what was once regarded as an impregnable stronghold. They are called the Ahani Darwaza, the Amiri Darwaza, the Jehangiri Darwaza and the Andheri or Handeli Darwaza. Three huge mounds in the highest part of the ruins are all that remain of the Katoch palace.

Lower down stood the Laxminarayan temple. It was said to have been covered with gold plate. A few well-chiselled stone images and small fragments of stone pillars of fine workmanship are neatly arranged on one side of what was once the floor of the temple. Two small temples stand side by side not far from here. One of them was dedicated to goddess Ambika and the other, to Sitala. Two Jaina temples stand a little to the south of Ambika temple. They face west. A seated image of Adinath, the first Jaina Tirthankara,



A Gaddi bride's first journey to her husband's place

by the fort. Ladies of the harem used to come by this underground passage to the river for bath. A partially ruined mosque in the fort is said to have been built under orders of Emperor Jehangir.

Two tanks and five wells supplied drinking water to the fort. One of the tanks has dried up and is therefore called *Sukha Talao*. The other is known as *Karpur Sagar*.

The first builder of the fort of Kangra must have been a strategist of no mean order. Built on a ridge, at a height of 2494 ft. from the sea-level, fortified by a thick stone wall running around and surrounded by two swift-flowing hill streams, the fort of Kangra was admirably suitable for purposes of both offence and defence and struck terror in the stoutest heart.

II

Kangra is a land of temples par excellence and is rightly called the "Valley of the gods." Temples—big and small, well-known and otherwise—confront the visitor almost at every step.



Dhogris. They are among the untouchables of the Gaddi society

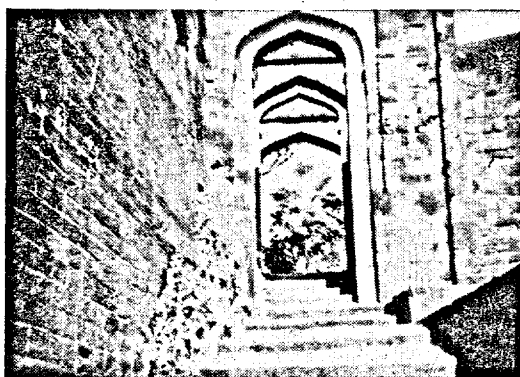
Jwalajee or the temple of Jwalamukhi is the most famous temple of Kangra Valley. To the local inhabitants it is, however, only second in importance to the Temple of Vajreshwari or Mata Devi at Bhawan midway between old and new Kangra.

The temple of Jwalamukhi is built in a natural niche of the Kalidhar ridge of the Shivalik hills. Standing at a height of 1,958 ft. from the sea-level, it faces the south. The roof and the domes of the temple were gold-plated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his son Kharak Singh, respectively. The silver doors of the temple are a present from the latter. Two gold-plated lions in the temple yard are the present of an unknown benefactor. The temple of Jwalamukhi does not seem to be very old. There is no image inside the temple. It is popularly believed that Bhagabati, i.e., the Supreme Mother of the universe, has manifested Herself at Jwalamukhi in a fiery form. Three flames in the crevices inside the temple are the objects of worship. None of the flames is very bright. None seems to be as hot as ordinary fire. The flames never go out. The one in a pit in the centre is the principal object of adoration. Scientists attribute these flames to some unknown natural gas. The temple of Jwalamukhi is believed to have been built upon some stratum of this gas. In all thirty-three

flames have been seen so far in the temple and its neighbourhood.

Tradition has it that Emperor Akbar sought to put out the flame in the centre of the temple by filling the pit with water. The attempt having failed, he covered the flame with an iron pan. The pan was burnt to ashes and the flame shot up higher and brighter than ever. The Emperor was convinced that it (the flame) was really a manifestation of the Divine Mother. He presented a golden umbrella to the Mother.

The priests of the temple of Jwalamukhi, who are also the proprietors, are known as Bhojaki Brahmins. The orthodox Brahmins say that the Bhojakis do not belong to the pure Brahminical stock. Inter-dining and inter-marriage with them are tabooed. Jwalajee attracts pilgrims from all parts of the country and is quite a lucrative property. The annual income is estimated to be well over a lakh of rupees. In the days of Kangra's independence, the income of the temple used to be pocketed by the Katoch chiefs. For many years during the Muslim rule in India, pilgrims to Jwalamukhi had to pay a tax of one anna each.

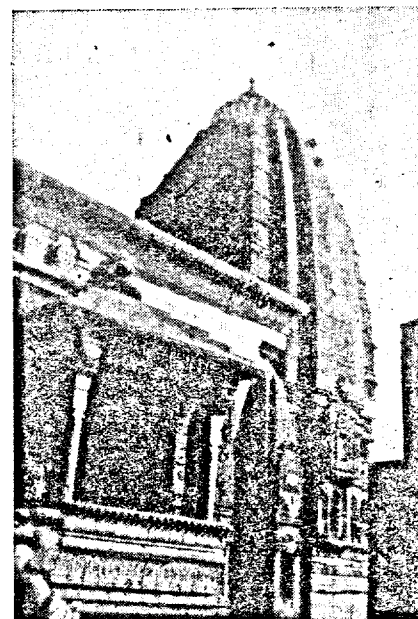


Jehangiri Darwaza, Kangra Fort

The temple of Mata Devi or Vajreshwari at Bhaban near Kangra, though little known outside, has a much greater local popularity than Jwalamukhi. Mata Devi or Vajreshwari was, as pointed out above, the family deity of the Katoch kings of Kangra. The old temple, built in the middle of the 15th century and repaired about 400 years later by the first Sikh Governor of Kangra, was razed to the ground by the great earthquake of 1905. Vajreshwari Devi is housed in a temple built after the earthquake. There is no image in the temple. A piece of black stone is worshipped as the goddess. The goddess and the temple are both the property of the Bhojaki priests.

The Vajreshwari temple may have been of Buddhist origin. Vajreshwari may be the Hinduised form of the well-known Tantric goddess Vajra Tara.

Tantricism, by the way, is a later development of Buddhism. The Five Offerings (Pancha Vali)—the buffalo, the cock, the goat, the coconut and the pumpkin—are made to Vajreshwari on special occasions. Orthodox Hinduism regards the cock as unclean. Its sacrifice to Vajreshwari certainly points out to the non-Hindu, non-Aryan origin of the goddess herself. It is just possible that Vajreshwari had been first admitted to the Aryan fold by the Buddhists before her admission to the Hindu pantheon.



Shiva Temple, Vajjnath

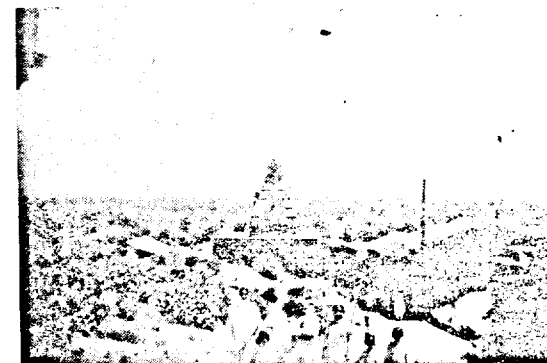
Vajjnath on the Punjab-Himachal border is a much frequented place of pilgrimage in Kangra Valley. The famous Shiva temple here attracts pilgrims from far and near. Ornamental works and images of excellent workmanship decorate the walls of the temple. Two stone inscriptions in the temple say that it was built in the Saka era 1126 (1204 A.D.) in the days of Lakshman Chandra of Kiragrama, a vassal of King Jay Chandra of Trigarta. Kiragrama is the old name of Vajjnath. The temple was built by two merchant brothers, Ahuka and Manyuka by name. Cunningham and Fergusson believed that the temple of Vajjnath was repaired during the reign of King Sansar Chand II (1776—1823-24) of Kangra. Sir Aurel Stein, who visited the temple in 1892, does not, however, accept the view.

A Shiva Linga of black stone is the object of worship at Vajjnath. A fair on every Monday in the month of Shravana attracts crowds of pilgrims from the neighbourhood as also from places farther off. A dip in the Kshir Ganga or Binode Ganga (local name



Chamunda Devi Temple

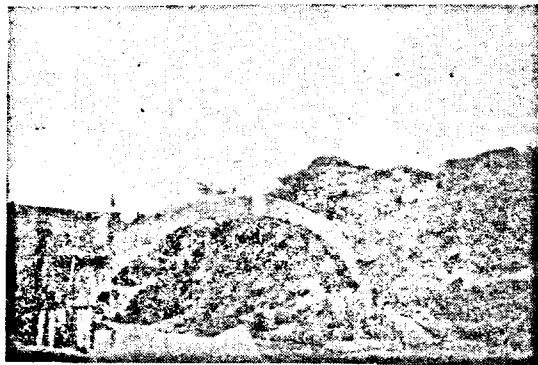
The temple of Vajjnath has rent-free properties worth Rs. 5,000 a year. The income from the offerings of the pilgrims runs to about Rs. 3,000 a year. Almost the whole of it is spent by the *sewayat* for his private purposes. Very little is left for the deity, whose servant the former claims to be. The temple of Vajjnath like that of Jwalamukhi and the fort of Kangra are protected under the Act for the preservation of Ancient Monuments.



Vajreshwari Temple, Kangra

Chamunda Devi about 3 miles from Malaun on Pathankot-Kulu road is another important place of pilgrimage of Kangra. The temple of goddess Chamunda at this place is not very old. Tradition has it

that in the day of one king Chandrabhan the temple of Chamunda was nearly 8 miles away from its present site. Human sacrifices used to be made to the goddess in those days.



District Board Bridge under construction on the Vana Ganga, Chamunda Devi

A stone image of the ten-handed goddess Chamunda in the temple inspires awe and terror rather than love and devotion. In one corner of the temple premises stands the temple of Nandikeshwara Shiva. As at Vajjnath, a fair is held at Chamunda Devi on every Monday in the month of Shravana. The quiet of the temple and its surroundings are suitable for those with a spiritual and philosophical bent of mind. The Vana Ganga (Vaner or Vander) flows on two sides of the temple with a murmuring sound. The ceaseless murmur fills the temple and the temple precincts. On the other two sides lie meadows of wide expanse bordered by an undulating mountain range. All is green from the temple to the hill. The bewitching landscape with its all-pervading quiet barring the non-stop music of the Vana Ganga reminds one of the dreamland. Tagore must have some such place in view when he wrote: *E desh legechhe bhalo nayane* (This place has appealed to my eyes).

III

Tea and rice are the principal products of Kangra Valley. Tea is grown exclusively in Kangra and Palampur tehsils. Most of the tea-estates are, however, in Palampur. Tea and cinchona were introduced into Kangra by the English planters in the middle of the 19th century. Cinchona did not flourish in Kangra. Its cultivation was therefore discontinued before long. The tea industry, however, prospered. Kangra's soil and climate are both suitable to tea-cultivation.

Kangra's 2,580 tea-estates own 8,000 acres of land. The whole of it is not however under tea. Many of the estates are tiny and range from 1 to 4 acres in area. Kangra tea was once quite popular in the markets of Europe. But today, neither in popularity

nor in quality, does it come within miles of the Darjeeling, Nilgiri or even Assam tea. Kangra's tea industry was the monopoly of foreign capitalists till the Great War (1914-18). The position has since changed and the industry is today owned, managed and controlled exclusively by Indian capital. The average yield of the Kangra gardens is 250 lbs. of tea leaves per acre per year. The average yield of the gardens in Bengal and Assam, on the other hand, is 1,000 lbs. per acre per annum. Unscientific, outmoded methods of cultivation, inferiority of the soil and excessive rainfall are among the causes of this difference.

A Government Experimental Tea Estate at Palampur has succeeded in raising its output to 4,000 lbs. per annum per acre. Some of the local plantations have obtained encouraging results by following its methods. The quality is still very poor however.

An account of Kangra Valley is incomplete without at least a passing reference to the Gaddis, the most remarkable among the peoples of the Lower Himalayas from the historical and cultural points of view. The Gaddis build their homes as high as 7,000 ft. above the sea-level. Agriculture is almost impossible on higher altitudes.



Bath in the Vana Ganga at Chamunda Devi

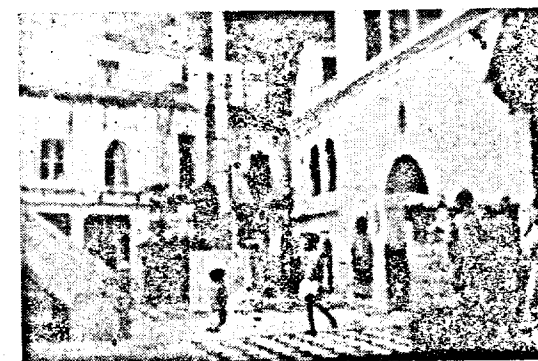
Gaddi means a Shepherd, and Gadheran, the Gaddi homeland in Himachal, means the Land of the Sheep. The ancestors of the Gaddis once lived in the plains of the Punjab, mostly in and around Lahore. Persecution and the fear of forced conversion to Islam uprooted them from their homes in the days of Aurungzeb Alamgir in the 17th century. Not a few of us have a bitter, firsthand experience of the circumstances which drive people out of their homes. Historians wax eloquent over the Great Trek of the South African Boers (1836) and over the Long March of the Chinese Reds (1934). But who cares for the band of obscure Indians of the Punjab plains, who, in the 17th century left their earthly all for their honour, religion and culture? These migrants were a

heterogeneous group composed of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Sudras and others. The Kshatriyas outnumbered the rest. Many swelled the ranks of the original migrants later on. The descendants of the former are the untouchables of the Gaddi society today. Inter-dining and inter-marriage with them are strictly forbidden.



On the way to Chamunda Devi

The Gaddis are an agricultural and pastoral people. The sheep and the goat constitute their principal wealth. Worship of the sheep on the full-moon day in the month of Ashadh is one of their most important religious festivals. With the approach of winter they temporarily migrate in large numbers from their homes in Chamba and Gadheran Valleys to warmer regions, such as, Mandi, Suket, Kangra and the like. They go back home in spring. A large number of Gaddis have, however, settled down permanently in Kangra Valley.

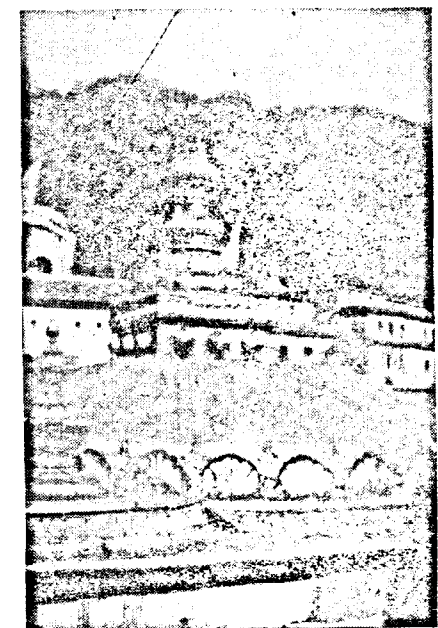


Temple yard, Jwalamukhi

The Gaddis are a sturdy and charmingly handsome folk. They are fairly well-to-do. Home-spun, home-woven woollen garments are their normal apparel. Cotton clothes are rarely used. The Gaddis have their own tailors. Men wear long trousers. A low skirt reaching the ankles, a blouse and a piece of cloth for the upper part of the body make up the woman's wear. Women's garments are tight-fitting

and in good taste. Men as well as women wear thick, black, woollen girdles. Women like their sisters all over the world have a weakness for ornaments. Shoes are not generally worn.

Caste system and untouchability prevail among the Gaddis, who are Hindus by religion. Re-marriage of widows, though permitted, is frowned upon by society. Nor is it widely practised. Marriages are almost always negotiated. Love-marriages are seldom heard of. Men generally marry at about 25, women at about 20. Extra-marital sexual relations are extremely rare. Adultery is punished by ex-communication. Those so punished are re-admitted into normal social life after pilgrimage and purificatory ceremonies. Village elders settle all minor disputes by arbitration. Priests are held in high esteem.



Jwalamukhi Temple

The Gaddis are a gay, truthful, open-hearted and religious-minded people. Seclusion of women is not practised. Nor is free mixing between men and women permitted. The Gaddi women are far-famed for their loyalty to wedded love. Drinking is one of the besetting vices of the Gaddis. They are an absolutely unlettered people and their percentage of literacy is hardly one.

Unlettered as they are, the Gaddis are a self-respecting people and look down upon service as a means of livelihood. They are quite intelligent too as would be evident from one of the Gaddi ditties. It says that if one husband dies, another may be sought for. But the lover's death makes life unbearable. Planket, if torn, may be patched. But the rent sky cannot be sewn.

The Gaddis sing to the accompaniment of the *dholak* (a small drum). The present writer has had an opportunity of hearing the Gaddi music. Two lines of one of the songs he heard still linger in his memory:

*"Bhadru mahine nehri rati han,
"Krishne han janam liya han."*

i.e., Krishna was born in the dark night of the month of Bhadra.

How significant! When "pain and anguish wring the brow," when storm-clouds lower on all sides, when no silver lining is visible anywhere, when man loses all faith in himself, the Deliverer appears. He tells man that the good will prevail over the evil in the long run, that man is unconquerable and that obstacles, frustrations, and set-backs notwithstanding, he is sure to reach the sanctuary of Immortality in the end.

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HEADMASTERS' SEMINAR IN THE LAND OF CLOUDS

By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A. B.T., W.B.E.S.

On the morning of 13th May, 1955 I received an urgent telegram from the Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, intimating that I was selected to attend Headmasters' Seminar at Darjeeling which was to continue for a month from 15th May, 1955 and that a first class reservation was available for me on 13th May, 1955. It was a pleasant surprise. The sun was pouring down molten rays relentlessly from the cloudless brazen sky; mercury in the barometer began to be whipped up in a steady progress day by day. The prospect of cool climate in the land of clouds appeared all the more covetable as an escape from the realm of fire to the dreamland of fog and moonlit mystery.



A view of the town from L. J. Sanatorium
Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

THE JOURNEY

I hastily arranged things at office and at home and started on the morning of 14th May, 1955. The pitch on the Calcutta road was bubbling in sweltering heat; the barometer recorded 108. I contacted the Air India office for a passage to Bagdogra but was told that all seats up to 20th May had already been booked. I rang up Eastern Railway office and was at once informed that no reservation could be available up to 22nd May. I was in a fix. The Railway office, however, at last assured that one berth could possibly be allotted on the Assam Link on 17th May, 1955. The West Bengal Cabinet had already moved to Darjeeling; the rush for the cooler region was tremendous. Luckily, I

got one reservation on 17th. The train steamed off from the Sealdah Station. The fans in the compartment whizzed to the utmost capacity but the air had become warm and uncomfortable, the more so as the train approached the border of Bihar.

The pleasure of the journey from Siliguri to Darjeeling compensated for all the trouble and discomfort in the plains. The upward journey along the sides of the hills, through loops and zigzags, was thrilling and romantic. Relieved of intolerable heat, the body rejoiced and the eyes feasted on the lush green woods and charming foliage. The sombre majesty of the hills seated in deep meditation, as it were, brings the message



On the lap of the hills: a view of
Darjeeling from L. J. Sanatorium
Photo by the writer

of quiet and peace in the worry-stricken mind. The language of the mountains is speechless but direct and effective. The hills are the symbol of patience, truth, beauty and unfathomable mystery.

THE SEMINAR: COMPOSITION

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, the Headmasters' Seminar for the Eastern Zone comprising Assam, Manipur, Tripura and West Bengal was arranged at the Lewis Jubilee Sanatorium, Darjeeling. Sri A. K. Chanda, M.A. (Oxon), I.E.S. (Retired), was appointed Director of

HEADMASTERS' SEMINAR IN THE LAND OF CLOUDS

the Seminar. The different regions were represented by education officers as stated below:

Assam: Headmasters	6
Inspectress of Schools	1
Manipur: Headmasters	2
Deputy Inspector of Schools	1
Tripura: Headmasters	3
West Bengal: Headmasters of Govern- ment High Schools	5
Headmasters of non- Government Schools	26
(including 5 Headmistresses)	
Inspecting Officers	3
Lecturer, Training College	1

Total 48

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Education Secretary to the Government of India, opened the Seminar on 15th May.



Clouds playfully approach from below
Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

1955 in charming surroundings. In an inspiring speech he dwelt on the needs of reorganisation of Secondary Education in the country and the socio-economic conditions under which the teachers have to work at present. Prof. Kabir suggested in bold outlines the measures to be adopted for remedy to the long-standing ills in the system of education in the land. A man of wide erudition and high ideals he has the gifts of head, heart and tongue combined in an abundant measure. He rightly diagnosed the malady when he said, "The efficacy of a system of education ultimately rests on the quality of teachers. It is, therefore, essential to attract the right type of men into the profession, give them the necessary training and create conditions in which their enthusiasm for the work is maintained throughout their professional life." The teacher is the pivot on which the edifice of education hinges. Contented, able and earnest teachers can change the face of the society in course of a generation. They are the real makers of a nation, but they must know the art and devote themselves to the high task.

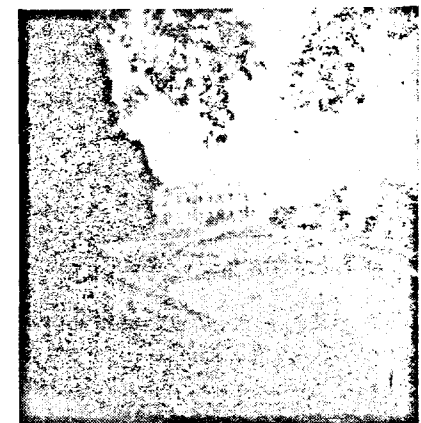
Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, was pleased to visit the Seminar and meet the members in an open-air assembly. He spoke about reorganisation of Secondary Education in the State in the context of

the present conditions, status of teachers, financial assistance to schools and other matters relating to education in general.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SEMINAR AND THE BACKGROUND

"Upon the education of the people the future of the people depends" is a trite saying of Lord Disraeli which has become a favourite motto with the enlightened people in the world. A Chinese proverb which beautifully portrays the place of education in human society says:

If you are planning for one year
plant seeds;
If you are planning for ten years
plant trees;
If you are planning for hundred years
plant men.



Shining pearl at dusk: Raj Bhawan,
Darjeeling
Photo by the writer

"It is the human being that counts and it counts much more as a child than as an adult," says, Shri Nehru, the Master Architect of our Nation. Upon the teachers devolves the main responsibility of shaping and guiding the future generation through their present activities and efforts. The teacher has therefore an important and dignified role in the make-up of the society; as a maker of men his place is the most prominent, no matter how mighty and lustrous other men might be in other spheres of life.

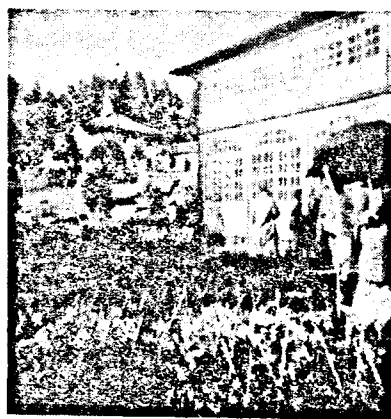
The Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar submitted a detailed Report on the reorganisation of Secondary Education in India keeping in view the advance of science and the socio-economic background of the country.

With the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation an International Team of educationists was appointed by the Government of India to recommend measures for improving the quality of teachers and of the curricula in Secondary Schools. The Team travelled extensively in India and visited Denmark, a primarily agricultural

country, the U.S.A., a highly industrialised land and the U.K. which stands somewhere between the above two in spite of its industrialisation.

"It was felt," as says Prof. Kabir, "that a comparison of the methods and practices in these three countries would enable the Team to frame proposals relevant to the fast changing economy in India."

The Government of India very wisely decided to enlist the co-operation of the teachers by holding Seminars in different regions in the country and giving Headmasters opportunities of discussing the Report of the Secondary Education Commission and also the findings of the International Team in the light of their own experiences and local conditions and of drawing specific programmes of reform for their own schools.



Kurseong Forest School—a side view
Photo by the writer

THE SEMINAR AT WORK

The members of the Seminar met in earnest and set to work under the inspiring guidance of the Director. The day-long programme was strenuous but not boring. The morning sitting continued from 9 A.M. to 11 A.M. and the afternoon sitting from 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. on week days. After general discussions for the first 4 days the members divided themselves into 3 groups for detailed consideration of the recommendations and findings of the previous Committees in the light of their practical experience. The groups occasionally met in plenary session for discussion of important items of School curricula and School management. The discussions sometimes took the shape of intellectual fight in which the "fighters" brought to play their knowledge, experience, wisdom and foresight.

It was accepted that there should be an integrated elementary education (to be known as Basic Education) for 8 years from 6 to 14 years on free and compulsory basis; the Secondary School should consist of 6 classes from Class VI to Class XI with multi-lateral subjects in the last 3 years of the School period. Up to Class V there would be one single stream of pupils who will be examined and diverted to two different streams (e.g.,

Basic and Secondary) from Class VI, according to their merit and aptitude.

The question of language engaged the serious attention of the members. India is a multilingual country, and language is one of her vital problems. The Seminar accepted the view of the Secondary Education Commission that

"With two other languages (Hindi and English) besides the mother-tongue, the course in languages will be rather heavy. It is unavoidable in a country like ours which has a multiplicity of languages and we should be prepared to pay this price for the wealth of linguistic heritage."

The groups drew up and the Seminar approved after modifications, where necessary, the reports regarding status of teachers, organisation, method and contents and administration and control of Secondary Education. Besides, some individual members submitted projects on different aspects of school instruction and development of students' behaviour pattern which may be adopted without much initial expenditure. The Seminar probed the Educational Plan in a thorough and realistic way without detracting however from the high ideals of man-making education.

EDUCATIONAL FILM SHOW

As an exhibition of Audio-visual aid, arrangements were made for display of films on historical, geographical and scientific subjects on every evening during the continuance of the Seminar. The Film Librarian attached to the Education Directorate, West Bengal went to Darjeeling with a projector and a number of films which were highly interesting and entertaining. The show became so popular, particularly with the school-going children, that the Seminar Hall would always be 'full' to capacity with the members of the seminar and others drawn to it by curiosity and pleasure. The Headmasters were convinced that teaching would be much effective and attractive if the school were provided with a 16 m.m. projector and educational films as in the U.S.A. and other advanced countries.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

Side by side with intellectual wrestling and technical jostling provisions were made for cultural entertainment. The Director took with him an excellent gramophone (Hifi) machine and a large number of choice records on Rabindra Sangit, Indian Classical music, English songs and orchestra, Shakespeare's plays, recitations from the works of Shakespeare and other English poets by noted English players. Music added to the zest of work during our sojourn.

TAPE RECORDER

A Tape Recorder is a quite handy and wonderful machine. It was used to record speeches, discourses, songs and recitations and to reproduce them whenever required. The recording was most faithful and natural. It caused a pleasant sensation to many. Songs by Shri Nirmal Kumar Roy and Srimati Radharani Chatterji and recitation by Miss Jogmaya Das when reproduced by the wonder-machine became objects of delight. With

the progress of science learning is going to be a joyous art. A Tape Recorder may be used in a school to teach correct reading and pronunciation. The same tape may be used over and over again for reproduction; it may also be used for fresh recording by wiping off the old impressions.

VISIT TO ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE

In between work and amusement we visited St. Paul's Public School on Jalapahar and St. Joseph's College at North Point and had discussion with the chief member of the staff regarding management and instructional functions.

EXCURSIONS: BOGORA FOREST

Excursion formed an exciting and educative feature of this Seminar-cum-camp life in a Hill station. The first excursion was organised under the auspices of the Forest and Fisheries Departments, Government of West Bengal, with the kind assistance of Shri K. Sen, I.C.S., Secretary to the above Departments. A fleet of nine jeeps and a station wagon carrying the whole party proceeded along the narrow hill road at an altitude of over 7,500 ft. through the Reserved Forest. The road has numerous sharp bends, so much so that we had to cross one in every minute and it is the keen eye, agile hands and feet and strong nerve of the driver that could avert a headlong crash into a chasm. This clock-wise and anti-clock-wise whirling of the car in the upward move was too much for a lady who could not withstand giddiness and began to vomit.

Luckily for us, the weather was ideal. At places waterfalls were rushing down the hills with a continuous music on one side and on the other stood innumerable Cliptomaria trees vying with one another there to reach the blue dome overhead for a greater share of the golden sunshine. The deep green forests looked like silent and motionless waves of the ocean. Clusters of thin clouds were floating over the forest and playing hide and seek, sometimes entering the woods from one side and getting out from the other. Standing on the edge of the road at a sharp bend one could see that the sky had descended down the hills, as it were. It appeared that the spot where we stood was the only island in the limitless ocean of the blue firmament. The sight was bewitching. We were mad with joy.

We wanted to enter into the Reserved Forest and have a look inside. Mr. Rao, Divisional Forest Officer, who was accompanying us readily agreed and took us into the woods. Tall and handsome Cliptomaria trees planted in rows 6 ft. apart rose straight into the sky. The hill slope on which the trees stood was covered

with soft leaves which formed something like a cosy Dunlopillo cushion beneath our feet. We found ourselves in a wonder-land. There were no bushes or shrubs; there were only the straight pillar-like stems of the Cliptomarias as far as eye could go. Here also clouds were found meandering their courses and embracing the trees in a playful spirit.

We gathered from the Forest Officer that Cliptomaria (a kind of coniferous pine) was native to Japan and grew at an altitude of 4,000 to 8,000 ft. The tree matures in 90 years and yields very good wood. But in our soil the tree has begun to grow so quickly that its fibre has become soft unlike that of its



Left to Right: Dr. J. G. Fowlkes, Shri R. Chatterji, Shri E. J. Bellgard, and the writer
Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

ancestors in Japan. According to Mr. Rao, the problem of the Conservator of Forests is to stop the quick growth of these trees, otherwise they could be used for no other purpose than pulp for paper. Wild bear and barking deer are occasionally found in these forests.

KURSEONG FOREST SCHOOL

The School is situated in beautiful environment surrounded by gardens with lovely flowers. The collection of specimen planks of various kinds of woods and the Natural History Museum there are a source of interest to the inquisitive mind. The Forest Officers were all attention to the guests and showed us round. The party was then treated to tea and the neat function in the School Hall ended with a fine speech by Shri K. Sen, I.C.S., Secretary, Forest and Fisheries Departments. On our way back via Kurseong we visited the Dow Hill Girls' School where the Principal took the party round the school rooms and dormitories. When we reached Darjeeling in the evening, moonlight and floating fogs had spread a spell of mystic charm over the town; sometimes the rows of electric lights gleamed as in a Diwali night and presently they would be obliterated by the rolling clouds. The town appeared like a fairyland.

MANIBHANJANG AND NEPAL BORDER

On 28-5-55 we started for Manibhanjang situated on the border of Nepal and the Rangit Valley. Eight jeeps were hired for the trip. The journey down from Ghoom to Sukhiapokri was difficult and thrilling. Fog was so dense that nothing could be visible beyond the length of a man's arm. Moreover, there are sharp bends and bridges over the road which passes along the side of the mountains with steep stone-wall on one side and deep gorges on the other. The Hill men driving the cars used their sixth sense, as it were; we passengers seemed to float blindfold through the clouds.



The Teesta rushes on under the bridge
Photo by Shri Subash Roy

From Sukhiapokri one road leads to Simana Busti on the Nepal border and the other goes up to Manibhanjang through a Government Forest. The panoramic beauty is enthralling. On the left, on the mountain sides tall stately trees 100 to 200 ft. in height, mostly oaks and other varieties, stretched themselves in majestic grandeur. Thick fern covered the base; innumerable creepers wove round the trees and added to the thickness of the foliage. On the right along the slopes clouds floated over the tops of the trees sometimes vanishing in the green ocean and again coming out like masses of incense-smokes. There is a Youth Hostel (altitude 6,680 ft.) at Manibhanjang which stands just facing the Rangit Valley and the Mim Tea Estate.

We returned to Sukhiapokri and thence proceeded to Simana Busti which stands on the Nepal border. There are no definite demarcating lines except a few poles with white flaglike pieces of cloth fastened to them. Thick fog enveloped the place, nothing was visible beyond a distance of 5 ft. On the return journey we paid a visit to Ghoom Monastery where incense is being burnt day and night in front of a big bronze statue of Goutama Buddha about 10 ft. in height. Ghoom, as the name implies, is the land of slumber, almost always covered with fogs or saturated with drizzles.

TEESTA BRIDGE

With a fleet of eight Landrovers the party went up to Teesta Bridge some 22 miles from Darjeeling along

the famous Peshok Road which commands a grand long-range view of the hills and the forests. The Road slopes down rather sharply as it approaches the Teesta and reaches the Bridge by several steep loops. The Bridge known as Anderson Bridge, built in 1933, covers the river by a single span below which rushes the gushing stream frothing and whirling and splashing against the boulders strewn over the bed. Teesta appeared to be a flourishing business centre situated in a valley at an altitude of about 500 ft. It is moist and damp.

It was a market day and as we passed through the bazaar we came across womenfolk dressed in colourful Tibetan garments and quacks advertising the efficacy of their medicinal *tuk-taks* through battery-operated microphones! They have improved upon their counterparts in the plains.

DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS OF THOUGHT

One of the chief gains of Seminar of this type is the ignition of intellect due to contact with leaders of thought in different spheres of activity. Dr. D. M. Sen, Education Secretary, Government of West Bengal addressed the Seminar and spoke in detail about the Secondary Education curriculum. He emphasised the fact that the aim of education was the development of the total human being and not a lop-sided growth of any individual qualities of the educand. Dr. P. Roy, Director of Public Instruction West Bengal met the members on 20th May, 1955 and gave an idea of the educational pattern envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan. Shri S. K. Day, I.C.S., Development Commissioner, West Bengal, in an address before the Seminar dwelt in detail on the objectives of the Community Projects which according to him are an all-round progress and development of the people. Community Projects, said Shri Day, should start from the village and grow from within and not be thrust upon the people by Government. Shri Bimal Chandra Sinha addressed the Seminar on 23rd May, 1955 and discussed the history of the present system of education in our country. He expressed the optimistic view that the future of the country lay in the hands of the educators of the future generation.

DR. JOHN GUY FOWLKES

Dr. Fowlkes, an eminent American educationist and Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, stayed at Darjeeling for about a week and took an active part in the discussion in the Seminar. His talks, his thorough and comprehensive replies to the volleys of questions on various aspects of education in India and the U.S.A. were illuminating. On the 9th evening Dr. Fowlkes delivered a lecture in the Sanatorium Hall on *Some Characteristics of Learning and Teaching*. The meeting was well attended by teachers of the local schools and colleges and others interested in education. The speech was as brilliant as could be expected of an educationist of Dr. Fowlkes' stature. Learning, as beautifully defined by Dr.

Fowlkes, is self-discovery through persistent efforts; a teacher's duty is to stimulate and direct pupils efforts for learning. The teacher should be an energetic student throughout life; he must have a sense of humour and realise how ridiculous he himself sometimes may be; he must be earnest and sympathetic; he must love children and must be soft and tender and at the same time firm and bold. A labourer works with his hand, an artisan with his hand and brain, an artist with his hand, brain and heart. A teacher is an artist par excellence. A gardener is delighted when his plants grow and bloom, a scientist is happy when his inventions work up to expectation but the teacher who is the greatest artist has the unique joy of dealing with the plastic, living and the most wonderful creation of God—the children, the hope and stay of the future. Dr. Fowlkes declared, amidst spontaneous applause, that "to act as a teacher is a blessing and a glorious privilege."

We felt ourselves stimulated and our job ennobled. Shri B. K. Neogi, Chief Inspector, Secondary Education, West Bengal, addressed the Seminar on the closing day and dwelt on the duties and responsibilities of the teachers who are the real makers of the nation and exhorted them to further the cause of education by devotion to duty, humility of mind and noble conduct in their walk of life.

We met from different parts of the country—Assam, Manipur, Tripura and West Bengal districts. We felt oneness of purpose pervading our minds. It was a sort of educational pilgrimage where we took our dip in the confluence of heart and intellect and acquired new ideas, wider outlook, new energy for carrying on our work and new friends with intellectual affinity. After about a month's stay we bade adieu to Darjeeling, the charming land of clouds and flowers.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM
"First National Exhibition of Art"

Dear Sri "Kaundinya,"

I have gone through your article published in *The Modern Review* of July, 1955. The contents not only bear the thoughts of one who has spent considerable time in the pursuit of art but also are charged with that element of sincerity which provokes thoughts and demands respect.

There are some points about which I may not fully agree with you but there are some which cannot be lightly dismissed. Rather I should say that what has found place in your article vitally concerns the invasion manoeuvred by the unassimilated ultra-modern fashions into the cultural field generally, I mean, Graphic and Plastic Art. The followers carrying on this crusade have no other objective than to leave an impression of assertion without giving the least attention to the consequences. To me it appears that they feel quite happy in destroying the conventions which had contributed to the cause of culture of our concern.

I am not known to you. However I have discovered from your article that my works are not unfamiliar to you. Taking this advantage I am feeling inclined to know your views better by direct contact. As such it is but natural that there should be a desire from my side to meet you and discuss on such points as would help our mutual interest, particularly that of the Lalit Kala Akademi. I do not know how and when this would be possible. Perhaps you might be helpful in this respect.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

DEVI PROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

To the Editor, *Modern Review*
Sir,

I have read with great pleasure the very frank and outspoken letter of Sri Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury, President of Lalit Kala Akademi. My review of the National Art Exhibition has roused his conscience and he has felt that all is not well with the Delhi Akademi which he is destined (by reason of his great talent and long experience and practice of the Arts) to develop on proper lines so that our art of today may be worthy of our art of yesterday. As the worthy disciple of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore Sri Roy Chowdhury is charged with the sacred duty of guiding the destiny of Modern Art on the lines shown by Tagore, the Father of Modern Art, not by "reviving" ancient and outworn traditions or repeating mechanically the conventions of the Buddhist schools, the Moghul or the Rajput schools, but by pushing the basic tradition of Indian Art on new lines of development.

This has been very well demonstrated not only by Acharya Tagore, but by Sri D. P. Ray Chowdhury himself in his wonderful paintings which have magnificently upheld the claims of the old and of the new in the way the old has taken new forms without abandoning the essence and the spirit of the old. The poetry of Rabindranath Tagore has not abandoned the age-old Bengali language, but given it a brilliantly new form. The language of Indian Art should not be abandoned but given new forms as demonstrated in the paintings of Abanindranath, Dr. Nandalal Bose, and Sri Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury.

To give the correct lead to our Modern, Sri Roy

Chowdhury, as President of the Delhi Akademi, must assert himself and be not misled by the dictations of incompetent persons from behind. It is an open secret that the Akademi is not functioning according to the guidance of Sri Roy Chowdhury, but according to the dictation of official wire-pullers and an incompetent Secretariat. We have before us a happy example of the Sangit Natak Akademi brilliantly guided by its distinguished President and sincerely served by a thoroughly competent and highly educated Secretary, Miss Nirmala Joshi. There is no hope for the Lalit Kala Akademi before its Secretariat and executive committee are thoroughly overhauled and replaced by competent experts. It may be useful to remember that Sri N. C. Mehta, Sri Mukandi Lal, Sri Arun Sen, and Prof. O. C. Gangoly, men of international reputation are still in the land of living and are highly qualified

by their brilliant services to Indian Art and their vast experience to help Sri Roy Chowdhury to run the Lalit Kala Akademi on proper and healthy lines. I have no personal knowledge of the inner working of this Akademi, but people who have personal knowledge have unanimously condemned it in unqualified terms. The Government has provided generous grants, but the money provided is not being used properly and conscientiously. One is entitled to expect Sri Roy Chowdhury to utilize the grant with meticulous care and responsibility, so that both the formulation of the policy and programmes and proper utilization of the funds now rest on Sri Roy Chowdhury if he asserts his rights to guide the Akademi independently. I wish him good luck in this great undertaking.

Yours faithfully,
KAUNDINTYA

II

"Keshub Chandra Sen—An Artist"

THE article entitled "Keshub Chandra Sen—An Artist" by Sri Kajal Basu M.A., appearing in your February issue is not always very clear in its import and meaning. The main thesis has been very weakly worked out and there are confusions of thoughts at many places. We failed to understand all about Keshub Chandra's inspiration and Benedetto Croce's intuition being somehow identical. Even on an analogy of rare far-fetchedness, the author of the article could not convince his readers that there is any parallelism whatsoever between Keshub Chandra's religious inspiration and Croce's aesthetic intuition. Of course, both start with the letter 'I' and that is the only point of agreement that we could find. Again the author has unwillingly referred to Plato's notion of 'inspiration.' Plato condemned inspiration as something irrational and as such he started a crusade against all forms of fine arts (which are more or less inspired) and wanted them to be banished from his ideal Republic. Of course, a modern defence of Plato has been eked out by Collingwood and others and it has been contended that Plato only condemned the amusement arts to save a decaying nation from imminent ruin. So a comparison between the concepts of inspiration of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen and Plato is not only misleading but betrays a staggering lack of understanding on the part of the author, of the fundamental concepts of these two great minds.

The author, as I have already pointed out, drew a futile analogy between Croce's 'intuition' and Keshub Chandra's 'inspiration.' Any student of Croce's aesthetics would be reluctant to accept the comparison to be

of any worth because Croce's intuition is below the logical level. Aesthetic activity is prior to logical activity and as such the notion of reality or unreality is not applicable to the level of art. These value-judgements, according to Croce, are devoid of all reference to reality. As for Sidgwick 'intuition' has a special meaning, so also for Croce and it can not be abstracted from 'expression' even in the thought-level. The two are identical. Such a concept of identity of intuition and expression is peculiar to Croce and it works only in his system as the Rasa-lila of Lord Krishna holds good only within the four walls of Brindavana. Croce's intuition has been placed below the logical level whereas inspiration of all saints and seers is taken to be supra-logical. Such supra-logical inspirations are out and out rational because the products of such inspiration are subsequently vindicated by reason. Anybody reading the passages quoted in the article from Croce and Keshub Chandra will fail to understand the points of agreement between the two worlds of ideas as represented by the passages. Certainly Croce's 'intuition' cannot be compared to a devotee's inspiration even on a very lenient estimate of the two. A rigorous survey would have given a rigid determination of the two ideas and that would have shown clearly that they could not be compared. We would like very much a clarification in your esteemed columns from the author on the issues raised and that will undoubtedly enable us to understand the significance and meaning of the comparison suggested.

DR. SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI, M.A., D.Phil.

THE HINDU COLLEGE The First Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

IN the previous article* I gave the story of the foundation of the Hindu College. The school department was only opened at the time. During the first eight years or so, the College remained practically a school. Attempts were, however, made for starting the 'Academy' (the College section) from time to time. But this could not be realised till the Government allotted sufficient funds for the purpose in the late twenties.

The establishment of the Hindu College gave an impetus to fresh educational efforts in this part of the country. The School-Book Society was started in July 1817 to provide for suitable text-books, both English and Bengali. With a view to improve the indigenous system of instruction, the Calcutta School Society was formed in September 1818. They not only took steps to reform the existing *pathsalas*, but also started model schools, where English constituted a part of the curriculum. These latter served as a feeder to the Hindu College. Raja Rammohun Roy founded an English school almost simultaneously with the Hindu College where an improved system of instruction was followed. The movement set afoot by the Hindu College grew in volume as the years rolled on.

II

Work of the Hindu College in its school department commenced on 20th January 1817, with twenty scholars on its roll. The number increased to sixty-nine at the end of the session. The scholars belonged to two categories: (1) Free scholars were the nominees of the Governors and Managers according to rules. They numbered sixteen at the end of the year. (2) Others were paying scholars, the monthly fee being rupees five for each. Teaching in English and Persian started from the very beginning, teaching in Bengali and Byakaran on the 1st of March 1817. It appears that Pandit Gourmohan Vidyalkar and Pandit Ramjiban Nyayabhusan were appointed on this date to instruct the boys in Bengali and Sanskrit. Pandit Gourmohan subsequently joined the Calcutta School-Book Society as their *Pandit*, or literary assistant. He also served the School Society in another capacity.

The first annual general meeting of the subscribers to the Hindu College was held on 6th January 1818. The European Secretary, Frederick Irvine, read the annual report and the Native Secretary, Baidyanath Mukherjee, presented the accounts before the mem-

bers. Both of them referred to the progress of the College. Lines of improvement were also suggested in the European Secretary's report. We find in this report that all the sixty-nine scholars learnt English, twenty-six Persian and seventeen Byakaran. During the year many Indian gentlemen visited the institution and were pleased with the progress made by the scholars. Progress would have been greater, had the students been regular in their attendance. The Secretary, *inter alia*, asked the guardians of the scholars to see to it that their wards must not absent themselves without any pressing ground. The Managers sent a circular to the guardians and subscribers to this effect afterwards on January 13, 1818.

Much inconvenience was felt for want of proper text-books, and it was found necessary to write lessons for the boys. But this desideratum, says the report, would soon be met by the recently formed Calcutta School-Book Society. "By this means the Hindu College will be supplied with school books free of expense. Some have already been received from that Society." The Secretary further writes that 'the most respectable English gentlemen both here and at home are friends to the Hindu College and there are now great hopes that Government will assist it, its importance and progress will, it is hoped, be greater and greater every year.' The accounts showed that the funds of the College stood at a little over seventy-two thousand.

In obedience to the rules, election of Managers or Directors was held early in January 1818. Names of those elected were reported to the meeting of the Managing Committee on 28th January 1818. Besides those of the previous year, two new Directors were elected, namely, Radhakant Deb and Guruprasad Bose. Kasinath Mallik was added to the Committee in May. We find Gopeemohan Tagore deputed for the first time by his eldest son Suryakumar Tagore at the above meeting. It was then resolved to 'petition the Governor-General in Council to grant the aid of Government to the Institution.' During the session the College received a donation of Rs. 2,000 from Pandit Raghunani Vidyabhusan. Of this sum only one hundred was to be given to the Calcutta School-Book Society. The College was removed to the house of Rupchand Ray in the Chitpore area in July 1818 on a monthly rental of Rs. 60 for one year. The owner was entitled to send two free scholars to the College. A portion of the College fund was advanced

* The Modern Review for July, 1955.

to a commercial firm as loan on handsome interest for two years from July 1818.

But it was soon found that the monthly expenditure of the College exceeded the income which accrued from pay of the scholars and interest of the fund. In September 1818, monthly expenditure was Rs. 950 and monthly income only Rs. 700. To meet the deficit the Committee proposed to dispense with the services of the Native Secretary on 10th September 1818. It was also resolved at the meeting to turn the institution into a free one from January 1819. Paying scholars could, however, be admitted on the approbation of one of the Managers. Two reasons can be adduced for this decision. One was the unpopularity of the 'pay' system. But the main reason was evidently to induce the opulent to subscribe to the Education Fund more liberally. At the next meeting, held on 24th November, the Managing Committee resolved that the services of the Secretaries would be gratuitous. Other retrenchments in the instructive establishment were also to be effected from that date. The Calcutta School Society intended to send some selected boys of their indigenous schools to the Hindu College for higher education. They would pay Rs. 5 per head per month. The Committee resolved that the number so sent should be 'equal or exceed twenty.'

III

The year 1819 saw the Hindu College as a full-fledged free institution. Its income was Rs. 100, being the pay of the twenty scholars sent by the Calcutta School Society as well as the interest from the College Fund. The establishment charges were considerably reduced, and in June 1819 these came down to Rs. 535. They varied between this amount and Rs. 550 for several years to come. It was perhaps from this month that the College was removed to the historic house of Feringhee Comul Bose in Chitpur. In May 1819, the Managers of the Hindoo College advanced the Company's papers amounting to sixty thousand *sicca* rupees to the house of Messrs. Joseph Barretto and Sons, the Treasurer of the Institution, at an increased interest thereon from 6 to 8 per cent for the term of six years . . .

On 16th April 1819, the Managing Committee entrusted the Head Teacher Mr. D'Aselme with preparing a plan for better administration of the College. He accordingly prepared a plan and got it circulated amongst the members. This was accepted with some amendments. The plan related to admission of scholars, hours of study, dispersal, holidays, etc. According to rule No. 1, 'no boy was to be admitted as a new scholar in the school after 14 years of age.' To keep constant vigilance specially on the study and progress of the scholars, the Committee asked H. D. Loring and David Hare, friends of Indian education, to act as 'Visitor' to the College, between May and June, 1819. David Hare had already been appointed

by the Calcutta School Society, Superintendent of the latter's scholars in the College. The Committee's letter (12th June 1819) to Hare deserves to be quoted:

"Your sound judgement in matters of education and friendly regard towards literary institutions induce us to request the favour of you to become a 'Visitor' to the College. We shall feel infinitely obliged by your inspecting it at your convenience and communicating such hints and observations as may occur to you for its improvement."

The Hindu College had soon to lose the services of its European Secretary Lt.-Col. Frederick Irvine. Irvine intimated the Managers on 18th June 1819 that he had received an order to join his battalion forthwith. Therefore he had no other alternative but to resign his situation in the College. The Managers accepted the resignation with regret. They, however, wrote to him acknowledging his useful services to the Institution.

We should now refer to some efforts in England by J. H. Harington who had already been there in early 1819. He acted as Agent to the Hindu College, the Calcutta School-Book Society and the Calcutta School Society. Harington prepared a paper on these institutions, got it printed, and circulated it amongst the intellectual and benevolent Britons. Harington had served the country in various capacities for previous thirty-eight years, and as a real friend of the people, assisted all the benevolent endeavours, particularly the educational institutions of his day. His views in support of the Hindu College carried considerable weight in England. The establishment of this institution had already been a known fact there. He now laid special emphasis on the usefulness of the institution and contacted the Rt. Hon'ble S. C. Villiers, brother of Lord Clarendon, who took special interest in Indian education. Harington suggested to him that 'a philosophical apparatus be presented to him; such as will enable a qualified professor to give, at an early period, a course of lectures upon Astronomy; and upon the several branches of Natural Philosophy. Harington further added that this was the most likely means of advancing the measure, without any great expense. Harington's efforts were reinforced with the arrival, in early 1820, of W. H. Grant, who had taken particular interest in the Hindu College while in Calcutta, and who had made some personal gifts to the institution at the time of his departure. We shall have to say more of their combined efforts in the subsequent section.

Since the departure of Irvine, the post of the European Secretary had remained vacant. It was filled by G. G. Money in May 1820. One month previously George Mollis was appointed assistant teacher on one hundred rupees per mensem. The Calcutta School Society sent to the College an additional number of ten boys selected from the indigenous schools from

July 1820 and to be paid for by it at the former rate. The number of Society's scholars in the Hindu College now stood at thirty.

IV

Harington's paper and his constant meetings with responsible and benevolent Britons excited particular interest in their minds with regard to the Hindu College and sister institutions. W. H. Grant joined Harington soon in these efforts. In a communication to the Governors and Managers of the Hindu College, dated 23rd July 1821, Harington, jointly with W. H. Grant and John Toyader, intimated that the British India Society was formed on 26th May 1821 in London "for the intellectual and moral improvement of the native inhabitants of British India and parts adjacent." A provisional committee was appointed. An address to the British public was circulated on its behalf, explaining the objects for which the Society was started. W. H. Grant was the Secretary of the Society. The object of the communication, they wrote, was

"To make you Governors and Managers of the H. C. acquainted with the formation of the British India Society; and to request you will transmit to it from time to time, besides your periodical reports, any information relative to your Institution, which may enable the Committee, now or hereafter, to aid your exertions in promoting the design above-mentioned, especially by the supply of books, or other articles, required from Europe."

"Any circumstantial details of facts, connected with local improvements in education, and with the desire of the Natives of India to obtain the means of advancement in useful knowledge and literature, will likewise be received with satisfaction in this country; and may eventually promote the success of every institution which has in view the same interesting and important object, as that of the British India Society."

During 1821 some changes were effected in the management of the College. Joykissen Singh, one of the foundation-members, died on 27th October 1820. His gap in the Committee was filled up by his younger brother Rajkissen Singh in July 1821. In the same month Ramcomul Sen was added to the management as Superintending Director. The object of appointing this additional Manager to the Committee is stated to be that he would 'frequently visit and superintend the duty of the school.' Ramcomul Sen, already a subscriber, was considered very competent for the purpose. New regulations were prepared and circulated amongst the members for the better management of the College.

Progress of the College was maintained as far as possible with its limited means during the year 1822. But it suffered some serious loss in the departure of one and death of another of its ardent friends. Sir Edward Hyde East left the country in

January 1822. Leaders of the Hindu and the Mahomedan community joined hands in giving him a farewell address. The students of the Hindu College, for which he did so much, presented him with an address on 18th January 1822. The address was read by Shih-chandra Thakur, a prominent student of the College.

The College also suffered severely by the death of its Native Secretary, Baidyanath Mukherjee, on 10th November 1822. The efforts of Baidyanath at the foundation of the College will always be written in letters of gold. His place was taken up by his worthy son Lakshminarayan Mukherjee till death in 1839. Lakshminarayan was the father of Justice Anukul Chandra Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court. In this session a sub-committee was formed to look into the administration of the College, of whom Radhakant Deb was appointed a member. It should be said in passing that Radhakant was taking keen interest in all matters relating to the institution since his election as Director in 1818.

V

Prospects of the Hindu College being a full-fledged Academy or College became bright in 1823. J. H. Harington returned to Calcutta early this year. He had persuaded the British India Society of London to make a gift of the philosophical apparatus, so necessary for science-institution, on certain conditions. The apparatus related to Mechanics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Optics, etc. It was already on the way. Managers of the Hindu College lost no time in requesting such a benefactor of the College to be its 'patron.' This they did in a letter dated 22nd February 1823. They also approached the Rev. W. Yates with the request of his being a 'visitor' to the College. Duties of the 'visitor' were stated to be: (1) to visit the College as often as possible; (2) to examine students occasionally; and (3) to recommend alterations and amendments on the regulations and management of the Institution. Yates gladly accepted the post of an honorary 'Visitor' to the College on 10th April 1823.

We find for the first time in the MSS. *Proceedings* a certificate given to its alumnus Harimohan Dey. This was under the signatures of G. G. Money, European Secretary, J. J. D'Aselme and four Directors of the College, namely, Radhakant Deb, Radhamadhab Banerjee, Ramcomul Sen and Russomoy Dutt. Harimohan was a student of the College for a period of three years and a half, 'during which he conducted himself to the satisfaction of his teachers. He was assiduous and regular; and his improvement in the different branches of learning, viz., Geography, Astronomy, Natural History, Grammar and Arithmetic, has been comparatively great.'

Further development of the College required additional help and guidance. By the middle of 1823, the Government were inclined to help non-official agencies

instituted for the propagation of knowledge amongst the people. The managers and supporters of the Hindu College sent a petition to the Governor-General in Council on 19th June 1823 for pecuniary assistance. This petition is important for many reasons. While giving a short history of the College, it lays down that 'there never has been any system of instruction established in Calcutta that in the same length of time has been crowned with equal success in giving the Hindoo Natives a correct knowledge of the English language and accurate conception of some of the most useful branches of European sciences.' The number of students fluctuated between eighty and one hundred. "Some of those who have left it, have obtained high responsible situations, and brought great honour on the place of their education." As regards finance, the petition says that the Hindu College authorities invested sixty thousand rupees with Messrs. Barnetto & Sons at the interest of 8 per cent per annum. The period would expire in 1825. They had an income of Rs. 150 per month as fee from the Calcutta School Society's thirty boys. The College instructed the boys in English, Persian and Sanskrit. But for want of adequate funds, the wider objects of the College could not be fulfilled. They were obliged to reject the applications of innumerable boys 'who, if educated, would hereafter prove most useful members of the Native population.' They, therefore, solicited aid from the Government funds. They further added:

"But we beg leave to say that independent of pecuniary assistance we are greatly in want of a suitable building for the Institution, and we cannot but think that if the College, for which we have now the honor to solicit the favourable consideration and assistance of the Governor-General in Council were removed to the vicinity of the Sanskrit College about to be formed under the immediate patronage of the Government that the two establishments by having the two extensive media of instruction, such as, philosophical apparatus, lectures, etc., etc., common to both, might greatly assist and benefit each other."

The petitioners requested the Governor-General in Council to be 'Patron' of the Institution. Meanwhile the letter of W. H. Grant, dated 8th January 1824, reached J. H. Harington. He wrote, amongst other things, that the philosophical apparatus 'should be placed at the disposal of the Hindu College, should the Committee of that Institution have the means of employing a competent lecturer.' A considerable number of books had been forwarded by the Secretary to the Calcutta School-Book Society. He also intimated that amongst them such books should be selected as might be 'useful as an accompaniment to the philosophical apparatus.' Grant's letter gave an additional importance to the above-mentioned petition.

The Governor-General in Council took a favourable view of the matter. Their decisions were communicated to the Managers in a letter dated 17th July 1823. The Governor-General in Council accepted the patronage of the Hindu College, and ordered to provide for a lecturer, and to build a suitable house for the Hindu College close to the Government Sanskrit College. The Sanskrit College was to be opened on 1st January 1824 in a rented house. Land had already been secured to the north of the College Square, Calcutta, where suitable permanent buildings were to be built. The Managers were further asked to communicate with Lt. Buxton, Assistant Superintendent of Public Buildings, with regard to the plan of a school-room near the intended Sanskrit College.

The philosophical apparatus reached Calcutta by July 1823. W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to the Government, informed the Managers of the College that the Governor-General in Council had authorized James Thomason of the Civil Service to have proper cases made for keeping the apparatus received from the British India Society for the use of the Hindu College, and also to incur any other trifling expenses that might be requisite for the care, etc., while it would remain under his custody.

VI

Meanwhile, the Governor-General in Council appointed the General Committee of Public Instruction on 31st July 1823, subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, to supervise and control the educational institutions and to disburse funds on their behalf. J. H. Harington was its first President and H. H. Wilson its junior member and Secretary. Both these gentlemen were well conversant with the needs and prospects of the Hindu College. Wilson had previously written to Harington (11th April 1823) in the following vein:

"The school decidedly merits support as it has done much in the dissemination of the English language in Calcutta."

The foundation-stone of the proposed building in the College Square was laid with great ceremony on 25th February 1824. It was decided to house both the Government Sanskrit College and the Hindu College in this building. But the building would require considerable time to finish. The Managing Committee of the Hindu College wrote to J. H. Harington, President of the General Committee on 30th January 1824, to appoint a teacher temporarily for science-instruction. They further prayed for a monthly sum to pay the rent of the hired house till their transfer to the new building. They also asked the General Committee to allow their Secretary and the Secretary to the Sanskrit College to lend their assistance, when both the institutions would be accommodated in the same building.

This solicitation on the part of the Managers led to considerable correspondence. The General Committee of Public Instruction, with concurrence of the Governor-General in Council, agreed to most of the proposals of the Managing Committee. H. H. Wilson intimated to them on behalf of the General Committee on 28th May 1824 that Mr. D. Ross was appointed Lecturer, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, by the Government, and he would begin lecture from 6th July 1824. The sum of Rs. 280 per month was granted 'to cover the rent of a house and lecture-room and expense of small establishments.' It is interesting to note that Rev. John Mack of the Serampore Baptist Mission was an applicant for the post. But the authorities preferred Ross to Mack. Pecuniary assistance by Government necessitates supervision by them or their deputy. On this point wrote Wilson (28th May 1824):

"With reference to the extent of the aid already given to the Funds of the Vidyalaya and other arrangements in contemplation for its improvement, such as the grant of a Library, Endowments of scholarships, and liberal provision for the most effective superintendence that can be obtained, the expense of which will probably be fully three times the amount now derived from the Funds of the College, Government conceive the proportional share of authority over that establishment should be vested in the General Committee of Public Instruction."

The managers took the hint. They prepared a detailed plan in which united management of the College was proposed, and communicated it to the General Committee on 1st July 1824. The General Committee were convinced of the Managers' sincere intentions and on their behalf Wilson wrote (6th August 1824) in part:

"In order to render this general supervision as practical as possible they propose to exercise it through the medium of such their members as they may from time to time appoint and on the present occasion they avail themselves of the services of the Junior Member and Secretary, Mr. Wilson, whom they request the Managers of the Native College, to regard as the organ and representative of the General Committee."

"It is expected that any recommendation proceeding from the General Committee relative to the conduct of the Institution as expressed through the Acting Visitor will meet with the concurrence of the Managers of the Vidyalaya, unless sufficient reasons can be submitted in writing for declining such concurrence."

The venue of the Hindu College was changed to 123, Chitpore Road in September 1824 at the monthly rental of Rs. 300. According to the previous arrangement, Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson became a member of the Hindu College Managing Committee. We find him designated as Vice-President and taking active part in the deliberations of the Committee for the

first time on 11th October 1824. The Hindu College had been a full-fledged free institution since January 1819. In 1824, paying scholars were being admitted. It was at the fag-end of this year that a controversy was started between the Hindu College Managing Committee and the Calcutta School Society over the dismissal of a Society's student for irregular attendance. This, however, was quickly set at rest, and David Hare, Superintendent of the Society's scholars, was taken on the Managing Committee.

VII

With Dr. H. H. Wilson in late 1824 and David Hare in the middle of 1825 on the Managing Committee, the Hindu College marched towards progress in spite of certain reverses and set-backs in the financial sphere. The first public examination of the Hindu College students, as far as it is on record, was held on 22nd January 1825. Besides J. H. Harington and H. H. Wilson, many European and Indian friends of education attended the function. Meritorious students were given prizes. It was at this meeting that Kashikanta Ghosal, son of Kalikanta Ghosal of Bhukailash, donated twenty thousand rupees for the development of the College. The sum was placed in the hands of the General Committee.

Mr. D. Ross commenced his lectures on 6th July 1824. Senior students of the College attended them and gave proofs of their acquaintance with scientific subjects. In the two certificates awarded respectively on 8th March and 7th July 1825, this point was particularly noted. In the third it was specifically stated that 'he (Heramba Nath Thakoor) has acquired some knowledge of the rudiments of science; and that he attended the lectures on Experimental Philosophy delivered by Mr. Ross during the whole of the first period.'

By 1825, the Hindu College School, as it was sometimes called, was divided into ten classes, four upper and six lower. On the establishment were only four teachers who taught the upper classes. The lower six were placed in charge of monitors, students of the upper classes, who taught their younger brethren at certain intervals. Their studies were thereby not a little hampered. The Science-teacher was outside this establishment. The meeting of the Managing Committee, held on 6th June 1825, on which we find David Hare for the first time, discussed how the system of instruction could be improved, and thrashed out a detailed scheme. This would require some additional expenditure for which the Committee proposed to approach the General Committee. Improvement in instruction was specially mooted by Wilson in his report to the General Committee in January 1825. Wilson also took upon himself the task of carrying out reforms in the internal management of the College in his capacity as a 'Visitor.' Hours of study were increased from four to seven, regularity in attendance was enforced, and strict discipline introduced. The course of studies

was also widened within certain limits. He recommended for the appointment of a teacher of Mathematics, which subject was very much neglected in the College.

The Managing Committee resolved at the above meeting to appoint permanent monitors from amongst the proficient students of the College, because they thought it to be attended with many obvious advantages if it should be found possible to rear useful assistant teachers from amongst the natives themselves. By this new arrangement the College would be able to teach three hundred scholars, who belonged to three categories: Foundation (free) scholars, School Society's boys and paying students. These reforms effected a marked improvement in the education of the scholars, and Dr. Wilson, we find, report favourably on the subject in 1927.

There was also effected some radical change in the curriculum of studies in early 1826. At its meeting on 24th February 1826, the Managing Committee resolved:

"That the free boys and S. C. boys of the three first classes may learn Sanskrit instead of Persian if they wish.

"That the free boys and S. C. boys of all the classes below the 3rd as far as the 8th be obliged to study Bengali.

"That the attendance of the pay scholars on

either of the classes, Bengali, Persian or Sanskrit, be regulated by the wishes of their parents.

"That a Sanskrit class be formed of the following lads if they wish: Krishnamohun, Gangakant Pattak, Badan Chandra Ghose, Nasiram Mitra.

"That the Bengali Grammar be substituted for the Mugdhabodha in the Bengali class."

Finances of the College stood at a very low ebb owing to the fall of Messrs. Joseph Barretto & Sons in early 1825, with whom the sum of sixty thousand rupees had been deposited. Some handsome donations had been made in favour of the College, to the amount of a lakh of rupees during this session, by Raja Baidyanath Ray, Kashikanta Ghosal and Raja Harinath Ray. But as these were endowment funds, placed in the hands of the Government, and earmarked for definite purposes, the Managing Committee of the College could not derive any benefit from this source to meet its day-to-day needs. The General Committee of Public Instruction came to its rescue, but with increasing supervision and control over its affairs. The Hindu College entered into a new career as it were when it occupied the new buildings along with the Government Sanskrit College on 1st May 1826.*

* Mainly based on the MSS. Proceedings of the H. C. Managing Committee.—J. C. B.

REFLECTIONS ON MODERN INDIAN PAINTING

By O. C. GANGOLY

To make even a short survey and summary appraisal of Modern Indian Painting it is necessary to indicate the chronological limits and the implications of the phrase Modern Art. It is when mediaeval art terminates and expires that modern art comes into existence by discarding all marks of mediaevalism, that is to say, by rejecting timeworn and traditional conventions of forms, by discarding old-world types and techniques which for centuries had dominated the ideals and methods of mediaeval art. The period of extension and continuity of the mediaeval manners has varied in different countries according to the peculiar circumstances and historical reasons governing each country. Thus in England, the mediaeval era was followed by the productions of the Victorian era more or less marked by modern tendencies and ideals. In India the mediaeval era and its older outlook and methods of art have continued to a much later time, almost touching the beginning of the 19th century. In Indian Painting the older era ended about the year 1830 with the death of Molaram, the last representative of the Kangra School (Gharwal Branch), which itself was the last phase of mediaeval era in pictorial art. By the

middle of the 19th century European ideas had begun to penetrate and influence Indian culture in its many phases. This contact with European ideas brought about a modern outlook in literature as well as in the visual arts. And the importation of large-size canvases painted in oil brought in a temptation to the Indian painters to try and imitate the realistic and naturalistic methods of European Painting and to discard the flat, shadowless, and disproportionate conventions of Indian methods of the mediaeval times which still lingered here and there in remote corners of India. The most successful imitator of the naturalistic manners of European technique was Raja Ravi Varma, who brought about a new era by illustrating the themes from the Indian epics by a vivid naturalism, correct and proportionate anatomy, and a new manner of treating lights and shadows borrowed from the paintings of the European studios. He never attempted to enrich Indian methods of painting by adapting or assimilating his elements from European manners of painting. He totally ignored the language of Indian pictorial art and totally adopted a foreign language with all its stylistic tricks and techniques. Bengal had also her European imitators

who came after the establishment of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, who took their lessons from the new School of Art in which the art of painting from living models, studies of actual costumes, and drawing live human types and natural contrasts of lights and shadows were taught. These Anglo-Bengali painters began to interpret the stories of Indian mythologies in the new realistic technique they learnt from their European teachers in the Government School of Art. Their productions, reproduced in crude colour lithographs, became famous as the pictures of the "Bow Bazar Art Studio" and decorated the rooms of prosperous Bengali Zemindars and merchants. The quality of these productions was somewhat equal to, but poor in colour values in comparison with, the work of Raja Ravi Varma. The superficially attractive pictures of Raja Ravi Varma with their theatrical heroes and heroines in their artificial poses and gestures continued for a long time to govern the tastes of the Indian people in their popular and sentimental appeal. And his methods of realistic and incongruous representation of super-human types and supernatural episodes of our national epics were continued in Western India by the students of the Sir J. J. School of Art opened about the year 1865. The "School of Art" methods, following the paths of European naturalistic techniques, was typically illustrated in the later works of Visvanath Mahadev Dhurandhar, a talented Marathi artist who introduced many improvements in the illustrations of Indian mythological themes, particularly in the background sceneries and architectural framework, many details of which and of costumes and jewellery were borrowed from the wall-paintings of Ajanta. But in the meantime, people were getting tired of these realistic presentations of the ideal and romantic themes of Indian mythology and a new movement was ushered in by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, a nephew of the Poet Rabindranath. Led by E. B. Havell, Abanindranath discovered the language of Indian art, the old pictorial native dialect of India. Having collected some masterpieces of Rajput and Moghul paintings, Abanindranath discovered the threads of the old idiom of Indian painting and he found that the old language was not dead, but was capable of being used as a living language of Indian painting to interpret the thoughts and ideas of modern times. His paintings were designed as an organised protest against foreign influences and as a passionate plea for artistic expression through indigenous forms, a plea for the use of the old vernacular Art of India as the medium of a truly National Art. He came as a rebel against the domination of the Western standards of art and as an able demonstrator and interpreter of the finest elements of indigenous Indian painting. As an artist, his reputation was built in a day when in 1914 his works were exhibited in Paris, where the famous critics and connoisseurs of Europe gathered to heap on the works of Tagore a unanimous verdict of warm and reverent tributes. It was not only a triumph of

Abanindranath but a triumph of the ideals and standards of Indian painting. Tagore soon brought up and trained a brilliant group of disciples and followers to help him develop the growth of this new movement of Indian painting with a new national and spiritual outlook absent in the works of Raja Ravi Varma or Dhurandhar, and soon this new movement spread all over India and broke the back of European imitation in modern Indian painting. For the last few years some critics have attempted to discount the merits of the works of Tagore on the wrong charge that Tagore has been a 'revivalist' of old traditions ignoring the demands of the new age demanding new and fresh methods of expression and asking for representations of sights and happenings of daily life in which old mythology has no place. But it is a mistake to suppose that Tagore has been a revivalist or champion for a return to the past. He has gathered lessons not only from Indian, Japanese and Chinese masterpieces but in a free and eclectic spirit derived valuable lessons from the methods of European painting, and he introduced in his productions methods of European compositions of pictorial art and Western ways of space-compositions, perspective, and new uses of lights and shadows absent in Indian pictorial conventions. The modern protest against the illustrations of Old Indian mythologies is a fallacious and arbitrary protest. For if we realize that beyond the narrow circumference of about ten per cent of English-educated Indians the majority of the Indian populace has still passionately clung and adhered to their religious beliefs and are steadfast in their devotion to the legends of Radha and Krishna, Shiva and Parvati, which still continue to embody and stimulate the spiritual culture and religious beliefs of the ninety per cent of the Indian population. The spiritual needs of this major portion of the Indian people can only be met through the pictorial visualization of old mythological legends and the great systems of religious beliefs and doctrines. The second phase of modern Indian painting is represented by the works of another Bengali painter still living, Jamini Roy, who specialized in the exploitation and development of the language of the old Folk Art of Bengal. He studied carefully the surviving relics of Bengal *patua* paintings, the products of the Bengal *patuas*, the successors of the village painters of mediaeval times, deriving his inspiration from the collection of old Bengali picture-rolls made by the late Guru Saday Dutt. This new exponent of old Bengali folk art has succeeded in putting life and spirit into an obsolete language and to revive it in a newly rejuvenated form and a new power of expression which could appeal to the modern mind. But his stock-in-trade is very limited, being confined to a few types of Gopinis, Yashodas and cow-herd boys copied and derived from the decorations of the old ritual and processional cars of Bengal folk religion.

An inherent defect and incapacity in this modern

endeavour to resuscitate the forms and formulas of old folk painting is the sophisticated and artificial city-life of most of our modern practising artists who pretend to rejuvenate folk art by trying to recapture the elusive folk mind which most of our artists have left in their native villages many years back many miles behind. Indeed, it is one of the standing jokes of some of the artists in Calcutta that these new exponents of old Bengali folk art have been incessantly manufacturing "Folk Art" from their fertile factories in the heart and hubbub of the city of Calcutta.

The third phase of Modern Art in Bengal is the activities of a group of young artists in Calcutta, who grouped themselves under the label of the "Calcutta Group" and began to paint pictures in frankly European techniques, borrowing their methods and mannetisms from the Modernists of Paris and London repudiating not only the claims of native Indian pictorial traditions championed by Abanindranath, but also repudiating the cheap and literal naturalism of the academic painters of the Victorian Era. Their association did not survive long and they have now disbanded, each going on his own way without subscribing to any agreed doctrine of art. The late adherents of the Tagore movement are very few and are not worthy exponents of the principles of Indian Art discovered and demonstrated by Tagore.

We now come to the most active dynamic section of modern painting, the contemporary painters of Bombay and Delhi. The Bombay Group, though not knit together by the ties of an agreed creed of Art, consist of independent individuals all having their gaze fixed on the lessons to be derived from the post-Impressionists, Cubists and the Abstract Painters of Europe. They are united by a common and unqualified rejection of the native, indigenous language of Indian painting, which they believe are useless for interpreting modern ideas and modern thoughts cropping up from the dynamic life the modern Indians are living to-day. But, with a few exceptions, most of these contemporary Indian painters are not in direct touch with life, and rarely fraternize with the common people or even the cultured and educated groups of modern Indian society, so that they receive no social, intellectual or spiritual stimulation from the people around them and live a life in a "vacuum," shut up in their own studios, painfully copying the manners and mannerisms of the Modernists of Europe from reproductions in albums rather than from actual originals. Many of these contemporary painters pretend that they are utilizing and developing the best elements of Indian folk art. But the amusing joke is that except in a private collection in Calcutta, now locked up and

inaccessible to students, there is no collection of Indian folk painting in any museums in India, private or public. The early Guzerati paintings and the primitive Ragini masterpieces of Rajasthan could indeed provide valuable lessons to our contemporary experimentalists, but no example of Ragini "primitives" can be seen in any public museum in India, and of early Guzerati folk painting only a few stray copies are to be seen in one or two museums and are never studied by our living painters. Ever since Gauguin and Picasso began to call attention to the dynamic qualities of Primitive Art and of Negro Sculpture and Polynesian Art of the East, it has been the fashion with many of our imitators of European modernistic painters to talk glibly about the qualities of folk art and of the masterpieces of primitive art. But it is nothing but a hollow pretension, as our Modernists, excepting Jamini Roy, have never studied in originals the folk art of any culture-areas of India. There are greater opportunities to European artists to study the actual masterpieces of Negro and Polynesian Art in some of the European museums. But no such opportunity exists in any Indian museum to study at first-hand typical examples of the folk paintings of India. So that the claims of our contemporary artists that they are assimilating and developing the traditions of Indian folk art are, at best, naive and childish illusions. Any contemporary artist who attempts to free himself from the fetters of academic tradition in search for a spontaneous and sincere approach to the subject-matter of his studies must study at first-hand actual examples of folk painting, at one time current in various culture-areas of India. Their aim should be not to introduce another kind of "ism," but to get rid of certain modern brands of "isms," by recovering the spontaneity and the artlessness of folk art which academic artists of Europe have largely lost. But wise critics have pointed out that the artist of to-day can never capture or recover the original *nativete* of folk art and can never produce really "primitive" works of dynamic quality. Art is the expression of the artist's mentality, and is inseparably bound up with his whole life, surroundings and history. Civilized man cannot unlearn all that he has learnt, or rid himself of the centuries of science and technical knowledge which have become an inherent part of his nature. Imitating the mere "primitiveness" of primitive art or aping the forms of folk painting is like rejecting all modern comforts and modern spiritual and intellectual possessions, and going back to "caves" and to "skins." It is not only against all rules of logic, but utterly opposed to the brilliant lessons of human history.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CATALOGUE OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS IN THE BAYANA HOARD: By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University. Published by the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1954. Foreword by Savai Brajendra Singh, Maharaja of Bharatpur. Pp. clvii + 363. 43 plates. Price Rs. 60.

The accidental find of a hoard of Gupta gold coins by some villagers in the village of Nagla Chhela (seven miles south-east of Bayana in the former Bharatpur State of Rajasthan) in January, 1946, is, as the author of this scholarly work rightly observes, "the most sensational numismatic discovery so far made in the history of Indian archaeology." The hoard consists of 1821 coins (out of a total of nearly 2100 pieces) which were recovered from the vandalism of the villagers by the zealous efforts of H. H. the Maharaja of Bharatpur to whose enlightened generosity the publication of this work likewise is due. In this sumptuous volume the whole collection has been described by the author with such thoroughness and learning as to make it an indispensable book of reference for all students of the Gupta period of our history. The work consists of an Introduction (158 pages), the catalogue proper (314 pages), a short sketch of figures on the coins in illustration of the costumes, furniture and weapons (7 pages) and 8 Appendices (41 pages) including a Bibliography, a genealogical and chronological table of the Gupta Emperors, an Index of types and motifs, an Index of symbols and a general Index. Of the 48 plates enriching this work no less than 32 (illustrating 449 coins of the hoard) were prepared in England by the collotype process and the remaining 16 (illustrating the coin-legends, the costumes, furniture and weapons, and the symbols) were prepared from special drawings. The Introduction contains *inter alia* a general account of the history of the dynasty and a comprehensive as well as up-to-date study of Gupta numismatics (with a complete account of the different coin-types and their varieties as well as the metrology, palaeography and symbols of the coins). The catalogue is a well documented record of all the coins of this collection after their weight and size and the descriptions of their obverse and reverse. The selection of coins for the plates has been made carefully so as to illustrate fully the rare types as well as the coin-legends, the individual royal portraits, the peculiarities of dress, coiffure and so forth. The author's painstaking research has led to the discovery of some new Imperial Gupta coin-types and their varieties (including one type of Chandragupta II and five of Kumara-

gupta I) and some new poetical hemistiches on the coin-legends.

We propose to make a few remarks. In discussing the problem of Ramagupta (the alleged brother and predecessor of Chandragupta II according to the evidence of some surviving fragments of a lost Sanskrit drama) the author convincingly states the case against his historicity. Nevertheless the author ends by adjudging him to be such a historical figure as to deserve a place with an approximate reign-period (c. 370-75 A.D.) in his dynastic history of the Imperial Guptas. Among his arguments in support of the story of Chandragupta II's seizure of the throne after his brother's murder (to which reference is made in the fragments of the lost Sanskrit drama above-mentioned) there is one which is open to serious criticism. Marriage with an elder brother's widow, we are told (Introduction, pp. xxiv and xxvi), was permitted by Dharmasastra writers and was the current custom. Both these statements are unsupported by any reference and are in truth contrary to fact. Among minor slips we have noticed that the proper name Purugupta has been invariably transliterated with a short u attached to the letter p.

We cannot conclude without observing that this valuable work does as much credit to the author's scholarship as honour to his generous and enlightened princely patron.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BUDDHIST MEDITATION: By Miss G. Constant Lovinsbery. With a foreword by Dr. W. Y. Evans-Wentz. Published by Luzac & Company Ltd., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1. Pp. 197. Price cloth-bound Rs. 6.

It is an excellent handbook on the Buddhist method of meditation current in the Southern School or Hinayana Buddhism. It contains in a nutshell the theory and practice of Buddhist meditation and is specially meant for Westerners. The authoress, who is the President of Les Amis Du Bouddhisme, Paris, is both a scholar and a follower of Buddhism. The first American edition of this interesting book appeared in 1936. Dr. Evans-Wentz, who is a celebrated authority on Buddhist mysticism, deals with the science of Buddhist meditation in a very valuable foreword and rightly remarks therein that meditation is the royal highway to man's understanding of himself—of the innumerable Karmic predilections resulting in mental impulses and actions both good and evil and of the whole of Sensuous being in the many worlds of the *Samsara* or Universe of Life's dominion.

The book under review is divided into two parts, the first part containing the theory of meditation and

the second part the practice of it. In the first part, general outline, essential ideas, concentration, character, classical subjects of meditation and other subjects of meditation suitable for occidental students and Janas are clearly dealt with. In the second part, practical instructions for posture, respiration, four divine states, four fundamentals of attentiveness and other pertinent matters are discussed. A bibliography of about twenty books on the subject and a glossary of Pali terms are appended. Buddhist postures and breathing exercises are very similar to those of Hindu Yoga found in the classical works of Patanjali and others. Southern Buddhism prescribes attentive observation of respiration called technically in Pali Anapana Sati. It is akin to preliminary practices of Hindu Pranayama and is considered of greatest importance in the practice of meditation. Most probably Buddhist and Hindu Yoga were parallelly developed.

A resume of the eight stages of Buddhist Yoga is also given. Any one can practise this method and experience its wonderful effect on mind and body. In the first stage of Anapana Sati, the inhaled and exhaled breaths are to be counted and in the second one has to be aware that breathing is taking place; but without paying particular attention to it. Thus one stage after another has to be gradually mastered till the mind becomes extremely one-pointed and trance is attained.

The chapter on meditation upon Self will appear strange to the Hindu readers. The Theravadi Buddhists do not believe in a Self or a God. Hence, their meditation is aimed at realizing that Self has no substance but is a constant flux like the stream of a river. Whatever their philosophical standpoint may be, profound meditation is sure to reveal the true nature of man and grant him lasting peace, that is not available anywhere in the phenomenal world.

The more such books are circulated in the Western hemisphere, the more peaceful will be their individual and collective life. Such a book is sure to serve as an antidote to the increasing war-craze of the Westerners and make room for peace in homes and society.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO (Part Seven): By Nolini Kanta Gupta. First Edition. March, 1955. Published by the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pages 192. D.C. 1/16. Rs. 2-8.

The writings included in this volume are based on talks given by the Mother to the young children of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Yoga, according to Sri Aurobindo, enables the human being to attain to a consciousness higher than mind. From that standpoint these talks are simple and at the same time very elevating, awakening the spiritual consciousness in children. We recommend the book to the guardians and the teachers and also recommend that these talks may be repeated by them to the children under their care. The publishers should have named the book "The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo (for the spiritual education of children)."

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE TROJAN HORSE: Published by the Society of Defence of Freedom in Asia, 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 120. Price eight annas.

This is a study of the organisation, methods and objectives of the Communist parties. The book is divided into three parts and thirteen chapters giving

a description of the personnel and underground activities of the party and its new work throughout different countries of the world. At the present moment the party seems to have changed its tactics in India following the changed policy of Soviet Russia. It is still to be seen to what extent the "co-existence" principle is successful in modern diplomacy although it has allegiance of almost all Asian and African countries including Russia and Yugoslavia.

THE SOVIET PRISON HOUSE OF NATIONALITIES: Published from 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 226. Price Re. 1.

This is an exhaustive description of the Soviet experiments in solving the multinational, racial and language questions of U.S.S.R. The subjects discussed in the book are: Russian Revolution, Colonisation, Russification, Great Russian Chauvinism, Backgrounds—theoretical, historical and constitutional, and Oppressed Nations. Soviet treatment of minorities is described in detail in Central Asia, Trans-Caucasia, North Caucasias; Jews and Mongols and Muslim minorities are dealt with in an interesting manner. Eastern European States under the domination of Soviet Russia represent Russian Imperial expansion in the West. The expansion of the Soviet is a menace to the freedom of the world. It is the same as the expansion of European Imperialistic Colonisation in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. In the hands of the Soviet, Imperialism has taken a new shape which all freedom-loving people should resist. The readers wishing to know about the minor working of the Russian administration will find this book informative.

A. B. DUTTA

CHANGE OF HEART: By Harold A. Ehrensperger. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta. 1954. Pp. 153. Price Rs. 2.

This short, inconsequential novel is built around a callow youth from Bihar who comes down to Calcutta in search of a living. This he finds, but he is soon enmeshed in the tentacles of Communist conspirators and is almost on the point of being bowled over into the vortex of a vicious and putrid political system. At this juncture appears a friend, a Muslim who is a follower of Vinoba Bhave (whom the author enthusiastically, but rather tactlessly calls "this new Gandhi"). This friend talks the bewildered youth from Bihar out of his halfbaked and fatuous dreams of a Communist paradise and the boy ultimately accepts the ideology of Bhudan as the only panacea for India's various ills. There is also a slender romantic vein, but that has no bearing on the main story.

Even a casual glance through the book would show that Mr. Ehrensperger's three years in India have stood him in good stead. His picture of life in Calcutta immediately before and after the first general election has an authentic ring, as also the well-known infiltration techniques of the Communist saboteurs, the anatomy of an Indian mob (pp. 10-11) or the scene at a busy railway station (p. 81).

But there is another, only more purposeful side to all that Mr. Ehrensperger has to tell us. He is anxious to praise Christianity as the only religion that is capable of delivering the goods. It was this anxiety and this mission that prompted Mr. Ehrensperger to collect a Hindu, a Muslim, a Buddhist and a Christian for his principal characters. The inevi-

table moral is sought to be rubbed in rather crudely whatever corner of the earth it came, he was nevertheless keenly conscious of his country's culture and tradition and considered it his duty to uphold them in their full dignity and majesty.

The volume under review comprises all the works of Bankim Chandra except his novels. It is divided into five sections: the first includes his humorous and satirical works; the second, miscellaneous short essays; the third, rather comprehensive treatises on religion and philosophy; the fourth, introductions to others' works that he edited, along with his scattered writings hitherto unpublished in book-form and letters and school-text-books; and fifth, some sketches and verses, juvenile compositions and unfinished work. Handy, decent, nicely printed and bound it is sure to win the favour of the general reader, the more so on account of its comparatively moderate price. Of the two other editions available in the market, one is rather too costly for the average buyer and the other, though cheap, does not appear in such an attractive, durable form. It is time that we had various editions of our classics to suit the taste and the purse of every section of our reading public.

One particular attraction of this volume is certainly the carefully written introduction by its editor Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. As an honest, fastidious, hard-working historian, he is held in esteem by our scholars. By collecting all important informations even from hardly accessible sources and presenting them in a precise, compact form, he has fulfilled his task in a manner expected of him. Bankim Chandra's own references to his various works and contemporary opinions on them provide interesting study.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

BENGALI

BANKIM RACHANABALI, Part II (Essays and other writings except novels): Sahitya Samsad, 92-A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 12-8.

In the field of literary essays, no less than of novels, Bankim Chandra is at once a pioneer and a supreme artist. In his appreciation of poetry he evinces a rich sensitive soul; and in his dissertations on science, history, theology, philosophy and politics we get sure evidence of a highly intellectual mind. A wonderfully versatile genius he has not yet been surpassed by any other Bengali writer. In him, we find creative vision side by side with analytical faculty. His erudition too has hardly any parallel. Bepin Chandra Pal rightly said, "When we read the works of Bankim Chandra, we cannot conceive of a subject he did not know or of a writer—Indian or European—whose works he was not acquainted with." A combination of scholarship, intellect and imagination is, perhaps, best to be seen in his *Krishna Charitra* and to some extent *Dharma Tattwa* and *Samya*. They illustrate a profound faith in dharma, tempered by scientific judgment and a sober attempt to synthesise the mundane and spiritual aspects of man. Easily responsive to all noble ideals and liberal enough to accept truth from

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NEPALI

BHANUBHAKTAKO RAMAYANA: Annotated and Revised Second Edition : Edited by Surya Bikram Gewali. Published by Nepali Sahitya Sammelan, Darjeeling. Card-board bound. Pp. 360. Price Rs. 2.

It is a Nepali version of the great Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, written in Nepali verse by Acharya Bhanubhakta. In the preface, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, writes, "Kavi Bhanubhakta Acharya's Ramayana in Nepali written about 1840 is regarded not only as the earliest, but, according to many, up to the present, the only high-class specimen of Nepali poetry. In addition, it is also valued as a scripture." At his request Sri S. B. Gewal, Headmaster of Government High School, Darjeeling, an old pupil of the Governor, carefully and diligently edited the present text from an old manuscript, noting down variations in different texts. In the Introduction, Sri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, writes a brief sketch of the life and works of the author and shows skilfully the beauties and merits of the Nepali version of the Ramayana, written by the greatest poet of Nepal. The book is illustrated with fine pictures. The text is printed in clear large type. The book is sure to find a wide market among the Nepalis.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

NEPAL KA PUNARJAGARAN: By Paripurna-nanda Panyuli. Garhwali Jan-Sahitya Parishad, Tehri. Pp. 154. Price Rs. 2.

It is a short history of Nepal up to the time of its recent reawakening after a sleep of centuries. The

geographical, cultural and political aspects of the country, all have been brought into the picture.

HAMARA RASHTRA-JEEVANA KI PARAM-PARA: By Umakant Keshav Apte. Bharat Prakashan, Nagpur. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 2.

This is a Hindi translation by Shri N. G. Waze of the author's original, in Marathi. It attempts to present a picture of Indian culture and polity from a point of view which savours, it would seem, more of the spirit of resurgence than of the spirit of re-orientation to the ever-expanding vision of Truth. For, does not culture imply an ever-enlarging, historical horizon?

G. M.

GUJARATI

NANDINI: Published by the Trustees of Govind Krishna Nidhi, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated cover. Pp. 144. Unpriced.

Nandini, in whose memory, *Nandini Samsmarikika*, is published was the youngest daughter of Shriyut P. G. Shah, M.A., B.Sc., C.I.E., ex-Accountant-General, Bombay, and President of the Public Service Commission, Bombay, and died young (Samvat 1979-2006). Brought up in a cultured but orthodox family and married happily, she won the regard, by her services and co-operation, not only of her husband's family but of numerous other friends, who have all paid their meed of tribute and admiration to her dear departed soul. Prayers were offered after her death where well-known Swamis like Kedarnathji and other close friends prayed for rest to her soul in heaven. It is a touching record and contributes to a chastened mood.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Educational Reform

A. S. writes in *Science and Culture* :

The Central Ministry of Education has sponsored a scheme of reform at the Secondary-cum-University stage of education throughout the country. Far-reaching in implications as it is, educationists and the general public, particularly in West Bengal where its impact is likely to be the heaviest, have naturally come to feel deep concern over the plan and the way it is being sought to be implemented. The changes visualised in it are almost sure to bring about a state of confusion in the entire field of higher education and, instead of effecting any appreciable improvement, are likely to create a series of difficult and complicated problems. It would appear rather strange that, despite well-grounded criticism of the proposal from different competent quarters, the authorities are apparently determined to push it through with what may legitimately be called unseemly haste.

The scheme proposes a three-year course of studies, after the completion of the Higher Secondary course, for the first Degree examination. Its main features are the abolition of the present Intermediate course, wherever it exists, and tagging its first-year class with Secondary schools and the second-year class with the Degree colleges. The new type of schools, thus to be formed, are to be known as higher secondary schools and students passing out of them will have to go in for a three-year course of studies in colleges before taking their first Degree examination. These structural changes are proposed to be introduced all over India in two or three years' time. During the transitional period, extending over five years or so arrangements will be made in certain selected upgraded secondary schools for opening higher secondary classes. These, together with the pre-university classes to be retained in colleges, will replace the existing first-year classes in the Intermediate course. Gradually, the pre-university classes in the colleges are to be taken over by the higher secondary schools. The Intermediate colleges and the Intermediate classes in the Degree colleges will thus altogether go out of existence and only the higher secondary schools and the Degree colleges will be left in the field to impart secondary and collegiate education respectively.

This plan of so-called reform is based on the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission which submitted its report to the Government of India in August, 1953.

The memorandum prepared by the Central Education Ministry in this regard and circulated several months ago to different universities made some modifications of the original recommendations. The Inter-University Board as well as the Central Advisory Board of Education are reported to have endorsed the scheme. The conference of Vice-Chancellors, convened by the Central Ministry of Education at New Delhi in

January last, is also said to have approved of it with suggestions for some more changes in addition to those already made in the Central Education Ministry's memorandum. What is, however, curious in the whole affair is the hush-sush policy, the authorities have evidently been following in so vital a matter. The public have had no opportunity of knowing fully the scheme as originally set out in the Central Education Ministry's memorandum. What transpired at the Vice-Chancellor's conference was not also published in detail. The Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council of the University of Calcutta, too, were not taken into full confidence at least at the early stage of discussion of the proposal. Later on, of course the Vice-Chancellor called an informal meeting of the educationists of West Bengal to acquaint them with the official version of what had taken place at New Delhi. But that meeting was not open to the public or to the press. Representative organisations of teachers like the All-India Federation of Educational Associations and the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association have never been consulted for opinion. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the scheme, the procedure followed so far cannot certainly be called democratic.

The main argument advanced by the sponsors of the plan in its favour is that it will give the much-needed practical bias to secondary education through diversification and bring about qualitative improvement both in the sphere of secondary and higher education. It has, moreover, been pointed out that in Great Britain there is no Intermediate course and its absence has prevented wastage of time without hampering the progress of higher education. There may be some substance in this contention but there are other weightier considerations which, on all showing, have been deliberately ignored by those who have fathered the scheme and are eager to foist it on the country. No sensible person denies the need for a thorough overhaul in the content and structure of education in independent India. It must, however, be done in a way that gives the least possible shock to and creates the minimum dislocation in the prevailing set-up and, at the same time, improves the standard of education at all stages. Nothing should be done in the name of reform that actually deforms the existing shape of things. And the primary condition for really progressive measures of reform is to make the beginning at the right point, for things well begun are things half done. The proper plan for educational reform in India should make the base rather than the apex of the structure of education the starting point. The Constitution, in one of its Directive Principles, envisages free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years of age in course of ten years from its commencement. How that direction is being followed will be apparent from the fact that during half the prescribed period only about 5% of the total population of 36 crores were in primary schools at the beginning of the current year. The Government's intention in this regard is clear from the decision of a

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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recent conference of the State Directors of Public Instruction, convened by the Central Education Ministry, that primary education need not be made compulsory as the people have become sufficiently education-conscious to utilise all available opportunities for becoming literate. This is the picture of primary education. The state of higher education, quantitatively speaking, is even more disappointing. Only 0.3 per cent of the total population of India were holders of Degrees or Diplomas and 0.1 per cent had education up to the Intermediate standard, according to the 1951 census. The total number of students throughout the country under instruction in all types of recognised institutions were a little over 2.52 crores at the beginning of 1955. This being the condition of education in the country, after more than seven and a half years of independence, the Government should have concentrated its attention on speedy expansion of primary education instead of dabbling with higher education in a manner that is bound to cripple rather than strengthen and upgrade it.

The practical bias which the sponsors of the scheme propose to give to Secondary education through diversification is also a utopian idea in the existing situation in the country.

In the first place, the age at which students in secondary schools are proposed to make selections of diversified courses of studies is too immature for that purpose. The guardians, who are generally unfamiliar with the nature and prospect of the different courses of studies to be introduced, will practically be of no help in this matter. The present dearth of trained and experienced psychologists—the lacuna is not likely to be removed in course of many years to come—will make it impossible for the schools to test the bias and potential capabilities of the students for the diversified courses. Besides, the paucity of equipment and accessories, which cannot be made up within a short period, will continue to be a standing barrier in the way of proper instruction in the different courses of studies in schools as proposed in the scheme.

The proposed abolition of the Intermediate course (after tagging its first year class to Secondary schools and the introduction of a three-year course of studies for taking the first Degree examination) runs counter to the recommendations of different expert commissions, appointed in the past (to report on the Indian University Education and to enquire into and suggest extension and improvements of University Education in India). The Calcutta University Commission (1919) recommended the institution of Intermediate Colleges as "the very pivot" of their whole scheme of reform. Such Intermediate Colleges were expected to impart a sound and liberal training to the students. Opportunities would be provided there for adapting them to the needs of industry, commerce and agriculture as well as medicine and engineering in all its branches. The aim of the Intermediate Colleges would be to meet a variety of needs and requirements of our boys by giving a vocational bias to their courses while retaining at the same time their value in a system of sound general education as a preparation for University courses.

The following paragraph from the report of the Calcutta University Commission describes very admirably the essential qualities of a good education to be imparted at the Intermediate Colleges:

"Education should be given under conditions favourable to the health of the pupils. Their bodies should be developed and trained by systematic and vigorous exercise. Their eyes should be trained to see,

their ears to hear, with quick and sure discrimination. Their sense of beauty should be awakened, and they should be taught to express it by music and by movement, and through line and colour. Their hands should be trained to skilful use. Their will should be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline enjoining self-control. They should learn to express themselves accurately and simply in their mother tongue, and, in India, in English also. Through mathematics, they should learn the relation of forms and of numbers. Through history and literature they should learn something of the records of the past; what the human race (and not least their fellow-countrymen) has achieved; and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. Their education should further demand from them some study of Nature and should set them in the way of relating both the amount and the quality of evidence which a varied education requires. Besides this, it should open windows in their mind, so that they may see wide perspectives of history and of human thought. But it should also by the enforcement of accuracy and steady work, teach them by what toil and patience men have to make their way along the road to truth. Above all, the education should endeavour to give them, by such methods and influence as it is free to use, a sure hold upon the principles of right and wrong and should teach them to apply those principles in their conduct. Thus its chief work is to enlighten and practise the conscience, both the moral conscience and the intellectual. And, through the activities of corporate life in school, it should give the pupils experience in bearing responsibility, in organisation and in working with others for public ends, whether in leadership or in submission to the common will."

It is admitted on all hands that teaching in our Intermediate Colleges has fallen considerably short of these ideals. But the remedy does not lie in the abolition of the Intermediate Colleges and classes, and in transferring the First Year class to the Secondary schools and introducing a three-year course of study for taking the first degree examination.

In the Secondary schools, lack of accommodation, equipment and competent teachers will present insurmountable obstacles and difficulties in the way of the realisation on the above-mentioned aims and objectives.

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Even if sufficient funds are made available to these schools for the employment of competent teachers and removal of other difficulties, it is bound to prove uneconomic, considering the possible number of pupils in the top-classes of a higher secondary school. What is needed at present is the raising of the standard of teaching in our Intermediate Colleges and classes so that the aims and objectives, so admirably set forth in the report of the Calcutta University Commission, may be attained. In this connection, we cannot do better than quote the following from the report of the University Education Commission (1950):

"While we are definitely of opinion that no student should be admitted to a University until he has passed the Intermediate Examination, we are equally convinced that the mere raising of the standard of admission would not by itself improve the work of the Universities. We must at the same time make better provision for the training of students at the High School and Intermediate College level."

And again:

"While we do not insist on a uniform pattern of institution for the higher schools and the Intermediate Colleges and will even allow Intermediate classes to continue in the degree colleges as in South India, we think that there should be only one public examination and that at the Intermediate stage. This examination will mark the end of Secondary education and the beginning of University education which will extend over a period of three years for the first degree course."

It is interesting to note that what the Radhakrishnan Commission envisaged was a three-year degree course after passing the present Intermediate Examination after completion of a two year course of study in separate institution, if possible; in Degree colleges if separate arrangements cannot be made.

The benefit which the Intermediate students now get from highly qualified college teachers will also be unavailable in the higher secondary classes where teachers of like qualification are not expected to be employed. The result will be only a deterioration in the standard of education maintained at present in the Intermediate classes attached to colleges.

So far as the proposed three-year Degree course is concerned, similar decline in standard will also certainly come about. In all the modern progressive countries the trend is not to reduce but to increase the period of University education. In the U.S.A., collegiate education extends over a period of four years. In France education in the higher grades is divided into three cycles covering a total period of six years. In the U.S.S.R. there is a five-year course ending in final examination and thesis for the Degree of candidates in Sciences. In Japan the School Education Law, passed by the Diet in March, 1947, provided for a four-year University course similar to that in the United States. In China the first Degree course extends over a period of four years. Even in the United Kingdom, the Association of University Teachers and other organisations have proposed that specialised study, particularly in sciences, should be postponed until the third or fourth year of the Degree course. In Canada also the University course, in most of the English-language universities, leading to a Pass Bachelor's Degree is normally four years. In the background of this trend in educationally advanced countries, the scheme of curtailing the present four-year period of collegiate studies is highly irrational and is sure to result in the deterioration of the standard.

These are some of the major objections to the plan which has originated in the Central Secretariat and is being sought to be imposed upon the States. There are other equally strong grounds for opposing it. The Mudaliar Commission, which was appointed for investigating the condition of Secondary education in the country and for suggesting methods for its improvement, went beyond its jurisdiction by recommending reforms in higher education from which no competent spokesman was invited by it to give opinion. The recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission, which was asked to recommend ways of improving university education in the country, have for all practical purposes been shelved.

It is surprising that the Government, to whom the Radhakrishnan Commission submitted its report about three years earlier than the Mudaliar Commission, has sat tight over the former and is now eager to implement the suggestions of the latter in respect of University education.

Constitutionally also, Education is a State subject and the Central Education Ministry has nothing to do with it except general supervision, co-ordination and grant of financial assistance. In trying to introduce the present scheme on its own initiative the Central Ministry of Education has obviously over-stepped its constitutional limit. There is, again, the important consideration that the uniformity which the Centre is seeking to bring about in the field of education throughout the country by means of this scheme will be extremely harmful to the cause of education. It is not for nothing that the framers of the Constitution thought it wise to exclude Education from the Central List and put it in the State List. Different regions in the country have got different traditions, psychological background and objective conditions. Education in these different areas should, therefore, be planned keeping in view all these divergent factors. Otherwise, the steam-roller of uniformity will certainly stunt the free and normal growth of the mind of the students in the different areas of the country. Those who seem to be over-anxious to give effect to this new-fangled plan of educational reform should yet pause and ponder before it is too late. Instead, they should direct their attention to the improvement of "the curricula, methods, techniques and materials of education that have been for long, and still continue to be the butt of adverse criticism," as pointed out in the Five-Year Plan. Education is a continuous process and cannot be divided into watertight compartments like Primary, Secondary and University education. The essential requisite for any educational reform is, therefore, to devise a scientific syllabus of studies from the base to the top and then divide it into different stages according to the capacity for absorption of students of different age-groups to take up these studies at different strata. The next important point is improvement of the financial condition of the institution and the teachers who form the bed-rock of the educational structure. All these require money which has always been denied to education in this country. The First-Five-Year provided only Rs. 161 crores for education. Even this amount could not be spent during the period the Plan has been in operation. This is a deplorable state of affairs in all conscience. What the Second Five-Year Plan proposes to do for education still remains to be seen. If the Government has sufficient funds for expenditure on education—which

it should have if real national development is to be secured—it should give up such unrealistic schemes and provide money to starving educational institutions so that the standard of education can be upgraded to the desired level.

Early Contact Between Indo-China and South India

K. V. Raman writes in *The Indian Review*:

The cultural expansion of India into the Far East in the early years of the Christian era forms a most fascinating chapter in history. In the momentous task of broadcasting Indian culture abroad both North India and South India played a notable part. If Bengal, Manipur and Assam spearheaded the waves of invasion that went through land to the Far East, South India, thanks to her close proximity to the sea and her long experience in navigation, exploited to the hilt the sea-routes to reach those far-off islands.

Scholars like Gerini once held that only the Indians of Malabar and the Coromandel Coast colonised Indo-China by the sea-routes. Though this view is no longer true (for Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has shown that Bengal also played a great part in the colonisation through the sea) it goes to show at least the importance of South India's stupendous role in the field. People from South India must have started from that coast of Coromandel which faced the East, the coast of ancient Kalinga, of ancient Telingana, particularly the country of the lower courses of the Krishna and the Godavari.

That South India from time immemorial had contact with Indo-China is easily gauged from the following facts: Pan-Kou, a Chinese writer, who lived not later than the second century A.D. gives the route and the duration of travel from Upper Annam (Je-nan) to the Coromandel coast and even to Kanchi. That Chinese writer also states that there was contact between China and Kanchi even at the time of the Chinese Emperor Wou (140 to 86 B.C.).

The Periplus also mentions the trade route from three harbours on the eastern coast near Masulipatam across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula.

Legends and traditions also reveal the ancient ties between Indo-China and South India. For example, Ligor, a province of Indo-China, is believed to have been founded by a certain Dandakumara who fled from Godavari District and got shipwrecked off the coast of Malaya Peninsula. (Gerini: *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*).

Again, the story of the origin of the royal dynasty of the Kambuja bears a close resemblance to the story of the origin of the Pallava dynasty, the common factors being the marriage between the Indian Prince and a Naga woman, and the association of Asvathama.

According to the Chinese chronicles the first Hindu who went to Kambuja was a Brahmin, Kaundinya by name. A supernatural voice said to him, "You must go and reign in Funan" and he went to Funan where he was warmly welcomed by the people and crowned as their king. This Kaundinya, was a Brahmin from South India, perhaps from Mysore. (*Journal of Greater India Society*, Volume VI).

Leaving traditions and legends and coming down to historical facts, we find that the man who founded the first Hindu dynasty in Champa in the 2nd century

A.D. was Sri Mara, and it has been suggested that Mara was a title or name assumed by the Pandya Kings of South India, and so the title might well have been borrowed, from the Pandyas. Another significant fact is that the later Cambodian kings assumed the title of Varman. This reminds us of the Pallava kings who also invariably clubbed 'Varman' to their names. Not only that, the very names of the Pallava kings like Mahendravarman were adopted wholesale by the kings of Cambodia.

There is an inscriptional evidence to show that Sivasoma, the grandson of King Sri Jayendrhipativarman came all the way from Indo-China to India to learn the Sastras from Bhagavat-Sankara the great expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, who hailed from South India. (R. C. Mazumdar: *Kambuja Desa*, Sir William Meyer Lectures.)

The very script of the inscriptions that are to be found in Indo-China bears unmistakable proof for the South Indian influence on Indo-China. Along with North Indian script Pallava script was also in vogue. Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri says that the script of the oldest inscription in Indo-China (which dates from the 3rd century A.D.) is very much akin to the type of writing that was used in the East coast of South India by the Telugu dynasties like the Salankayanas. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar however thinks that it was derived from the script employed by the Kushanas in the Central regions of North India.

It is architecture that furnishes the most eloquent testimony to the influence of South India on Indo-China. The existence of the *gopuras* of the Dravidian style in Cambodia makes us think that the South Indian artists must have gone over to Cambodia to give a helping hand to the local artists. Again, the style of architecture found in Champa bears a striking resemblance to that found in Mamallapuram, Kanchi and Badami. But one should not however overlook the fact that the artists of Indo-China were not slavish imitators. They, on the other hand, effected vast improvement and showed their originality.

Not the least of all, the social customs and religious beliefs tell us much about the impact of South India on Indo-China. For example, the law of inheritance through the female line that was known in Malabar as Marumakkattayam was practised in Indo-China. The custom of Sati was also there. If we take religion, it is to Tamilnad that goes the credit of having introduced the Nataraja form of Siva in Indo-China. Even though Vaishnavism and Buddhism were also practised, it was Saivism that was most popular in Indo-China. Moreover, a number of Bhagavati images have been found in Indo-China which bear ample evidence to the fact that the Bhagavati cult, peculiar to Malabar, was prevalent there. Tradition has it that the cult was introduced by Bhargava Parashurama, with whose name Malabar is also connected. Malabar was, in fact, known as Parashurama-kshetra. The name Sasta is also the name of one of the gods of Kambuja and according to Prof. S. V. Viswanatha, Sasta or Dharma Sasta is the name under which Harihara or Ayyappan appears in Malabar. (S. V. Viswanatha: *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture*).

Thus, it will be seen that the early contact between South India and Indo-China made its way into the cultural plane and led to a brilliant flowering of South Indian culture abroad.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

An Imaginary Conversation with Karl Marx

Sidney Hook has been preparing for this dialogue with Marx for a quarter of a century. Chairman of the Graduate Department of Philosophy at New York University, Dr. Hook published his first book on Marx, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, in 1933, and followed it three years later with a collection of studies in the history of ideas entitled *From Hegel to Marx*. Another group of essays, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* (1940), included new studies to Marxism and Bolshevism. The reader will find the 'conversation' interesting reading:

It was not difficult to find the shade of Karl Marx in limbo. His spectral beard was trimmed, his monocle was gone and he seemed much more benign than his pictures show him—indeed, almost grandfatherly. Flanked by Engels and Kautsky, he was arguing a technical point with Keynes, Veblen and Schumpeter. Lenin was not in the circle. Later my guide told me he was waiting with brooding impatience for Stalin, who, although due, was still missing; there were rumors that limbo would not receive him.

Marx detached himself from his fellow shades when he learned that a visitor from earth had arrived. Instead of introducing myself as an author of several studies of his thought (I had heard that biographers and critics sometimes got an unspiritual reception when they met their subjects face to face), I announced at once that I had news for him.

"News?" he said. "I hope it's agreeable for a change. For the last twenty years or so, it has been uniformly unpleasant. Almost every new arrival prominently connected with public affairs has picked an argument with me, as if I were responsible for what's happening on Earth."

"My news is more personal," I replied. "The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute at Moscow is issuing a new corrected edition of your works at the command of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist party."

"Corrected edition, indeed!" he remarked bitterly. "They have been correcting me by word and deed ever since 1917. Every last outrage they commit is laid at my door—even by people who should know better."

"Well," I pointed out. "Isn't it natural? You called yourself a Communist at one time and they call themselves Communists."

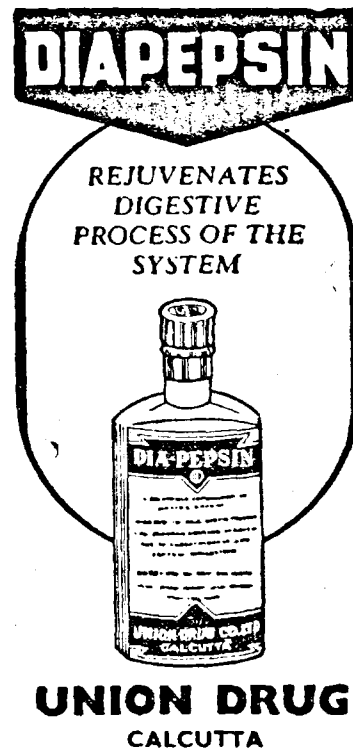
"That, my dear Professor," Marx interrupted, "is known as the fallacy of the undistributed middle term, according to the logic you teach, whose laws, I gather from our cosmic news ticker, the Kremlin has just rediscovered. As well say that, because both sides in the Thirty Years War called themselves Christian,

they really were in agreement with each other. Soviet Communism and mine are quite different."

"In what respect?" I inquired.

Marx's retort surprised and alarmed me a little because it indicated either that his reading habits were still omnivorous or that the cosmic ticker paid attention to him. "You ought to know, since you've read the material. We called ourselves Communists in order to differentiate ourselves from sentimental socialists who had their eyes so fixed on a Utopia that they couldn't see what the necessary steps were in the process of realizing it. As you recall, when my friends and I were members of the Communist League we wrote that 'we were not among those Communists who were out to destroy liberty and who wished to turn the whole world into one huge barracks or into a gigantic warehouse. There certainly were some Communists who with easy conscience refused to countenance personal liberty.' But for me personal liberty was the very oxygen of any decent society. My criticism of capitalism was based on my desire to diffuse freedom among those who were suffering from lack of it."

"But if that's true," I objected, "why have the leaders of Communist Russia canonized you and



built a cult around you? Surely, to use a favorite phrase of theirs, it is no accident that—

"It's a long story," Marx interjected, "and there are accidents in history even if this isn't one. The Russians were always difficult and different. More than once I had to say, 'I am no Marxist.' Bakunin, who also once called himself a Marxist, I disowned on Earth. The Communists are people of his kidney, and even Bakunin rages against them up here. I don't recognize the present-day Communist brood as my legitimate offspring no matter what they call themselves."

"I've heard other fathers say that," I replied, "but saying it is not enough to disprove parentage. Legitimate or not, they claim to be inspired by your ideas and to have built a socialist society. You may not like how they got there, but they are there, are they not?"

"By no means," Marx replied with a vehemence that seemed to make his beard-tip glow. "A Socialist society as I always conceived it is one in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all. That excludes the dictatorship of a party, and especially the rule of despots. A socialist society is based on equality, even if it cannot be absolute, and, in the beginning, on equality of wage payments for equal working time. The Communists have substituted a new and worse system of exploitation of the workers—through piecework, speed-up devices, and differences in earned income and living conditions greater than existed in the early days of capitalism. Why, they claim to be Marxists and socialists and yet they frankly admit that labor power is still a commodity subject to the law of value. The surplus value sweated out of them goes to their masters."

Fearing that Marx was going to ride his ancient economic hobby horse, I interrupted. "Surely not all of it. Some of it goes into new plants, and they do have trade unions."

By this time, Marx's whole beard was incandescent. "Trade unions!" he burst out. "Their trade unions are worse than company unions. They are auxiliaries of the secret police whose function is to intimidate the workers into producing more. I have always taught that the working class regards its courage, self-confidence, independence and sense of personal dignity as more necessary than its daily bread. How is this possible under a regime of a ruthlessly censored press, regimented schools from kindergarten to universities, forced labor, juridical frame-ups, mass deportations and executions? No, the Soviet Union is not a socialist society."

"Nor is it a capitalist society," I added while he paused to draw a fresh breath, "since all the major instruments of production, distribution and exchange are collectivized. What kind of social system is it,

then? Your theory of social development seems unable to account for it."

"This is a terminological matter," Marx declared with a touch of asperity. "The main point is that Soviet society, wherever it exists, outrages all the democratic traditions for which the socialist movement fought as well as those of the great revolutionary movements of liberation whose heirs we always considered ourselves to be."

"Very well," I said hurriedly. "I grant your social philosophy is not theirs. But there is nothing in the notion of a completely collectivized economy which insures that your social philosophy will prevail rather than theirs. What I am asking you to explain, however, is the origin and development of the Soviet social system on the basis of your own theory of history. Didn't you say over and over that 'no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed?' There was certainly plenty of room for the development of productive forces in Russia in 1917, even more than in the United States of 1917, which was decades ahead of Russia and which has enormously increased its productive capacities since then."

"Quite right," retorted Marx with a triumphant air. "I predicted that socialism would come first to England and the United States because those countries are ripe for it. And certainly not in a backward, undeveloped, semi-barbarous country like Russia. You see how presumptuous the Communists are in calling themselves Marxists."

I wondered why he sounded so triumphant. "I see," I exclaimed, "that the Communists are not Marxists as they claim to be and that, if you came to life again in Moscow, the Grand Inquisitors of the Kremlin would probably throw you into the cellars of the Lubianka as an agent of American imperialism. But it seems even clearer to me that the Communists have refuted the central doctrine of Marxism in the name of Marxism. According to that doctrine, the mode of economic production determines political events; not conversely. But the Communists seized political power, nationalized the economy, industrialized the country, collectivized agriculture. Their culture may not be democratic, but their economy is collectivist. It is quite apparent that it was not, as you proclaimed, 'historical laws working with iron necessity toward inevitable results' which were the driving force of events in Russia but the driving will of the Communists. Doesn't this show that men control economic forces, for good or evil, wisely or unwisely, and are not controlled by them to the extent that you taught? In other words, haven't the Communists refuted the central proposition of the theory of historical materialism?"

"Not so fast, Professor," Marx quietly replied. "If you take my words literally, you may be right."

But let's look for the meaning behind the mere words. When I wrote about what was historically necessary or impossible, I assumed that there was a certain level of civilization which we could take for granted, certain basic human needs and values which would guide human action, or at least limit what human beings would do to other human beings. I was a humanist before I became a socialist, and therefore I believed it was impossible to build a socialist economy in a backward country like Russia except at a morally prohibitive cost. But if we are completely indifferent to questions of human cost and suffering, only physical and biological necessities limit our action and we are all reduced to the level of clever beasts of prey."

"Nothing can grow in a desert," he continued after a pause, "but we make even a desert bloom like a flower garden if we are prepared to fertilize it with human corpses and water it with rivers of blood. A country which doesn't grow into socialism on the basis of an already prepared economic foundation, a tradition of skill, management, democracy and culture, will defeat the very ends in behalf of which the socialist movement came into existence."

"It is a pity," I observed, "that you didn't spend more time in elaborating on these ends. By concentrating mainly on the economic conditions of achieving them, you gave the impression that collectivism was the be-all and end-all of socialism; that, once it was achieved, all the other virtues would be added to society. The fault is not completely attributable to those of your disciples who converted a necessary condition into a sufficient one. The sentimental socialists may have ignored the means, but you lost sight of the ends. It seems to me that your fault is graver."

"No," said Marx, "my Hegelian teachers had convinced me that means and ends are so intertwined that they couldn't be separated. It may be I took too much for granted. But, remember, I wasn't writing textbooks or manuals or recipe books for revolutions everywhere at any time."

"Then tradition becomes an important constraining force in what men can make of man," I pointed out, "and under some conditions as decisive in influencing the direction of social change as the mode of economic production."

"I have never denied it. On the contrary. Men make their own history, but not just as they please. They do not choose the circumstances as they find them. The legacy of the dead generations weighs like

a nightmare upon the brains of the living. At the very time when they seem to be creating something perfectly new, the past often creeps back. The Russian past could not be wiped out by any Commissar's decree; it still lives in the present. As of old, for the Russian rulers progress consists in extending the domain of their despotism. What I said at the time of the suppression of Poland by Tsarist Russia is even truer today: 'The policy of Russia is changeless. Its methods, its tactics, its maneuvers may change, but the popular star of its policy—world domination—is still a fixed star.'"

Not wishing to discuss foreign policy in limbo, I shifted to another question.

"Well, now," I asked, "what about China. Surely

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here is something you didn't foresee. Do you think China can build socialism, even with the help of the Soviet Union?"

"My analysis of the Soviet Union," Marx spoke scornfully, "is even more valid for China. I predict that the attempt to introduce socialism in China will fail even more badly than it has in the Soviet Union."

"Agreed," I replied, "but what you didn't predict is that the attempt would be made! Since the consequence of the attempt, whether it fails or succeeds, is bound to give rise to momentous historical changes—indeed! it already has—something important about history is left unexplained."

"My main interest, as you should know," Marx patiently explained, "has always been in the Western world, and the truth or falsity of my theories rests primarily upon developments there. I predicted the growth and centralization of large-scale industry, increasing mechanization, the concentration of capital and monopoly, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and periodic crises of production. By and large, all these things have come to pass."

"Quite true," I rejoined, "but there are a number of other things you predicted which didn't come to pass. You predicted the pauperization of the working classes, the disappearance of the middle class, the atrophy of nationalism and patriotism. Large groups of workers in Western Europe, and especially in the United States, enjoy a standard of living higher than the privileged classes of some previous societies. Nationalism is as strong as ever. The middle class has not disappeared. And the plain fact is that the workers in non-collectivist economies have incomparably more freedom, political power, and a greater share of what they produce than the workers in presumably collectivist economies."

"I cheerfully admit it," Marx smilingly responded, "but I believe I can take some credit for it since I taught the necessity of political action and called attention to the influence of factory legislation."

"But, in addition to the predicted things which didn't happen," I objected, "there are other things which happened that you did not predict—the birth of new industries, the expansion of productive forces, the rise of fascism, the emergence of the welfare state."

"I underestimated the vitality of capitalism," said Marx, "and the extent to which the democratic process could be used to strengthen social control and responsibility. But this is a matter of detail and degree. I always argued that in countries like Great Britain, Holland and the United States the transition

from capitalism to socialism could be effected peacefully. Similarly with the development of the technological revolution. I believe I was the first to recognize the impact upon society of 'conscious technical application of science to industry and agriculture'."

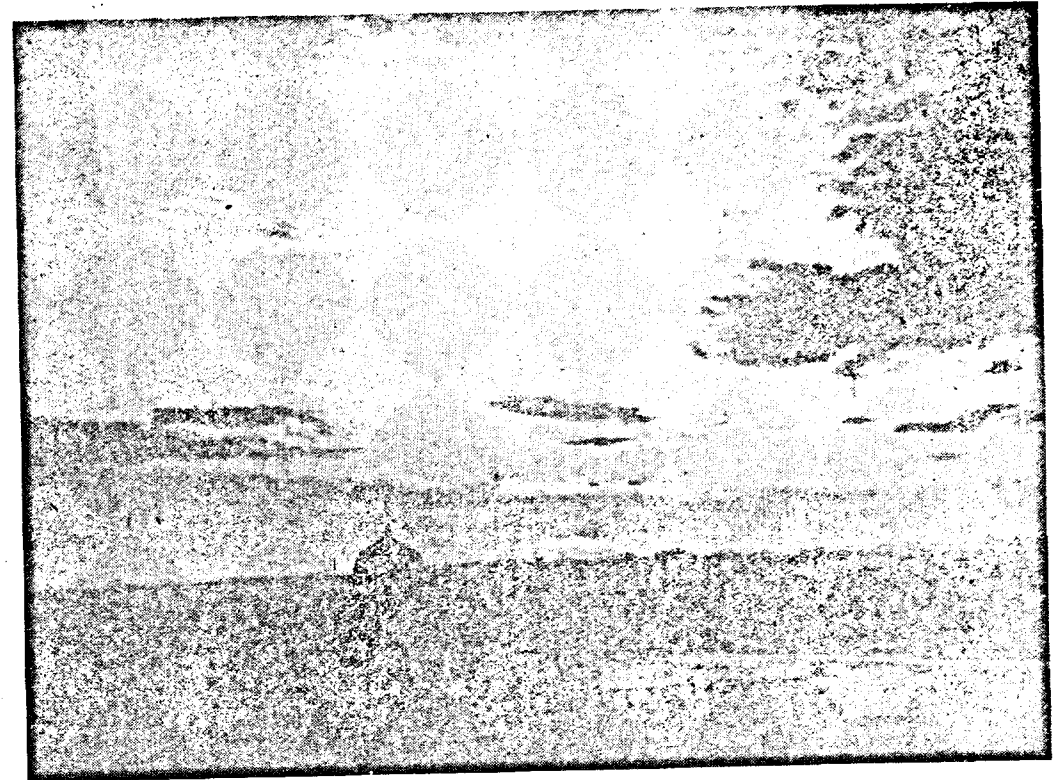
"But you claimed that technology was always a subordinate instrument to war and industry," I protested. "Yet neither you nor anyone else guessed that some day the choices we would have to make concerning its dread uses might affect the very existence of civilization as such."

"The effects of certain discoveries," he agreed, "as well as their significance, cannot always be measured by their origins. Whatever the causes of technological change in the past, unless men today think and plan better than they have in the past, they may not even survive. Limbo will become rapidly overpopulated."

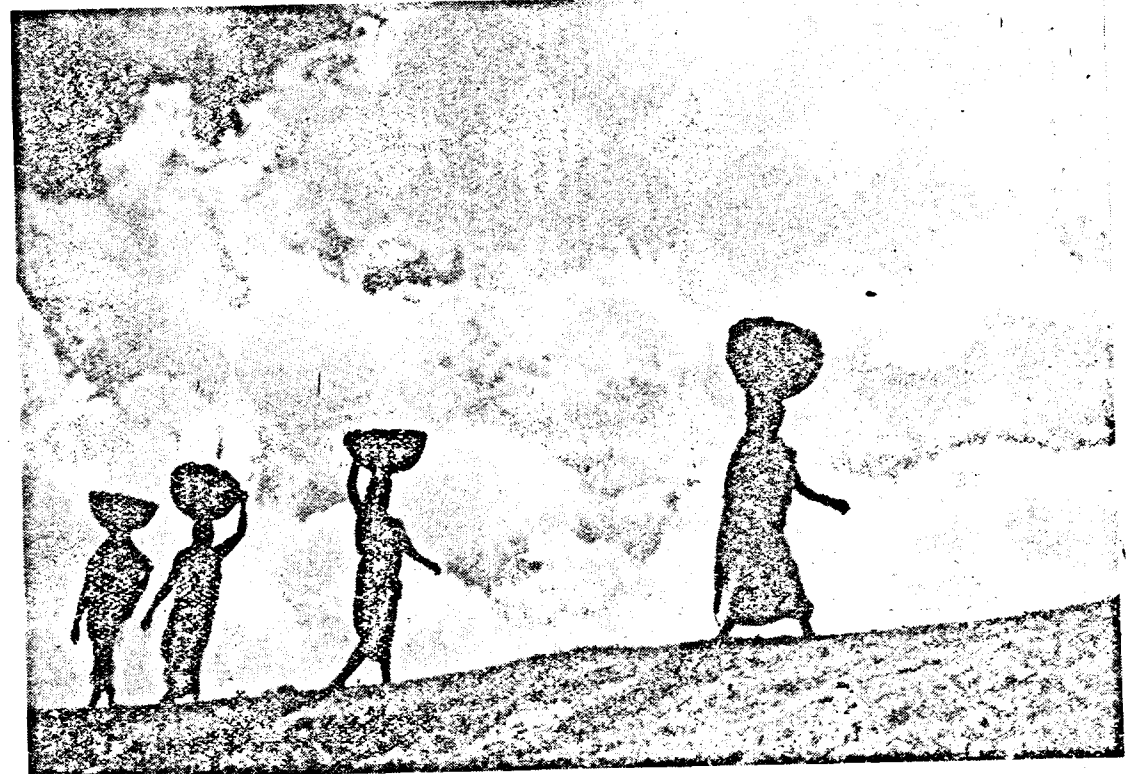
I turned to ask a last question. "Do you believe the basic issue of our time is still between capitalism and socialism?"

Marx spoke deliberately. "Capitalism and socialism as they were traditionally conceived are today irrelevant abstractions in understanding social reality. Wherever free institutions exist, they have been used to make capital more socially responsible and labor more powerful and prosperous. Aside from the defense of freedom itself, the great problems arise in the West not from a quest for new forms of property but for new modes of democratic human experience which will enrich human life and multiply the possibilities of creative fulfilment. The choice is not between *either* capitalism or socialism but of *more or less* insofar as they bear upon the possibility of maximizing in each specific situation the opportunities of freedom. Socialism must today be conceived as a principle of welfare and fraternity integral to the democratization of culture on every level—economic, educational and social. It is democracy as a way of life. It relies on creative intelligence to conceive, modify or transform any or all institutions with one goal in view: the development of a community of free persons—each one different from the other and yet enjoying or respecting one another's differences."

By this time, the space ship which was to take me back to Earth had arrived, and Marx escorted me to the ectoplasmic gangplank. I told him that it was not likely that credence would be given to my report of our conversation. His last words to me were the sentence from Dante with which he completed the preface to his chief work: "*Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti*—follow your own course and let people talk."—*The New Leader*, May, 2, 1955.



Sunset from Kutub Minar
Photo by P. C. Mukherjee



Beginning the day's work
Photo by Benoy Bhushan Das

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CARRYING PLANTAINS
By Satindranath Laha

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NOTES

The A.-I.C.C. Meeting

The last meeting of the A.-I.C.C. at New Delhi was even more disappointing than the previous one. Indeed, to invert a *cliche*, one could say that the A.-I.C.C. is descending from weakness to weakness. We cannot claim that we possess any knowledge, beyond what is public, of what transpired behind closed doors. But judging by the fruits of those deliberations, so far as they have been made public, little was attempted and still less achieved that did not show marked signs of futility. As we can judge from press reports, the A.-I.C.C. seems to be functioning merely as an extension service of the Publicity Departments of the Government of India.

Take the Goa resolution. We are not concerned with the merits of the Government of India decision to prohibit the entry of Indian nationals into Goa, across the Indian frontiers. That is a question for the Lok Sabha and the Lok Sabha, in its wisdom or lack thereof, has tacitly decided in favour of that move, and that is the end of the question, until the next election.

But was the pronouncement of the A.-I. C. C., on that vital question discussed along the lines of the justifiability of *Satyagraha* at this juncture? The reasons put forward in support of the Goa Resolution were the most puerile ever in the records of that once august and autonomous body. Why was the question of the Government of India being embarrassed brought into the resolution at all? The Government of India is not under the control of the A.-I.C.C. Indeed on the contrary. The Lok Sabha is supposed to exercise that power. "Goa is not Indian territory" we are told. Granted, but is South Africa India? If not, then was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in the wrong when he first evoked the force of *Satyagraha*?

Is his worthy son, Manilal, also committing a sin in following in his father's footsteps?

The question of *Satyagraha* in Goa should have been examined purely on its moral and ethical merits and not from the legalistic point of view. As the Resolution stands, it means that however wrong the Government of India might be in any of its future decisions, on whatever question, the A.-I.C.C. shall not pass any resolution or come to any conclusion, that might embarrass it, that paramount principle having been established by this resolution. It means an absolute moral surrender of the last court of justice that the people of India had.

The fitness of the leaders of the Goa movement to initiate *Satyagraha*, the desire of the people of Goa, the intrinsic suitability of *Satyagraha* to the exigency, these are the questions that should have been discussed and weighed.

In the elections to the Working Committee, the same eager servility to the Powers-that-be has been observed.

The Working Committee had been a council of Elder-statesmen in the old days, composed of people ripe in years and experience and with an intimate knowledge of public affairs and current public opinion. And yet the maximum votes were given to a young lady who, though deserving of love and affection from all, is lacking in just these assets. The Government of India is rapidly becoming bureaucratic and has lost touch with its people. Does the A.-I.C.C. need to go the same way?

In the examination of the Second Five-Year Plan Frame, we had expected a better and closer analysis of ways and means, and a more expert assessment of the possibilities, in the terms of effective and efficient production. It seems we were mistaken in taking the A.-I.C.C. members to be more knowledgeable

than the framer of the much-publicized Frame. Cottage industry means skilled artisans. Any labourer, who is willing to undergo normal physical effort and has a minimum capacity to execute a few set movements, can be trained to work an automatic, power-driven machine or tool. The makers of mechanically perfect, fool-proof, automatic high-production machinery, lay their plans and devise their machines just that way. The prime-movers supply the power and the machine works efficiently with the minimum of skilled attention, at a high speed.

In cottage industries, on the other hand, the artisan has to execute all the moves and devote a skilled attention at every stage of production. He has to acquire a know-how over a prolonged period of apprenticeship and the personal factor of suitability of the man to the job, physically and psychologically, is of the highest import. Craftsmanship is not an easily acquired quality where hand-tools and cottage-industry methods of production are concerned. A cobbler cannot become a copper-smith overnight nor can a brawny smith become a fine weaver.

Then again, after skill and craftsmanship has been acquired through a long apprenticeship, there must be a capacity to undergo prolonged toil, else the production will be either highly costly and unmarketable or the artisan will have to starve. And under the best of circumstances a cottage-produced consumer article is likely to be at least 25 per cent more costly than the mechanically produced article. Khaddar cloth for example—yard for yard and without taking quality or durability into consideration—is even today 100 per cent more costly than mill-cloth, as Khaddar-wearing people like us know.

This means that even if everything goes along as planned, the cost of living will increase according as cottage-produced goods replace factory produced goods. And if the necessary skill, toil and efficiency is not attained by the 12 millions who will replace mechanisms, then production will drop far below expectations, in quantity, in quality and in usefulness.

The standard-of-living means nothing to the olympians of New Delhi, neither does it matter to tame statisticians. Nor yet does it matter, so it seems, to the utopians of the A.I.C.C. But to the common man it will seem a swindle if his income goes up by 5 per cent and his living expenses go up by 25 per cent, which will either mean lowering

his standards of life below even the penury and want of today, or else extinction.

We are all for cottage-industry, let there be no mistake on that point. We have advocated it, spent time, money and effort, in the study and encouragement of it. But we have no patience either with the fanaticism of the 'damn-the-consequences' type of super-Brahmins, who would make it a cult, or with the colossal ignorance of those who believe that 12 million efficient artisans could be mass-produced in five years time, without mass instruction and without consideration of their adaptability, capacity for physical toil and endurance and psychological compatibility.

Restriction in production invariably has resulted in rising of costs and lowering of quality in recent years, as all consumers know to their cost. What provision has there been made to counteract that reaction?

Rashtrabhasa

Some groups of over-zealous Hindi protagonists have aroused the suspicion and indignation of non-Hindi speaking peoples by their impatience and arrogance. The appended report indicates how deep that suspicion lies:

"The Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, assured the south that when Hindi became the official language of the Union, non-Hindi-speaking area would not be discriminated against in the matter of recruitment to the services.

"He was replying in the Lok Sabha to strong speeches made on an Opposition cut motion.

"Ignoring angry comment by members from the Hindi-speaking areas, Mr. Gurupadaswamy characterised Government's attitude as 'madness' and said that the Commission was packed with representatives from the Hindi-speaking areas and one could not expect from it any equity, justice or fairplay.

"Pandit Pant said: 'If we want to accelerate the pace of Hindi in the country, we have to win over those who are not familiar with this language. We cannot march faster except with the fellowship, friendship and co-operation of these people.'

"The Home Minister said that there had been a certain amount of apprehension lingering in South about the examinations conducted by the U.P.S.C. for recruitment to Government services. 'I want to reiterate my assurance to the members in this House that we do not want anyone to be placed at a disadvantage on account of his being born in non-Hindi-speaking area. We want best of men to join Government services and it has been laid down that nobody who is otherwise competent to get the job should be left out because of his non-familiarity with Hindi.'

Government Machine Tool Works

In the present session of the Indian Parliament much criticism was made against the affairs of the Government Machine Tool factories at Jalahalli and Ambarnath. Much more unfortunate was the Government's defence in so far as they tried to impute motive to the British expert who described the factories as a "colossal financial failure." The machine tool factory at Jalahalli is a cent per cent Government concern. It is owned by the Hindusthan Machine Tools Ltd., with an issued and called-up capital of Rs. 3 crores. For starting the factory the Government of India entered into an agreement in 1949 with a Swiss firm, Oerlikon Machine Tool Works, Zurich. The production was started in 1954, and the manufacture of component parts of high speed lathes was undertaken. The Machine Tool Prototype Factory at Ambarnath was set up in 1953. It provides facilities for the development of prototypes to be utilised by technicians engaged in the production of defence industries in India. The services of Mr. Scaife, the British expert, were obtained by the Government of India under the Colombo Plan. Mr. Scaife was requested to assist the Engineering Capacity Survey Committee of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry and he submitted his report in 1954. In his report Mr. Scaife severely criticised the Swiss firm.

Mr. Scaife has several hard words to say about the Jalahalli factory. He says: "After some three and a half years of indecision, the final plan is to build twelve 8½-inch geared head lathes from parts made in Switzerland, on equipment designed and made in Switzerland and the only Indian experience will be the assembly and painting." He further says that it is true that some Indian experience will be obtained overseas but this is totally inadequate for the necessary technological training in machine tool making and the project will ultimately be left, as at Ambarnath, without the trained body of machine tool production engineers which is essential for the building up of a progressive industry. The heart and brains of the organisation are outside India and outside the control of the Indian management and, therefore, whilst the development of this project is outside, the responsibility for success is left with the Indian management. The line of least resistance is now being taken by concentrating on 8½-inch geared head lathes, the demand for which is covered by the enterprise, skill and courage of Mysore Kirloskar, Harihar, who are now, after ten years of persistent effort, making a first class lathe equal to meeting any possible

Indian requirements within its capacity. He then observes: "Whether the Jalahalli project proves a success or failure (and my opinion is that it will prove a colossal financial failure), it will be successful in putting Mysore Kirloskars out of business as this and other private machine tool firms will recognise the futility of trying to compete with a competitor who is subsidised with public funds." Mr. Scaife adds: "To my mind it is the most glaring case of commercial immorality I have met with in the whole of my experience and this should be the deliberate policy of a Government which claims to be building up a self-sufficient economy is beyond my comprehension."

About the Swiss consultants, Mr. Scaife remarks that what they have sold to India was in fact Swiss skill and which was not theirs to sell, since they had not the psychological ability to transport their skill to Indian minds. His main criticism against Government machine tool factories is that there were not enough Indian experts at the time when the machinery for the factories arrived and that even at present Indian staff is not sufficiently available.

Mr. Scaife has not only criticised the Government in the above matter, he has also offered constructive suggestions. In his view the machine tool industry must be allowed to grow naturally side by side with the general industrial development of the country. He claims that this is an indisputable historical fact and for rendering assistance, some initial technical and financial help should come from the Government. A machine tool factory calls for the production of goods of a specified quality at a minimum of cost in time and effort and this must be linked up with the demand in the market. To undertake the production of machine tool before ascertaining the specification covering productivity and quality performance is to risk the expenditure of capital on machine tool which will go abegging in the market, involving waste of skilled labour.

Mr. Scaife thinks that the Government departments have been wrongly advised in setting up the machine tool factories on the projected scale and this results in financial loss to the Government. The authorities have further erred by concentrating development through a single channel which has not had extensive background in machine tool practice, although well known in the restricted field of armament manufacture. He suggests that various standard types and sizes, with different grades of quality for different purposes, call for individual and separate technical and administrative approach and each unit should be directed towards producing one

or two related types and grades of machines. This will facilitate the employment of workers most suited for the purpose and their numbers will be gainfully determined. Mr. Scaife's main suggestion is that the production of machine tool in the country should be entrusted to the private sector which would, of course, collaborate with the authorities. The Government should take initiative in forming an association of national machine tool makers with branches in a number of industrial centres and through this association the national demand for tools should be channelled. Established firms which are already engaged in the production of machine tools of grade and quality should be assisted by the Government with loans at preferential rates and also with a loan of sufficient plant from Government stores in order to meet national demand in their respective class of machine tools. Firms engaged in the production of ungraded machine tools should also be helped by the Government with financial and technical assistance and adequate initial orders are to be placed with them through their trade association to meet Government requirements. Mr. Scaife suggests for the establishment of selling and servicing organisations by the association branches in their respective areas for servicing and demonstration purposes.

He also stresses for raising the technological level of management and supervision and this calls for the training of a sufficient number of production engineers who should have training specifically in the art of using modern production equipment in preference to general mechanical engineering science. In his opinion a trainee of matriculation standard may well become a good production engineer. For imparting training, he recommends the educational procedure of Dr. Schlesinger at Charlottenburg University, Germany, where engineers are trained at a central establishment on lines which would provide key personnel to prospective enterprises financed by private firms. Around this central educational organisation the nucleus of new projects would be set up.

The Government of India is evidently not impressed by the criticisms of Mr. Scaife. The Union Minister of Defence Organisation, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, has brushed aside Mr. Scaife's criticisms by remarking that they "cannot bear close examination." In defence, he points out that the Engineering Survey Committee has not endorsed the views expressed by Mr. Scaife. It is further alleged by the Government that the British machine tool industry, with which Mr. Scaife is connected, is not favourably disposed

towards Government of India's venture in the field of machine tool production. In the opinion of the Government, Mr. Scaife's association with the British industry appears to have led him to taken an "unjustifiably unfavourable" view of the assistance obtained from the Swiss consultants. Mr. Tyagi deprecates Mr. Scaife's bias against State-owned undertakings.

Notwithstanding Mr. Tyagi's imputation of motives to Mr. Scaife's observations, the public in India are not very much impressed with the Government views in the matter nor is the progress in the Government machine tool factories is very convincing so as to support Mr. Tyagi's contentions. As regards the firm of Swiss consultants it is not perhaps unknown that it is they who supplied arms to the Egyptian army during the war of Palestine and the Egyptian army had to suffer disasters and debacles for old and faulty weapons.

International Monetary Fund

The latest annual report of the International Monetary Fund records satisfactory progress towards freer trade and multilateral payments arrangements. The report is for the year ended 30th April, 1955. The year under review witnessed a strong underlying trend towards world economic and payments equilibrium. In the field of international payments, three favourable trends are discernible. In the first place, the aggregate value of world trade during 1954 was higher by more than 4.5 per cent at about \$74,200 million as compared with \$71,000 million in the preceding year. Secondly, there were larger capital movements in 1954 than in 1953. And thirdly, with the increase in the volume of international transactions, the foreign exchange reserves of non-dollar countries rose considerably, with some significant exceptions. The reserves of the non-dollar areas as a whole were higher by no less than \$2,200 million. The following Table will reflect world gold and foreign exchange reserves:

(See Table on next page)

The world excludes the USSR and Mainland China and the countries associated with them. Japan, Indonesia and Egypt are among the countries in the group—"Rest of world." The remarkable improvement in the international payments position is attributed to the stability in the average price levels of primary products and this helped to maintain the supply of dollars to the rest of the world. The terms of trade in favour of the primary producing countries were sustained by stable price

World Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserves including net EPU and IMF positions (In million U.S. dollars)

Area	End of 1952	Change in		End of 1954	Reserves as per cent of 1953-54	
		1953	1954		average imports	End of 1953
World	47070	1330	1750	50150	60	64
U. S.	24715	-1256	-479	22980	216	200
Canada	1939	-38	128	2029	41	43
Dollar Latin America	1635	66	-71	1630	46	46
Non-dollar Latin America	1510	295	-95	1710	46	52
Continental OEEC countries	8285	1370	1435	11090	37	49
U. K.	1312	803	586	2701	14	29
Independent sterling area overseas countries	4250	420	40	4710	58	64
Rest of world	3424	-330	206	3300	22	21

levels. The favourable trade balance was due largely to the higher output and real income in industrial countries outside North America. The rise in real income resulted in the higher demand for primary products.

The annual report points out regretfully that the use of the Fund's resources by member-countries is gradually declining. In its fiscal year ended April, 1955, member-countries drew only \$49 million and repaid \$276 million of previous drawings. On April 30, it apparently had only \$55 million of its own money in the hand of members. Of the total of \$1,197 million drawn from the Fund since it started operations in March 1947, a sum of \$807 has been repaid to it. Of the remaining \$390 million, \$335 million represents drawings by various countries of the equivalent of gold that the same countries had subscribed to the Fund. On April 30, the Fund held \$3,719 million of gold and convertible currencies, and the equivalent of \$4,325 million of other currencies.

The report discloses that the Fund has reached practical compromises on certain technical disputes with Canada, Peru and France regarding their currency parities. In the same sense, the Fund allowed a drawing by Indonesia which has not declared a currency parity. The report gives a heterogeneous list of countries which have no dollar discriminations, namely, Belgium, Ethiopia, Greece, Indonesia, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Thailand and the Union of South Africa.

The diversity of the experience of the

underdeveloped countries in 1954 again showed that the degree of success attained in maintaining monetary stability, while they are pressing forward with development, depends upon their economic policy as a whole rather than upon any single factor in it. The Fund remarks that some countries that faced balance of payments deficits, because their domestic income and price levels had not been adjusted to lower export earnings, attempted to maintain incomes in export industries by various kinds of subsidy, while imposing more stringent exchange restrictions to correct the balance of payments. Such efforts, however, cannot produce results that are satisfactory for the economy as a whole; they usually create inflationary pressure or intensify pressures already operating in the economy, while they also tend to become progressively more difficult to enforce.

Sales Tax Controversy

For some time past the issue of sales tax in India has become highly controversial in respect of the rights of the States to levy and collect it. The provisions of the Indian Constitution in this connection have been observed more in breach rather than in compliance. The Article 286 of the Indian Constitution, the villain of the piece, is most clumsily worded and leaves scope for controversy and divergence of interpretation. It reads:

"286. (1) No law of a State shall impose, or authorise the imposition of, a tax on the sale or purchase of goods where such sale or purchase takes place—(a) outside the State; or (b) in the course of the import of the goods into, or export of the goods out of, the territory of India.

Explanation.—For the purposes of sub-clause (a), a sale or purchase shall be deemed to have taken place in the State in which the goods have actually been delivered as a direct result of such sale or purchase for the purpose of consumption in that State, notwithstanding the fact that under the general law relating to sale of goods the property in the goods has by reason of such sale or purchase passed in another State.

(2) Except in so far as Parliament may by law otherwise provide, no law of a State shall impose, or authorise the imposition of, a tax on the sale or purchase of any goods where such sale or purchase takes place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce: Provided that the President may by order direct that any tax on the sale or purchase of goods which

was being lawfully levied by the Government of any State immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall, notwithstanding that the imposition of such tax is contrary to the provisions of this clause, continue to be levied until the thirty-first day of March, 1951."

The sub-clause (2) specifically restricts the power of a State in imposing sales tax on goods where sale or purchase of such goods takes place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce. The Explanation to sub-clause (1) does not empower a State to levy sales tax on inter-State trade or commerce, it simply explains where the sale or purchase takes place; that is, the sale or purchase will take place in that State where delivery has been given for consumption and not where title to ownership legally changes hands. Now the question is, whether Article 286 is governed by Article 304. If it is so governed, then the States in India can impose taxes on sales or purchases of commodities entering into inter-State trade or commerce. If, on the other hand, Article 286 governs Article 304, then the States have no right to impose taxes on commodities entering into inter-State commerce.

In the "State of Bombay v. The United Motors (India) Ltd.," (1953 S.C.R. 1069), the Supreme Court held that Article 286(1) (a) of the Constitution read with the Explanation thereto and construed in the light of Article 301 and Article 304 prohibits taxation of sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which the goods are delivered for the purpose of consumption therein. The latter State is left free to tax such sales or purchases and it derives this power not by virtue of the Explanation to Article 286(1) but under Article 246(3) read with entry 54 of List II. The view that the Explanation does not deprive the State in which the property in the goods passed, of its taxing power and that consequently both the State in which the property in the goods passes and the State in which the goods are delivered for consumption have the power to tax, is not correct.

The Supreme Court further held that the expression "for the purpose of consumption in the State" in the Explanation to clause (1) of Article 286 must be understood as having reference not merely to the individual importer or purchaser but as contemplating distribution eventually to consumers in general within the State, and all buyers within the State of delivery from out-of-State sellers, except those buying for re-export out of the State, would be

liable to be taxed by the State. Clause (2) of Article 286 does not affect the power of the State in which delivery of goods is made to tax inter-State sales or purchases of the kind mentioned in the Explanation to clause (1). The effect of the Explanation is that such transactions are saved from the ban imposed by Article 286(2).

The above view of the Supreme Court has recently been over-ruled by a Bench of the same Court presided over by the Acting Chief Justice Mr. S. R. Das. The Courts in India generally follow the British principle of *stare decisis*, and this is perhaps the first time that a previous decision of its own has been over-ruled by the Supreme Court. This is rather a new precedence in legal history in this country. In a recent case, "The State of Bihar v. Bengal Immunity Co., Ltd.," the Supreme Court held that until Parliament by law provides otherwise, no State can impose or authorise the imposition of any tax on sales or purchases of goods when sales or purchases take place in course of inter-State trade or commerce. This means that the tax shall not go with consumption in respect of goods sold or purchased in course of inter-State trade or commerce. The Acting Chief Justice Mr. S. R. Das observed: "We are definitely of opinion that until Parliament by law made in exercise of the powers vested in it by clause (2) of Article 286, provides otherwise no State can impose or authorise the imposition of any tax on sales or purchases of goods when such sales or purchases take place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce, and the majority decision in the *State of Bombay v. the United Motors (India) Ltd.* in so far as it decides to the contrary cannot be accepted as well founded on principle or authority."

The appeal in the case of the Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., raised a question of construction of Article 286 of the Constitution. In the judgment under appeal the High Court of Bihar took the view that sales or purchase in the course of inter-State trade or commerce referred to in Article 286(2) must be construed so as to exclude the particular class of sales or purchases described in the Explanation to Clause (a) of Article 286(1) and that therefore, the provisions of the Bihar Sales Tax Act, 1947, in so far as they purported to impose tax on such sales, were not in conflict with Article 282(2) as so construed.

After this decision of the Patna High Court the question came up for consideration before a Constitution Bench of the Supreme

Court in the "State of Bombay vs. the United Motors (India) Ltd." The majority of that Bench held that Article 286(1) (a), read with the Explanation thereto and construed in the light of Articles 301 and 304, prohibited the taxation of sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which delivery of the goods was so made to tax the sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which delivery of the goods was so made to tax the sales or purchases of the kind mentioned in the Explanation, the effect of which was to convert such inter-State transactions into intra-State transactions and to take them out of the operation of Clause (2) of that Article.

In the appeal preferred by the Bengal Immunity Co., the Supreme Court held that it is not bound by the majority decision in the appeal of the United Motors Ltd., and that it was still open to it to examine and ascertain the true meaning, import and scope of the article in question. This majority decision of the Supreme Court in the Bengal Immunity Co.'s appeal shall create a vacuum in the prevailing structure of sales tax in the various States of India in so far as it has overruled the majority decision in the appeal from Bombay of the United Motors Ltd.

The decision in the Bengal Immunity appeal shall render nugatory, *ipso facto*, Article 304 of the Constitution which empowers the Legislature of a State to "impose on goods imported from other States any tax to which similar goods manufactured or produced in that State are subject, so, however, as not to discriminate between goods so imported and goods so manufactured or produced." The earlier decision tried to reconcile between Article 286 and Article 304. The latter decision affirms that Article 286 is independent of Article 304.

World Bank in 1954-55

The year 1954-55 records an expansion in the activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There were higher earnings, substantial accretions to reserves, record amount of lendings, prompt payment of interest and principal due. Another outstanding feature is the participation of private capital in the Bank's financing operations. In 1954-55, the Bank advanced loans totalling the equivalent of \$410 million as against \$323.7 million in 1953-54—this is the largest sum lent by the Bank in any

fiscal year. The twenty loans were made in fourteen countries and territories. Lending since the Bank began operations now totals the equivalent of \$2,324 million (\$2,274 million net of cancellations and refundings) in 37 countries, as compared with \$1,914 million in the preceding year. The Bank's total disbursements now stand at \$1,680 million as against \$1,405.6 million in 1953-54. Net earnings of the Bank reached a new record figure of \$24.7 million and reserves rose to \$184 million. Borrowers met all payments of interest and principal due during 1954-55. During this period, India received two loans from the Bank. The Bank lent in India in November 1954, a sum of \$16.2 million to the Tata group for its thermal power station in Bombay. The thermal power plant will help to relieve the acute power shortage in Bombay and the surrounding area. In March, 1955, the Bank lent \$10 million to the new industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India which has been established to assist the growth of private industry.

The Bank's source of funds available for lending operations to its member-countries is given below:

(In million US dollars)	
Two per cent portion of subscription of all members	177.8
Eighteen per cent portion of subscription made available by members	764.5
Total available capital subscriptions	942.3
From operations	128.6
Sale of Bonds	851.6
Principal of repayments and prepayments	139.3
From loans or funds agreed to be sold	200.1

Total \$2,261.9

Of the total lendable funds of \$2,262 million, \$368 million represented additions made during 1954-55. Besides India, other countries that borrowed from the World Bank include Austria, Australia, Belgium, Ceylon, Colombia, East Africa, El Salvador, Finland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan and Peru. In all 20 loans were made to 14 countries.

The A.-I.C.C. Meeting

We append below a summary of the A.-I.C.C. meeting from the *Statesman*. First of all is given Pandit Nehru's comments on the Goa Resolution:

"The A.-I.C.C. met behind closed doors, but later a spokesman gave Pressmen a gist of the speeches made."

"Mr. Nehru said it was always good to say correct thing with courage and try to explain the position clearly to the people and take them into confidence.

"The Congress was so far very clear that there was no question of taking police or military action and that mass satyagraha was not proper. The door had, however, been left open for individual satyagrahis. The position had now been made clear beyond any doubt.

"It was not proper for them to condemn other parties in this matter, although they (other parties) had been criticizing the Congress in an unfair manner. There was no doubt that these people who had suffered with courage and had shown a sense of sacrifice should be shown respect and admiration.

"It was true that in international affairs they should have a national policy. But a national policy in international matters should not mean that it should be a mixed or confused one.

THE GOA RESOLUTION

"During the last nine years, the Congress has repeatedly expressed its views on the Portuguese possessions in India and pointed out the incongruity of a very small corner of India being under foreign colonial domination when India herself had achieved freedom. As recently as July 1955, the Working Committee passed a resolution on this subject affirming the right of the people of Goa to freedom. The committee reiterated that the struggle for the freedom of Goa must be carried on through peaceful methods. Further, the committee declared that it was not in favour of any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering satyagraha.

"Since this resolution was passed, various developments have taken place in these areas, which have naturally moved the Indian people deeply, and the A.I.C.C. has given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India.

"In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, many have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resistance to colonialism. The committee deplores and condemns the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government in its attempts to suppress the Goan people and to retain its colonial rule on this part of the Indian mainland.

"More recently, on August 15, of this year, the Portuguese authorities fired upon unarmed people and killed numbers of them and inflicted serious injuries on many more. To those who have thus suffered, the committee pays its tribute, and to the families of the dead, it extends its

sympathy in their sad, though noble, bereavement.

"The A.I.C.C. places on record and proclaims its considered view that the shooting and killing of unarmed men and women by the Portuguese authorities is a violation of international law and a crime and is contrary to the well-established practice of civilized Governments.

"The committee has noted with appreciation and sympathy the continued endeavours of the Goan people, in spite of the fierce repression by the Portuguese authorities, to secure their freedom and the liberation of their territories from foreign rule, and conveys to them the goodwill and sympathy of their fellow countrymen in free India.

"The A.I.C.C. recalls the unanimous decision of the nations assembled in the first Asian-African conference at Bandung last April, against colonialism, and expresses the confident hope that all the participants in that conference will support the cause of the liberation of Goa and the other Portuguese possessions and the people therein and condemn the suppression of their freedom movement and the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government.

"The A.I.C.C. warmly supports the decision of the Government of India to withdraw and withhold co-operation in respect of the Portuguese Government and the other peaceful steps taken by the Government of India in this connexion. In particular, the A.I.C. appreciates the policy of the Government of India in adhering to and stating without reservation that it will seek a solution of this problem in accordance with their well-known and established principles and approach in regard to all international disputes, namely, those of peace and non-violence. This policy is not only in keeping with the national and international approach of India but, the A.I.C.C. is convinced, is in the best interests of the Goan people themselves and their liberation.

"The A.I.C.C. fully appreciates and is in sympathy with the strong feelings that have been aroused all over India in favour of the liberation of these Portuguese possessions in India and against the brutal suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the freedom movement there.

"The committee would, however, appeal to the people of India to view this problem in its national and international context and not on any party basis and to support the Government of India's policy in this matter. Any differing and conflicting policies will weaken the national resolve and also the efforts to secure the liberation of Goa.

"In their last resolution on Goa, the Work-

ing Committee issued warning against any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside. This warning was unfortunately not fully heeded. The A.I.C.C. is strongly of opinion that any mass entry into Goa, in the name of satyagraha or otherwise, is undesirable. The Government of India, after the withdrawal of co-operation from the Portuguese Government, has closed and sealed the borders of Portuguese possessions in India and, in these circumstances, any entry into Goan territory by Indian nationals will be inappropriate.

"The A.I.C.C. is, therefore, of opinion that, in the present context, even individual satyagraha by Indian nationals should be avoided.

"The A.I.C.C. is confident that the people of Goa and Daman and Diu will regain their freedom and Portugal will be compelled to relinquish her authoritarian rule in her possessions in India. The committee sends its greetings to the Goan people and expresses its full sympathy with them in their legitimate and laudable aspirations and efforts for freedom."

The Second Five-Year Plan

The question of the Second Five-Year Plan was discussed as is given in the summary below of which the Recommendation portion is taken from the *Statesman*:

"New Delhi, Sept. 4:—Recommendations made by the A.I.C.C. today on the second Five-Year Plan involve a substantial increase in its size, if accepted.

"One of the main factors is the adherence to the employment target of 11 to 12 million jobs in the face of Mr. G. L. Nanda's note that a plan of the size recommended in the plan-frame was not likely to achieve full employment.

"The stress laid by the A.I.C.C. on transport, power and heavy industries indicates that it does not accept any reduction in expenditure on these items. In addition, it laid stress on social services as necessary for their own sake and to ensure better understanding and acceptance of the plan.

"Particular emphasis is also laid on flood control, programmes for educated unemployed, co-operative training programmes and development of village and small industries.

"Although it is felt that financial resources have been underestimated in the draft-frame, the expected increase is not likely to cover the increase in the plan's size.

"Among the expected sources of additional resources are loans and small savings, taxation and State operations in banking, insurance, finance and trade.

"It was stressed that it was necessary to

curb unsocial ways of spending. During the discussion, Mr. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, said he agreed with the suggestion that an 'expenditure tax' was necessary.

"Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, suggested on Saturday that a block provision of about Rs. 150 to 200 crores should be made in the Second Five-Year Plan for being used solely for the relief of the educated unemployed.

"In a note on the problem of the educated unemployed, circulated among members of the A.I.C.C. now in session here, he said that the relief was not to be in the form of a dole, but would be used for increasing the production and the productive assets in the country.

"The educated unemployed presented a special problem to the planners. On the one hand, there was an irresistible demand to increase the number of schools and colleges thereby increasing the flow of such persons into the employment market. On the other, nothing much was done to remove from the minds of the educated the unrealistic conception 'that they had with regard to jobs for themselves.' The result, he said, had been that the pressure on employment exchanges for 'white collar' jobs had been increasing. As against the over-all increase of 75 per cent. on the live registers of the employment exchange in the last four years the increase in the numbers seeking clerical and other jobs had been more than 120 per cent.

"A very rough estimate of the employment opportunities likely to be created by the Second Plan shows that the situation in this regard will not alter materially. The existing frustration among the educated classes, which manifests itself in the form of indiscipline among students, will therefore, continue and constitute a major element of instability in our national life."

"The A.I.C.C., in a report referred to the Working Committee today, recommended that production of mill-made cloth should be limited to 5,000 million yards a year, leaving it to the handloom industry to meet the balance of the demand for cotton textiles."

Porkkala Agreement

The Soviet Union is evidently trying to create an atmosphere of peace all round. The following report of the agreement with Finland is taken from the *New York Times*:

"In the midst of a busy diplomatic week on large matters, the Russians last week managed to conclude an agreement with Finland for return of the Porkkala military base near Helsinki. The 152-square-mile enclave

on the Gulf of Finland was ceded to Russia on a fifty-year lease in the Soviet-Finnish armistice of 1944. Return of the base was one of the principal objectives of a mission to Moscow last week headed by Finnish President Juho K. Paasikivi and Premier Urho K. Kekkonen. The Soviet concession, it was believed, was motivated by a desire to clear the way for renewal of the Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, which was signed in 1945 and is about to expire, and to promote better trade relations. Return of Porkkala apparently insures that Premier Kekkonen will have no difficulty in obtaining approval of a treaty renewal."

French North Africa

France is still dallying with fate in persisting with a strange obsession regarding her colonial possessions in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. Disregarding all the portents of the times, she is trying to stave off justice by force. The latest attempt at settlement in Morocco is described in the news-magazine *Time* as follows:

"Across the Mediterranean to troubled North Africa poured the greatest flow of reinforcements since the days when Rommel's *Afrika Korps* held sway. The French cruiser *Montcalm* landed a battalion of French infantrymen at Casablanca, and a steamer brought 400 more; nine battalions started moving to Algeria, following the six from Germany that had already arrived; transport aircraft brought naval commandos. Back in France, 100,000 conscripts had their period of service lengthened indefinitely; 50,000 reservists were recalled to the colors. All told, the rapid build-up brought French strength in colonial North Africa to some 200,000 men—more than there are on the Rhine.

"The politicians hoped that the French punitive expeditions had already broken the back of the Arab revolt; yet last week the killings went on. In Morocco, nationalist saboteurs burned French gasoline dumps; in Algeria, rebel bands fought a four-hour battle with the Foreign Legion, and 54 died. Even in relatively tranquil Tunisia, 23 rebels and eleven Frenchmen were killed in a sudden outbreak. Total casualties in North Africa since August 20: close to 3,000 dead, thousands more wounded."

"*Dynastic Desperation.* The 'solution' involved France in a desperate game of dynastic musical chairs. Premier Faure proposed to:

"Replace Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, the puppet Sultan whom the French installed in Morocco two years ago, with a three-man regency council. Its senior member: El

Mokri, 108, Morocco's feeble old Grand Vizier.

"Replace Grandval, whom the French *colons* detest, with General Pierre Boyer de Latour du Moulin, the successful Resident General of Tunisia.

"Return the exiled Sultan ben Youssef from Madagascar to France.

"Set up a representative Moroccan government under Fatmi ben Slimane, onetime Pasha of Fez.

"A French general with eight police inspectors, 30 gendarmes and a section of paratroopers drew up in a hurry outside the Hotel des Thermes in Madagascar one day last week. They came not to try the golf course, to splash in the pool or to take the waters (which are said to be good for that old weakspot of Frenchmen, the liver). They came instead to see a splendidly installed prisoner, the exiled Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. French General Georges Catroux, 78, found His Majesty waiting for him."

"Convincing the other Sultan, Moulay Arafa, was a task for another French general, Pierre Georges Boyer de Latour, the new French Resident-General in Morocco. Last week De Latour called on the old man in his dazzling white palace at Rabat and delicately indicated that the time had come to leave. From the French *colons* and their ally in intransigence, aged El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakech, came exactly the opposite advice: Stay where you are. Moulay Arafa uncomfortably announced that only Allah could recall him, but at the same time looked longingly at the sumptuous palace waiting for him across the border in Tangier.

"The next move was up to Premier Faure, who had promised a 'solution' by September 12. At week's end, he announced what he had in mind: once the old and new Sultans had been replaced by a three-man regency council, a Moroccan government with control over most of Morocco's internal affairs would be set up in Rabat. This new regime would negotiate a new political link with France, revising the obsolete protectorate treaty of 1912.

"The new arrangement would set Morocco on the way to what Paris called 'independence within interdependence.' It was not freedom, and it might not last, but it was an improvement."

Cambodian Elections

Democracy is slowly asserting itself in Indo-China, as the following comments taken from *Time* of September 26 would go to show:

"*Clean Sweep.* More than half a million, 60 per cent. of the electorate, also voted. Their ballots gave a clean sweep to the firmly anti-Communist Sangkum (Socialist People's Community) Party, organized only six months ago by popular, chubby 32-year-old ex-King Norodom Sihanouk. The neutralist Democratic Party, which controlled the last National Assembly before its dissolution in 1952, polled a mere 18 per cent. of the votes. The Communists got almost none except in their stronghold of Kampot, shared with other minor parties only some 12 per cent. Sangkum candidates won all 91 seats in the new Assembly, a victory of almost embarrassing proportions for Prince Sihanouk. Apologizing for success, he declared: 'If I wanted to fake the elections, I would never have the effrontery to scrounge all the seats.'"

Exit Peron

Another dictator met with nemesis with the fall of the autocrat of Argentina, Juan Peron. The first report appeared in the *New York Times* as given below. This was followed by the victory of the rebel fighting forces units and the flight of Peron to a Paraguayan gun-boat in the estuary:

"Smoldering grievances burst into flame again in Argentina last week as military units rebelled in the nation's hottest blaze of violence since President Juan Peron seized power in 1945. As a tough dictator, a maker and user of violence, Juan Peron gave many Argentines cause for hatred and anger. Among the revolt's leaders were Roman Catholics outraged by Peron's attacks on the church, ardent nationalists opposed to his oil-exploitation contract with a Yanqui company, sincere patriots sick of the corrosion of liberty, dissident officers who lost their commands in his purges.

"As they did in the brief, bloody rebellion of June 16, the top army generals again rushed to Peron's rescue (or rather to the rescue of the offices, privileges and rackets they stood to lose if the rebels won). Peron's old crony and army minister, balding General Franklin Lucero, again took command of all loyalist military and police units—the 'forces of repression' as the government badly labeled them.

"After Lucero and other inner-circle generals propped Peron on his feet last June, they let him take control again, hoping that they could go back to privileged prosperity as usual. But during the post-revolt interlude of 'pacification,' Peron utterly failed to pacify his opponents: he offered too little freedom, too late. Three weeks ago, dropping the mask of pacification, he

summoned his hardcore of labor followers of the Plaza de Mayo, ferociously called for his enemies' annihilation; that may have triggered a revolt that showed signs of long planning."

At the time of writing these notes the whereabouts of the ex-President was not definitely known. The new regime's intentions are no clearer than they were when the following report came:

"Buenos Aires, Sept. 23.—New riots broke out in the southern working class suburb of Buenos Aires this afternoon. They coincided with the installation of General Eduardo Lonardi today as Provisional President of Argentina. He took the oath of office at two o'clock this afternoon.

"Earlier, the Uruguayan Government announced its official recognition of the new Argentine Revolutionary Government.

"There is a growing doubt in the minds of observers here whether the new Government will allow ex-President Peron to leave the country. Though the new regime is insisting that it will not act with rancor there is heavy pressure from one section of the Army which is afraid to allow Peron to become a rallying point abroad for disciples."

The Arab-Israeli Problem

The Gaza strip on the Egypt-Israel border was again the scene of a flare-up, about a month back. This perennial source of trouble has become such a headache to the United Nations, that the latest incumbent at the head of the peace-preservation and truce committee Major-General E. L. M. Burns, has finally asked for the establishment of a physical barrier between the two opposing forces. The international edition of the *New York Times* for September 11, gives the news in the following graphic form:

"I am now of the opinion that a repetition of the incidents of firing between Egyptian outposts and Israeli motor patrols * * * will only be avoided if the forces of the opposing sides are separated by an effective physical barrier * * *"

"This extraordinary proposal for keeping Arabs and Israelis from each other's throats was made last week by Maj. Gen. E. L. M. Burns, United Nations truce chief in Palestine. Behind it lay a long history of frustration in the effort to maintain the armistice signed between Israel and the Arab States in 1949. Repeatedly the two sides have renewed pledges to observe a cease-fire. Repeatedly raids across the border

and retaliatory assaults have reduced the agreements to scraps of paper.

"The latest such agreement was reached last Sunday. It came after a two-week period of clashes in which forty-seven Egyptians and sixteen Israelis were killed. Both sides pledged 'unconditional' acceptance of an urgent cease-fire appeal issued by the U. N. But this time General Burns was not relying on pledges alone. In a report made public by the U. N. last Wednesday, he made his proposal for a 'physical barrier' along the demarcation line of the Gaza strip, an Egyptian-held slice of territory which lies between Israel and the Mediterranean. Gaza has been the scene of most of the Arab-Israeli clashes. General Burns also proposed a one-kilometer demilitarized zone along the Gaza frontier. On Thursday, the U. N. Security Council unanimously urged Israel and Egypt to accept the Burns proposal."

Discussing the Security Council's resolution on the situation in the Gaza strip, *The Times* (London, Sept. 9) says: 'If the United Nations could impose sanctions upon those who ignore its resolution, or if members of the United Nations wished to use their troops to enforce United Nations' wishes, matters might be easier. But no country wishes to send troops when collective security is not endangered.'

The Times adds: 'The resolution the Security Council will consider now for establishing a no-man's-land a thousand yards wide between Egyptian and Israeli forces is not new but can usefully be brought forward again. General Burns himself feels that he can make no progress towards agreement between the two local commanders until he has made a frontal assault upon the problem of separating the two armies.'

'In the past both sides have accepted the principle of a barbed-wire obstacle between them and in varying ways approved the no-man's-land.'

The psychological background to this long-standing tension between Israel and Egypt is discussed in the September 18 issue of the international edition of the *New York Times*. We append a few excerpts below:

"Geographical circumstances—control of the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and responsibility for the Gaza Strip protectorate—oblige Egypt's rulers to bear the main burden of the boycott and 'technical state of war' against Israel. Furthermore, members of the Cairo military junta experienced Egypt's severe

defeat at the hands of the Israeli Army in 1948. That still rankles.

"The average Egyptian, however, rarely occupies himself with Israel or the Palestine problem. It is difficult to keep a conversation on Palestine going with most Egyptian businessmen, shopkeepers, professional men, landowners, laborers or peasants. Before leaving Egypt this correspondent asked many such persons how they would feel about peace with Israel. A typical response was, 'Why not? Nobody wants a war.'

"In the Arab countries of Asia Minor, however, from the Gaza Strip to Jordan, Syria and even Iraq it is difficult to stop a conversation on Israel and the Palestine problem. It is in this region that Israel is most thoroughly thought about and most frequently misrepresented. Most of the misrepresentations are a result of a tendency to accept critical reports about Israel and to reject favorable ones, to absorb news of Israel's difficulties and to forget news of its successes.

"Israelis tend to do just the reverse with regard to their own country, often making equally great misrepresentations on the credit side, but their mental image of the Arabs is more balanced than the one the Arabs have of them.

"The Palestine Arabs of Jordan, for example, regard Israelis as clever and industrious barbarians, clad for the most part in khaki shorts, living in a semi-anarchic community compounded largely of former terrorists, engineers and Rumanian pawnbrokers who have been unable to make the grade as farmers. They regard Menahem Beigin, former leader of the terrorist Irgun Zvai Leumi as more representative than Premier Moshe Sharett. They picture the Premier designate, David Ben-Gurion, as a wolf in sheep's clothing who talks peace in New York but prefers to express himself with a sub-machine-gun in the Middle East. They believe Israel is determined some day to seize Old Jerusalem and the rest of former Palestine and regard Israeli professions of a desire for peace as a deliberate snare."

Meanwhile the Arab States, with Egypt at its head have decided to be prepared for all eventualities. Egypt has decided to purchase arms from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which will nullify the attempt to control arms supply to the Arab States by the Western Powers. Naturally this has upset British opinion.

Cyprus

Tension has become acute over the question of *Enosis* in Cyprus. The two parties at loggerheads, Greece and Turkey, are both members of the Western Powers' organisation called N.A.T.O. Britain is in possession and is bearing the brunt of the disorders let loose by the Greeks in that island led by the head of the local Greek churches, and is therefore vitally interested. A conference was called in London. The weekly news magazine *Time* on September 19, reported:

"For ten days the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece and Turkey met in London to discuss the burning topic that was disrupting their NATO friendship. The problem was Cyprus, a British colony and British bastion in the Mediterranean. Four-fifths of its 500,000 people speak Greek; most of the rest are Turks. The Greeks claim it (though they last possessed it in 323 B.C.); the Turks don't want the Greeks to have it; and the British are only willing to talk about gradual self-rule."

Serious disturbances broke out at Salonika in Greece and all over Turkey. Military forces had to be used to quell the riots. The position at present may be summarised by the following news extracts:

"London, Sept. 10—The failure of Britain, Greece and Turkey to agree here this week on the future of Cyprus now threatens to split the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Balkan Pact. Greek-Turkish hostility is rising and if unchecked may imperil the West's defense structure throughout the Middle East.

"Britain has offered a measure of home rule to the 400,000 Greeks and 100,000 Turks on the island. She has refused, however, to offer 'self-determination' to the islanders at some fixed date, such as Greece wants. Britain will retain indefinite control for strategic reasons.

"Greece, which has become emotionally aroused over the Cypriotes' desire for union with Greece, is now bitterly disappointed.

"Turkey, on the other hand, is pleased at the suspension of the talks here. She has achieved her main aim: to block any shift in the status quo that would weaken the British hold on Cyprus and thereby increase Greek influence.

"There are three main positions to be understood in the Cyprus question: the British views, the Turkish views and the views of the 400,000 Greek Cypriotes supported, with slight differences, by the Greek Government.

"Cyprus is the third biggest island in the Mediterranean. It lies forty miles off the Turkish

mainland athwart the sea approaches to the vital military port of Iskenderun.

"In the Christian Era, Cyprus has been ruled successively by Caliphate, Byzantine, Crusader, Venetian, Turkish and British proconsuls. Turkey granted Britain the right to administer Cyprus in 1878 and in 1923 ceded the island outright in the Treaty of Lausanne—to which Greece was a signatory.

"The shock of this conference, to both the Greeks and British, was the tough, intransigent line of the Turkish delegation. It was soon evident that the Greek Government had made no serious effort to compose its policies with Turkey before coming to London. Therefore, the Greeks and Turks appeared to be diametrically opposed, with the British in the position of mediator.

"The Turkish delegation, headed by Fatin Rustu Zorlu, refused to accept 'self-determination' in Cyprus.

"Moreover, the Turks declared that Turkey would demand 'equal' political rights for the 400,000 Greeks and the 100,000 Turks. Since Cyprus is a 'geographical extension' of the Anatolian Peninsula, Turkey would claim Cyprus herself before allowing Greece to acquire it, the Turkish delegates added."

Istanbul, Sept. 8.—Military commanders today imposed an 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew on Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, where martial law was declared last night. Tanks and troops are patrolling the streets following anti-Greek riots two days ago when crowds set fire to 54 buildings, including 19 Greek Orthodox churches, and 57 people were injured.

All meetings except religious gatherings and school examinations have been banned. Theatres and restaurants were ordered to close early.

Demonstrators arrested for their part in the "Cyprus is Turkish" riots will be tried by military courts. More than 200 people were arrested in Izmir and 2,000 questioned in Istanbul.

United Germany

The visit of the Western German Chancellor Adenauer to Russia has clarified issues somewhat, particularly to the question of the release of German prisoners of war still held in Russia. But one of the main problems remains untouched, indeed it is obviously being shelved.

The *Worldover Press* gave the following comment on this issue in its August 12 issue:

"Around one issue there has been, ever since Geneva, increasing propaganda and obscurantism. That issue is the unification of

Germany. The Germans themselves reveal an awareness of this by the dichotomy in their expressed views. Almost the entire German press, not excluding that section of it which takes its tips from Chancellor Adenauer's government, has been branding the Summit talks as a failure because the question of unification was postponed and tied to continental security. Yet Adenauer, as if to echo determinedly the Geneva theme song—"In the Good Old Summit Time"—hailed the stand of the West, described himself as "serene," and called the meeting a big success.

"The truth is, nobody but the Germans is in any hurry to see the country unified. The Russians are not completely opposed, as the U.S. press persistently portrays them, but they want a high price—either a guarantee against the use of German might in the east, or severe limits on German military strength. The French, off the record, are no more enthusiastic than ever. The British are lukewarm, to say the least. and Washington, knowing that a united Germany voting freely would mean the end of Adenauer and an almost certain triumph for the Social Democrats, is in no haste at all. Besides, it wants to get the German army under way before it has to bargain."

A slightly different viewpoint is exposed in the following comment:

"The German people have now been forcibly divided for over 10 years. The perpetuation of this division is a crime against nature."

"Three-quarters of the Germans are in the Federal Republic, and they are fortunate in having a great leader, Chancellor Adenauer. He stands for a united Germany that will be peaceful and that will find its mission in friendly co-operation with its neighbours. He is determined that Germany's legitimate needs for security and sovereign equality shall be met without a revival of German militarism."

"It would, however, be a tragic mistake to assure that because most of the Germans now have chosen that enlightened viewpoint, the injustice of dividing Germany can therefore be perpetuated without grave risk."

"There are many nations who feel that their own future security and world peace urgently require that Germany should be reunited, and enabled, if it so desires, to become a party to the Western European arrangements for limitation, control and integration of armed forces, so that they can never serve an aggressive purpose."

"There are others who profess to feel that a united Germany within NATO would endanger them even under these conditions."

A New European State?

The Austrian Treaty signed and ratified recently has caused a reaction in an unforeseen manner. The *Worldover Press* for August 12 gave the background in the following commentary:

"A crisis started in South Tyrol shortly before the signing of the Austrian Treaty. The Volkspartei saw the signing as the end of one of its last hopes. A delegation rushed to Vienna to persuade the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, to include a clause to the effect that the question of South Tyrol should not be considered closed. But Raab, not wanting to give anybody an excuse to postpone the Treaty, was unmoved. Then the Volkspartei, like an Indian tribe being forced back into its reservation, decided to fight and put its faith in the gods."

"Perhaps one of these gods was Mr. James Conant, American Ambassador in Bonn, who came to Bolzano at the end of May. When the Volkspartei learned he was there, they thought he might be 'interested in their problem.' It was whispered he was looking around 'to see where the American troops would go.' Simultaneously, an Adenauer-inspired German paper demanded that 'Atlantic troops should be stationed in Italy.'"

"The idea of a separate state is nothing new. At the end of the First World War, the victors had the idea of creating a neutral state by joining North Tyrol (Austrian) with South Tyrol (now Italian) as a buffer to Austria. The idea is now being resurrected in an inverse way. This time a part of neutralized Austria (North Tyrol) would be subtracted and joined to the province of Bolzano. Far from being neutral, this tiny Tyrolean state would provide the solution to the most important American strategical problem in Europe—the linking of the Mediterranean theatre (and the American base at Leghorn) with Western Germany. This link becomes 'necessary' because of the Austrian Treaty—so runs the scheme—and the consequent neutralization of Austria."

Problems of Free Austria

Some interesting side-lights on the Austrian Treaty are provided by the *Atlantic Monthly* in its August issue. These mainly relate to the status of Austria in between the two opposed power blocs. The following is a typical comment:

"The situation can be illustrated by a little episode that occurred in Moscow as the Soviet and Austrian delegations were complet-

ing the drafting of the new State Treaty. Nikita Khrushchev turned to the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, and said: 'During the past few days, we have come to know you, Mr. Raab, as an honest, forthright man. I shall give you a good advice: follow my example and become a Communist . . . But if I am absolutely unable to persuade you, for God's sake, stay what you are. We shall not interfere. We know conditions in Austria. We shall let the Austrian people live the way they want.'"

Free Austria has a great many problems, most of them generated by the long occupation. The *Atlantic* puts forward one of them in the following words:

"The end of the occupation brings up the politically as well as economically difficult question of what to do about the plants and stores which the Russians took over in 1945 as war booty. There are 296 such plants, with a total of 63,000 employees. These factories comprise one-third of all Austrian steel mills and practically all the oil industry. For the last ten years they have been operated not as part of the Austrian but as part of the Soviet economy. They have paid no duties for exports or imports, nor taxes on profits. Their output has gone either to Russia or to the Russian satellites, being exchanged on a barter principle."

"The condition of the plants is poor, and they lack raw material stocks, fuel, and capital. It has been estimated that about half a billion dollars will be needed in new capital to replace worn-out machinery, a colossal amount of money in Austria."

President Eisenhower

Last week came the following news about President Eisenhower's illness and its possible ill-effect on the *pour-parlers* on the Far Eastern question. We hope the U.S. President will make an early recovery as his genial and strong personality is of illimitable value at the present juncture:

"Denver (Colorado), Sept. 25.—Doctors attending President Eisenhower, in hospital here after a heart attack, today reported that the President spent a 'very satisfactory night' on Saturday and that there were 'no complications.'"

"The President was taken to the Fitzsimmons Army Hospital here after he had a slight heart attack on Saturday. Throughout Saturday night he rested quietly in an oxygen tent while Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, his wife,

stayed overnight in the President's suite at the hospital."

"Washington, Sept. 28.—President Eisenhower's heart attack and his long convalescence will have a profound effect on prospects for a general Far East settlement between the U.S.A. and Communist China, in the opinion of competent observers here."

"The first direct result of the President's illness on the Far East situation is expected to be a definite slackening in the already slow progress by American and Chinese representatives in negotiations at Geneva."

"The Big Two talks have reached a stage of uncertainty because of U.S. refusal to take up broad political, diplomatic and trade disputes until all American civilians have been released from China."

Far-East U.S. Viewpoint

We give below a summary of the U. S. Secretary's speech on the Far-Eastern situation. This clearly illustrates the U. S. viewpoint:

"In the China area the situation is somewhat less ominous than it was. We hope that the Chinese People's Republic will respond to the manifest will of the world community that armed force should not be used to achieve national objectives."

"The record of this Communist regime has been an evil one. It fought the United Nations in Korea, for which it stands here branded as an aggressor. It took over Tibet by armed force. It became allied with the Communist Viet Minh in their effort to take over Indo-China by armed force. Then, following the Indo-China armistice, it turned its military attention to the Taiwan (Formosa) area. It threatened to take this area by force, and began active military assaults on its approaches, which assaults, it claimed, were a first step in its new programme of military conquest."

"This constituted a major challenge to principles to which the United States is committed by our Charter. It was also a direct and special challenge to the United States itself. We have a distinctive relationship to these islands, a relationship which is reinforced by a mutual defence treaty with the Republic of China covering Taiwan and Pescadores."

"At this point, on January 24, 1955, President Eisenhower asked the Congress of the United States for authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the defence of

Taiwan and Pescadores and related areas which the President might judge as appropriate to that defence. After full hearings in the House and the Senate of the United States, the requested authority was granted. In the House the vote was 409 to 3, and in the Senate the vote was 83 to 3. The authority terminates whenever peace and security of the area are reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise.

"Shortly thereafter the Bandung Conference was held. There again the peace-loving nations—many of them members of the United Nations—made clear to the Chinese Communists their adherence to our Charter principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat of force.

"From the site of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai proposed direct discussions with the United States, a proposal which I promptly indicated was acceptable to the United States so long as we dealt only with matters of concern to the two of us, not involving the rights of third parties. That reservation applied particularly, so far as the United States is concerned, to the Republic of China to which we are loyal as to a long-time friend and ally.

"Shortly thereafter the Chinese Communists released four and, later, the other eleven, of the United States fliers of the United Nations Command whom it had been holding in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. This release had been sought by resolution of this General Assembly adopted last December. The outcome justified the confidence which the United States placed in the United Nations and our restraint in the use or threat of our own national power.

"Some 15 months ago, the United States had started talks with the 'Chinese People's Republic' at Geneva with regard to getting our civilians home. As a result of the Bandung statement made by Mr. Chou En-lai and my reply, the talks were resumed last August, to deal first with the topic of freeing civilians for return, and then with other practical matters of direct concern to the two of us.

"All Chinese in the United States who desire to return to their homeland are free to do so. They have always been free to do so except for a few who were temporarily prevented by restrictions arising out of the Korean war. The 'Chinese People's Republic' has now declared that all Americans on the China mainland have the right to return and

will be enabled expeditiously to exercise that right."

Pakistan and Baghdad Pact

Pakistan has now formally joined the Western Bloc, in the M.E.D.O.

"Karachi, Sept. 23.—Pakistan today formally acceded to the Baghdad Pact when the Instrument of Accession was deposited at Baghdad by the Pakistan Ambassador there, Mr. Lal Shah Bokhari.

"This brings the total number of adherents to the Pact to four: the U.K., Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan—virtually the M.E.D.O. without the U.S.A.

"According to indications available here, the permanent Ministerial Council envisaged under Article 6 of the Pact will come into existence 'very soon.' The initiative in this connexion is expected to be taken by the original signatories, Turkey and Iraq."

Pak-Afghan Dispute Ends

Karachi, Sept. 13.—The Pakistani flag was ceremonially rehoisted over the Embassy in Kabul today, thus marking the end of the five-month-old dispute with Afghanistan.

The Afghan Foreign Minister, Sardar Mohammed Naim Khan, rehoisted the flag promising safety for Pakistani lives and property in his country. He expressed pleasure that the two countries had agreed to discontinue propaganda hostile to each other.

An Afghan military unit of 100 riflemen fired a salute to the flag and a band played the National Anthems of the two countries.

The Pakistani flag over the Embassy was hauled down by demonstrators last March when they demanded Pushtoonistan.

Tomorrow the Pakistani flag will be similarly rehoisted at Jalalabad where the Consulate was also attacked in March. On Thursday, the Afghan flag will be rehoisted at the Peshawar Consulate by Pakistan's Communications Minister.

Bengali in Pakistan

East Pakistan's claim for the State recognition of the Bengali language has gained a point as indicated by the news below:

"Karachi, Sept. 21.—The Deputy Speaker today disallowed a Bengali member from speaking in his mother-tongue on the ground that the 'chair' did not understand the language.

"Heated arguments followed the ruling in which both Bengali and non-Bengali members supported the member's demand for permission to speak in Bengali.

"Mr. Fazlul Huq, Minister for interior, said if the chair did not revise its ruling, most of the members might like to walk out.

"The chair ultimately revised the ruling and the member concerned spoke in Bengali."

Japan and Goa

The following news is of interest in connection with the Goa dispute:

"Bombay, Sept. 24.—Japanese shipping lines have ordered their ships on high seas in the Indian Ocean not to touch the port of Marmagao in the Portuguese settlements in India. The order followed advice to the shipping lines by the Japanese Government, it was learnt here today.

"It was interpreted here as evidence of Japan's anxiety to retain her goodwill and trade with India even at the cost of her trade with Goa.

"Japan has important interests in Goa because she not only has millions of yen invested in the iron and manganese ore mines in this Portuguese pocket but has also contracted to buy at lower than world price 600,000 to 900,000 tons of ores annually.

"Japanese sources pointed out that it was becoming clear that the Goan production was very much lower."

"Murder Most Foul"

A news-item appeared in the *New York Times* under the above caption, we give it in substantial extract, as well as the sequel as given in the daily press here. It seems that there are yet some spots in the U.S. where the light of civilization has not penetrated:

"Late last month a 14-year-old Chicago Negro schoolboy named Emmitt Louis Till went South to spend a two-week vacation with his uncle, a poor tenant farmer in Laflore County in northern Mississippi. On August 27, Till with his cousin, entered a local store owned by a white man, Roy Bryant, and allegedly 'wolf-whistled' at the proprietor's wife. The next night Bryant and his half brother came and took young Till from his uncle's house. The men said no harm would come to the boy 'if he's not the right one.' Next day, with Emmitt still missing, his uncle complained to the police and the two men were arrested on a kidnapping charge. They admitted to having abducted Till but said they released him unharmed.

"Then, on August 31, the nude body of a teen-age boy, bound with barbed wire and weighted with a 100-pound cotton gin pulley, was

taken from the near-by Tallahatchie River. It was identified by Till's uncle and others as that of young Emmitt. There was a bullet hole in his head. The body, after a brief interment in Mississippi, was brought back to Chicago a week ago Friday. There, thousands of Negroes passed before the bier to view the victim's mangled face. The boy was buried in a Chicago suburb last Tuesday. A spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the case seemed to 'qualify as a lynching.'

"Last week there was disagreement among Mississippi authorities as to whether the body had actually been Till's. The Tallahatchie County sheriff charged that the case was 'all a plot' perpetrated by the N. A. A. C. P. But an eighteen-men, all-white Tallahatchie County grand jury last Tuesday indicted Bryant and his half brother on charges of kidnapping and murder."

"Summer (Mississippi), Sept. 24.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today assailed what it called the 'shameful' acquittal here of two White men accused of murdering a Negro boy.

"The verdict is as shameful as it is shocking," the Association said in a statement from its New York headquarters. "The jurors, who returned it deserve a medal from the Kremlin for meritorious service in communism's war against democracy."

"Half-brothers Roy Bryant (24) and John Mila (36) were found not guilty by an all-White jury here yesterday of killing fourteen-year-old Emmitt Till, who was alleged to have 'wolf-whistled' at Bryant's pretty wife.

"After embracing their wives happily, they were taken back in custody and put in Greenwood Prison, in neighbouring Leflore County to face kidnapping charges.

"The Summer Jury found them not guilty of murder after 68 minutes of deliberation and three ballots. Afterwards the Jury foreman said the deciding factor was the State's failure to prove the identity of a body pulled from the Tallahatchie River.

"The State maintained that this body, weighed and shot through the head, was Till's.

"Before the trial, police said the 21-year old Mrs. Bryant was the object of Till's whistle. But on the stand as a defence witness, she mentioned no names in relating an alleged incident at her husband's shop. Bryant's lawyers used this lack of identification to demand of the prosecution: 'Where is the motive?'

"Part of her testimony was withheld from the Jury and she was not cross-examined."

War or Genocide ?

The unfortunate and dispossessed sons of Africa who were indiscriminately classified and massacred as Mau Mau, seem to have come to an end of their agonies, as the news below would indicate. The item is taken from *Time*:

"After three years' bitter fighting and 11,400 killings (including 9,400 Mau Mau, 35 white settlers, 550 soldiers), the British army in Kenya thought it had the Mau Mau war well enough under control to announce the withdrawal, within the next four months, of 2,500 British and 1,000 African troops—almost one quarter of the total force engaged."

Indo-Pak Trade Agreement

The 1955-56 Trade Agreement between Pakistan and India signed in Karachi on July 19, has been ratified by both the Governments. It came into force on September 1, 1955, and will remain valid until the end of August next year.

Under the agreement, Pakistan will import from India, among other things, coal, stone boulders, hard and soft wood, mica, antimony, books and periodicals, lime and lime stone, cinema films, chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

The agreed items of export from Pakistan to India include raw jute, raw cotton, hides and skins, fish, poultry and eggs, betel nuts, saltpetre, books and periodicals, rock salt and cinema films.

A special feature of the agreement is the provision allowing the people living within the border areas of East Pakistan and West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Tripura to trade in certain commodities of daily use. These facilities will be available only to persons holding 'A' category visas and will be subject to review after a period of six months.

World Coffee Production

On the basis of data collected by the Foreign Agricultural Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, total world production of green coffee for the marketing year of 1955-1956 is forecast at more than 45,000,000 bags of 132.276 pounds each. This figure would be 11 percent more than the 40,600,000 bags produced in 1954-1955, six per cent higher than the 42,400,000 bags of 1953-1954, and eight percent higher than the pre-war average of 41,600,000 bags. The principal increases in production have taken place in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and the French African territories. Exportable production is forecast at 36,700,000 bags, compared with 32,300,000 bags for 1954-1955 and 33,500,000 bags for 1953-1954.

Felicitations

We offer our heartiest congratulations to Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, the doyen of Indian journalism, on the attainment of his eightieth year. He began his journalistic career during the *Sundhya* and the *Bande Mataram* days in the early part of this century, and for fifty years he has been a very prominent figure in this field. He wields a facile pen both in English and in Bengali. He is a mine of information, and his encyclopaedic knowledge has been of great help to younger journalists who always receive from him valuable guidance. His contribution to Bengali literature is of no mean order. During his long career as a journalist he has helped considerably to raise the standard of journalism. He is also a familiar figure on the platform, and his informative speeches interspersed with witty remarks are always enjoyable. As a representative of Indian journalists he went abroad after the First World War. As an educationist, litterateur and journalist he has become an institution by himself. We wish him a long and happy life.

Fine Paper from Bagasse

W. R. Grace & Company, a United States organisation whose interests have been largely in the development of South and Central American agriculture and in American air and water transportation, has announced the development of a new process for the making of high grade commercial paper from bagasse. The new process is a continuous quick-pulping method in which bagasse (the fibrous residue of sugarcane after the sugar is extracted) is transformed directly into pulp as it leaves the sugar mill. The ordinary process for pulping bagasse required several hours, but the new method takes only 5 or 10 minutes.

In India, we produce and burn at least three million tons of bagasse. Should we not investigate the possibilities of this process?

U.S. Technical Co-operation

"New Delhi, Sept. 24: An agreement signed here this week between the Governments of India and the United States allocated \$7,844,115 (Rs. 372.5 lakhs) toward the multi-purpose Rihand Valley Development Project under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Programme.

"The Government of India will spend Rs. 7 crores for the first phase of this development project, which will be obtained from the sale of \$30 million worth of wheat and cotton being given to India by the U.S. as a loan.

"Finance Minister C. D. Deshmukh and

American Ambassador John Sherman Cooper were present at the signing ceremony.

"The Rihand Project is a major river valley development scheme designed to speed the agricultural and industrial advancement of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Vindhya Pradesh States. The U.S. will finance the first phase (to be completed by June 30, 1957) of the project under the Technical Co-operation Programme. When completed in 1959, this Rs. 45.26-crore project will generate 240,000 kilowatts of electric power, mitigate flood damages in Bihar, and bring over 2,050,000 new acres of land under irrigation, yielding 600,000 tons of additional foodgrain every year as well as other valuable agricultural products."

Sports Ambassador Owens

Considerable interest has been created in our sporting circles by the coming visit of Jesse Owens to India.

Jesse Owens' timing of 10.2 seconds in the 100-metre dash at the 1936 Olympics is still a world record. Nor has any athlete succeeded in clearing 26 feet 8½ inches in the running broad jump as Owens did at the Western Conference Championships at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1935.

The is why Owens is still considered the "world's fastest human," as America's greatest track star of all time.

Prize Competitions Bill

The Lok Sabha has at last put restrictions on this gambling that was becoming a social curse. The following news-item gives the short details:

"New Delhi, Sept. 26.—The Lok Sabha passed the Prize Competitions Bill today after a debate varying in tone between humour and reformist zeal.

"While the Bill places a maximum of Rs. 1,000 on the total value of the prize (whether cash or otherwise) to be offered by any competition in any month, an amendment limits the entries to a maximum of Rs. 2,000.

"In marked contrast to the speeches of many members who pleaded for a complete ban Pandit Pant took the view that a small prize added zest to games of skill. The element of 'swindle' was removed by limiting the prize money. He assured the House that, if exploitation of the guileless continued in spite of the limitation on the prize money, stricter steps would be taken.

"The Bill was extended to six States in addition to Bombay, Andhra, Pepsu and all Part C States mentioned in the Bill since their State legislatures had passed similar resolutions

empowering Parliament to make a law on the subject. The Home Minister said every State in the Union had undertaken to pass similar resolutions. He also assured the House that rules for issue of licenses to conduct prize competitions would be so framed as to license only those requiring skill and exercise of intelligence. He used harsh language in describing the manner in which crossword and similar competitions were being run at present. They 'seduced and tempted' guileless people, had become 'almost an organized fraud,' were a 'plunder of the unwary' and had driven many to madness."

Hindi and the I.A.S.

We reproduce below part of an editorial from the *Harijan*, as it is of crucial interest to the majority of Indians:

"A friend from Madras draws my attention to a notification of the Government of India which says that for probationers in Indian Administrative Service, the qualifying tests will be in the following subjects—1. Riding, 2. a Regional Language, and 3. Hindi, except for candidates who are examined in Hindi as a regional language under item 2 above.

"It says further that 'every probationer shall be examined in the regional language or one of the regional languages shown in column (2) of the Schedule against the State to which he is allotted'"

"The Schedule is as follows :

State (1)	Regional Languages (2)
Andhra	Telugu or Hindi
Assam	Assamese or Bengali
Bihar	Hindi, Bengali, San'hali or Oraon
Bombay	Marathi, Gujarati or Kannada
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi or Marathi
Madras	Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam
Orissa	Oriya, Telugu or Bengali
Punjab	Hindi or Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script)
Uttar Pradesh	Hindi
West Bengal	Bengali or Hindi
Hyderabad	Marathi, Telugu, Kannada or Urdu
Madhya Bharat	Hindi
Mysore	Kannada
Patiala and East Punjab States Union	Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) or Hindi
Rajasthan	Hindi
Saurashtra	Gujarati or Hindi
Travancore-Cochin	Malayalam or Tamil
Vindhya Pradesh	Hindi

"The notification raises many questions. One of them is noted by the Madras correspondent as follows :

"The following States are announced as Hindi regions—Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Vindhya Pradesh. The candidates from these regions will take only Hindi as their language, whereas the candidates from Andhra, Assam, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, West Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin will have to take two languages, i.e., the regional language and Hindi. Thus, candidates of the Hindi-speaking regions are in an advantageous position of taking only one language. Others will be in a disadvantageous position, having to take two languages. Thus it is clear that the scales cannot, by this method, be held even between the candidates from Hindi and non-Hindi regions.

"Why not one of the Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam be made an additional compulsory language for the candidates from the Hindi-speaking areas, so that there may be equal advantage for all and there may be interchange of ideas between the North and the South and strengthening of national solidarity?"

"There is another point worthy of notice in the above Schedule. We see that Andhra, Pepsu, and Saurashtra are scheduled to have Hindi as a regional language. Urdu is mentioned against Hyderabad only, even though it obtains as a regional language, more or less, all over the areas where Hindi is mentioned as a regional language; for example, U.P., Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. It is worth while to know the basis on which the regional languages are prescribed in the Schedule, for it raises important questions in regard to future administrative set-up."

Examinations in 'Mother-Tongue'

It is interesting to note the opinion of experienced teachers in the matter of examination in Regional Languages. The following news is noteworthy:

Guntur, Sept. 14.—The Andhra Tutorial Teachers' Conference was held here recently in the Kalodaya Tutorial College buildings. Mr. G. V. Subba Rao of Vijayawada presided.

Mr. G. V. Subba Rao, in his presidential address, said that English must be replaced by the regional language at all stages. He added that any attempt to perpetuate a foreign language medium would be resisted. He advocated the reviving of primary and middle school public examinations and making physical education compulsory. He appealed to the University authorities to accord recognition to tutorial

institutions. The State Governments, he said, must come to the aid of the tutorial institutions as they were rendering great service to the students of the country.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions. One of them urged that in order to spread literacy and to promote general awakening in the country, public examinations should be thrown open freely to all private candidates without any restriction. The Conference requested the authorities to give adequate representation to teachers of tutorial institutions in the Senates of Andhra and Venkateswara Universities. It was resolved that English should be replaced by the mother-tongue in the university classes and that the mother-tongue should be recognised not only as the first language but also as the medium of instruction and examination in both secondary and collegiate courses.

Dr. Kartick Chandra Bose

Dr. Kartick Chandra Bose, an eminent physician of Calcutta and one of the pioneers in chemical and pharmaceutical industry in India, passed away on 25th August at the age of eighty-three. As a pioneer in this field his name should be remembered along with that of Prof. Gajjar of Bombay. Born in 1873 at Changripota, 24-Parganas, Dr. Bose graduated from the Calcutta Medical College in 1897 securing first class marks in all the subjects and topped the list of successful candidates. He joined the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works in 1899, and was its Managing Director for eight years. He was also the founder of Bose's Laboratory in Calcutta which he started in 1903. He was the founder-editor of the *Suasthya-Samachar* in Bengali which ran for forty years. He also edited its Hindi, Urdu and English editions. He is the author of sixteen books on medicine and health, and published in 1902 his famous *Official Indigenous Drugs of India*. He was also a pioneer social worker. In his native village he opened at his own cost branches of the Social Service League and the Anti-Malarial Society. His Multi-purpose Co-operative Society may be taken as the precursor of Deshabandhu Palli-Sanskar Samity.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 23rd October to 6th November, 1955, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

INDIA'S "SUBMERGED HUMANITY"

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D.Litt. (Paris)

AN outstanding problem of India is that of her "submerged humanity" or of those peoples whose mode of life, as determined by living standard and cultural achievement, falls far short of the level achieved by caste Hindus or, in other words, those peoples who are "socially, educationally, and economically backward." Although this definition is too simple to be applicable to a dynamic nation in the process of rapid industrial development, when all these three characteristics are taken into consideration together, this is still true in the case of India where the caste system plays even today a dominant part in determining one's social position.

Most of the "submerged peoples," of whom fairly detailed information is available, fall into three categories, namely, Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Backward Classes, numbering respectively 20, 55, and 35.6 million, or 5.6, 15.3, and 9.3 per cent of the total population. In other words, 110.6 million or 30.2 per cent of the total population of India are backward in social, educational, and economic achievements, as indicated below :

India's "Submerged Population" in 1951		
Submerged population	Number in million	Percent of total
Scheduled Tribes	20.0 ¹	5.6
Scheduled Castes	55.0 ²	15.3
Backward Classes	35.6	9.3

Total backward peoples 110.6 30.2

SOURCE : India—A Reference Annual—1954, Government of India, p. 348. According to the Census of 1951, the total population of India is 356.8 million, exclusive of Kashmir and Jammu, which had, however, a population of 4.4 million, the detailed information of which was not available at the time the Indian census was taken.

In addition to the above three groups of peoples, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Backward Classes, there are also 198 ex-Criminal Tribes, although the exact number of their population is not known.

These social, political, and economical conditions of about one-third of India's population have not only retarded the intellectual, moral, and spiritual development of these peoples themselves, but have very detrimental effect upon the progress and prosperity of the whole nation.

1. Including 995,000 persons of the "Leftout Tribes and Areas" as indicated by the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, Government of India, p. 139.

2. See the Indigram, The Embassy of India, Washington, D.C., July 18, 1955, p. 742.

1. THE "SUBMERGED HUMANITY"

Although grouped together under the "common designation" of "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, each group is different from the other, both in origin and nature of its problem, and would therefore require a different kind of treatment in each case. The common factor among them is that all of them are "backward." But even this "backwardness" varies in degree from group to group, as shown more clearly in the discussion of the origins and problems of each group.

Scheduled Tribes : The origins of India's Scheduled Tribes have been traced to such races as the Proto-Australoids, who one time practically covered the whole of India ; secondly, the Mongoloids who are still located mostly in Assam, e.g., Naga Tribes ; and finally, to a limited extent, also the Negritos strain as indicated by frizzly hair, among the Andamanese and the Kadars of the South-west. These original tribes in India have been divided and subdivided into a large number of sub-tribes, all mutually exclusive, each having the endogamous and exogamous clans with their own totem names and their own customs. The common features of all these tribes are : (1) primitive way of living ; (2) habitation in remote and less easily accessible areas ; and (3) nomadic habits and love for drink and dance.

The Tribal Welfare Committee which met under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Welfare Work at Calcutta and consisted of anthropologists and other social workers, recommended the following classifications of the existing tribes : (1) *Tribal Communities* or those who are still confined to the original forest habitats and follow the old pattern of life ; (2) *Semi-Tribal Communities* or those who have more or less settled down in rural areas and have taken to agriculture and allied occupations ; (3) *Acculturated Tribal Communities* or those who have migrated to urban or semi-urban areas and are engaged in modern industries and vocations and adopted modern cultural traits ; and (4) *Totally Assimilated Tribals* in the Indian population.

The impact of Christianity on the life of some of the Scheduled Tribes must be recognized both as far as the development of their literacy and culture is concerned. Since every

3. Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, pp. 326-333.

citizen has been granted by the Constitution his right to preserve his personal faith and religion, the tribal man is entitled to preserve both his faith and religion. It must be remembered that in the Indian renaissance movement as indicated by the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj movements, the Christian missionaries have made great contributions to the development of vernacular language and literature. What is required of every citizen is that he should learn both the State language and the national language so that he can easily understand his duties and responsibilities to the State and exercise his rights and privileges as a citizen.

The Scheduled Tribes of India are the earliest inhabitants (Adivasis) or indigenous peoples of the country, who were unable to defend themselves and were gradually forced to recede before the invading hordes of such peoples as the Dravidians, Indo-Aryans and Mongolians coming from the West, North-west, and North-east respectively, who were not only superior in numerical strength but also in mechanical equipment. The indigenous peoples thus took shelter in the mountain fastnesses and thick jungles, where a considerable number of them still are and have been estimated to be about 5 millions. Those who were left behind on the plains gradually disappeared either by absorption or by acculturation.

According to the Census of 1951, there are about 245 Scheduled tribes (1950) with a total population of 20 million in 1951. They are concentrated in the central belt beginning from the Aravalli Hills in the west and extending into parts of Bombay State, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam. In the north, they are found in the southern ranges of the Himalayas, and in the south in the Eastern and Western Ghats and in the Vindhya and Satpura mountains.

The various groups making up the indigenous population in India are in different stages of primitive existence, as determined by their habitat as well as by the facilities of their internal and external communications. These groups differ from one another in ethnology, language, and social and religious customs. Education is difficult for the aboriginal races because of inaccessibility of their places of residence, difficulty of finding a common language, and the scarcity of appropriate teachers. But there is no doubt that the people of these

regions will gradually appreciate the value of education and take full advantage of free compulsory education. This is best indicated in the case of Assam where the young people of both sexes attend school together.

Scheduled Castes: The largest number of backward peoples belong to Scheduled Castes, which amounts to over 55 millions, about one-seventh of the total population of India in 1951, as noted before, and which are variously called exterior castes, depressed classes, untouchables, and Harijans (as Mahatma Gandhi used to call them). Of these various designations the two most important are Scheduled Castes, which have been official designations and have appeared in all their constitutional and legal relationships. The second is Harijans, a term which is also legal, as indicated by the Bombay Harijan Temple Act of 1947 and also by the fact that some of the leaders of the group have accepted it.

The origin of untouchability is "partly racial, partly religious, and partly a matter of social custom." There is, however, a strong opinion in certain quarters that "the idea of untouchability originates in taboo." Besides its origin, the concept of untouchability has undoubtedly been "accentuated by differences of race and racial antipathies, which seem common to every branch of the human family and have reinforced the magical taboo." Once such a group was formed, all the peoples, mostly of the aboriginal origins, who were employed in certain unclean occupations, were added to these untouchable classes, thus augmenting their number. (The greatest factor in the increase of the number of the untouchables was, however, penalization and condemnation by the Brahmins of all those Indian Buddhists who refused to give up their religion). There are several disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes suffer: (1) They are barred from the use of public utilities, e.g., schools, wells, bathing places, and often from burning ghats (cremation grounds); (2) they are barred from entering into Hindu temples; (3) they are deprived of the services of such peoples as barbers, tailors, and washermen; and (4) in certain provinces, their contact or proximity is regarded as pollution.* Lately, some of these conditions have been modified but the essential features of their disabilities still exist.

5. *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India: Part I: Report*, p. 486.

6. *Census of India, 1931, Abstract*, Government of India, 1932, p. 6.

4. *First Five-Year Plan, People's Edition, Planning Commission, Government of India*, p. 243.

Backward Classes: Backward Classes imply the groups of people who are "socially, educationally, or economically backward," although the terms have not yet been officially so defined by the Constitution. Under Article 15 of the Constitution, the State is empowered to make special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes besides Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In some States, no distinction is made between Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. Some of the States, such as Madras, proposed to spend about 14.4 million rupees on welfare schemes for Scheduled Castes and other backward classes in 1952-53.

The Government of India has appointed a Backward Classes Commission with Shri Kaka Sahib Kalelkar as Chairman. The Commission was inaugurated by the President on March 18, 1953. It has a three-fold function: (1) To determine the test which a particular class or group of peoples can be described as backward; (2) to prepare a list of such backward communities for the whole of India; (3) to examine the difficulties of the backward classes and to recommend the steps to be taken for their amelioration. The Commission has power to co-opt at least two members, including a woman, from every State as it proceeds with the examinations of the witnesses. The terms of references include the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and a number of other groups, which are backward socially, educationally, and economically.

The Government has also prepared a list of measures which have been undertaken by 22 States up to December 31, 1951, to remove social disabilities among the Hindus.⁷

Ex-Criminal Tribes: In addition to Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Backward Classes, as mentioned above, there are other classes of backward peoples in India, of which the most important are the Ex-Criminal Tribes, the exact number of which have not, however, become available. They are made of some 198 nomadic tribes who have not been able to adjust themselves to the proprietary conventions of a settled economy. Although many of these tribes have been associated with anti-social activities, others have shown a disposition to settle down as small traders and shop-keepers and have shown signs of skillfulness, which could be developed and utilized for the development of various crafts.⁸

In order to regulate the activities of these nomadic tribes, an Act was passed in 1924, under which certain tribes were classified as "criminal" as a result of their habit of banditry. Once they were so declared, they could not leave the places of residence at night, nor could they move out of the areas of their residence without permission. As under the Constitution of the Republic, no man can be deemed guilty unless he is proved to be so in a court of law. The Criminal Tribes Acts were repealed from August 20, 1952. Individual acts of criminality will be dealt with under the ordinary law. They will in the future be treated as backward peoples and remedial measures for the improvement of backward peoples would be applicable to the so-called Ex-Criminal Tribes also.

2. POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

After centuries of neglect and apathy, India has been awakened, as soon as she has become independent, to do everything in her power to integrate her "submerged humanity" into her social, political, intellectual, moral and spiritual life by all means at her disposal. These measures might be classified under the following headings, such as Constitutional safeguards, reservations in services, and representations in legislative bodies, and development of Scheduled Tribal Areas.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Articles of the Constitution: Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 17 abolishes untouchability and forbids its practice in any form; and Article 29(2) provides that no citizen can be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid from it, on grounds only of religion, race, caste and language.

Directive Principles of State Policy require the State first of all to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order in which justice—social, economic, political—shall inform all institutions of national life; and provide in the second place that the State shall promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice or all forms of exploitation.

Removal of Social Disabilities: Under Article 338 of the Constitution, the President appointed a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes

7. *India—Reference Annual, 1954*, pp. 354-55.

8. *First Five-Year Plan, Government of India, 1953*, p. 245.

and Scheduled Tribes on November 18, 1950. The Commissioner was required to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided under the Constitution and to report upon their working at such intervals as the President may direct. Moreover, between 1938 and 1951, especially during 1947-51, some 22 Acts and their amendments were passed by various States as for the removal of social or civil disabilities of the Harijans or Scheduled Castes.

Reservation in Services: Article 335 read with Article 16(4) makes it possible for the State to reserve appointments for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and give them some other facilities as it may consider necessary. In fact, as early as 1934, instructions were issued by the Government of India to ensure that qualified candidates from these classes were not deprived of fair opportunities for employment merely because they could not succeed in open competition. In 1943, it was decided to reserve 8½ per cent of vacancies for them, and in 1946, the percentage of reservation was raised to 12½ so as to correspond to the percentage of the Scheduled Castes in the total population of the country. After the attainment of independence, it was decided that 12½ per cent of the vacancies filled on the basis of competition should continue to go to the Scheduled Castes. For all other posts, the figure of reservation was raised to 16½ per cent. At the same time, the appointing officers all over the country, especially in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, were required to keep in view the desirability of recruiting suitable candidates belonging to the Scheduled Tribes. In July, 1949, concessions in regard to age and fees, which have been given to the Scheduled Castes, were extended to the Scheduled Tribes.

REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT AND LEGISLATURES

The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have been given special representation in Parliament and State Legislatures for a period of ten years from the date of the inauguration of the Constitution. The total number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are respectively 28 and 71 out of a total of 502 seats in the House of the People in the Central Government and 188 and 473 seats out of a total of 3,315 seats in the Legislatures of the States. Moreover, there were 11 members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the Upper House, the Council of the States.⁹

9. Under Articles 330, 332, and 334 of the Constitution.

Appointment of Ministers: Under Article 164 and 238 the States Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa are required to appoint Ministers to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and other backward classes. Some of the States have created departments of welfare services. Of the Ministers, Deputy Directors, and Parliamentary Secretaries, 31 belong to the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED AND TRIBAL AREAS

The welfare of backward areas has been assured by special provisions in the Constitution. The Constitution provides for the establishment in each State having Scheduled areas of a Tribal Advisory Council to advise the Head of the State on such matters relating to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Most of the States have already set up such councils. Such States are required to submit a report to the President regarding their administration.

Educational and Welfare Schemes: Article 46 of the Constitution has also laid down that the State shall promote educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In order to give effect to this plan, a variety of measures has been undertaken by both Central and State Governments: (1) The total expenditure on welfare schemes for the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes in the States was Rs. 27.5 million in 1951-52, Rs. 35.0 million in 1952-53, and the budget for 1953-54 had a provision of Rs. 52.0 million. (2) The Government of India has been implementing the scheme for award of scholarship for post-Matric students and spent for Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other backward classes Rs. 15.40 million in 1951-52 and sanctioned Rs. 30 million for 1952-53. (3) By the end of December 1952, 3,065 scholarships were awarded to Scheduled Castes, 1,094 to Scheduled Tribes, and 1,734 to other backward classes, or a total of 5,893 scholarships.

Other Welfare Work Grants: Of these welfare services, the most important are:

(1) *Developmental Plan,* for which Article 275 of the Constitution requires the Central Government to make grants to the State Governments from the Consolidated Funds of India to enable the latter to carry out development schemes for the benefit of the backward classes. The Central Government has thus granted Rs. 37.87 million to different States during 1951-53.

(2) *The Benefit under the Five-Year Plan:* A provision of Rs. 40 million has been made in the First Five-Year Plan for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes. For implementing development of schemes in tribal areas, the Government of India has taken into consideration the need for the preservation and development of tribal culture. In accordance with provision now made in the Five-Year Plan, the States will spend a total of Rs. 188.72 million during the planned period.

3. POLICIES AND PROBLEMS

Although all the groups discussed above fall under the same category of "submerged humanity," they are different in origin and also require different methods of approach in solving their specific problems. They should, therefore, be discussed separately.

ASSIMILATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Since the beginning of the Indian history, the policies both of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan peoples have been to leave Scheduled Tribes alone and let them live their lives as they pleased without any interference from outside. Two outstanding events have drawn the attention of Indian peoples to the problems of the Scheduled Tribes: First, the uprisings of Paharia and Santal tribes in 1782 and since then and up to 1947, various acts and regulations were promulgated and some important reforms introduced. Second, the gradual penetration into tribal areas by foreign missionaries bringing in some extraneous influences in various parts of the country. Both these events indicated that India must develop some definite policies and take some positive steps toward her neighbouring tribal populations.

The first attempts of the Government of India were the provisions of welfare services for the tribal peoples in the Constitution. Under Article 275 of the Constitution both the Central Government and State Governments made contributions of Rs. 120 million and 110 million respectively, for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, a grant of Rs. 30 million was also made for the development of the North-East Frontier Agency in which a large proportion of the tribal population lived. This is a positive policy of assisting the tribal peoples to develop the natural resources of the areas in which they live and to evolve a more productive economic life depending upon themselves rather than upon over 17 States.

Article 338 of the Constitution makes further provision for the appointment of a

special body to investigate the safeguards provided for tribal populations and to report to the President on their working. This body started functioning with effect from November 1, 1950 under a Commissioner assisted by five Regional Commissioners with jurisdiction over 17 States.

Part X of the Constitution made special provisions for the autonomous administration of the tribal areas of Assam in special relations to the allotment and use of land, taxation, education, and the control of money-lending and trading; other States having Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes will have Tribal Advisory Councils to advise the authorities on the advancement and welfare of aborigines. Such councils exist in Assam, Madras and Orissa. In Assam, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Orissa and West Bengal, there are special departments or ministers responsible for tribal affairs.

It was not until 1952 that a fundamental policy of the Government towards the tribal people was definitely declared. In June 1952, a meeting was held in Delhi of the State Government representatives, the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha, Members of Parliament, anthropologists, missionaries and social workers, to study the program of action on behalf of the aboriginal population. During the meeting the Government's intention to assimilate the tribal population without prejudicing its peculiar character was reiterated.¹⁰

This means that, subject to due respect to the minority rights granted by the Constitution, as well as some specific rights granted temporarily as mentioned above, Scheduled Tribes will have the same rights and privileges as any other group of peoples, irrespective of race, caste, or creed, e.g., free and compulsory education of the children up to age 14, and social education of adults in the language which they can understand, and also vocational education of adults in the language which they can understand, and also vocational education in occupations which are appropriate to them. Like any other group or community, they are entitled to all the civic rights, including participation in municipal, district, State and Union elections to choose their representatives. Moreover, as in the case of Scheduled Castes, reservations have also been made for Scheduled Tribes, both in higher services as well as for ten years in Parliament and State Legislatures, on the basis of their population.

10. *India News, The Indian High Commission, London*, 14 and 21 June, 1952, pp. 8 and 4 respectively.

INTEGRATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Another outstanding problem of India's "submerged humanity" is the integration of her 55 million or one-seventh of the population of India's Scheduled Castes or the so-called "untouchables," into her social, political, economic organization. It has also been mentioned that untouchability originated most probably from some unclean occupation, which under the magic of taboo, created such a wide gulf between the caste Hindus and the so-called untouchables that it remained unbridged for thousands of years.

In spite of the wide gulf between two races, blood fusion has taken place among them, as in fact, among all the races of India, and has resulted in the rise of existing racial variations among the Indian population. What is more to the point is the fact that there is some aboriginal blood among the high class Hindu population and a still larger number of the so-called untouchables resemble in features the high caste Hindu populations. While the first point may be explained on the ground that the higher class Aryans were permitted to take wives from lower castes, both the youth and beauty of some of the aboriginal classes might have attracted them even to matrimony. Even today the Santal women have become the artist's models all over India. As to the second point, it might be pointed out that considerable numbers of untouchables were once the descendants of high caste Hindus who embraced Buddhism, and became untouchables through the curse of the Brahmins. Moreover, it must be remembered that race diffusion often travels through bypaths and short-cuts rather than through the royal road of matrimony. In short, many Scheduled Castes have Aryan blood in them, and by treating them wholesale as "untouchables" great injustice is done to their own blood relatives.

Both the concept and practice of untouchability are the blackest spots of Hindu religion and Hindu culture. They have broken the moral and spiritual backbone of a large section of the Indian population and their misery and degradation know no bounds. There is no parallel class of people in the whole history of the human race. Poverty and starvation, illiteracy and ignorance, disease and ill health have been constant companions of these unfortunate peoples. They have been condemned by society as "untouchables," avoided by community for fear of imbibing impurity, segregated in the worst part both in the village and in the city, deprived of all the public utilities,

such as bathing ghat, drinking water, as mentioned before. That most of these conditions still exist today is best indicated by the report of the First Five-Year Plan, according to which "a large portion of agricultural workers belong to the Scheduled Castes (untouchables)." They are "the first victims of famines, epidemics, and any other natural and national catastrophe, and form the lowest social, political, economic strata of Indian national life."

The problem of untouchability has occupied the mind of all moral and spiritual leaders of India from Buddha to Gandhi, and some of their miseries have also been mitigated. Mahatma Gandhi started several kinds of welfare services for the Harijans, which are not only carried on by his followers even today, but have been incorporated into India's national Constitution. The Constitution provides safeguards for protection of interests of the Scheduled Castes, such as the abolition of untouchability; reservation of appointments in Government services; granting of special representations in Parliament and in State Legislatures, and similar other concessions. The most important and significant provision of the Constitution is the abolition of untouchability and "its practice in any form is forbidden." This provision of the Constitution was given effect to by an Act which was passed by the lower House of Parliament early in June 1955, making "discrimination against untouchables an offence punishable with a six-month jail term or a fine of Rs. 500." The Act grants right to the untouchables to demand full access to shops, restaurants, public wells, tanks and bathing ghats. It is a great achievement by the untouchables in their march toward obtaining human dignity.

The Welfare of the Scheduled Caste is mainly the responsibility of the State Governments. In 1953, the Government of India decided to make grants-in-aid to the State Governments for their schemes of removing untouchability. These grants are mainly intended for carrying on intensive propaganda for abolishing untouchability, especially in rural areas. Moreover, the Government of India has also been giving grants to the following non-official organizations for their welfare activities for the removal of untouchability, such as (1) Bharatiya Depressed Classes League; (2) Harijan Ashram; (3) All-India Harijan Sangh; and (4) Scheduled Castes Federation. While the grant to the last-named Organization was still under consideration, the first three organizations were granted a total

of Rs. 469,000. The activities of these organizations is best indicated by that of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League which employed 60 social workers for carrying on against untouchability, organizing public meetings and social gatherings, with special emphasis on the opening of wells, temples, *dharamshalas*, hotels, etc., to Harijans, where they were still closed.¹¹

AMELIORATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES

Backward Classes form the third important group of India's "submerged humanity," the problem of whom has come under consideration by the Government of India. As noted before, a Commission has been appointed to report on their conditions and to recommend the methods of the amelioration. Until the publication of the Report of the Commission, no definite policy could be adopted and no scheme of work could be organized. Some work which has been adopted related mostly to helping them to obtain a higher education.

WELFARE OF EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES

After the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952, it was realized that all State Governments should undertake welfare services for making the Ex-Criminal Tribes economically self-supporting and for gradually adjusting them into India's social organization. The Government of India made grants-in-aid to State Governments for undertaking welfare services and indicated the following schemes, such as: (1) Education, (2) Agriculture, (3) Housing, (4) Cottage Industries, (5) Medical, (6) Public Health, (7) Aid to voluntary agencies, and (8) Miscellaneous. During the two-year period of 1953-55, the grants-in-aid of the Government of India to the State Governments amounted to Rs. 4.13 million and the total expenditures of the State Governments amounted to Rs. 4.67 million for the welfare services for the Ex-Criminal Tribes; in other words, both the Government of India and State Governments spent a total of Rs. 8.80 million for such welfare services.¹²

In addition to the grants-in-aid to the State Government, the Government of India also made grants to private organisations devoted to the welfare services of the Ex-Criminal Tribes. The Vimukta Jati Seva Sangha, Delhi, for instance, received Rs. 22,000 from the Government of India in 1954-55. During this period the Organization established

3 colonies and 36 quarters for the Ex-Criminal Tribes in different places, organized the Boys Scouting and Girls Guide Movements; established 3 Adult Educational Centres, where women were taught tailoring, knitting and embroidery; granted 23 scholarships to students for higher education; and provided free medical aids to 600 patients, thus laying a solid foundation of welfare services for the Ex-Criminal Tribes.¹³

CONCLUSION

An outstanding problem of India is the integration of her "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, amounting to 110 million or over 30 per cent of the total population, into her national organization. A large population, when developed physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually, becomes a valuable national asset. But when left alone, in poverty, disease, ignorance and inactivity, it becomes a social liability and a source of national calamity. The general policy adopted by the Government and approved by the people, towards Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Peoples is that, with due respect to their special cultures, they should be gradually adjusted to the social, political, and economic organization of India so as to form an integral part of the Indian Commonwealth.

India's "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, who have lived in India from time immemorial, fall under the following principal categories: First, Scheduled Tribes, the population of which has been recently estimated to be 20 million and which are the earliest inhabitants of the country and have preferred to live in savagery rather than to join the invaders and to lose their identity. Second, Scheduled Castes, the present population of which has been estimated at 55 million, which are the most neglected and ill-treated peoples in the history of the world, and have come to be known as "untouchables" and "pariahs." Third, Backward Classes, the present population of which has been estimated to be over 35 million, but very little is as yet known about them and the report of the Commission appointed on them has not yet become available. Finally, the Ex-Criminal Tribes, which have been estimated at 198, but the exact number of their population is not yet known. The very antiquity of these tribes, castes, and classes, and their intricate problems arising from social, economic and educational conditions have been left alone by the foreign

11. Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, Government of India, pp. 209 and 229.

12. Compiled Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, Government of India, pp. 382-83.

13. Ibid, pp. 236-37.

rulers who have dominated the destiny of India for several centuries.

The achievement by India of her national independence and the establishment of the Democratic Republic have brought a new life among the people, who have decided to uproot the century-old social evils. The Government of India, together with the State Governments, have mobilized all Constitutional, legislative, and administrative powers at their disposal to remove age-long evils from which Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and other Backward Peoples have suffered so long, and have adopted the following measures:

(1) Constitutional safeguards; (2) Reservation of Services; (3) Special representation in Parliament and Legislatures for ten years; (4) Development of Scheduled and Tribal Areas; and (5) Educational and other welfare schemes. An outstanding measure of the Government of India to the untouchable classes is the enactment of the Act making the observance of untouchability in any form a criminal act punishable by payment of a fine of Rs. 500 or imprisonment of six months.

These measures of the Government are

being supplemented by those of the people, both individually and collectively. From very ancient times welfare activities have been undertaken by intellectual, moral and spiritual leaders from Buddha to Gandhi. Even today Acharya Vinoba Bhave, India's walking saint, has been travelling on foot thousands of miles and appealing to the nobler instinct of land-owners to donate land for the landless with wonderful success; and it is the followers of Gandhi and Ramakrishna who are in the lead in the welfare services among the tribal and caste groups. What is more significant is the fact that, aside from religion which is more or less a question of individual conscience and group conviction, there has been developing in India, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new culture or an Indian civilization, which is the expression of the life and labour of the people of modern India. Like the State, this new culture or civilization is the commonwealth of all the people of India, irrespective of their race, caste, or creed.¹⁴

14. See the writers' *India and A New Civilization*, Calcutta, 1942. This treatise is in the process of revision.

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GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

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

II

CLIMATE

OWING to the great size and position and the diversities of relief, there are greater striking contrasts of meteorological conditions in different parts of the country than are probably found in any other part of the world. One part of the country lies north of the Tropic and the other within it. In the north-west lies the great Thar Desert with an average annual rainfall of less than 5 ins.; in the north-east are the Khasi hills with an average of 425 ins. at Cherapunji. Dras in Kashmir has recorded a minimum temperature of -49 deg. F, while Ganganagar in Rajasthan has several times recorded a temperature of over 120 deg. F. Hill-stations in the Himalayas (such as Simla) may be shrouded in cloud for days together in August with humidity of 100 per cent; while in December they may be overrun by air of nearly 0 per cent humidity. The mean maximum temperature at Cochin does not go above

89 deg. F in any month nor the mean minimum below 73 deg. F; while at Ganganagar the mean maximum temperature goes up to 108 deg. F in May and the mean minimum to 38 deg. F in January.

The climate of India is influenced from outside by two adjoining areas. On the north the Himalayan Range shuts it off from the cold climate of Central Asia and gives it continental climate, the characteristics of which are the prevalence of land winds, great dryness of air, large diurnal range of temperature and little or no precipitation. On the south, the ocean gives it a hot monsoon climate more typical of the tropical than of the temperate zone.

"We always think of India as essentially a tropical country. And rightly so, for the whole area within the mountain wall must be considered as a unit, with a common type of climate throughout, that of tropical monsoon."¹

1. L. D. Stamp: *Asia*, p. 170.

The chief features of such a climate are the great uniformity and the small diurnal range of temperature, the great dampness of the air and more or less frequent rains. For the purposes of climatological studies India may be divided into two parts: Peninsular India and Northern India.

The whole of the Peninsular India lies within the tropics and has a tropical climate, the variations of temperature between summer and winter being small. In winter the temperature is controlled by the proximity of equator and the oceanic influences and it is between 65 deg. to 80 deg. F. But in summer the temperature rises over 90 deg. F near the tropics but in the neighbourhood of the oceans the climate is equable and the atmosphere is generally cloudy. In Malabar, the range of temperature is about 60 deg. F and in S.-East Madras about 120 deg. F. These features are specially observable on the windward coasts, and they diminish with the increase in distance from the sea.

Although the whole of Northern India lies beyond the Tropic of Cancer, the climatic conditions here are more complex. The severity of heat or cold and the amount of moisture in the air, however, differ greatly in the different states and during different seasons. East Punjab and W. Rajasthan are very cold in winter and extremely hot in summer and the air is generally devoid of moisture. But in West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and U.P. winter is cold and summer is moderately hot with plenty of moisture in the air. In winter the temperature in Northern India is controlled, apart from the slanting rays of the sun in winter, by the anticyclone that covers this area then. The temperature varies between 55 deg. and 65 deg. F. The summer temperature is largely the effect of (i) direct rays of the sun; (ii) continentality emphasizing land influences far from the sea; (iii) anticyclone, which maintains a steadily rising temperature; and (iv) modification by the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon. The highest temperature is to be found in the neighbourhood of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, S.-W. Punjab and West U.P.

Altitude tempers the heat of low latitudes. Up on the hills it is delightfully cool and refreshing even in mid-summer, but beyond a certain point the excess of cold forbids human habitation.

SEASONS

India enjoys three well-marked seasons, (i) a cool dry season, i.e., winter, when

light northerly dry trade winds prevail over the greater part of India, the skies are clear, the weather fine and the humidity low so that there is little or no rainfall except in the northern parts where moderate cyclone storms occasionally occur; (ii) a hot dry season, i.e., summer before the onset of rains, usually comes suddenly with heavy thunderstorms, dry scorching westerly winds (known as *loo*); and (iii) a hot wet season, i.e., rainy season, with winds of oceanic origin, high humidity, much cloud and frequent rain.

MONSOONS AND RAINFALL

The most important feature in the meteorology of India is the alternation of seasons known as monsoons. Strictly speaking, monsoons are seasonal winds whose direction is more or less reversed twice during the year. Lying largely within the tropics, and with the great Asiatic continent to the north and the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean to the south, India furnishes the best example of a monsoon country. During winter the general flow of surface air over the country is from north to south, north-westerly in the plains of Hindusthan, northerly in the central parts and north-easterly in the south of the Peninsula and the neighbouring seas. In this season the air over the country is mainly of continental origin and hence of low humidity and the season is known as the north-east or winter monsoon. In the summer months (June to September) the general flow of winds is from the opposite direction from sea to land and the season is one of much humidity, cloud and rain. The direction of winds in the major parts of the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal being south-westerly, the season is named the South-west monsoon season. The causes determining the monsoon currents are many and varied but the fundamental cause is undoubtedly the periodical excesses of the heating of the land masses of Asia in summer and of cooling in winter as compared to that of the water of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Seas.

Though agriculture is the main occupation in India, yet only about 20 per cent of the area under cultivation receives artificial irrigation, the remaining 80 per cent depending entirely upon the mercy of rain every year for the successful cultivation of various agricultural crops. In India, the rain-giving monsoon is known as the South-west monsoon. The South-west monsoon season during which 75 per cent of the total rainfall is recorded is the most important rainfall season. The monsoon

sets in June, spreads almost all over the country by July and August and gradually gets weakened in September. During this period rains are very important because they provide necessary moisture for agricultural operations for the sowing of *kharif* crops like cereals, pulses, sugarcane, cotton, oilseeds and jute, which account for more than 80 per cent of the total area sown to crops. Thus the setting in of the South-west monsoon marks the beginning of the agricultural operations over a wide area. The South-west monsoon generally spreads through two branches because of the peculiar shape of the Peninsula, viz., the Arabian Sea branch and the Bay of Bengal branch. The former brings rainfall to the southern and western parts of the country, but, as the monsoon advances, it penetrates further into the Central and North-West India. This branch of the monsoon comes first into the country in the southernmost tip, viz., Travancore-Cochin, generally at the end of May. The second branch comes slightly later and confines itself to Assam, West Bengal and North-eastern India.*

The post-monsoon season begins with October, and extends up to December. It provides only 13 per cent of the annual rainfall. Normally good post-monsoon showers are received in these three months in the eastern region comprising Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Andhra, Konkan and Malabar. In other parts of the country, only light occasional showers are received and the intensity of these showers decreases from east to west. But these light showers are very important for the growth of the late sown *kharif* crops, especially in Southern India, as well as for the sowing of *rabi* crops. In Madras and Andhra, the rainfall during the period is known as the North-east monsoon. The rains during this period are of considerable local importance.

Winter monsoon commences in January and lasts up to the end of February. This provides only 2 per cent of the annual rainfall. Yet this is important for the proper growth of *rabi* crops of wheat, barley, gram and *rabi* pulses in Northern India, especially in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh,

Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and some parts of Assam.

Pre-monsoon showers during March to May amount to roughly 1 per cent of the annual rainfall. This period of the year is generally dry over the land mass of northern and peninsular India where *rabi* crops are harvested and the irrigated crops like sugarcane, cotton, summer rice and vegetables are grown. But the stronger winds near the sea-coast, which increase in strength as the monsoon advances, bring rains to the north-eastern parts of the country consisting of Assam, West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar and the north-west coast of Madras and Travancore-Cochin, Malabar and south-east Madras. In the north-east region they help the sowing of autumn paddy and maize, while in the southern area, these rains are beneficial for the sowing of *kharif* crops like paddy, coffee, sugarcane and some vegetables on lands where irrigation facilities are available.

Part of the rainfall from the monsoon in India is orographical, and part cyclonic or convectional. All along the Himalayas, Assam and Western Ghats, the rising air currents result in the condensation of moisture and rainfall. The cyclonic rainfall is due to the passage of a number of depressions or cyclones, some of which are of local origin, while others have their birth in the neighbouring seas and are more landward. Rains in winter in North-west parts of India are of this nature. Convectional rainfall takes place sometimes due to local heating which produces cumulous clouds. This type of rain is strictly local and occurs mostly in autumn or spring.

The annual rainfall of India is 42 ins., that is to say, we get all over one lakh maunds of water on every acre of land,* and variations from this normal as great as +12 inches and -8 inches occurred in 1917 and 1899 respectively. Generally the variability decreases with increasing rainfall, the variability being largest in the driest parts of the country and least in the wettest regions.† The high variability in areas of low rainfall is, however, not such a serious menace to agriculture as the comparatively low variability in areas which have just enough rainfall for agricultural purposes. Any decrease in rainfall in such areas

2. The normal dates of the onset of South-west Monsoons in the different States are as follows: Bombay, 1st June; Assam, 5th June; Madras and Andhra, 7th June; West Bengal, 10th June; Bihar, 15th June; U. P. West, 20th June; U. P. East, 25th June; and Punjab and Pepsu, 1st July.

V. S. Menon: *Weather and Crop Conditions in India in Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol. IX, No. 7 (Oct., 1954), p. 432.

3. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. I, Pt. IA, p. 10.

4. e.g., Kanpur, whose annual rainfall is 34 ins. has a variability of 20 per cent but Calcutta, with 65 ins., has only 11 per cent variability.

Vide R. N. Dubey: *Economic Geography of Indian Republic* (1951), p. 29.

makes it impossible for agricultural operations to be carried on and a famine is the result. As the average rainfall diminishes from place to place and as it becomes more concentrated in one season, variations from year to year increase. When the normal total is under 20 ins., no agriculture is attempted without irrigation, rainfall fluctuations are expected and planned for. Where the total exceeds 80 ins. there is almost always a surplus of moisture available for the growing of crops. Forty inches of rain is normally adequate but when it fails, a famine is threatened. Thus, the most seriously affected areas are those where the rainfall is 30 ins. and 50 ins. and this is the famine zone of India. In Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Central India and the Deccan, where some rain usually comes but the variation is great, famine occurs frequently. In this area there is enough rain for crops during normal years, so that adequate provision of irrigation facilities does not exist. This fact is the source of considerable suffering in times of drought. Long experience with rainfall fluctuations has brought population distribution into close agreement with climate possibilities, but so great is the pressure of population that many have occupied the marginal lands where drought is certain to occur. In certain areas, notably the East Punjab and Madras, irrigation has made the settlers somewhat independent of rainfall changes; but a prolonged failure of monsoon causes rivers and wells, the source of irrigation, to have less water than usual and thus to be less adequate for irrigation.

CHIEF FEATURES OF INDIAN RAINFALL

The monsoon rains in India are often marked by some important variations from the normal. viz., (i) The beginning of the rains may be delayed considerably over the whole or a large part of the country. (ii) It may end much earlier than usual causing damage to *kharif* crops and also make the sowing of *rabi* crops difficult or uncertain. (iii) There may be prolonged breaks of rain lasting over the greater part of July or August, when the summer crops needing plenty of moisture are just growing. (iv) The rains may persist more than usual in one part of the country and desist from another part. (v) It is concentrated for a few months. It is seasonal. Fluctuations in the rains as regards climate, distribution and timeliness bring misery or prosperity to millions of people. For several months in a year, India is on trial for her life and seldom

escapes without a penalty.* (vi) It is also unevenly distributed over the country. Certain regions like the Western Ghats, Himalayan Tarai and East Assam suffer from excessive rainfall, while others like Rajasthan, West U.P., the Deccan, etc., are devoid of adequate rainfall. The sharp transition from heavy rains to dire scarcity is testified by the old proverb, "One horn of the cow lies within the rainy zone and one without."† (vii) It is erratic, sometimes falling in torrents and heavy downpours leading to a considerable run-off. This results in excessive soil-leaching and soil-erosion.

RAINFALL ZONES

India may be divided into following rainfall belts: (i) Below 15 ins. belt; (ii) from 15 ins. to 30 ins. belt; (iii) 30 ins. to 50 ins. belt; (iv) 50 ins. to 70 ins. belt and over 75 ins. belt. The first two belts taken together cover about one-third of the country. Here the seasonal fluctuations are so frequent that they are more or less regularly expected; and when they occur, they cause a great deal of hardship to the people and expense to the Government. The first belt has so little rain that a great many people do not live there; but in the second belt about one-fourth of the people live. The third region covers almost exactly another one-third of the country. Here rainfall, if timely, is adequate; but the vagaries of the monsoon are apt to cause an occasional failure of crops and the consequent distress. The fourth and the fifth regions also cover about a third of the country. These are well-provided with rain, which is generally, though not invariably, dependable.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

(1) Perhaps in no other regions of the world the rainfall enters so much into every aspect of life as in India. Life here is primarily based on agriculture, which is dependent for its very existence on the South-west monsoon. *This monsoon may be said to be the pivot upon which the whole of Indian life revolves.* The deficiency of rainfall spells disaster for the cultivator and the prolongation of the dry season renders all hopes of a rich harvest that year futile. Hence, in one period India is deluged with rain and is the scene of the most wonderful and rapid growth of vegetation; in another period the same tract becomes a

5. C. L. Knowles: *Economic Development Overseas*, Vol. I, p. 278.

6. Ronaldshay: *India, A Bird's Eye View*, p. 15.

sun-burnt, dreary waste. In fact, "if monsoon fails, there is a lock-out in agriculture industry," a disaster which calls forth the virtues of patience and fortitude.

(2) As winter temperature is never too low in any part of the country, the growing period for the crops is prolonged and this fact enables us to grow both the temperate land crops in winter and tropical as well as sub-tropical land crops in summer months. In parts of West Bengal, Assam and the Peninsular region, owing to the availability of sufficient water supply, the growing of crops is easy. As many as three crops of rice can be grown in one year in these parts. The summer temperature is high and rises suddenly, hence crops mature earlier. This rapid maturity of crops tends to deteriorate their quality. India is, therefore, not a 'quality' producer, but only a 'quantity' producer. This applies to winter crops as well as summer crops.

The uniformly high temperature during the period of the greatest rainfall (June, July and August) is of great benefit for the quick growth and maturity of crops like millets and maize. The hot and moist climate of this period produces an abundant vegetative growth in plants which serve as fodder for cattle. As the rainfall is concentrated to only a few months, the greater part of the year is dry. The fact discourages the growth of grasslands in India. Whatever grass grows during the rains is scorched during the dry season. Hence pasturage is poor in India and cattle and other livestock have, therefore, to be stock-fed. The extreme uncertainty of rainfall in various parts of the country and its compression into one or two months, have necessitated the practice of irrigation more universally and on a larger scale in India than in any other part of the world. A special peculiarity of Indian agriculture is the ingenious and assiduous manner in which water is applied to increase the produce of the soil, by means of tanks, embankments, sluices, river-dams and channels, wells and irrigation canals.

Climate also affects man's life. The degree of effort required for man's struggle for existence determines his character to a great extent. The Indian is typically a man of Tropics, he matures early and withers early, and is not generally long-lived. Girls reach the age of puberty at an early age and hence early marriage is generally the practice rather than an exception. The ample leisure is turned to

good use and imagination runs riot, producing a bewildering complexity and succession of ideas and projects which energize him and give him enthusiasm, but though not fitful, his energy and enthusiasm are not long-sustained. He tends to be fickle. Quick and alert, he easily tires. Passionate and excitable, his animosities are but a passing phase; quickly aroused, he is quick to forgive and forget; though ambitious he is contented; on account of the lack of sustained effort needed for the pursuit of the ambitions suggested by his acute intelligence, he falls back on contentment. Metaphysical speculations blend strangely with materialistic desire, for the non-attainment of which he seeks solace in spiritual philosophy.

As said above, under the easy conditions of living in the low-lying plains of the Ganges and the eastern and western coastal plains, individuals mature early, and the fertile regions become densely populated. The people are of comparatively modest physique sustained mostly on a rice and fish diet. The intensive cultivation and multiple cropping support a very dense population. Whereas in the hot and dry summers and cold and moist winters in the north, the areas are populated by stalwart races, very energetic and brave who subsist mostly on a wheat, milk and meat diet.

Clothing, no less than physical and mental characteristics, is also controlled by climate. In India, the great heat of the summer and the closeness of the monsoon period render it necessary to have merely light and loose garments. A *dhoti* and *uparna* (a nether and an upper covering), loose and light, preferably white in colour so as to reflect and radiate as fully as possible the solar rays, is the natural dress of the Indian, particularly in the tropical south and the hot east; fashion may add a border to the *dhoti* and create different styles of wearing it; the *uparna* may change similarly into a loose *kurta*; the head-wear may be transformed into the stylish *phenta* (turban) of the Rajputs, Gujars and Jats, into the flaming *pagri* of the common people or into the small white cotton cap of the Banarasis. The garments are generally made of cotton; not because it is cheaper or because it grows locally but because it is the characteristic clothing material for the tropical and sub-tropical countries, where men desire not too much to retain warmth, but require things to permit partial radiation and promote cooling. In parts of India, as in the north, where winters are fairly cold, padded cotton garments are in use. Silk is light enough for a tropical

country and therefore it forms the material for the ceremonial dress of the Hindus, the *pitambars* and *saris*. In India, luxuriant vegetation and the flora with varied hues lead to a preference for printed fabrics and variegated patterns in bright colours, particularly in the dress of the womenfolk. The sombre black or dull grey are more in consonance with foggy and cloudy skies of the cool temperate West than with the brilliance of the sunny tropical and sub-tropical East. The baggy trousers of the Sindhis, the voluminous shirts of the Marwari women are all in harmony with the extremes of heat experienced in their lands. Similarly, the Mohammedan lady's *pyjamas* satisfies the need for rapid and quick movements necessary in the desert and semi-desert areas where Islam has chiefly spread.

Tropical countries do not want so much light as the free movement of air, hence, in India, we have verandahs, courtyards, balconies and terraces, *jallies* and *chajjas* and perforated screens to keep out the strong glaze of the sun and to permit the outside breezes to cool the interior. The great heat makes it further necessary to have high ceilings in rooms to interpose a long column of air and thus prevent excessive heating of the lower air in the buildings. The construction of domes and cupolas and the tapering *gopurams* in temples is thus a response to the climatic conditions, and not merely a device for ornamentation. In Western India, a house frontage on the east is much prized, for while permitting east to west ventilation, it enables the health-giving rays of the morning sun to reach the interior; a western front is only second to this. A southern front is fairly good since it permits the south-west monsoon winter to enter, while a northern frontage is considered least desirable. Sloping roofs are the characteristic of Western and Southern India because of heavy rainfall which requires efficient drainage. In areas of scanty rainfall and in arid regions like West Rajasthan, flat roofs and terraces better suit the conditions, not only by permitting the residents to escape from the heat inside to the cooler house-tops, but also by enabling the rain water to be led off by pipes and stored in tanks so as to provide good water for drinking purposes.

The great civilizations of the ancient world are found to have arisen in the sub-tropical regions between 30 deg. and 40 deg. and this is best-fitted for the birth of great

religions of the world. Of these, Hinduism was envolved in the steppe lands of Central Asia, the original home of the Indo-Afghan people; Jainism and Buddhism in the plains of the Ganges; Christianity and Judaism in the arid lands of Palestine; and Islam in the desert lands of Arabia.

A tropical and monsoon region like India is subject to two periods of danger when disease stalks boldly through the land. Diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera and small-pox rage violently in summer, and the beginning of a rise in mortality is perceived in April. There is another period, October, when malaria rages in India in all its fury.

These diseases not only sap the vitality of the people but also make them inefficient and easy-going. The number of deaths in India from preventible disease every year has been above 5 to 6 millions and the number of working days lost by each worker for the same reason has been estimated at 15 to 21 days in a year. The loss in efficiency due to diseases has been not less than 20 per cent. The fatigue and the ill-defined general conditions of debility produces a disinclination to hard work. Various kinds of diseases also render the body weak and reduce the span of life. The cumulative effect of all this on the people is to produce a lack of energy and strength needed to develop the best in themselves and in the resources of the country.

Climate also exerts a great influence on agriculture, the basic industry of India. Water is more valuable than gold in India and hence with the failure of rains, crops fail and famine conditions quickly overtake the region. The agriculturists are not the only persons who are affected by the failure of monsoons. As the incomes of the agriculturists fall, their capacity to buy industrial goods and services is diminished. Lawyers, doctors, and professional men find their incomes reduced. Sales of industrial products diminish, and there arises a shortage not only of agricultural materials but also of food crops. Failure of crops reduces railway earnings and affects the volume of exports. Rent cannot be collected and land revenue falls into arrears. Thus the Finance Departments find their Budget calculations upset. It has, therefore, been rightly remarked that "Budget-making in India is a gambling in rains."

(To be continued)

WEST BENGAL'S INTER-STATE TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

By A. N. BHADURI, M.A.,
Directorate of Agriculture, Marketing Branch, West Bengal

If the current earnings of a society are used up wholly by current consumption bearing no surplus, there sets about a process of deterioration of the economy, at first slowly but very soon at a progressively high rate. It happens so because, at first replacement and payment for depreciation are put off. This reduces earnings and leads to fall in the living standards. This process continues for some period, and very soon a stage is reached when expenses for current consumption (consumption standard or habits die hard) begin to be met from depletion of capital stock. This process of deterioration of the economy proceeds with accelerated motion, with the inevitable consequences of low production and fall in employment and income until the economy seeks a new equilibrium level far down in the scale of economic activity.

To make possible creation of new sources of products and incomes through investments or in other words to raise the economic level of any particular society, it is necessary that the society as a whole must have at its command a fund of purchasing power over and above what is required for maintenance of the economy at its existing level of efficiency. The greater the volume of this surplus purchasing power (along with potential resources), the higher are the chances for its developing quickly.

This surplus purchasing power may well be netted within the country itself, but this source is to be tapped very cautiously so that there may not be any deterrent effect on the current consumption standard. Loans from foreign lands may also serve as another source but besides being a burden to the borrowing country such loans are attended with various delicate considerations both political and economic especially in periods of high-tension international relations. It places a country in a particularly convenient position if the required amount of additional purchasing power is met as much as possible from earnings from external trade without any forced sacrifices at home. The spectacular economic development of Great Britain during the 19th century would have hardly been possible at the scale it was achieved without the vast external resources she had at her command.

Though it is true that the additional

purchasing power required for capital investment in developing countries is best acquired through external trade balances, it should be remembered well that any policy of artificial trade barriers or of repriminations used as an instrument of trade earnings, will lead to ultimate harm rather than benefit in so far as such policies prevent the world economy from freely following the path of comparative advantage.

The principle stated above is as much applicable to international as in intra-national trade as it holds between different States of the Indian Union. In what follows West Bengal's earnings from the external trade in so far as it relates to the other member-States of the Indian Union is briefly studied.

In this study West Bengal has been taken to mean West Bengal excluding Calcutta. Because Calcutta, so far as agricultural products are concerned, is not a producing but only a consuming market, for the supply of whose agricultural needs West Bengal has to enter into competition with other States. A correct assessment of West Bengal's performance in exporting her agricultural produces should also take into account her volume of trade with Calcutta, which is rather cosmopolitan in character. Out of these considerations Calcutta has been treated as a separate unit in this study, this being made possible due to separate statistical records maintained by the Directorate of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Government of India.

CEREALS

The export of paddy and rice, wheat and wheat products from Bengal before partition and from West Bengal since partition is shown in the following table:

(See Table I)

It will appear from the Table that the partition of the province in 1947 has not effected any material change in the trend of export of paddy and rice and that West Bengal has since then maintained well the same trend of having surpluses of rice and paddy, though as it is quite natural in far reduced volume. It may, however, be noticed that her export is ruling at a level much above her proportionate share of total cultivated area of the undivided Bengal, which is barely 30 per cent. The paddy and rice situation is expected to improve further during the next few years and, in fact,

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if the bumper crop of the last season is followed by even a moderate crop during the next she will be in a position to further consolidate her position as regarding cereals and may even look up for a position of freedom from heavy dependence on wheat and wheat products as will be evident from Table II.

TABLE I
West Bengal's Import and Export of Paddy and Rice* (Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net (a)	Net export to Calcutta
<i>Paddy: (Average)—</i>				
Undivided Bengal:				
1936-37 to 38-39	12.47	24.11	+11.64	
1944-45 to 46-47	4.49	18.59	+14.10	
West Bengal:				
1947-48 to 49-50	0.62	18.39	+17.77	17.44
1950-51 to 52-53	1.03	22.88	+21.85	21.75
<i>Rice (Average)—</i>				
Undivided Bengal:				
1936-37 to 38-39	30.63	80.31	+49.68	
1944-45 to 46-47	25.86	69.56	+43.70	
West Bengal:				
1947-48 to 49-50	5.57	35.86	+30.29	30.83
1950-51 to 52-53	15.48	40.05	+24.57	26.16

N.B. (*) Source: Accounts relating to inland (Rail- and River-borne trade) in India. The same source has been utilised for subsequent Tables except where it is otherwise stated.

(a) Notation (+) indicates export and (—) indicates import balance in this and subsequent Tables.

TABLE II
West Bengal's Export and Import of Wheat and Wheat Products (Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Wheat (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	1.81	0.72	—1.09
1944-45 to 46-47	1.43	0.64	—0.79
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.11	1.83	+1.72
1950-51 to 52-53	15.04	0.61	—14.43
<i>Wheat Products (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	12.97	0.22	—12.75
1944-45 to 46-47	15.16	0.23	—14.93
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	5.08	0.47	—4.61
1950-51 to 52-53	16.48	0.12	—16.36

It will be found from the above Tables I and II that during pre-partition days, against an average net export balance of about 60 lakh maunds of paddy and rice, Bengal would have an import of about 13 to 14 lakh maunds of wheat and wheat products. During the

post-partition period of 3 years, it is found that West Bengal even acquired small export balance in wheat against an import balance of about 5 lakh maunds of wheat flour. The position underwent very rapid change in recent times towards heavy dependence of imported wheat and wheat products as a cover against short fall of paddy and rice.

One very significant feature of the cereal position during the last 3 years is that West Bengal during this period earned an export balance of 46.42 lakh maunds in paddy and rice while receiving a net import of 30.79 lakh maunds of wheat and wheat products. When it is remembered that a good portion of this import is normally required for wheat-eating people of this State, West Bengal would have fairly enough met her own requirement of cereals had she not to make provision for Calcutta, to which her export of cereals was mainly directed. (It may also be noted that some imports to Calcutta from adjoining areas of the West Bengal districts are moved by roads and have no statistical accounts available). In view of the above accounts of statistical movement it will be realised that the Food and Agriculture Minister, the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, did take no unusual decision, while relieving West Bengal from the burden of feeding Calcutta.

GRAM AND PULSES

The position in respect to gram and pulses may be seen from Table III. Records of inland trade in pulses other than gram are not available beyond 1947-48.

TABLE III
West Bengal's Import and Export of Pulses (Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Gram (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1937-38 to 39-40	2.92	5.74	+2.82
1944-45 to 46-47	1.65	2.76	+1.10
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.98	1.49	—0.49
1949-50 to 52-53	2.27	2.25	—0.02
<i>Pulses other than Gram (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1937-38 to 39-40	N.A.	N.A.	
1944-45 to 46-47	N.A.	N.A.	
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	3.65	1.95	—1.71
1949-50 to 52-53	11.33	3.32	—8.01

N.A.—Not available.

As indicated by the above Table, the position re: gram remained after as before partition a both way traffic, with a tendency

for the trade to reach higher levels. But the position re: other pulses is found to have undergone radical changes both in level of trade, which has been much above that of the first 3-year-period after partition and in abnormal increase in import compared to export.

OIL AND OIL SEEDS

Rape and mustard are by far the most important of the oilseeds imported by West Bengal. The position of the three major oilseeds is indicated by the Table below:

TABLE IV

West Bengal's Export and Import of Oilseeds (Inland)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Rape and Mustard</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	12.12	0.51	-11.61
1944-45 to 46-47	17.26	0.18	-17.08
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	18.13	0.34	-17.79
1950-51 to 52-53	14.33	0.56	-13.77
<i>Groundnut</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	0.36	0.08	-0.28
1944-45 to 46-47	2.38	0.15	-2.23
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.69	0.10	-0.59
1950-51 to 52-53	0.51	0.05	-0.46
<i>Linseed</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	2.13	1.94	-0.19
1944-45 to 46-47	1.48	0.40	-1.08
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	2.36	0.25	-2.11
1950-51 to 52-53	1.15	0.31	-0.84

It will be evident from the above Table that the trade pattern in rape and mustard has not in the least been affected in any way by partition. Far from any reduction in the volume of import, as was expected of the consequences of partition, the same is found to have ruled at a higher level than in the pre-partition period. The average import during the last three years is ruling still above the average for the period 1936-37 to 38-39, for the whole of Bengal. While the position re: linseed has followed almost the same pattern as rape and mustard the import of groundnuts recorded steep fall after partition and is found to have been still following the falling tendency.

The trade position in respect to oil may be found in the Table below. For want of statistical records the relative position of the different categories of oil except of cocoanut and groundnut could be shown.

TABLE V
West Bengal's Inland Trade in Oils
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Groundnut Oil</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	2.69	0.10	-2.59
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.65	0.14	-1.52
1950-51 to 52-53	2.83	0.86	-1.97
<i>Cocoanut Oil</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	1.15	0.06	-1.09
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.40	0.05	-0.35
1950-51 to 52-53	0.40	0.03	-0.37
<i>Other Oils</i> (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	6.58	0.36	-6.22
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	2.60	0.17	-2.43
1950-51 to 52-53	2.15	0.36	-1.79

The above Table read together with Table No. IV makes clear the trend of imports of oil and oilseeds. It appears that fall in import of groundnut seeds and rise in the level of imports of rape and mustard are concurrent with the rise and fall in import of groundnut and other oils (mustard oil constitutes the bulk of "other oils"), respectively. During the last three-year period import of groundnut oil has exceeded the import level for the whole of Bengal before partition. This expansion of the markets mostly may be due to its increasing use with mustard oil and higher utilisation in Vanaspati factories. The falling tendency in import of mustard oil is more than made up by imports of mustard and rape seeds in large quantities.

SUGAR, GUR AND TOBACCO

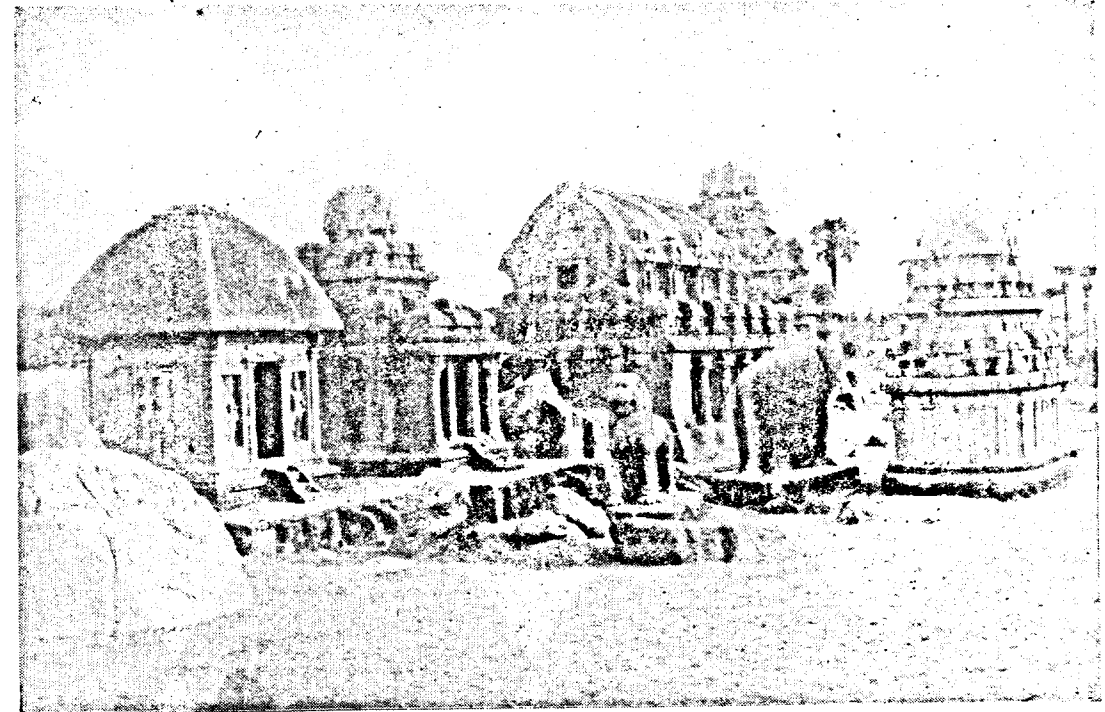
Bengal was deficit in sugar and gur even before partition but not so in tobacco. The trade position is shown in Table VI.

(See Table VI, next page)

It is evident from the above Table that while import of sugar had considerably been reduced from pre-partition level almost proportionately to her population share, that of gur, though fallen to about half immediately after partition, has during the last 3 years almost attained the same as the pre-partition level. In respect to tobacco, on the other hand, West Bengal found herself after partition in the position of a net importer as against that of a net exporter, as enjoyed by the undivided Bengal.

OTHER COMMODITIES

The position before and after partition of some other important items is indicated in the Table VII below.



The Five Rathas



Mahishamardini in Mahishamardini Cave

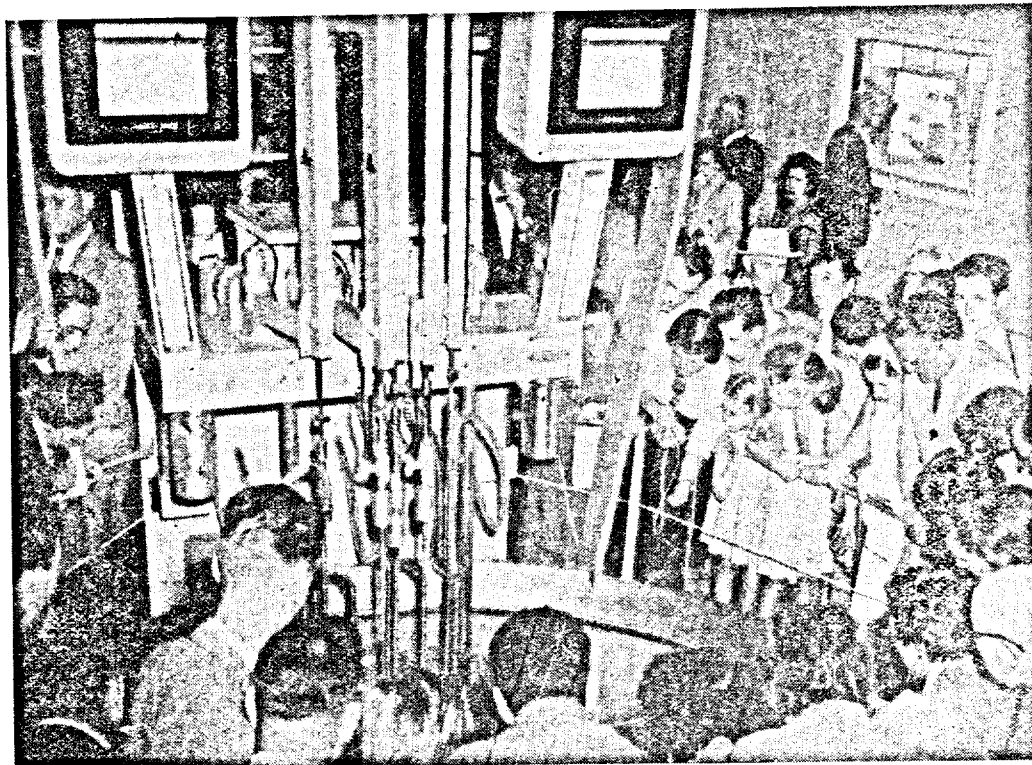


Dr. Bhagwan Das



Sri M. Visvesvaraya

(Bharat-Ratna recipients)



The swimming pool reactor set up by the United States Atomic Energy Commission at the Palais des Nations in Geneva

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TABLE VI
West Bengal's Inland Trade
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
Sugar (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	19.16	1.33	-17.83
1944-45 to 46-47	12.73	0.17	-12.56
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	4.83	0.79	-4.04
1950-51 to 52-53	6.26	0.86	-5.40
Gur* (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	13.29	1.73	-11.56
1944-45 to 46-47	12.43	0.66	-11.77
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	6.54	1.12	-5.42
1950-51 to 52-53	12.00	0.83	-11.17
Tobacco (Average)—			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	3.27	4.17	+0.90
1944-45 to 46-47	1.60	2.44	+0.84
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.12	0.86	-0.26
1950-51 to 52-53	1.24	0.71	-0.53

* Includes molasses, rab and jaggery.

Table VII reveals that in both hide and skin, the export dropped to about one-third of the pre-partition level, as the consequence of partition. Similar trend is found to prevail as regards the export of sheep and goats in a drastic form, the present level of export having fallen to even less than 8 per cent of the pre-partition level. As regards cattle, while import has gone very much down, export has improved more than double the pre-war level. The import of oilcakes has not fallen down much below the pre-partition level and even during the last three-year period the import has gone up nearer the pre-partition level. It is significant to note that the import of rape and mustard has also followed similar trend of imports ruling at a high level in spite of the partition.

JUTE AND TEA

The position with respect to tea has very little been affected by partition. On the other hand, jute has been worst affected by partition and West Bengal has to import about one-third of her raw jute requirement of her jute industry from her truncated portion. As the entire bulk of jute produced in the State find their way to the jute mills around Calcutta, the trend of trade in jute is best indicated by the trend of production, in absence of detailed trade statistics, the export of raw jute being now restricted.

TABLE VII
West Bengal's Inland Trade Before and After Partition
(In lakh maunds)

Items	UNDIVIDED BENGAL (Average)				WEST BENGAL (Average)			
	1936-37 to 38-39		1944-45 to 46-47		1947-48 to 49-50		1950-51 to 52-53	
	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.
Lao and shellac	0.04	0.16	(a)	(a)	0.09	0.11	0.03	0.02
Ghee	0.90	0.04	0.22	0.05	0.04	0.11	0.03	0.02
Hides (raw)	0.53	4.03	0.49	3.46	0.37	1.25	0.48	1.11
Skins (raw)	0.03	0.69	0.06	0.47	0.04	0.19	0.02	0.14
Oilcakes	19.55	0.23	13.47	0.56	10.83	0.50	11.19	1.68
Sheep & goats	5.33	134.33	14.50	303.00	13.33	35.00	7.70	27.00
(in '000)	(c)	(c)	(d)	(d)				
Cattle	21.27	6.90	(a)	(a)	7.37	10.90	10.27	15.20
(in '000)	(b, c)	(b, c)						
(a) Not available								
(b) From marketing reports issued by the A.M.A., G.I.								
(c) Average of two years, 1944-45 and 45-46.								
(d) Relates to 1937-38 to 1939-40.								

TABLE VIII
West Bengal's Balance of External Trade in Agricultural Products
(In lakh maunds and lakh rupees)

	1952-53				1951-52				Rate per Md.(R)	NET BALANCE (Value)				Rate per Md.(R)	BALANCE				Rate per Md.(R)	NET BALANCE (Value)			
	BALANCE		BALANCE		BALANCE		BALANCE			BALANCE		BALANCE			BALANCE		BALANCE			BALANCE			
	Plus	Minus	Plus	Minus	Plus	Minus	Plus	Minus		Plus	Minus	Plus	Minus		Plus	Minus	Plus	Minus		Plus	Minus		
	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	
Cereals:																							
Paddy	30.41	228.08							07.50				00.17	12.80									
Rice	18.36	307.53							16.75														
Wheat			25.17	482.51					19.17				15.83	245.70									
Wheat flour			13.52	285.00					21.08				22.85	442.70									
S. Total		535.61		767.51								231.90		403.60				701.20				297.60	
Pulses:																							
Gram	00.64	10.46							16.35				00.77	14.61									
Pulses other than Gram																							
Grains other			03.52	67.59					19.21														
Grains other																							
sorts	03.66	36.60							10.00														
S. Total		47.06		67.59								20.53		25.40								146.61	
Oil Seeds:																							
Groundnut			00.40	07.25					18.13				00.47	10.82									
Linseed			00.71	13.33					18.77				00.56	15.68									
Rape & Mustard			14.01	287.91					20.55				14.16	444.30									
Til			00.016	00.39					24.47				00.026	00.65									
Castor			00.175	02.98					17.05				00.09	02.43									
S. Total				311.86								311.86						473.88				473.88	
Oils:																							
Groundnut			02.40	135.36					56.40				01.39	95.15									
Cocconut			00.33	25.01					75.80				00.40	32.46									
Oil: others			02.18	100.65					46.17				01.60	103.50									
S. Total				261.02								261.02						231.11				231.11	
Sugar			05.15	174.22					33.83				06.99	254.80									
Gur, Rab and Molasses			08.56	107.00					12.50				14.03	286.21									
S. Total				281.22								281.22						541.01				541.01	
Tobacco			00.32	53.33					166.66				00.54	105.14									
Oil-cakes			08.48	61.23					07.22				09.35	108.46									
Hides (Raw)	00.65	57.37							88.26														
Skin (Raw)	00.04	10.30							257.66				00.38	33.46									
*Cattle			03.10	06.20					200.00 (a)				00.09	22.78									
*Sheep and Goats			03.00	00.60					20.00 (a)				16.00	03.20									
Ghee			00.025	04.98					199.25				00.03	05.57									
Laa and Shellac†	00.02												00.02										
Myrobalan†			00.76										00.96										
S. Total		67.67		126.34								58.67		59.44				227.77				168.33	
G. Total												1165.20										1858.54	

* In thousands

† Valuation of some of the minor items both of import and export could not be made with reasonable accuracy due to lack of movement statistics or quality-wise classification of stocks, even when such statistics are available, there being wide variation of prices according to qualities. This, it is hoped, will not affect seriously the result of this Table as such omissions occur on both sides of the balance: import as well as export.

BALANCE OF TRADE

Table VIII indicates West Bengal's balance of trade accounts in respect to the important items of agricultural trade for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53. While computing the balance of accounts and their corresponding money value as shown below for these two years, the position has been considered from the angle of the earnings of the agricultural community only. The earnings from tea has naturally been excluded from these accounts for the reasons that tea belongs to a large-scale plantation economy and the average cultivator does not directly participate in the earnings from tea. On the contrary, the tea habit has been so popular that it constitutes often a regular item of expenditure in his cost of living.

The method adopted for preparation of these accounts has been to arrive at the positive or negative balance of trade for each item under consideration and then to evaluate the same balance by means of the wholesale prices as prevailed in Calcutta. The evaluation of the trade balances has been done at the Calcutta wholesale prices due to the limiting factor that adequate price statistics covering the numerous places of origin and destination of the various items are not easily available at present. In absence of such elaborate price data, however, it is hoped that the Calcutta wholesale prices may well serve to indicate the position broadly.

The result is shown above in Table VIII.

It is evident from the above Table that in almost all her essential requirements for agricultural commodities, West Bengal has an unfavourable balance and in 1951-52 and 1952-53, her net deficit balance was to the extent of about Rs. 1858.54 and Rs. 1165.20 lakhs. The computation of similar balance of trade accounts of any other year is likely to reveal net deficit more or less of a similar order. Surely this must have been a great weakness in her agricultural economy and such an annual drain would have decapacitated her from any kind of economic development but for the wealth derived from jute in which she enjoys comparative advantage. On computation from available data it is found that West Bengal's

earnings from raw jute was to the extent of Rs. 6292.27 and Rs. 2689.50 lakhs from the production of the year 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively.* On the agricultural balance sheet the contribution of this fibre not only makes it possible for her to meet the deficit incurred for obtaining the essential requirement of agricultural supplies but also to leave her sufficient balance for meeting her expenditure on items other than agricultural. In short, it is a vital point to realise that West Bengal's agricultural economy is most precariously dependent upon this fibre, and the present study is an attempt to make an approximate measure of such dependence.

One other fact of supreme importance is that jute is essentially the feeder of an export market, in which price factor occupies a very important position, particularly in the present times when competition from rival sources and also from substitutes is being potently felt. Any measure directed towards reduction in price is not only desirable but extremely urgent and both production and distribution costs need simultaneously be vigorously dealt with for effective economy. This aspect of the problem has strongly been emphasised in their recommendations by the Jute Commission. "In the new situation," the Commission say, "the Indian mill production can maintain its markets only by an all-out effort to keep down production costs by modernisation and rationalisation and by obtaining its raw materials at the most economic price."†

While action in some important respects have been directed towards raw jute for reduction of its cultivation costs, the equally important problem of its distribution has remained practically still untouched.

* For computing the market value of jute, production less 1 per cent held as retention has been evaluated at the average Calcutta wholesale prices, the proportionate share of each quality having been taken at Top 5 per cent, Middle 20 per cent, Bottom 45 per cent, Cross Bottom 20 per cent, and Mesta 10 per cent. In arriving at the annual average, monthly prices have been given the following weights: February to September—1 for each month, and October to January—3 for each month. Thus the marketable surplus of 110.76 and 112.16 lakh maunds are evaluated at the average prices of Rs. 51.81 and Rs. 18.98 per maund for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively.

† Report of the Jute Commission, p. 6.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO

By Dr. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, M.A., PH.D.,

Professor of History, Ranchi College

SRI Aurobindo was one of the shining lights of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century, who tried to liberate the soul of India from bondage. The Marathas and the Rajputs disintegrated as national entities by 1818 and the Sikh nationalism failed to sprout after 1839. The dreams of reviving the rule of Peshwa and the Padshah were dissipated in 1858. With the passing of Maharashtra out of the political stage Bengal stepped in to give a new lead to Indian political life. Renascent Bengal became the first workshop of the spirit of the 'Eternal and Timeless India' and Sri Aurobindo was one of its chief organisers. If Raja Rammohun Roy was the herald of the new age, Vivekananda stirred the sleeping giant. If Bankim saw the vision of the Mother and was the *Rishi* of the *mantra* of awakened nationalism, Sri Aurobindo was the prophet of national freedom.

Steeped in English education and isolated from Indian culture though he was in his early life, Sri Aurobindo became an ardent champion of Indian freedom. Master alike in Western lore and in India's wisdom, Sri Aurobindo gave expression to some revolutionary ideals for independence during the nineties of the 19th century. These years were, indeed, a turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement, witnessing the rise of Religious Nationalism or Extremism and Revolutionary Nationalism or Terrorism. In 1900 Aurobindo made the first move by sending Jatin Banerjee from Baroda to infuse the spirit of a secret society among the youth of Bengal.

Parting company with the Moderates, Sri Aurobindo loudly proclaimed the priority of freedom over any other thing. "First freedom, then (moral) regeneration." "It is the first condition of life, which must be satisfied, if the nation is to survive." "Political freedom is the life breath of a nation. Without it a nation cannot go, cannot expand . . ." Political freedom, in his opinion, was then the greatest and the only work before the country, as foreign subjection was eating into the vitality of the nation's being, emasculating its body, corrupting its morals and corroding its soul.

Stressing this social emasculation and stagnation, economic ruin and many other adverse results of foreign government more powerfully and persistently than had been done even before, Sri Aurobindo sounded the clarion call that good government is no substitute for independence and self-government.

He emphasized in his Kishoregunj resolution (April, 1908) that the village being the cell of the national body,

Swaraj should begin from the village; the political sense of the masses could be awakened only through the *Palli Samiti* (*Speeches*, 40 ff).

The Partition of Bengal (1905) was the spring-board of Extremism. At the Benares Congress (1905) the extremists (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal) parted company with the moderates under Gokhale, while at the Calcutta Congress (1906) an open rupture was avoided by the adoption—under the influence of its 82-year-old President, the Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji—of the ideal of Swaraj or self-government. As Editor of the *Bandemataram*, Sri Aurobindo declared the policy to be "complete autonomy free from British control," but it was soon given up and the newspaper became the fiery organ of dynamic nationalism declaring in 1906 complete independence to be the goal of India (an ideal accepted by the Congress only in 1931) and gave a dynamic lead towards it.

Disclaiming the Congress policy of attaining Swaraj by mendicancy or petitioning as the "dream of timid inexperience, teaching of false friends, foolish to reason false to experience," Sri Aurobindo preached the "only two modes to effect the fulfilment of national desires: self-development and self-help (distinguishing between that of an independent nation and that of a servile people) and passive resistance," thus furthering the idea of Bipin Pal who was working through his paper *New India*. Sri Aurobindo was convinced that no material self-government was possible without *rajashakti* (and central organisation, such as Japan had). Considering the Plan of Campaign and obstructive methods of Parnell in Ireland and the organised untiring campaign of murders, riots, strikes and agrarian unrest (as in Russia), Aurobindo was convinced that the only effective means of national emancipation in India, short of actual armed revolt (the readiest and swiftest) was passive resistance (1907); it was the sole alternative to the ordeal of sanguinary violence. He organised the Nationalist Party (Cf. Sinn Fein of Ireland) to capture the Congress and use it for revolutionary action, if not to form a central revolutionary body.

Without recommending the method of refusal to pay taxes, a method usually followed in Europe, by the Dissenters in England, the Irish peasants and the Americans—involving direct defiance and breach of legal obligation and demanding perfect organisation and ultimate preparedness that were lacking in India then—Sri Aurobindo suggested (April 1907) (1) the negative method of boycott,—the organised refusal to do anything

to help the British, whether in administration, commerce, education, justice, and organised refusal to help the process of exploitation and impoverishment, and (2) the positive method of Swadeshi, constructive left-help in all these spheres, whether economic, industrial, educational (national schools), judicial (creation of arbitration courts) and military (creation of a volunteer force).

A passive resister had to undertake three obligations: to be prepared to break an unjust coercive law, to resist an unjust coercive order and to boycott those who use foreign goods and are guilty of treason to nation. The enforcement of these three canons would produce the actual shock of battle. Passive resistance, would, however, cease and active resistance would be a duty as soon as executive action became illegal and violent coercion. No longer passive, it would still be defensive resistance.

The most significant effect of all this was the creation of a new spirit of courage, indomitable and undaunted, rising again and again, wave after wave. The whole fate of Indian politics was changed. The subsequent Non-Co-operation movement and the Civil Disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi can be well understood in this background.

Sri Aurobindo insisted that freedom demanded sacrifice.

"The work of national emancipation is a great and holy *Yajna* of which boycott, Swadeshi, national education and every other activity, great and small, are only major and minor parts. Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice and Motherland, the Goddess to whom we offer it: into the seven leaping tongues of the fire of *Yajna* we must offer all that we are and all that we have, feeding the fire even with our blood and the lives and happiness of our nearest and dearest ones; for the Motherland is the goddess who loves not a maimed and imperfect sacrifice, and freedom was never won from the gods by a grudging giver."

This emotional and devotional appeal electrified the youth of the country and stirred them to the depth of their beings.

Indeed, inspired by the spirit of the song *Bande Mataram*, Sri Aurobindo loved and worshipped India as the Mother, the eternal and infinite Mother.

But to Sri Aurobindo, patriotism was more than a religion. It was a spiritual experience. He believed that the movement of India's freedom was guided by an unseen power, and that through it some higher will was fulfilling itself. In his Uttarpara speech (*Speeches*, pp. 57-59) he disclosed how his jail life was an intense spiritual *sadhana* and how he saw the *Viswarup* of Lord Krishna. Speaking against Government repression in Bengal to a Bombay audience Sri Aurobindo made a remarkable utterance recalling the German idealist philosopher Hegel's view of history. History, to Hegel, represented the march of God on earth.

"Nationalism," said Sri Aurobindo, "is not a mere political programme: Nationalism is a religion that

has come from God . . . Nationalism is immortal. Nationalism cannot die, because it is the human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal" (*Speeches*, p. 7).

Sri Aurobindo's public political life was brief. Predicting in January, 1910, that India would be free after a period of wars and worldwide upheavals which were to begin in 1914, he retired to Pondicherry in response to his inner spiritual urge. The active patriot and the active nationalist in him now receded to the background, the spiritualist came to the fore. Spiritualism engulfed his politics; but did not crush it, rather improved it. Immersed in his mystical and mysterious Yoga Ashram in Pondicherry, and convinced of the inevitability of the grant of independence to India by Britain due to insistence of demand and pressure of international events, Sri Aurobindo refused to return to practical politics. Nevertheless, in his *ashram* seclusion away from the political arena he always remained keenly interested in world affairs and India's fate, and devoted himself to the solution of these problems. He relaxed his earlier uncompromising formula of passive resistance when the Montagu-Chemsford reforms were coming in 1919. Considering Nazism to be a challenge to spiritual evolution of humanity and an instrument for enslaving not only Europe but also Asia, Sri Aurobindo supported the Cripps offer as a step towards independence.

With unflinching faith in India's great mission to the world Sri Aurobindo like Vivekananda, was convinced that India was arising not to serve her material interests only but as a helper and leader of whole humanity. In 1907 he wrote:

"A divine power is behind the movement, the *Zeit Geist*, the Time Spirit is at work to bring about a mighty movement of which the present juncture has need. That movement is the resurgence of Asia and the resurgence of India is only a necessary part of the larger movement but its central need. India is the keystone of the arch, the chief inheritor of the common Asiatic destiny . . ." (Mitra, pp. 46-47, also p. 57).

Again, "India is the giver of the nations, the physician of human soul in its profound maladies . . ." In his Uttarpara speech (p. 63) he conveyed to his audience the divine message, "I am giving them (the people of India) freedom for the service of the world . . ." In his Beadon Square speech (p. 73) he said, "The sun of India's destiny would rise and fill all India with its light and overflow India and overflow Asia and overflow the world . . ." Thus Aurobindo, in his Independence Day message on 15th. August, 1947 said that the day "has a significance not only for us, but for Asia and the whole world . . ."

But neither the Mother (June, 3, 1947), nor Sri Aurobindo considered the partition of India to be in the interest of her unity and greatness. "Freedom, not yet to unity." In the infinite plenitude of supramental light revealed to Sri Aurobindo, he advised us that the

"new India of the future" could not be built upon political freedom only and so commissioned us to rediscover and repossess our priceless heritage and on that to build the greater India of tomorrow. He saw the vision of a free and united India as means of fulfilling India's destiny.

"I believe firmly that a great and united future is the destiny of this nation and its people." (February 5, 1948).

In his *The Ideal of Human Unity* (postscript chapter, 1950) he envisaged the "necessity and inevitability of some kind of world union," and world consciousness and concluded that

"The ideal of human unity would be no longer

an unfulfilled ideal but an accomplished fact and its preservation given into the charge of the united human people." (p. 400).

At this crisis in human history, standing at the cross roads of *Amritam* and *Vinasham*, Sri Aurobindo repeated the message of the old seers to "Aryanize the whole world."

I cannot better conclude than by quoting the prophetic words of Deshabandhu C. R. Das (in the Alipore Conspiracy case) in 1909:

"Aurobindo will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, the prophet of Nationalism and as the lover of humanity . . . his words will be echoed and re-echoed not only in India, but across distant seas and lands."

—:O:—

THE DEADLOCK ON GOA

An Editorial of *The New York Times* and a Reply by Dr. Tarak Nath Das

A complete rupture of the diplomatic relations between India and Portugal was almost inevitable when the dispute had been allowed to reach the violent stage. If the break makes it clear that some new approach must be made and some new formula for settlement devised it will have served a good purpose.

The basic tragedy in this situation is that the clash over Goa is a clash of emotions rather than of interests. The tiny Portuguese enclaves on the Indian subcontinent have virtually no economic importance and no military significance.

Their emotional significance to the Portuguese is twofold. They are a symbol of the once greater Portuguese Empire. As such they may be a political anachronism, but to the Portuguese they are sovereign territory that must not be alienated. In addition, because of the connection with Saint Francis Xavier, Goa is one of the most sacred shrines in Roman Catholic Christendom. It is easy, therefore, to appeal to religious feeling with the argument that it should not be allowed to pass into the hands of a non-Christian nation.

On the other hand, the emotional significance of the case to the Indians lies in the fact that these tiny holdings are a symbol of the colonial status from which India has now emerged. Their very presence on the map of the subcontinent is an affront to the nationalistic sensibilities of a newly independent nation.

In our judgment the Portuguese have been at fault in obdurately refusing even to discuss the question. The Indians have been at fault in tolerating

and quietly encouraging "non-violent" demonstrations that were certain to end in violence.

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly assured that the religious significance of Goa would be fully respected under Indian sovereignty. This is undoubtedly true in so far as a person of Mr. Nehru's mental and moral stature is concerned. It may not be true of some others, and *the Portuguese should have assurance on this point.* The Indians, on the other hand, should have the assurance that the problem can be discussed fairly and amicably.

What good offices can be used is not yet clear at this stage. But there is need for them and for a fresh approach.—The New York Times, August 21, 1955.

A REPLY

To the Editor of *The New York Times*,

These are days of numerous tensions among nations. But on the issue of Goa, Indo-Portuguese tension has reached the point of a serious international crisis. It is a pity that while discussing Goa issue, many American editorials have been violently anti-Indian which has meant adding fuel to existing Indo-American suspicion, leading to ill-will. Because of this situation existing in America, I am very happy to read the sober editorial "The Deadlock on Goa," published in the issue of *The New York Times*, Sunday, August 21, 1955.

We all know that Mr. Nehru, on the Goan question, has been more temperate than Indian politicians and average Indian nationalists and men and women on the street; and he wanted to settle the issue peacefully as he has settled the question of

THE DEADLOCK ON GOA

French possessions in India through negotiations. But the attitude of the Portuguese government has made it impossible to settle the Goa issue by Indo-Portuguese negotiation. *The New York Times* editorial rightly points out:

"In our judgment the Portuguese have been at fault in obdurately refusing even to discuss the question . . ."

Furthermore, the massacre of unarmed *satyagrahis* (Indians) on the 16th of August by the Portuguese police and armed forces which has only parallels in the "Amritsar massacre" or the "bloody Sunday" of Czarist days, has created such a grave situation that the Government of India has ended its diplomatic relations with Portugal. This is a serious situation, ordinarily presaging a bloody conflict.

It is safe to say that Mr. Nehru will do his best to prevent an armed conflict. But we must not forget that on the issue of Hyderabad, India was forced to take a justifiable police action; and the same thing may happen unless Portugal decides to open negotiations with India.

The most significant passage in this editorial of the *Times* reads as follows:

"What good offices can be used is not yet clear at this stage. But there is need for them and for a fresh approach."

In any effort for solution of Goa question one must not forget that the Portuguese claim is neither sacred nor eternally binding to India. The Portuguese do not have any superior claim to Goa that the British had to Bombay and other parts of the former British Empire in India or the French claim on Pondicherry which have become parts of Indian national domain.

If I understand correctly the present trend of Indian politics regarding the issue of ending any and all political foothold on Indian soil by any alien power, India will carry on the struggle on Goa indefinitely.

There should be no mistake in recognising the fact that no Government of India will ever agree to recognise Portuguese claim on Goa. All political parties of India are determined to end Portuguese control over Goa. On this point, Goa situation can be compared with the issue of ending partition of Germany which is wanted by all German political parties. All India recognises *Goa is India and must be a part of India.*

Great Britain has a treaty of perpetual alliance with Portugal. Spain is also in alliance with Portugal. The United States, France and other countries have close relations with Portugal. These nations should induce Portugal to follow the foot-steps of Britain and France and give up her untenable claims on Goa.

If I understand the existing diplomatic line upon the issue of Goa correctly, I find that all Asian States except Pakistan are with India. It may be added Egypt which recently has regained possession of Suez base from Britain would support India. There is some reason to believe that Britain and France regard friendship of India is of greater value than that of Portugal. It is needless to say that Soviet Russia and her allies will support India diplomatically. If one takes a poll of South American Republics (Catholic States), even there, he will find that some of them would not support Portuguese claim on Goa.

In my discussions on Goa question with American scholars and statesmen, I find that some of them suggest that it might be decided by a plebiscite or by commission of the United Nations. I venture to suggest that neither India nor Portugal would submit the issue of territorial sovereignty over Goa to plebiscite or the U.N.

Thus those who wish to offer good offices to bring Portugal and India together to re-open the discussion on Goa, should find a "face-saving formula" for Portugal which must acknowledge Indian sovereignty over Goa, while India should make some concessions in the form of a treaty of friendship or may even purchase Goa from Portugal, as the United States purchased Louisiana and Alaska at a nominal price. It is to be hoped that Portuguese statesmanship would recognise that friendship of India is worth more than hundred Goas.

TARAKNATH DAS,

New York City,
August 21, 1955.

Professor of Public Affairs,
New York University and
Lecturer on Oriental History
and Politics, Columbia University,
New York City.

APPENDIX I

Violent Outbreaks Follow the Attempts to Force the Portuguese Out

By A. M. ROSENTHAL
(Special to *The New York Times*)

New Delhi, India, August 20: To tens of millions of Asians the most important place in world this week was Portuguese Goa, a lush sliver of land bounded by the Arabian Sea and Asian nationalism.

On August 15, about 3,000 Indians walked through jungles and crossed into the Portuguese territory at about a dozen places. They were invaders, but they went unarmed and offered themselves for arrest to nervous Portuguese border guards. All India watched.

Before the day was over, at least twenty-two

persons had been shot to death by Portuguese policemen and soldiers. More than 200 persons were wounded, some were beaten and the rest were rounded up and pushed back across the border.

That was the climax of a campaign of political harassment that has been growing in passionate intensity for a year.

But what happened the next day was perhaps more important for India, certainly more important to an understanding of life in India.

The official philosophy of India is non-violence and most Indians talk of it as an accepted way of life. But the fact is that India, non-violent in philosophy, always teeters on the edge of a frightening, catastrophic sort of violence.

ORIGINS OF VIOLENCE

Last Tuesday non-violence crossed the thin edge. In the great port city of Bombay, political demonstrations turned into mob looting and destruction. In Calcutta and Madras, there were strikes and turmoil.

The reasons for the political invasion, the willingness to die on the borders of Goa, and for the mobs that rose in India are not particularly complicated. Economically and militarily, Goa means little to Portugal and less to India.

The basic motivation for Indians is simply that Goa in Portuguese hands represents a hangover of colonialism and an affront to a national dignity of which Indians are extremely conscious.

That is the motivation. But the impetus for doing something about it comes in great part from domestic political factors. Prime Minister Nehru and his Congress Party have not officially encouraged the movement. Opposition parties see in Goa just about the only popular issue on which they can take the lead from Mr. Nehru and his party.

The Portuguese see Goa as an inalienable part of their national territory; and they fear that to give it up might give ideas to their African colonies of Angola and Mozambique. All over Goa are signs that read, "This is Portugal."

Physically, Portuguese Goa is a lovely country of glistening seacoast and deep green jungles. Intellectually, it is on the depressing side.

The ladies of the Portuguese colonial officers in the capital city of Pangim go in the evening to the country's only decent hotel and listlessly put another day behind them with canasta and mah jong. The Portuguese gentlemen go to the same hotel and sit

at different tables. They play a little bridge, drink a little wine and wait for the time to go home. Everybody seems to be awaiting the arrival of Somerset Maugham.

FEAR AS A FACTOR

Politically, it is even more depressing. India's way of life still is heavy with a powerful bureaucracy and her social forms still are largely innocent of democracy. But politically, India's leaders are modern. Portuguese Goa still is inching toward the nineteenth century. It is a police State.

There are about 10,000 soldiers and 2,000 police men in Goa, well-armed with light weapons. That means about one armed man for every fifty Goans.

Although hundreds of Goans have gone to jail, there are few outward signs of political unrest. It may be that the people are content. It may also be they are afraid.

Portugal is trying to work up enthusiasm for the election of a Goan Council, but the elections held so far in the colony have been farcical—no choice, no campaigning.

There is always another side. It is probably true that Goans live a little better than Indians. The cleanliness of Goan towns is a rebuke to Indian towns and villages across the border. The color line does not exist and there are Goans to whom Portuguese citizenship is as meaningful as to anybody in Lisbon.

RELATIONS BROKEN

A negotiated settlement seems remote. The Portuguese are willing to talk but not on any issue that involves the question of sovereignty. The Indians do not see anything else to talk about.

If there are to be any talks in the future, they will have to be through a third party. Indians this week broke their last diplomatic relations with Lisbon.

Some Indians feel the peaceful resistance movement has three strikes against it: it is largely from India and not Goa, the Portuguese are not at all reluctant to crack down hard, and there is no real political Opposition in Portugal to raise a protest.

But this is probably a minority viewpoint. Most Indians are convinced that Portugal cannot hold out for ever against constant political pressure and a tightening economic blockade. They are convinced that anti-colonialism is part of the tide of history and that Portuguese rule in Goa will be drowned in it.

MAHABALIPURAM

By N. R. BANERJEE, M.A.,

Asst. Superintendent, Dept. of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras

For the first time in the history of our sub-continent the whole country was united under one royal banner during the benign rule of Asoka. Even in his days the kingdoms of the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas in the extreme south did not form part of the big empire, but were attached to the great kingdom by ties of friendship, religion and culture. The political unity achieved by Asoka was of course short-lived. Many centuries after Asoka the Pallavas are known to have ruled over the Coromandel coast. But the information about the early Pallavas is so scrappy and straggling that endeavours hitherto made to make up a connected and chronological account of these people have not been entirely successful.

It is to the Imperial Branch of these Pallavas that we owe the works of art which have made Mahabalipuram memorable. The period of their ascendancy can be counted roughly from 600 A.D. to 850 A.D. for a span of about 250 years. Kanchipuram was their capital town and Mahabalipuram, forty miles away, their harbour on the sea. The enlightened kings of the dynasty, mainly responsible for the works of art which have borne their name and fame to this day, were the illustrious Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.) and his son Narasimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.). The latter, because of his great valour, was surnamed Mahamalla or Mamalla, i.e., 'of great prowess'. Hence the name of the little village, which bears his name, was Mamallapuram. The centuries that have rolled away since these great figures trod the soil here have transformed this name into the corrupt form of Mahabalipuram, and consequently, interesting legends have grown round the origin of the village and its glories. Untenable credit for these is given to the mythical king Bali or Mahabali, whose pride was humbled by Vishnu in his incarnation as Vamana, the dwarf. But tradition dies hard, and it is difficult now, if not impossible, to revive the original name. The next illustrious ruler, who contributed immensely to Pallava art, was Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rajasimha, in whose time the first structural temples in South India, including the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram, came into being. Narasimhavarman II ruled from circa 696-722 A.D.

The Pallavas were devout worshippers of both Vishnu and Siva and their catholicity and breadth of outlook revealed themselves in the exquisite creation of temples dedicated to the two gods.

Mahabalipuram is a veritable treasure-house of art, rich alike in variety and extent. Years of patient labour under the guidance of a master-mind would have produced them. These mute artists are long since dead, their names no one can discover, but their work bears eternal testimony to their devotion and skill. The level

of perfection which these works attained, at almost the dawn of stone art in South India, speaks of years of apprenticeship, here or elsewhere, in some more pliable and, of course, perishable medium like wood. There is enough justification for this theory of the evolution of art. Unnecessary members or parts of the stone-cut structures remind too strongly of the rightful place they occupied in wooden architecture. When they translated their experience of building with or carving in wood into the stone medium, they created those members or parts essential to a wooden structure, like the frame-work under a sloping roof, under the force of habit, and the simplest form of rock-cut architecture, which emerged first, was the rock-cut cave.



Gajalakshmi in the Varaha Cave

The works of art in Mahabalipuram can roughly be classified into four groups, namely, (1) Rock-cut Caves, (2) Rock-cut or monolithic structures described as Pagodas or Rathas, (3) Structural temples and (4) Sculptured scenes on the vertical faces of exposed rocks. The first three also correspond to a chronological classification in the same order of evolution.

These monuments of various types are not clustered together but scattered over a rather wide area. A longitudinal ridge of low hillocks flanks the village,

forming its western boundary running north to south. Most of the monuments nestle at the foot of this ridge.

A few of the more prominent monuments are being described here :



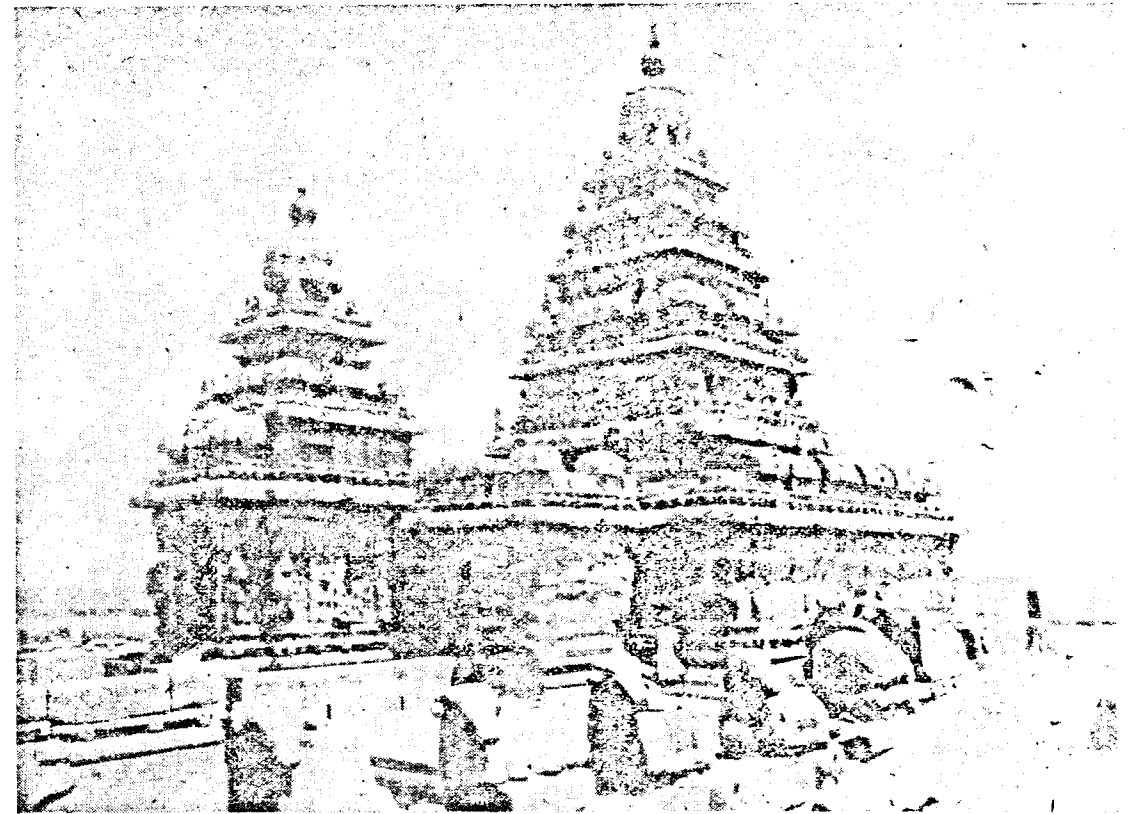
Simhavishnu and his two queens in the Adi Varaha Cave

The Rock-cut Caves : Such caves have been in use as places of worship as well as dwelling ever since the times of Asoka. Some of them like the Lomas Rishi and Sudama caves in the Barabar hills near Gaya, the caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, the world-famous Cave Temples and monasteries of Ajanta and Ellora, the renowned caves at Elephanta Islands off Bombay, and the Caves of the monastic order at Bhaja, Pital Khora, Karle and Kanheri, all displaying a high skill of craftsmanship, belong to the common order of rock-cut caves as at Mahabalipuram. The spurt of artistic activity in Mahabalipuram cannot be looked upon in isolation, and we have to look for their inspiration to the art of carving caves which began in Asokan times and spread through a vast expanse of space and over a good many centuries until a high order of craftsmanship was reached as at Mahabalipuram. But Mahabalipuram is not the only place where caves in South India abound. This peculiar form of rock-cut architecture in South India owes its inspiration indeed to the Pallavas, and are widely distributed all over South India. At Mahabalipuram itself, the rock-cut caves were the first to come up in point of time and are very

simple in form. Each cave consists of a central niche carved in the rock, with a scooped out rectangular verandah in front. The verandah is divided up in space by pillars. The central niche takes the place of the *Sanctum sanctorum* of a temple and contains, if at all, a Lingam symbolising the deity, Siva. The rear wall of this niche is often carved with the figures of Siva and Parvati, sitting side by side, with the playful figure of young Kartikeya called Skanda or Kumara. This group is collectively called Somaskanda, that is, Siva accompanied by Uma and Skanda, and is a characteristic feature of evolved Pallava art as the Pallavas were great devotees of Siva. Sometimes the central niche would also have a small Mandapa or pavilion in front of it consisting of a roof or canopy supported by pillars. The two sides of the central wall alongside the central niche would alternately remain blank or would be pierced by two or four more niches—each meant for a deity or would be covered with a group of sculptured figures. Likewise the two side walls of the verandah too would bear a bas-relief.

The method of scooping, as shown by unfinished examples on living rock lying here and there, is very interesting. The surface was divided up into square grids and deep grooves were chiselled along the outlines of the squares separating one from the other. These were then removed by gentle pressure and a hollow was thus scooped out. It is difficult indeed to calculate how much time and labour were involved in the 35 and odd individual monuments, big and small, scattered around the little village of Mahabalipuram.

The Mahishamardini Cave : One of the most remarkable of the rock-cut caves is so called because of the occurrence in it of a panel of Durga in her role of slaying the Buffalo demon. The central niche of the cave contains the empty socket where the Lingam should have stood. The rear wall of this niche contains the characteristic group of Somaskanda with the Nandi or bull reclining at its feet. Brahma and Vishnu are seen flanking the couple. Two other niches flanking the central cell are bare. The two side walls of the verandah contain respectively the recumbent figure of Vishnu lying on his usual bed of the coils of the divine reptile, Ananta or Sesha, and the portrayal of the fierce battle scene between Durga and the Buffalo demon. On one side is the picture of peace unsullied even by the effrontery of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, put out of countenance by the weapons of Vishnu, namely, Sankha, Chakra, Gada and Kharga. In this scene these have taken anthropomorphic forms and brought about the discomfiture of the disturbing demons at the bidding, as it were, of Vishnu who in his *yoga nidra* is the very picture of bliss, and juxtaposed in contrast is a scene of battle raging furiously on the other. The other panel shows Durga astride a lion, each of her eight arms bearing a missile. The divine figure is turned sideways in the vigorous effort



The Shore Temple

of drawing the string of a bow and discharging a dart. The Buffalo demon, accompanied by his followers, made a vigorous effort to resist the onslaught. He is clearly at a disadvantage appearing to retreat with a back-to-the-wall attitude. His companions and attendants are in utter distress in the hands of the tiny *Ganas* or dwarf servants and attendants of Durga. In Bengal, Durga is worshipped in this form indeed, but in the traditional image the Goddess is completely calm and shows none of her vigour which is too manifest here. The Mahabalipuram panel forms one of the most vivid and life-like expositions of the subject. The skill of the artist in having achieved this effect is a thing to wonder at. No visitor to Mahabalipuram can afford to miss this epic scene.

Adivaraha Temple : Perhaps more interesting but less known than the preceding one is the Cave temple devoted to Adivaraha or the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. The temple occurs on the western side of the ridge, near its southern tip. During the Vijayanagar period this cave temple was hemmed in by a stone enclosure with its roof supported by pillars. Though this has, in effect, hidden the Cave temple from view and made the interior very dark, it has been a blessing in disguise. Inasmuch as the monument is completely covered by this Vijayanagara enclosure

numerous sculptures decorating the walls of the cave have been preserved remarkably from the deleterious effects of the salt and sand laden winds coming from the sea, and the pristine sharpness of the sculptures have been well preserved. Apart from the preservation, the sculptures themselves have their own tale to tell. Besides the exquisitely carved figures of Siva supporting Ganga in her anthropomorphic form, Brahma, Gajalakshmi, Durga standing on the prostrate head of the slain Buffalo demon—all of them carved exquisitely—are two figures of the Pallava Kings Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman I, each accompanied by their two queens. The scene of Gajalakshmi in this group, seated in right royal style on her lotus throne while she is being bathed by elephants turning full pots of water over her head supplied in an unceasing stream by a string of gracefully poised maidens, arrayed on the two flanks, would indeed be a scene for the gods to see. A visit to this cave temple can only be arranged with the trustee of the temple, who lives in the village.

The other rock-cut caves, which are also excellent in execution as well as in their state of preservation, can only be mentioned in passing. They are the Varaha Cave, the Trimurti Cave, Kotikal Mandapa, the five-celled Mandapa and so on.

The Varaha Cave carries four panels of sculptured

figures depicting respectively the scenes of Varaha lifting Bhu Devi, Gaja Lakshmi—a repetition of the panel described under the Adivaraha Cave—Durga, and the scene of the discomfiture of the King Mahabali by Vishnu as Trivikrama. The occurrence of the last-named panel distantly but mistakenly suggests the association of the township of old with the mythical King Bali or Maha Bali.

The Trimurti Cave, as the name implies, combines the trinity of the Hindu pantheon and declares eloquently the catholicity of the Pallavas who created this. Stylistically, the rock-cut caves evolved from Mahendravarman style.



Mahendravarman and his two queens in the Adi Varaha Cave

The Rock-cut Temples: These represent the second phase in the evolution of carving in Mahabalipuram and consist of the isolated group of five Rathas and the lonesome Ganesa Ratha in the heart of the village. The Five Rathas, otherwise known as the Pandava Rathas, occur in a secluded cluster about a couple of furlongs to the south of the village. It is said that all five of them were carved out of one low hillock which once stood here. They are respectively called Draupadi Ratha, Arjuna Ratha, Bhima Ratha, Dharmaraja Ratha and Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha, named after the five brothers and their common wife. The term *ratha*, which has come to stay, is apparently a misnomer, as the monuments do not look like Rathas or chariots at all. They delineate, however, altogether four

different styles of architecture and are in the nature of temples. Their juxtaposition and the occurrence of so many of them together, the lack of deities to be worshipped and the fact that they were not completed prove all too clearly that they were not meant to be functional. It is no wonder, therefore, that many scholars have suggested that there was an open-air school of arts here.

Stylistically, the architectural structures here can be grouped into four types. The Draupadi Ratha reminds one too strongly of the conical-roofed common man's hut, still prevalent in the temples of Mari Amman and other minor village deities in Tamil land which are comparable to the four-faceted conical-roofed mud houses of Bengal, known as *chauchala ghar*. The Arjuna Ratha and Dharmaraja Ratha represent, in their different sizes, the characteristic style of storeyed Dravidian architecture. The Bhima Ratha is an example of the less popular wagon-topped type of architecture. The Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha is an example of the *gajaprastha-kriti* or elephant-backed apsidal style. The juxtaposition of the stone-carved elephant just by its side drives home the point by their obvious similarity. In this group there is also a majestic figure of a humped bull reclining with an air of utter nonchalance, looking upon the rest of creation with the greatest unconcern as it were. An imaginary and poorly sculptured lion also finds place in this motley group. This is indeed a blemish on the otherwise unsullied examples of art arrayed here.

Needless to say, the walls of the various Rathas are covered with sculptured figures testifying to the high conception and execution of the nameless and forgotten artists. The outer walls of the Dharmaraja Ratha shows in one corner the figure of Narasimhavarman Mamalla, the patron of this art, and records in florid Pallava *grantha* script his various achievements. The same Ratha bears also a sculptured figure of Ardhanarisvara, half Siva and half Parvati—a very popular form of the conception of the unison of Prakriti and Purusha symbolising Sakti or the cosmic force. It has a grace of its own but, in its comparative stiffness of pose, it is indeed inferior to specimens of the same form in the more evolved and developed Chola art as in the Brihadisvara temple at Gangaikondacholapuram (Tiruchi District) or at the Tirunagesvaram temple at Kumbhakonam (Tanjore District).

Besides the above group of five Rathas there is an isolated and rather singular rock-cut temple, also likewise miscalled a Ratha, near the village and is known Ganesa Ratha. It is situated to the east of the longitudinal rocky ridge almost in the heart of the village. It is more complete than any of the above group. This Ratha bears a mutilated trident at one end of its top and proclaims the cult of Siva which received accentuated devotion in this period. The original deity, which must have been that of Siva, is missing; but

the local people have set up a crude modern image of Ganesa in this temple and, hence the name. Though it is not under regular worship, it does not miss the reverential act of an occasional besmearing by oil and offering of flowers.

The inscriptions on the walls of this cave proclaim aloud the greatness of Siva, the great Lord who restores all, who have strayed to the right path. These monolithic temples are attributed to Narasimha-varman Mamalla and the style involved is, therefore, designated the Mamalla style.

From the rock-cut temples to the structural temple is not a far cry, and the latter is the practical successor, in the line of evolution of the former. There are three such temples in Mahabalipuram, but, with the exception of the well-known Shore Temple, the two others are in a state of ruin. Even the Shore Temple is fast deteriorating owing essentially to its location on the seashore and under the continuous attack of salt and sand-bearing winds and spray of sea water. Even about 10 years ago, the sea was beating directly on the temple and the temple has all but crumbled away under the incessant attack. It is now protected by a semi-circular groyne wall which has kept the naughty sea at a respectable distance in a weak endeavour, as it were, to withstand the mighty and destructive forces of nature. Man, however, can perhaps do no more to save this the very first example of Dravidian architecture in India. The Shore Temple complex consists of two temples, juxtaposed back to back, the one with larger steeple facing

the sea in the east and the other facing west. The rear walls of both have the traditional panel of Somaskanda. The bigger one has still the battered reminiscences of a 16-faceted Linga installed on the Yonipatta. In between the two temples is a vestibule which houses a recumbent image of Vishnu who, in this form, is known as *Jalasayana perumal*. The co-existence of Siva and Vishnu is at once a proof and tribute to the catholicity of the Pallavas. This temple was built early in the 8th century during the reign of Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha, who was responsible for the style called after him as the Rajasimha style.

There is a very strong belief among the local people

that there were originally six more temples at Mahabalipuram like the Shore Temple but that the sea has swallowed them all and is about to swallow even the seventh and last remaining vestige. The local guides still point to a couple of glistening crests in the distant



The central scene from Arjuna's Penance

sea as the vestiges of those temples under the sea by way of proving their statement. There is indeed in this explanation a justification for the other name of Seven Pagodas by which this place is known to the Europeans. There is, however, no geological proof of so much advance of the sea during the last two thousand years as to justify the above guess. It may be more credibly surmised that the early seamen who traversed this region may have been able to see about seven temple structures from the sea and, therefore, gave it the above name. The earliest European to notice the place was Manucci, the Italian traveller, who visited India about the beginning of the 18th century. Much of this temple was buried

under sand and it was at considerable expense of time and money that the sand was cleared and the monument reclaimed for the delight of posterity. The construction of this temple marks the beginning of temple architecture in South India, which continued through the centuries under the succeeding dynasties of the Cholas and Pandyas and the rulers of Vijayanagar. This architecture reached its high watermark in the Big Temple of Tanjore, called the Great (Brihadisvara) temple, built by Raja Raja Chola in 1001 A.D. It shone brightly for some centuries, and later decay set in.



A scene from Krishna Mandapa

Now, to turn to the sculptured scenes or the fourth group of monuments at Mahabalipuram. The scenes are in effect 'frescoes in stone' and is a combination of the synoptic and the narrative methods of exposition. The tale has been told powerfully and impressively indeed. With the exception of an inferior experimental specimen, there are two scenes, called respectively Krishna Mandapa and Arjuna's Penance, on the eastern vertical face of the ridge in the heart of the village. The degree of perfection achieved in such a broad endeavour would clearly point to considerable experience in this kind of work. These bas-reliefs can be attributed to Narasimharman I Mamalla.

The Krishna Mandapa: The scene represented here is of the cowherds and their women in Vrajabhumi plying their daily avocations in peace under the benign rule of their king Krishna, completely forgetful of the wrath of Indra, the lord of thunder and rain. Enraged, Indra plans to punish them but their royal friend comes to their help and lifts up the Govardhana rock as a protective shield over the heads of the bewildered Gopas and Gopis, until the storm passes over. This establishes his claim to the title of Govardhanagiridhari. Here is shown a lovely everyday scene of a milkman milking a

cow and the cow in turn, in profound affection, licking its little calf. Scenes of men and women carrying their ware of milk, curd, butter and cream and going their way, accompanied by their little children, and the cattle moving about to graze are scenes with which we are already familiar, and which have been captured here in stone for posterity in all their vividness. The king is also shown in his role of a friend of his people by putting his arm round a common wood-cutter armed with an axe. This scene is known to belong to Vrindavana. Does not its existence down in the south point to the oneness of Indian culture?

Arjuna's Penance: Perhaps more exquisite than the above is the sculptural delineation of Arjuna's Penance. The great poet Bharavi adopted a theme from the Mahabharata and wrote the famous epic entitled *Kiratarjuniya* which has made him famous among the galaxy of Sanskrit poets. He lived in the 7th century in the Pallava Court and composed this single work which carved for him a perpetual place in the niche of literary fame. The sculptor artist of Mahabalipuram was, therefore, inspired by this work, and we find here a sculptural depiction of the great poem verse by verse. The central figure is that of Arjuna, who, standing on one leg, and performing severe penance, is emaciated and

his hair and beard have grown long. Siva is pleased with his penance and comes and stands on his right and offers him the *pasupatastra*, for which he has been striving. The Sun and Moon in anthropomorphic forms, with a nimbus to indicate them, and other gods and goddesses in pairs in the posture of flying through the ethereal heavens, six pairs of Kinnaras (half man and half animal singers) and the animal world watch with delight and wonder at the travails of Arjuna. As a lithic exposition of a theme, culled out of the *Mahabharata* and enriched by a poet's imagination, the panel of Arjuna's penance has an all-India appeal and compels the attention and reverence of all people, from far and near, lettered and unlettered, and they recognise in it familiar figures—our common heritage. There is a temple of Krishna in the scene below. In front of it a few men are seen performing their ablutions and *Suryanamshaka* or *tarpana* by the side of a river, indicated by a natural cleft in the rock. Some of them after the bath have sat down with wet clothes on for meditation before the temple. A group of elephants and their young ones emerge from one side and romp playfully in the shallow waters of the bank—their favourite sport. The humorous mood of the artist has found expression in

the delineation of a cat in this scene standing upon his hind legs in the pose of performing penance in the manner of Arjuna and the over-joyous mice, delighted at the pre-occupation of the hermit cat, have thrown off their guard and are running pell-mell round him only to fall into his mischievous and deliberate trap. This reminds one of the story of the mischievous cat 'Dadhikarna.' The vast extent of the scene, the clearness of conception, and the distinction of execution point to the high artistic merit of the sculptors of the past. The occurrence of a Naga couple on two sides of the cleft imparts completeness to the scene which is being witnessed by the gods and demigods in the ethereal region, by men and animals in the mundane regions, and by the *Nagas* of the nether region as it were.

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YAMUNOTRI AND GANGOTRI

By D. V. Rege, i.c.s. (Retd.)

THERE are four principal *dharmas* or holy places in Uttarakhand, i.e., modern Garhwal: Yamunotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinarayan. Lord Shri Krishna says in the *Bhagwadgita* that of the mountains He is the Himalayas and that of the rivers He is the Jahnavi, i.e., Ganga. Gangotri, i.e., the source of the river Ganga is in the Himalayas and is, therefore doubly holy. As I had been to Kedarnath and Badrinarayan about four years ago, I visited the remaining two *dharmas* this year.

I left Indore with a servant in the small hours of 23rd May and reached Rishikesh on the 24th morning. After staying for a day at Gita Bhavan, I left for Dharasu (78 miles) by bus on the 25th morning and reached there in the evening. The motor road is sufficiently wide and quite safe. The Kali Kamliwala *chatti* is on the bank of the Ganga while the forest rest-house is on the top of a hill close by. There is a coolie registration agency at Dharasu also and coolies are available cheaper here than at Rishikesh.

DHARASU TO YAMUNOTRI: 48 MILES

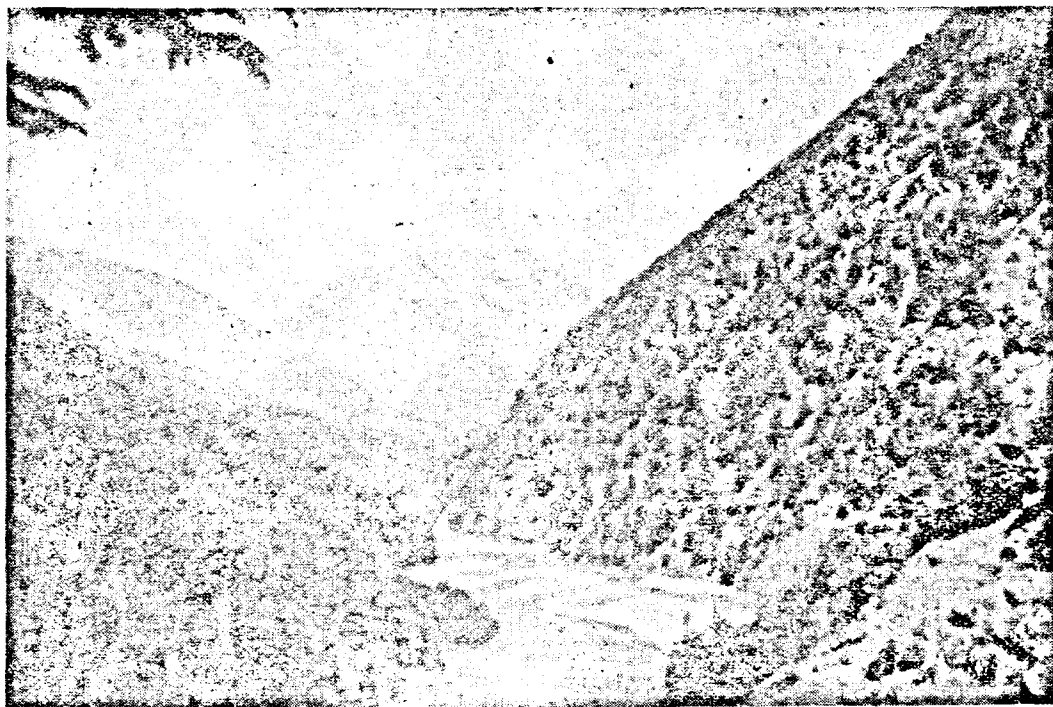
I left Dharasu (2,750 feet high) early next morning and reached Silkyari *chatti* by evening, after halting at Kumradi *chatti* on the way for mid-day meal and rest. Though it was the first day of walking and though the distance was 14 miles I did not feel very tired, as the road was level and flanked with pine trees. There is

Mahabalipuram to-day is a tiny village with a small population of a few hundreds. Gone are the days when it hummed with manifold activities of the daily avocations of life and the noise of sailors from far and near, who came to load and unload their cargoes here. Gone are their footsteps, their smiles and revelry, yet Mahabalipuram is very much alive to-day with the haunting shadows of these figures of the past, and the bright chapter of history they illuminate. Their undying message—the message of the cultural unity of India—hold its charm of freshness. Let us not, therefore, run astray and forget our cultural unity but bow our heads in reverence to the master-minds, who must have anticipated the trends of to-day to have left their messages in undying stone.



Ganga Mandir

season. Close by is Ganga *kund* with its small temple containing two idols—one white of Ganga and the other black of Yamuna. Jamna *chatti* is seven miles from here and on this road one is likely to be bitten by small flies on calves if they are uncovered. The road beyond Jamna *chatti* is rather bad. Hanuman *chatti* (eight miles) is on the bank of Hanuman Ganga which



A view of the Ganga near Harshil

meets the Yamuna close by. On the 29th, I stayed at Phool *chatti* (three miles) which was built only this year by a Panda with money given by one Phool Das of Ahmedabad. One mile beyond is Janki *chatti* which is also known as Markandeya *chatti* as the sage Markandeya is said to have done penance at a *kund* which is close by. Just opposite the *chatti* is a forest rest-house in a dilapidated condition. Kharsali village of Yamuna Pandas is less than a mile from here. The image of Yamuna is brought down here from the temple at Yamunotri in the cold season for worship. As there is a very steep ascent of over two miles beyond Janki *chatti* and as I was feeling somewhat weak on account of cough for the last two or three nights, I took a *kandi* to go to Yamunotri. Three miles beyond is a small temple of Bhairav who appears to be the guardian deity of this region. My servant told me that when he was feeling afraid while he was sleeping on the verandah of the forest rest-house at Gangani, he saw Bhairav standing near his bed and did not feel any fear afterwards.

YAMUNOTRI (9,900 ft.)

I reached Yamunotri at about 11 a.m. on the 30th May. The real source of the river is at Bandarpunch which is a snow-clad mountain peak, 20,730 feet high. But as it is not possible to go there, Yamunotri is commonly taken as the source of the river. It is a narrow valley between two mountains and it is not possible to build big structures here as in Gangotri. There are one or two dilapidated *dharamshalas* and the forest rest

house also is in a shabby condition. There is no Kali Kamliwala *chatti* here. As Yamunotri is very cold and as there is no suitable accommodation, most of the pilgrims prefer to go back the same day after doing the necessary religious rites.

The Yamuna temple is a small building with two idols—the bigger black one of Yamuna and the smaller white one of Ganga. Below the temple there is a hot water *kund* where pilgrims immerse rice, potatoes, etc., tied in a cloth and take the cooked articles home as *prasad*. Below this *kund* there are three other hot water *kunds*—two for bathing for the higher castes and the third for Harijans. The water is not very hot and one can remain in the *kund* comfortably for about 15 minutes. The *kunds* are about 10' x 10' and about 4' deep. The Yamuna flows by the side of these lower *kunds* and the water is icy cold. Though I had kept away the Pandas at Dharasu, one Panda somehow attached himself to me. He had made inquiries from my servant about my pay and naively suggested that I should give him 10 days' salary as his *dakshina*. I gave him only Rs. 10 and that also was rather too much for him in view of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit and the Puja ritual.

YAMUNOTRI TO UTTAR KASHI 41 MILES

I left Yamunotri at about 3 p.m. and reached Phool *chatti* in the evening. One has to return by the same route up to Simli which is 25 miles from Yamunotri and then take the road to Uttar Kashi. Singot is seven miles from Simli of which the first four miles are fairly

steep. One gets the first glimpse of the Ganga as soon as the ascent is over. Nakori is three miles from Singot and is on the bank of the Ganga which is fairly wide here. Uttar Kashi is six miles from Nakori and the road is good. I stayed in the palatial double-storied Birla Dharamshala built in 1941. It has five rooms on the ground floor and five well-furnished rooms on the first floor. It has a bath room which luxury is not found in the *chattis*.

UTTAR KASHI (3,740 ft.)

Uttar Kashi is a charming spot and a large number of *sadhus* stay here. It has many characteristics of Kashi or Banaras as the Ganga is *uttar-vahini* (flowing northwards here for a short distance, as the Varuna and Asi rivers join the Ganga close to it and as a Vishwanath temple is also here. The ghat in front of the Kali Kamliwala *chatti* is known as Manikarnika Ghat. Besides Vishwanath temple, there are Ekadashi Rudra temple built by the Maharaja of Jaipur, Koteswar temple, Jyotirmath, etc. In the Jyotirmath there are white marble idols of Shri Shankaracharya and his disciple, Trotakacharya. There is also Sri Kali Satya Narayan Mandir where Ma Anand Mayi stays when she comes to Uttar Kashi. The image is of Kali in black marble trampling on Shiva in white marble. There is also a small Dattatreya temple with a brass image but not the usual three heads. It appears to be the image of a disciple of Buddha.

Uttar Kashi is a sub-divisional headquarters in the Tehri Garhwal district. It is also the headquarters of the Divisional Forest Officer, Uttar Kashi division. There is a hospital, but there was no Assistant Medical Officer for the last two months. It has a post office and the only telegraph office in this region. It, however, only works for six months in the pilgrim season. Uttar Kashi is also the headquarters of the Special Border Police Force who have their military wireless all the year round.

Ujeli, a suburb, is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Uttar Kashi and most of the *Sadhus* stay here. I met R.T. Anand Swami, about 75 years old, who is a disciple of Swami Ramatirth and who renounced the world when he was 20. He told me that *Sadhus* were like mountains, good to look at from a distance. His own philosophy of life is to have faith in God, to work and act without attachment and to make efforts to approach the ideal of *chaitaprajna* described in the *Gita*. I also met the monastic sage Tapovanji. When asked why God created the universe which is full of pain and misery, he said *Sama*. God and creation were both *anadi*, i.e., without



Gangotri

beginning in the Hindu religion unlike in other religions, and so the question why God created the universe did not arise. When asked about the best method of God-realisation in *Kaliyuga*, he said that though *jnana* could be obtained by various methods like Karma Marga, and Bhakti Marga, Sanyasa or renunciation was necessary for *moksha*. He added that people like King Janak who did not renounce the world must have done so in their previous birth, as stated by Shri Shankaracharya. His

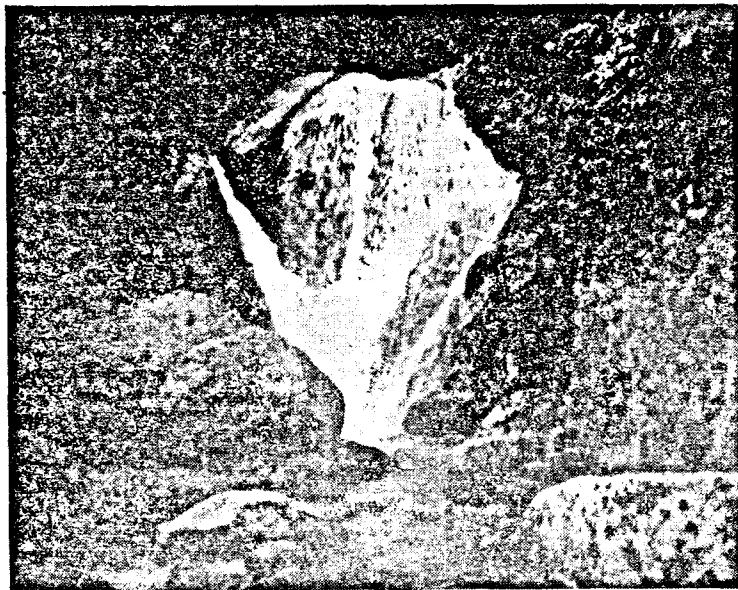
view is that the *Gita* cannot be interpreted in opposition to Shruti (Vedas) and Upanishads, as otherwise our ancient sages would be liars and Sanatan Dharma would be meaningless. He, therefore, thinks that though from the context the *Gita* seems to support Karma Marga, it really preaches Sanyasa for obtaining *moksha*. He thinks that a Guru is necessary to show the path and that hermits in the Himalayas do not secure their own salvation but also do good to the public by their spiritual practices.

I, however, noticed two things in Uttar Kashi which were not in keeping with the prevailing atmosphere there. I saw two girls dancing to the accompaniment of a *mridang* in front of a house probably to ask for alms and one fellow dancing and singing a cinema tune to advertise tiger brand *biris* in the bazar chowk.

UTTAR KASHI TO GANGOTRI: 56 MILES

On the 4th morning I left Uttar Kashi and reached Maneri (10 miles) on the bank of the Ganga. In fact, the whole road from Nakori to Gangotri runs by the side of the river and even beyond Nakori the road goes by the side of the river up to Tehri. I stayed at Saina *chatti* (three miles off) in the evening. It is a new *chatti* and not yet completely built and has two rooms. It is much better to stay in such a place than in crowded old *chattis*. Bhatwadi (4,800 feet) is five miles from here and has a forest rest-house. Gangnani is none miles

away. On the way, there was a diversion to avoid a land-slide but there was no board or any other sign to show it, with the result that after walking two furlongs beyond the diversion I came to a very dangerous cliff which I thought of negotiating, thinking that it was the correct road. Fortunately I saw some people on the other bank of the river going towards the diversion and was saved an unpleasant and hazardous experience. Sukki *chatti* is nine miles from Gangnani. After the first five miles the road is bad and there is ascent also,



A waterfall near Gangnani

the last mile being very steep. Harshil (Haraprayag) is five miles from here. The river becomes wide from Zala, three miles from Sukki, and big patches of sand are seen in the bed. There is no *chatti* at Harshil and pilgrims go to Dharali, two miles ahead, but I stayed at the forest rest-house (8,400 feet) which is a ramshackle double-storied building formerly owned by a European. It is none better than a *dharamshala* or *chatti* but repairs are being undertaken. The rest-house is at the end of the village and one has to cross five wooden bridges, some merely logs of wood, on streams to reach it. The ground floor is occupied by the Border Police Force. There is a small Tibetan population here and Tibetan influence is clearly visible. There are mounds of stones at the entrance of the village, some of which bear the inscription of Om Mani Padme Hum as is common in Tibet. Also there are small banners and buntings of cloth on some houses. Tibetans, or rather the Chinese, are said to be claiming 55 miles of our territory including Gangotri, Bhairavghati, etc., on the ground that this area has been included in their map. Bhairavghati is nine miles from here and the last mile is very steep. River Jahnavi which rises near Nelang

about 40 miles away meets the Ganga about a mile before Bhairavghati. The *chatti* is recently built by Kali Kamliwala Trust as the old one was burnt through the negligence of a Sadhu two years ago. There is water scarcity here and water from a distant *jharna* is stored in a small tank for drinking purposes. Gangotri is six miles from here and I reached there at about 6 p.m. on the 7th June.

GANGOTRI (10,300 FT.)

After seeing the Gangamandir, I went to Yoga Niketan on the other side of the Ganga and Kedarganga by crossing three small wooden bridges. This Niketan has been started by Swami Dayalji who has built about 15 wooden huts for Sadhus and others. The whole place is very neat and clean and contains a bath room and latrines. A wooden cot is provided in each room and a small foldable table and a chair are also given, if wanted. Swami Dayalji originally came from the Punjab about 20 years ago and was living under a big boulder for some years. One day while taking water from the river he slipped but was miraculously saved. Then he built a small hut on the present spot. No permission was necessary as Tehri Garhwal Darbar allowed Sadhus to squat wherever they like in forest areas. Gradually more huts were built with the help of his devotees and admirers. He does not accept

money, as he believes that many Mahatmas have fallen through love of money and as he has a firm belief that God supplies his needs. Explaining the descent of Ganga from Heaven, he said that the abode of Shiva in the snow-clad mountain was called Swarga (heaven) and that as Ganga had descended from this mountain she was said to have descended from Heaven. He also told me that the sons of King Sagar were burnt near Gangasagar, not far from Calcutta. I stayed at the Yoga Niketan for two days and three nights.

Ganga water was icy cold; so I did not venture to bathe in the river, but got the water boiled for my bath, the essential point, in my opinion, being taking a bath in Ganga water. The Panda at this place was more reasonable and learned than the one at Yamunotri. The stone slab on which King Bhagirath is said to have done penance to induce Ganga to come down on the earth is in front of the Ganga temple. The temple which was built a few years ago by the Maharaja of Jaipur is bigger structure than the one at Yamunotri. In its centre there is a brass idol of Ganga. Below in and are images of Shankaracharya, Jahnavi, Saraswati, Bhagirathi and Yamuna.

There were about 20 Sadhus in Gangotri out of whom about half a dozen live there throughout the year. One of them is Gangadas who lives in Rama Mandir at Amritghat which is 1½ miles from Gangotri. He is a comparatively youngman and lives on fruits and milk only. In the temple there is a big wooden pedestal with the idols of Shri Rama, Janaki and Lakshmana at the top and of Shri Krishna a little below. He discoursed for a while on a Sanskrit verse which says that a mean person, according to Vyas, who knows all the Vedas is he who does not remember God and not he who is poor or meritless and said that God gave unseen blessings like peace of mind and contentment to his devotees. He added that it was not necessary to go to a forest and be a recluse for God-realisation and that all that was necessary was to do one's duty without attachment.

Krishnashramaji who is over 80 years old lives in a small hut on the other side of the river opposite the Ganga temple. He is nude and observes silence. He has a local woman as his disciple who looks after his wants. He taught her Sanskrit and she is said to be well-versed in the Gita, Upanishads, etc. He now always lives at Gangotri but had once gone to Banaras when he was invited by the late Shri Madan Mohan Malaviya to lay the foundation stone of the temple in the Hindu University. Later when the Harijans were admitted into the temple, he is said to have written to Malaviyaji that he should not be associated with the temple any more. This if true, shows a lack of *samadharshita* (looking equally on all) which is a mark of a Pandit or a highly developed soul according to the Gita. He does not accept money from visitors but many of his devotees send him some annually. Sadhu Pradnya Das who has started the Yogashram which is opposite the Yoga Niketan and on the confluence of the Ganga and the Kedarganga has built two or three huts for spiritual aspirants and has published several religious pamphlets. He said that after doing pilgrimage a man should be truthful and pure. He was of the opinion that a Guru was necessary as, even if he was bad, he would not give bad advice, and told the story of a man who closed his eyes and concentrated on God at the behest of a thief (who meanwhile robbed him) and realised God.

At the Yoga Niketan, I met Vyas Deoji of Swargashram, Rishikesh. He conducts a class every year from 15th November at Swargashram for four months for teaching various Yogic practices, such as *Samadhi*, *Kundalini-awakening*, etc. He is 68 and

has been doing Yoga practices for the last 54 years. He said that Yoga was necessary for God-realisation as it teaches how to control body, mind, intellect, etc. He is of the opinion that our life-span and suffering can be changed by *pranayam* (breath control) and by *purushartha* (personal efforts) respectively. He is a close associate of Swami Dayalji and they have built a small Yoga Niketan at Uttar Kashi also.

Ganga Kund is about a furlong below the Yoga Niketan where the Ganga is supposed to have actually fallen on Shri Shankara's head. Here the stream falls through a rock about 20 feet below on a Shivalinga which was not then visible but which becomes visible when the water goes down. Gomukh (14,400 feet) which is the real source of Ganga is about 14 miles from Gangotri, but as there is no regu-



A Kuti the writer occupied in Yoga-Niketan with Swami Dayalji in front

lar path and the journey is very difficult very few people go there. There is a *chatti* at Chadivasa about six miles from Gangotri on the way.

Kali Kamliwala *chatti* which is just on the bank of the river and close to the temple is a double-storied building in a good condition. There are some special rooms for the better class of pilgrims. Free food is given here to Sadhus who are in receipt of *chits* issued by the head office at Rishikesh. Each person is given 10 chhataks of flour, *adhapow* dal or potatoes, a little salt, etc., but only those who have got some cash with them are given the *chits* as free food is given only at selected *chattis* and as they are expected to shift for themselves at other places. The *anna-chhotra* (place where free food is given) is maintained only for three months at Gangotri by the Trust, but is continued by Swami Dayalji for two months more. There is a Committee to manage the affairs at Gangotri as well as Yamunotri with the local Range

Forest Officer as Chairman and three Pandas as members. The Pandas get food from the offerings to the deity but no pay. The Committee has power to fine persons guilty of adulteration of foodstuffs up to Rs. 50/- and those who eat flesh or drink up to Rs. 500/-. The Pandas are not allowed to bring their wives for more than three days at Gangotri.

The image of Ganga is taken to Mukhi Math, the Panda village, about 12 miles from Gangotri, for worship during the cold season. Kedarnath is only about 12 miles and Badrinayan about 25 miles from Gangotri as the crow flies. Of all the places I have visited so far, I found Gangotri most charming and conducive to mental peace. Thousands of people have done penance there since the days of King Bhagirath and one almost feels spiritual waves in the atmosphere. The river valley is fairly broad and is flanked by mountains covered with pine trees. The snow-covered mountain in the background adds to the majesty of the scene.



Gita Bhavan, Rishikesh

GANGOTRI TO DHARASU: 74 MILES

I left Gangotri on the 10th morning for Dharasu. On the way near Shyam Prayag, I met the District Information Officer of Tehri Garhwal. He told me that a military training camp was being started at Uttar Kashi for border people and that some had already enrolled, that a weaving centre costing about 1½ lacs was to be started at Harshil and that Bhatwadi was to have a National Extension Service block costing about 3 lacs. I stayed at the Gangnani rest-house (6,420 feet) which is on the top of a hill overlooking the river. Close by there are three *kundas* of hot water—two for bathing and one for washing. I got water from there and had a bath in the rest-house. The Chowkidar who is a Panda insisted on my bathing with *mantras* and asked for gift of food or cloth for his services. On the 12th afternoon when I was on my way from Bhatwadi to Maneri, I was

caught by heavy rain and had to make a forced halt at Saina *chatti*. I arrived at Uttar Kashi the next day and was glad to meet Anand Swami again. He told me that he had stayed for a month at Amarnath in Kashmir and actually seen the Pandas making the image of Parvati out of snow and placing it near Shivalinga formation before the day of pilgrimage. He added that the Linga changed in size according to the weather and that the two white pigeons always lived there. The next day I left for Dharasu. As there was no suitable resting place at Dunda, I spread my camp-cot under a big banyan tree and rested there. Six officers of the Indian Air Force who were on a hiking trip to Dodital (a charming lake about 20 miles from Uttar Kashi), Yamunotri and Chakrata met me there. The Air Force has a Hiking Society which makes arrangements for the officers who express a desire for hiking. I reached Dharasu, a distance of 18 miles in the evening as the road was good.

GITA BHAVAN, RISHIKESH

I reached Gita Bhavan in Rishikesh on the 15th afternoon. It is a palatial building on the bank of the Ganga and was completed by the Gita Press Trust of Gorakhpur at a cost of about 10 lacs of rupees in 1949. Extension work is still going on and already there is accommodation for about a thousand people. There is no temple in the Bhavan but there is a big Satsang hall measuring 80'x30' on the first floor which accommodates about a thousand people. The whole of Gita is inscribed in marble tablets in the hall and *dohas* (couplets) from Tulsidas, Kabir and others are inscribed in white on a background of red cement all over

the building. There are 35 beautiful paintings hung on the walls of the Bhavan illustrating the teachings of the Gita, etc. The guiding spirit of the Bhavan is Shri Jaydayal Goyandka who is the head of the Gita Press Trust as well as now of the Kali Kamliwala Trust. He stays there for about four months every year from March to June. He has done excellent service in turning the minds of the money-minded Marwaris to the spiritual side. The easiest way of God-realisation according to him is combination of Bhaktiyoga and Karmayoga. He thinks that it is not necessary to go in search of a Guru especially as there are many hypocrites now-a-days and that one should look upon the Gita as a Guru just as the Sikhs look upon their *Granth Saheb*. He also said that there was some danger in doing Yogic practices, such as Samadhi, Kundalini-awakening. He kindly presented me with a copy of his commentary

in Hindi called *Tatva-Vivechani on the Gita*. He gives a religious discourse every morning at 4-30 and discourses are given by different scholars throughout the day till 10 p.m. They are generally held under a big banyan tree half a mile from the Bhavan but they take place in the Satsang hall in bad weather. There are about 25 tents for Sadhus to stay near the banyan tree.

The publications of the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, are available here for sale at the original price. Books worth about Rs. 60,000 are sold every year, about half being sold during the Satsang four months. The Gita Press publications including the famous monthly *Kalyan* which was started 29 years ago and has now a circulation of a lac and a quarter deal with spiritual topics, our ancient culture and civilization, our epics, our heroes and heroines, etc., and are extremely useful for making our people understand their ancient noble heritage. It has also published very useful books for children. All the publications are neatly printed on good paper, are well bound and are sold at an amazingly low price. This has become possible only because the people working in the press do so with the idea of service and the profits derived from some paper agencies and interest on trust funds are used to cover the loss in the working of the press.

Adjoining Gita Bhavan is Swarga-ashram and Samadhi of Shri Swami Vishuddhananda, who is also known as Baba Kali Kamliwala from the black blanket always worn by him. He laboured all his life to provide resting places and other amenities to pilgrims in Uttarakhand.

Another big spiritual centre in Rishikesh though of a different kind is Shri Sivanand Ashram which is just opposite the Gita Bhavan. I spent a day there with Shri R. R. Tiwari of Gwalior. The hill on which the Ashram stands was presented to the Swamiji by the Tehri Garhwal State. Several *kutis* (buts) have been built by his devotees on this hill and a new temple of Vishwanath has been recently built on the top. The Ashram has a good Yoga museum. The four *margas* or paths of God-realisation and their chief exponents are shown there pictorially. The Swami has written a large number of useful books on spiritual subjects and maintains his own printing press and dispensary. I saw a book called *Sivanand Upanishad* published here. Bhajan is done here every evening.

I left Rishikesh on the 16th and after visiting Musoori and Delhi on the way returned to Indore on the 20th morning.

UNPRECEDENTED HAPPENINGS

Two unprecedented incidents happened this year in Uttarakhand. One was a dacoity which took place at Pangarana *chatti* on the night of the 4th June. This *chatti* is in a thick forest and is about 18 miles

on the Kedarnath road from Malla *chatti*. Four Punjabis dressed as Sadhus and armed with revolvers attacked the *chatti* and killed one coolie and wounded two or three other persons. They were fortunately arrested the next day. Another incident was the disappearance on the first of June of a wealthy person called Anant Mal of Ajmer near Janki *chatti* on the Yamunotri side. He had his own cook from Ajmer and a local coolie. On the fateful day, he told them to go ahead and that he would follow after settling the shop-keeper's bill. They waited for some hours at the Hanuman *chatti* but as he did not come, they went back to Janki *chatti* but could not find him. The cook went to Ajmer and informed his family. I met his son at Dharasu on the 14th June and he told me that in spite of all his efforts no trace of his father was found. Anant Mal was rather lavishly spending his money in feeding and helping the poor and some fellow thinking that he was carrying a lot of money must have robbed him and given him a push down the ravine when he was walking alone.

HIMALAYAN HOLY PLACES

A trip to Himalayan holy places is very interesting and health-giving apart from any spiritual merit that may or may not accrue. The Himalayas are a great blessing to our country and hiking in these mountains, inhaling the pure and fresh air of pine trees and seeing enchanting scenes of rivers and snow-clad mountain ranges is very exhilarating. There is no danger at all in these trips if one observes a few precautions, such as taking cholera injection, eating light meals and drinking stream (*jharna*) water after boiling. River water should be avoided. A few necessary medicines should also be kept. A foldable camp-cot, Bata hunting shoes, a water bottle and an iron-tipped bamboo stick about six feet high are a great help. One should travel as light as possible as the coolies do not take more than about a maund of luggage and every additional seer costs money. Kali Kamliwala *chattis* are available at most places at convenient distances but are generally overcrowded. There are, however, forest rest-houses at Dharasu, Silkyari, Gangnani, Beef (opposite Janki *chatti*) and Yamunotri on the Yamunotri route and at Nakori, Maneri, Bhatwadi, Gangnani, and Harshil on the Gangotri route, but those at Beef and Yamunotri are in a dilapidated condition at present. There are no post offices on the way to Yamunotri, but, on the Gangotri side, they are at Dunda, Uttar Kashi, Bhatwadi, Harshil and Gangotri during the pilgrim season. In all, I walked about 220 miles, averaging about 12 miles a day, but at no time I felt very tired or depressed. If one is hard pressed for time, one can safely omit Yamunotri, but one should not fail to see Gangotri which is the best of all the four holy places in Uttarakhand.

BASTAR—LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

By S. L. SAHU

BASTAR which is situated in the South of Madhya Pradesh State of India may be described as nature's paradise. It is bounded on the North by Kanker Tahsil and Raipur district, on the East by the Jeypore of the Madras Presidency; on the South by the Bhadrachalam taluk of Madras Presidency and on the West by the Chanda district.



Maria boy in his dancing dress

Bastar is considered one of the most backward areas of the country. There are still many places where man has not yet reached. From the anthropological points of view it is one of the most important and interesting areas.

To the South-West of Bastar there lies the extensive mass of hills known as the Abujmar, to the South the Bailadila range and to the East the Tulsidongri range. The Albaka range of the Madras Presidency forms the Western boundary of the State. The highest peak of the State is 3915 feet above sea-level.

The largest and most important river of the State

is the Indravati which has numerous tributaries, the largest being the Pamer Chinta. Flowing through the State for about 240 miles, it falls into the Godavari at Bhadrakali. It also makes a big fall at about 23 miles from Jagdalpur which is called Chitrakoot Falls. The 100-foot Chitrakoot falls is very lovely and attractive. Fishing is the main hobby of the aboriginals of this area. The Kanger, another tributary which particularly passes through several deep gorges makes a fall at the Tirathgarh.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of Bastar dates back to the 11th century according to a few inscriptions and copper plates found by Rai Bahadur Panda in the early years of this century. According to these inscriptions and copper plates, there was a kingdom in the central part of Bastar formed in the 11th century by a Nagvanshi family who had their capital at Barsur, a village in the Jagdalpur district. Barsur is said to be as the same village which is called Kuruspall today. Their kingdom was known as Chakrakot. The Chakrakot kingdom was often raided by many kings from the South. A few descriptions could be found in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The Chakrakot kingdom subsequently formed part of the Warangal kingdom of Kaktiya dynasty who were feudatories of the Chalukya kings.

Bastar Raj family claims its descent from Pandu king, Birbhadra of Delhi. The story of this king is this that he was granted by the family goddess Dilleshwari an arrow as his weapon of the war. This Birbhadra subsequently moved to Mathura, where he received a trident from Goddess Bhuvaneshwari. Thence the family with the family goddess moved on to Jeypore in the Madras Presidency in the time of Vireshwari. Later on, they settled at Warangal with Manikya Devi (or Danteshwari as she is called in Bastar), their family goddess, who granted them a sword when they moved into Bastar. Since then several rulers ruled over the State to the time when Bastar was virtually ruled by a British administrator who collected the taxes and maintained law and order on behalf of the Maharaja but all this time a very little had been done to raise the life of the people to a higher level by means of better agriculture, education and other amenities. Then came the great dawn of independence followed by the merger of this State into the administration of Madhya Pradesh.

The population of Bastar is 6,11,601 according to the latest figures. In comparison to the other States

the aboriginals constitute the largest proportion of the population of Madhya Pradesh numbering about 12 per cent of the total population. Maria, Muria, Parja, Bhatra and Godbha tribes are in majority in this area.

PEOPLE AND THEIR CUSTOMS

Marriage customs are quite different from the customs of the Hindus. According to their rites, a man must marry in the maternal cousin's family. The bridegrooms have to work in their father-in-law's house for five years to get the bride. This custom is called 'Lamsena.' 'Pendul' is the name of the ordinary marriage. 'Er-Utto' is called the marriage of a widow while the 'Poyosotur' is called for the marriage by capture. When there is no offer for a grown-up girl, her parents induce her father's sister's son or mother's brother's son who has a claim to the girl, to capture her or to take her away. 'Paia Mundi Paithu' is a form by which a woman, whether a virgin, married or widow, of her own choice and without the consent of her guardians goes into the house of another man. 'Armirtur' is that form in which a virgin or a married woman runs away with another man. The pair is traced and brought back and caste dinner is given.

The aboriginals of this area prefer shift cultivation. Men usually perform hard and arduous works while women are put in charge of lighter tasks. In many places women help their husbands in ploughing the fields.

Hunting is their main hobby. The women also go for hunting and kill even tigers and panthers. They use bows and arrows, guns of sorts and spears. In several places nets are also used to trap the wild animals. Tigers and panthers are very common here which could be found even on the road-side forests of Bastar. When the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came here to inaugurate the All-India Tribal Welfare Conference in March last, he was presented by a young aboriginal lad of 16 and a young girl of 13 with three cubs of tigers which he took to Delhi. He was also presented with the bows and arrows and several other articles of the aboriginals.

Wild dogs are found in large numbers, but they are not destroyed by the aboriginals owing to the superstitious idea of the villagers that the killing of these animals will entail the destruction of their cattle.

It is also said that the elephant and the rhinoceros were used to be found in this area but now it has become a folk tale only. Mr. Blockman in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, states that in the Bastar forests elephants used to be found. As to the rhinoceros, Mr. Gayer writes:

"Some Murias in the hills of the Indravati described very fairly accurately to meet the rhinoceros in the densely grassed valleys to the north of the river

about the Bailadila range. I can hardly believe they had ever heard of the rhinoceros from other parts of India, still less their fathers might have evolved a wonderful creature from their imaginations."

Mr. Jerdon in his *Mammals of India*, 1874 says:

"The lesser Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) is found at present in the Bengal Sundarbans and very few individuals are stated to occur in the forest tract along the Mahanad river."

The aboriginals of Bastar are honest, extremely generous, hard-working and cheerful. They attach no



Prime Minister Nehru with the tiger-cubs presented to him at Jagdalpur, Bastar

importance to money. They have got very little wants in their life and do not pay any heed to their dress. Both men and women wear only a piece of cloth round their waist. They wear iron and brass rings. Tatooing on the face, legs, hands and breast is very common in these tribes.

The names of their five main dances are (i) Dandami Madia, (ii) Zhorla Mudia, (iii) Parza Dhurwa, (iv) Parwa and (v) Abuz Mad. For dances the Maria men place a strip of cloth backwards and forwards round the upper part of the body and wear head-dresses made of bison-horns. The drum is the main musical instrument which is used during the dances.

The tribes of Bastar pay much importance to the Dashara festival. Among the other important festivals are Chitrai and Nawakhai. On the Chitrai day

a pig or a fowl is offered to the village god with some liquor. The Nawakhai is observed in Bhadon, i.e., September. On this day they offer new grain and liquor to their ancestors.

YOUTH INSTITUTIONS

In every Muria and Maria village a social institution for young bachelors which is called the Gotul is

One of the most important things to note in these Gotuls is that all the bachelor boys and girls of the village meet together in the hall. They do not use any sort of partition or observe any privacy. Another surprising thing is this that after getting so much liberty and opportunity they do not go into sexual acts. The boys who visit such Gotuls are called *Chelik* and the girls *Mutiari*.



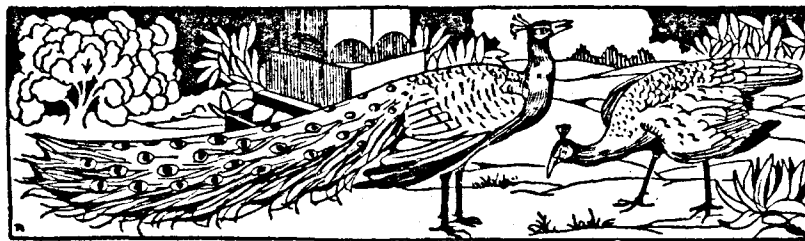
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad witnessing feats of an aboriginal at Jagdalpur, Bastar

run by the aboriginals. Here the young boys and girls meet in the night after their dinners, they chit-chat, do some gossip, tell some stories and perform dances but in no case they go into any kind of sexual acts till they are married. The main purpose to run such Gotuls is to provide opportunities for young boys and girls to stabilize and strengthen intimacies.

Such Gotuls are found in Narainpur and Kondagaon Tehsils of Jagdalpur. The Gotuls are made of long rectangular shape houses with only one big hall. The walls are made of mud. The Gotuls also consist of a big courtyard between the house and the outer fence which is used as playground.

In short, Gotul is an ideal institution that has manifold uses. Apart from the training in post-marital behaviour it teaches social habits to both the sexes. It also inculcates a feeling of social and religious duties and discipline.

Before concluding the article it will not be out of place to mention here that Bastar is very charming and extremely beautiful, full of teak and timber which grow to enormous heights as much as 200 feet or more. Bastar can reasonably be proud of her own land and people. Almost every part of the land is a hidden paradise of natural charm and grandeur where a picturesque assortment of hill tribes display their own colourful dances and shows.



IRRIGATION PROJECTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By BHAWANI SHANKAR SHUKLA, M.A.,

Lucknow University

IRRIGATION in India has always been a potent factor affecting millions of the farmers of this country whose economic character is predominantly agricultural. Even the ancients, despite their ritualistic reliance on the caprice of rains, were not unconscious of the importance of artificial irrigational devices. A peep into the ancient history of our country reveals their various attempts of the construction of dams, tanks and other major irrigation works which were made from time to time with the express purpose of minimising the recurrence of famines, droughts and other allied natural calamities. We come across many references to *kulyas* (ducts) in Rigveda. These were the devices to carry water to the fields (*kshetras*). But these devices were not so adequate as to free the farmers from the dependency of rains in case of droughts or meagre rainfall. The significance of rains is well proved in the Vedic literature for it was the chief source of irrigation. Numerous prayers have been offered to the rain-god (*Parjanya*) for it was he who was responsible for a good harvest.

And every creature then receives the quickening draughts.

When over the land Parjanya's grateful stream descends.

The thirsty fields he covered with waters of plenteous falling rains; but it is enough now.

He caused the herbs to spring for our refreshment, And what his people sought of him has granted.

—Kaegi: *Rigveda*, 5.83. 4-10.

It was always expected of god Parjanya that the rains would be neither heavy nor little. But in spite of these prayers floods or droughts would follow, hence famine. Sometimes we notice excessive rains and farmers pray to Parjanya to stop them.

"Thou hast rained; now check well the rain; thou hast made the deserts capable of being crossed."

—*Vedice Selections*, p. 216

This condition of helplessness continued for a long period until our view regarding the material world, our feeling of fear, relation with nature and our value of life changed to a certain extent. Fatalism was no more our defence. We had to find new means and ways to make human life happy. Vedic Aryans did

not rely only on supply of natural water, but irrigated their fields by artificial wells and channels."

We know from the Mahabharata that Narada at one place enquires of Yudhishtira:

"Are large tanks and lakes established all over the kingdom at proper distance, in order that agriculture may not be entirely dependent on the showers of heaven?"

The Buddhist literature is also full of evidence to prove that irrigation by artificial means, other than wells or tanks, was well-known in ancient India. The course of water was skilfully changed and was converted into channels. (*Dhammapada*).

During the later period Parasara has given a detailed account of agriculture in his *Krishi Sangraha*. This volume deals with various aspects of agriculture, e.g., soil and its classifications, meteorological observations leading to forecasting of rainfall, preparation and application of manure, ploughing and sowing, etc.

2. "Let us pour out the water of the well, which is full of water, fit to be poured and not easily exhausted." RV. X. 101.3.5 (Wilson); and also "After cattle-keeping, the most important interest of Vedic Aryans was agricultural." "The ground is worked with plough and harrow, mattock and hoe, and when necessary watered by means of artificial canals."

—Adolf Kaegi: *The Rigveda*, p. 13; and also Zimmer, AIL. 235-245.

युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनुध्वं कृते यो नौ वपतेह बीजम् ।

गिरा च श्रुष्टिः शम्भरासन्नो नेदीय इत् शृण्वः पक्वन्तत् ।३

सीरा युजन्ति कवयो युग वितन्वते पृथक् ।

धीरादेवेषु सुमनया ॥ ४ ॥

निराहावन् कृणोतन सं वरत्रा दधातन ।

सिद्ध महा अवतम् सुषेकम् अनुपक्षितम् ॥ ५ ॥

3. कच्चिद्राष्ट तटाकानि पूर्णानि च महान्ति च ।

भागशोविनिविष्टानि न कृषिदेव मातृका ॥

—Sabha Parva, V. 79.

Manu also advises to build waterworks.

तडागान्युदपानानि वाप्यः प्रस्रवणानि च ।

सीमा संधिषु कार्याणि देवता यतनानि च ॥

—Manu, VIII, 248.

तडागकूपदीधिका जलनिर्गम मार्गं देवग्रहाणि

सीमारूपेषु ग्रामद्वयसंधिस्थानेषु कर्तव्यानि ।

—Kullukabhatta's Commentary on Manusmriti. See also Sukraniti, IV, 4.

1. अवर्षीः वर्षमुत्त ऊं इति सृग्भाय ।

अक्रः धन्वानि अतिऽसत्तवै ऊं इति ॥

अजीजनः औषधीः भोजनाय ।

कम् उत प्रऽज्ञान्ये अविदः मनीषाम् ॥

Khana has also given numerous maxims which tell us about the probable rainfall.⁴ The former writer devotes much of his time to determining the rainfall which helped the farmers of old age in their agricultural pursuits. His verses determine the date and time of rains, droughts and the like according to movements of planets, etc. (Parasara's *Krishi Sangraha*), rituals and hymnology (*ibid*) and directions of wind (*ibid*).

The ancient literature is full of evidence to show that it rained heavily during the rainy season in India with the result that rivers were usually in spate and caused great destruction. Sometimes it also happened that due to lack of rains the rich harvest was destroyed. Naturally, unless some permanent arrangements were made to remove such calamities caused by nature, agriculture would not be possible. And obviously these arrangements were for constructing river projects of various sizes, firstly, in order to check the floods and secondly to store the water for irrigation purposes. Keeping this fact in view, we find that a number of irrigational projects were built by various kings of India with the co-operation of the public. Besides these projects, minor irrigation works, such as wells, etc., were also constructed in large numbers. We shall, however, confine ourselves to the treatment of the major projects only, specially the dams, artificial lakes, big tanks, embankments, canals, etc.,

The Hathigumpha Cave Inscription of Kharavela testifies that King Kharavela in the first year of his reign excavated and dammed a tank.⁵ We further notice in the same inscription that in the fifty years of his reign he extended a big canal which was excavated by Nandaraja (Mahapadma Nanda?) and was brought to the capital of Kalinga at least 103 years (300?) ago. This was, indeed, the most important event of his reign as regards the welfare of his subjects.⁶ It can also, by the way, be said that Nandaraja, though not a reputed king, was aware of the importance of irrigation.

But the greatest wonder of hydro-engineering is found during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. The system of irrigation in his kingdom was perfect and well-organized. He established a special Irrigation Department. We are informed by the accounts of Megasthenes that numerous officers were appointed to measure the land and protect those canals whose water was distributed for irrigation. And in this way everybody

4. *Indian History Quarterly*, Vol. VI (1930), pp. 737-46.
Ganguli, R.: *Cultivation in Ancient India*.

5. अभिसित मतो च पथमे वसे...

सितल तडाग पाडियो च बन्धापयति ।

—Vide, Hathigumpha Cave Inscription, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (D. C. Sircar), p. 207.

6. पथमे च दानी वसे नंद-राज-ति-बस-सत ओद्घाटितं
तन सुलिय-वाटा-पणाडि नगरं पवेसयति ।

—(*ibid*).

got the share of his profit. It appears that an irrigation tax was also levied. *Arthashastra* refers to heavy water-rates which were levied. It also informs us that canals were strictly maintained.⁷ For providing irrigation facilities in the distant regions of his kingdom, Chandragupta Maurya excavated a big lake, named Sudarsana by the help of his provincial governor Pushyagupta, the Vaisya in Surashtra. The lake was constructed after damming the sources of a few hilly rivers, particularly, Suvarna Sikata and Palasini.

"The fact that so much pains and expense were lavished upon this irrigation work in a remote dependency (Surashtra) of the empire," says Vincent Smith, "is conclusive evidence that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Maurya emperors and it is a striking illustration of the accuracy of Megasthenes' remark that imperial officers were wont to measure the land as in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit."⁸

We are further informed by Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradamana I (1950 A.D.) that Tushaspa, the Greek Viceroy of Asoka, excavated canals from Sudarsana lake. In spite of utmost care taken in the maintenance of this lake its bunds once got burst on account of heavy rains during the reign of Rudradamana I and the water, thus uncontrolled, began to create trouble.⁹ The water moved with tremendous speed. Like a benevolent ruler, who could not see such scenes or sit idle, Rudradamana got the bunds of the lake reconstructed under the supervision of Suvisakha, the son of Kulaipa and the Pahlava governor of Anarta and Surashtra. This time the bund was

7. The following shares of produce payable as water-rate or irrigation tax (*Udakabhaga*) are laid down:

Hastaprasavartima—when the water has to be raised by manual labour—one-fifth;

Skandhaprasavartima—when the water is raised by water-lifts worked by bullocks—one-fourth;

Srotayanaspravaritima—when the water is supplied by irrigation channels—one-third;

Nadisarastakakupodghata—when the water is supplied by rivers, lakes, ponds or wells—one-fourth.

—F. J. Monahan: *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 65.
Punishment was imposed over those who did not properly maintain the waterworks under their charge.

8. *Early History of India*, p. 140.

9. मार्गशीर्षे बहुल...प्रतिपदि सृष्टृष्टिना पर्जन्येन एकार्णव
भूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरुज्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता
पलाशिनी प्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्भूतैर्बहेः सेतुम्...
यनाणानुरूपं प्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिखरं तस्तदा दृढकोप-
तल्पद्वारं शरणोच्छ्रयं विध्वंसिता युगनिधनं सद्यः परम-
घोरबहेन वायुना प्रमथितं सलिलं विशिष्टं जज्जरीकृता-
वदीर्णं क्षिप्तास्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लता-प्रतानं आनदीतलादित्यु-
द्घाटितमासीत् ।

—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII.

made three times stronger than the previous one. And to the surprise of all, Rudradamana did not tax his subjects at all for reconstruction of this lake. He was rather proud that he built this huge bund from his own treasury.¹⁰

The strong bunds constructed by Rudradamana I probably worked smoothly for three hundred years. But, in A.D. 455, the bunds were again broken by heavy rains during the reign of Skandagupta. Chakrapalita, the son of Parnadatta, was then governor of Surashtra. The people were bewildered as usual and could not know what to do.¹¹ The then government of Surashtra was again very prompt and after spending an enormous amount of money got it permanently repaired. According to Fleet, the embankment, thus constructed, was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation.¹²

That the Sudarsana lake was the biggest irrigation project of its times, is an established fact. But the ancient history of Kashmir witnesses an equally important work although the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana contains references to many such projects. We are told that formerly the productivity of Kashmir was very low because she was not unfrequently affected by great inundations of Mahapadma lake and river Vitasta. King Lalitaditya-Muktapida (A.D. 733-69) adopted the requisite measures and the waters were drained off. Thus the fertility of the land was considerably increased. It was at Chakradhara where the king excavated the canals for conducting the water of Vitasta and made arrangement for its distribution to various villages with the help of a series of water-wheels.¹³

10. अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिं प्रणयक्रियाभिः
पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्यात्कोशा महता धनौघेन...

— etc. (*ibid*).

11. विषाद्यमानाः खलु सर्वतोऽजनाः
कथं कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
मिश्रोहि पूर्वापरं रात्रमुत्थिता
विचिन्तयां चापिबभूवस्तुकाः ॥ ३० ॥
अपीहलोके सकले सुदर्शनं
पुमां हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
भवेन्नु सोऽम्मोनिधिं तुल्यं दर्शनं
सुदर्शनं.....॥ ३१ ॥

—Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 305.

12. *Ibid*, p. 306 (foot-note).

13. चक्रे चक्रधरस्तेन चितस्ताम्रः प्रतारणम् ।
विनिर्माया रघटालीक्षांस्तान्प्रामाण्यचक्रता ॥

—*Rajat*, IV, verse 191.

Chakradhara is believed to be the modern Tsak-dar. It is situated on the alluvial plateau lying on the left bank of the river Jhelam (Vitasta). 'The system of irrigation here referred to,' writes

After Lalitaditya-Muktapida, the successors of Jayapida, who were very weak, could not improve the fertility of the soil. On the other hand, the productivity further went down and disastrous floods again began to creep in. During the reign of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-83) there occurred a great famine. The condition was overwhelmingly acute, so much so that one Khan¹⁴ of rice was sold for ten hundred and fifty Dinars. At this movement, Suyya, the King's minister for public works, rushed to the rescue of the people's lives. He initiated several improvements in the existing system of irrigation. He changed the course of Vitasta which was the cause of these floods. He also had the bed of the river cleared. After creating adequate channels for the drainage of the surplus water of the river he erected a huge store dam at one place for securing the river-bed from any future inundation. This store dam was a wonderful specimen of engineering during ancient days.

"The whole river, which Nila produced, was blocked up by Suyya for seven days by the construction of a stone dam."¹⁵

Wherever floods used to cause trouble he constructed new beds for Vitasta. The river, consequently flew in numerous channels. Besides all this, Suyya made different streams according to his own will.

"After constructing stone-embankments for seven Yojanas, along the Vitasta, he dammed in the waters of Mahapadma lake. Trained by him the Vitasta starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the Mahapadma lake like an arrow from the bow."¹⁶

Freed from the water, the land of Kashmir became much productive. Suyya then founded several villages, "which were filled with a multitude of people."

This great engineer and irrigation specialist effected many other improvements in irrigation. He scientifically examined different classes of land and accordingly procured the required amount of water for them. After experimentations and observations he could deter-

Stein, 'is explained by the configuration of the ground near that locality on account of the high alluvial plateaus or Udars, which stretch in the semi-circle from Virobhor to below Tsak-dar, the land enclosed between them and the left bank of the river cannot be irrigated by the ordinary means of canals.'

14. We do not know with certainty about the measure called Khan. A mention of it is made in *Rigveda* IV.32.17, in the work of Panini and in the *Loka-Prakasa* where it is named as Kharika. From the writings of various authors, e.g., Abul-Fazal and Moorcroft it appears that a Khan is equal to 1920 Palas or 177-129/175 lbs., if a Pala is taken to be equal to 3-3/5 tolas (see also Stein, *Rajat*, V, pp. 195-96).

15. एवं दिनानि द्वित्राणि पयो युवस्या विकृत्यत ।
वितस्तामेकतः स्थानात्कर्मकृद्भिरबन्धयत् ॥
पाषाणसेतुबन्धेन सुयेनादुसुत कर्मणा ।
सप्ताहमभवद्बद्धा निखिला नीलजा सरित् ॥

—*Rajat*, V.

16. Stein: *Rajat*, V, p. 199.

mine the period within which different soils required watering.

Sung Yun, speaking of irrigation in Kashmir, says:

"At the proper time they let the stream overflow the land by which the soil is rendered soft and fertile."¹⁷

The rulers of South India also took keen interest in constructing various irrigation projects. Among such rulers, the name of Chola king Karikala I is very prominent. Karikala (A.D. 6th century) built high banks on the Kaveri river. This is proved by the Copper-plate charters of the Telugu-Chola chiefs. This river also used to overflow like Vitasta in Kashmir and off and on caused floods. Due to the efforts of Karikala, mentioned above, people, thus, got rid of this recurrent trouble. Kaveri delta was so important that almost every Chola king had to pay some attention to its irrigation. It was long ago that Kaveri had changed her course giving rise to a new stream. It is doubtful whether the change of her course was natural or was caused by some particular individual. The name of this river is mentioned in several South Indian Inscriptions. Floods by this river were frequent and so were the damages to men and wealth. Karikala, besides building banks on the river in order that the water could be controlled and utilized for productive purposes, opened new canals. 'The banks are said to measure 1080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width and 15 to 18 feet in height.' The project was very successful and lasted for many centuries.

These bunds were maintained both by the Government and the public. It is possible as Mr. Aiyer believes¹⁸ that persons according to some ancient custom took out a fixed quantity of mud or sand from the bed and threw them on the bund every year. No doubt, the government maintained these bunds by levying taxes but it was the private individuals that kept them in working order out of sheer religious zeal; for great value used to be attached to such works.¹⁹

The successors of Karikala also continued a good irrigational policy.

Bhaskara Bhavadura (of First Vijayanagara dynasty), too, built a big tank in a district which was frequently affected by famines. In the same dynasty Bukkaraya also excavated big canals from river Henne with the help of Sinyayya Bhatta called Pratapa-Bukkaraya-Mandala channel.²⁰ Krishna-devaraya was no less enthusiastic in building irrigation projects and it is said that due to his efforts cultivation was improved.

We have not yet considered the digging of a large number of tanks for the purpose of irrigation. Among such numerous tanks throughout India, mention may be made of those referred to by Venkayya,²¹ prominent among them being Mahendra Tataka, Vaijir mega tataka, Cholavaridhi, etc. These tanks of South India were dug between A.D. 8th century and 10th century and were connected with rivers. That these tanks were maintained and repaired by private individuals in times of necessity is clear from the following statement of Venkayya who made his studies on the basis of certain inscriptions:

"From the inscriptions and the transactions recorded in them it appears that repairs to tanks were undertaken as works of merit. But as in most cases tanks had endowments of land or money, the repairs were executed at the expense of these endowments. In the Kanarese country the term Kodage, which, according to Mr. Rice, has continued in use to the present time from great antiquity, denotes a grant of land rent-free for the construction or upkeep of a tank. In cases where no endowment existed or where they were not properly managed, and where no private individuals were charitable enough to undertake repairs at their expense, the village assemblies could grant some land either near the tank to be repaired or from the waste land of the village, over which they seemed to have enjoyed undisputed ownership, an inducement to undertake the work. In course of time the cultivable waste of villages must have dwindled down and in cases no private enterprise or charity was forthcoming to repair the tanks, it must have been undertaken at the joint expense of the villagers, as they were all to benefit by it. Thus apparently there arose the custom of Kudimaramat in Southern India."

Like Southern India, Bengal also possessed a large number of very old tanks by which irrigation was done. A Bill of 1937, passed as an Act in 1939 in Bengal Legislature, as described by Dr. Sundar Lal Hora, Director, Geological Survey of India,²² draws our attention towards "numerous old irrigational tanks and bunds in Bengal which have become useless as they have not been kept in proper repair. And, therefore that Bill aimed to provide for the repair and re-excavation of these."

The above account may give an idea of irrigation in ancient India. Although in a fragmented way, it may yet help the reader in understanding the consistent history of irrigation up to the beginning of the mediaeval period.

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THE PLACE OF TRUTH IN ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE

BY PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

TRUTH is one of the main pillars of any culture. It is one of those elements that makes a culture great and permanent. Any culture worth its name cannot afford to neglect Truth. But the culture of Ancient India puts the greatest emphasis on Truth.

Truth was first stressed by the main religions of the world. In very early days, as a matter of metaphysical speculation, Truth acquired importance as the ultimate reality. It was accepted as real where every other thing of the material world was accepted as unreal. It was the one unchanging reality in the world, where everything else changes.

The concept of Truth in Ancient India was to a very great extent, a religious concept. But, the greatness consists in that Truth guided day-to-day life and behaviour of the masses, and was not confined to religion alone. This practical application of Truth, in the every-day life of the masses to the greatest possible extent, was a unique feature in Ancient India.

Thus, we find that whereas the religion of the West declared with the same idealism and eagerness the importance of Truth as the religions of India, far greater emphasis was put on its application in every-day life here than elsewhere. "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," was indeed a very noble expression of a religious sentiment in the West which, however, did not influence every-day life in the same way as it did in India.

Truth had a far wider application in India. Thus Sukesa of the Bharadvaj clan declares in the *Prasnopanishad*:

"Samulo wa esha parishushyati jo Anritam avibadati."¹ "Who tells a lie is destroyed from the roots."

1. *New Testament*, John VIII. 32.

2. *Prasnopanishad*, Question VIth, Sloka 1.

It was not only a matter of academic speculation but a life and death question here.

Even for the attainment of success Truth was absolutely necessary. The Upanishad declared:

"Satyam eba jayate na Anritam. Satyena Pantha vitato Devajano."²

"Truth alone conquers, never Untruth. By Truth is laid the Divine Path."

Spiritual progress was unthinkable without Truth.

"Satyena labhya Tapasa jhyesha Atma Samyag-nanena Bramhacharjena nityam"³.

"The Self is attained through Truth, Tapasya, Wisdom, and Continence—all constantly cultivated."

That was the secret in Ancient India. The morality was not, as it is unfortunately in our days, that success is to be attained through the black market. For success of any sort Truth was the indispensable means. They knew that momentary success (wrongly so-called) attained through organised lying or cheating, could never be a real or permanent success.

Truth was everything. The Upanishads were founded on Truth.

"Tashyoi Tapo Damah Karmeti pratishtha Veda Sarvangani Sattyamayatanam."⁴

"Its (Upanishad's) foundations are—Austerity, Restraint, Dedicated Work. The Vedas are its limbs. Truth is its abode."

The Upanishads also declared in very clear terms: "Ritang badishyami. Satyam badishyami"⁵ "I will proclaim the Real. I will proclaim the Truth."

3. *Mundakopanishad*, Ch. III, Sec. I, Sloka 6.

4. *Ibid*, Ch. III, Sec. I, Sloka 5.

5. *Kenopanishad*, Part IV, Sloka 8.

6. *Aitareyopanishad*, Shantipatha.

17. Banerjee, P. N.: *Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 253.

18. Aiyer, K. V. Subrahmanya: *Historical Sketch of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 196.

19. 'A ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom whose restorer or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit four-fold of that which occurred from them at first.'

20. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 6th Session (1943); Dikshitar, V.R.R., Prof.: *A History of Irrigation in South India* (Summary), pp. 127-29.

Ever since that early dawn of civilization the one sincere and persistent desire of mankind has been to proclaim the Truth. Every bit of scientific research or metaphysical discussion has been nothing but the sincerest desire to proclaim the truth. The Mahabharata declared with great force :

"Nasti Satya samo Dharma. Na Satyat bidyate param. Nahi tibratarang kinchid Anritad iha bidyate."

"There is no Dharma like Truth. Nothing is superior to Truth. In this world nothing is more bitter than Falsehood."

The famous instruction of the Upanishad was :

"Satyang vada. Dharmang chara."

"Speak the Truth."

"Follow the Dharma."

In another place the advice is given "Do not be careless to Truth"—"*Satyat na pramaditabyam*."

In the history of India for the sake of Truth great and noble self-sacrifices were also performed many times. Thus the Prince of Kapilavastu gave up everything that the world and kingship could offer him and voluntarily accepted the robe of the Sannyasi to find and preach the Truth that would deliver mankind. For the sake of Truth, Ramachandra, the Prince of Ayodhya, gave up kingship for fourteen long years (undoubtedly the best part of a young prince's life) and lived in forests. Asoka lived up to the ideals of a Rajarshi avoiding all pleasures and doing everything for the upliftment of suffering humanity. Emperor Harsha as a regular feature gave up his accumulated treasures at the end of every five years, and borrowed second-hand garments from his sister Rajyasri. It has been rightly called by a very reputed historian as "a record in charity."⁷ In more recent times, in accordance with this glorious tradition C. R. Das, Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have made very great sacrifices for the cause of Truth they upheld. Gandhiji, that great Buddha of modern times, was an incarnation of Truth and Self-sacrifice.

The ideal of Truth was so important in Ancient India that innumerable references can be added without any difficulty. In almost every Purana in the inscrip-

tions of Asoka (cf. M. R. E. II, P. E. II, and VII) and scattered throughout the Sanskrit literature are hundreds of such references. But to conclude, here we shall better discuss a critical point.

The question is, did the Ancient Indians accept Truth as relative, or did they adopt a very unscientific and orthodox attitude in the matter? Ordinarily it is held that their attitude was very orthodox and unscientific. It is pointed out that the Vedas were held to be the unquestionable repository of Truth. The Code of Manu changeth not. How then, could their attitude towards Truth be regarded as scientific in the modern sense? The present scientific outlook is that Truth is tentative, and not final. It is a working hypothesis. In Ancient India, it is said, Truth was regarded as final, and eternal. And so, the attitude was, it is held, unscientific. Let us examine it more closely.

Only in matters of religion and spirituality, was Truth accepted as final. And that was necessary and desirable. The *Brahman* was the ultimate Truth, without any equal, infinite and boundless. But, otherwise, in every-day life Truth was more relative. Thus, the Buddha in the fifth century B.C. challenged the infallibility of the Vedas. He also challenged the caste system, one of the most important institutions of the Hindu society. So, the idea of finality was never blindly accepted in society. Every reformer and every new system introduced necessary modifications, so that old Truths gave place before new Truths. There are ample cases to suggest that in a worldly sense Truth was more relative. The Truth of the Vedas was challenged by Buddha, whose Truth was again challenged by Shankar, and who was again challenged by Ramanuj, and so on. So Truth was relative to a remarkable extent.

We can best sum up the situation in the words of Gandhiji :

"Truth is not Truth merely because it is ancient. Nor is it necessarily to be regarded with suspicion because it is ancient. There are some fundamentals of life which may not be lightly given up because they are difficult of enforcement in one's life."⁸

And this was in reality the attitude towards Truth in Ancient India. The Buddha's last advice was : "Hold fast to the Truth as lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."

Thought in Ancient India.

11. M. K. Gandhi: *The Conquest of Self*, p. 97.

7. Mahabharata, Adiparva, 74-104.

8. *Taittiriya Upanishad*, Ch. I, Sloka 11.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.: *Men and*



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"First National Exhibition of Art"

Dear Mr. Kaundinya,

Your article entitled 'Comment and Criticism' published in *The Modern Review*, September issue.

I appreciate the kind sentiments expressed about me for which thanks are due to you and I offer the same without reservation. But I cannot pass by the comments you have made after publishing a personal letter addressed to you without my consent.

If you had read carefully the contents of my letter, you would have found that I wanted to enlighten myself by discussion with you and as a result of which I was prepared to use such views as would have been beneficial to the objective of the Lalit Kala Akademi. This spontaneous approach from my side was made with an intention to know better as I feel there is nothing in this world made by man that can be considered flawless and if there was anything wrong a check could be enforced. But unfortunately lack of patience had driven you to act in a manner which I am constrained to say is a gross violation of courtesy. However I have a lot of things to say in support of the Working Committee of the Lalit Kala Akademi. But I must refrain myself from being involved into details as I might encroach into the limited space of the esteemed journal.

At the outset I should like to point out that in support of your sweeping, if not, damaging remark on the working of the Akademi you have made no attempt to substantiate what you published by authentic evidence. This is obvious from your own admission which is as follows: "I have no personal knowledge of the inner working of this Akademi but people who have personal knowledge have unanimously condemned it in unqualified terms." One may infer from this that your information is not only second-hand but it is also charged with other's interest in which I am inclined to feel your share is not that of the lion's.

I may further add in this connection that for whatever reason the financial resource had been utilised it was so done after giving due consideration to the purpose it was going to serve. The members of the Executive Committee had always been most helpful to me in all matters often at the sacrifice of their own time which on occasion meant money. In short, I should bring to your notice that the members of the Executive Committee are much more competent than what you take them to be. Otherwise you would have yourself mentioned their defects specifically which in your opinion stood as a hindrance to the proper function of the Akademi.

Now coming to the opinion on the alleged over-emphasis given to a certain school of painting I should say you would have done well if you had exercised

some restraint in the absence of a judicious enquiry. It is obvious from your remark, which I must say is vague that you were not aware of how the decision of the judges was arrived at. Let me for the sake of information tell you that the judges used the severest discretion in the question of selection and as a result of which the judges chose the best exhibits out of the total number received and this was done on grounds of sheer merit irrespective of the school or individual.

We are pledged to encourage every form of individual expression so long it bore artistic values. Therefore, the question of trend of this school or that does not arise. Further, if exhibits with ultra-modern trend were overwhelming in number and revealed better quality than other schools of painting, the selection or judging committee could not possibly underestimate their legitimate assertion nor the judges blamed for better works not being available.

With regard to the influence of the Secretariat referred to in your article I should say it is a revelation not only to me but also will be to those who know my temperament.

Lastly, I may add that the report of the judges published in the catalogue of the exhibition held in March 1955 amply supports the fact that there was much to be desired about the standard of work sent for the exhibition. A true copy of the judges' verdict is given here for the information of the public :

"The Selection and Judging Committee for the first National Art Exhibition met and considered the entries."

They regret to state that the general average of entries has been comparatively low, which is demonstrated by the fact that out of 1000 entries only about 260 could be accepted for Exhibition although the Committee made every effort to give every single entry its fullest critical consideration. The Committee wished this first Exhibition to be as large and representative as possible, but they felt that the standards demanded were not achieved.

The Committee feel that the foremost Exhibition in the country deserves better response from artists, and they request that the artists of India should, in future years, make special efforts to enable this exhibition to become more truly representative of the genius of India. The honour of being displayed in the Akademi's National Exhibition should supply the greatest incentive to more intensive creative efforts.

They also request the Council of the Lalit Kala Akademi to make in future years arrangements for the Exhibition in such a way that artists are given sufficient time to make the utmost efforts to send in their best works.

The Committee therefore recommend: that the Akademi's gold plaque and cash award of Rs. 2,000 be not awarded."

D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY,
Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras

SHELLEY'S PLATONISM

By R. DE LOYOLA FURTADO, M.A. (DeP., Chicago)

MODERN research has thrown new light on Percy B. Shelley's attitude towards a rational belief in the supernatural. The transition from his avowed materialism to Platonic doctrine has been the subject which modern research scholars have studied with the greatest care.

The last five years of Shelley's life point to his full conversion and belief in the Greek idealistic philosophy. His biographers have clearly stated that he had drunk deep of Plato. He had read, discussed, re-read, and translated Plato. Thus his early poem, *Queen Mab*, marks the materialistic period; the *Revolt of Islam*, the period of transition; *Prometheus Unbound*, the loftiest expression of Platonism.

The idealism of Plato was to lead Shelley to believe in God, the one of the "graceful religion of the Greeks," and, consequently, Nature or Power or Spirit, as mere terms, was relegated to a secondary place. So much was he under the spell of Plato that in June, 1822, only a month before he was drowned, he wrote that the doctrines of the "French and Material Philosophy are as false as they are pernicious." Professor Beach points out the two main concepts in which Shelley is influenced by the Platonic doctrine:

"The first is the concept of the soul as having descended from the realm of the Eternal and as destined to return to the burning fountain whence it came." The second, the more important and inclusive concept, is that of the general or 'eternal' forms (ideas, essences, abstractions, intelligibles) as in some sense the most real things in the universe, and of the natural world as having a sort of a secondary reality, which it has in so far as it partakes of the essence of the eternal forms. This is a view as remote as possible from the ordinary assumptions of nature-philosophy."

Both Shelley and Plato contemplate the so-called Spirit, the One, in different forms, like Love and Beauty. Also, they "lay hold of the Deity largely from the aesthetic side."

Shelley's Platonism is vaguely felt in *Alastor* (1815); it is more obvious in the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and *Mont Blanc* (both 1816); and it is

still more strong in *Prometheus Unbound* (1818), the *Witch of Atlas* (1820), *Epipsychidion* and *Adonais* (1812).

Alastor and *Hymn* are the turning points at which Shelley subscribes to the belief that reason is a lesser power, and imagination and intuition are the major powers of the mind. In the preface to *Alastor*, Shelley states that the poem is "allegorical of one of the most interesting situations of the human mind." It represents a youth with a pure mind, in search of knowledge and engrossed in the contemplation of the universe. In his wanderings, the youth has the vision of the "veiled maid" who personifies the "unrealised completeness" of the self.

Shelley here uses Platonic symbolism for, according to the Platonic fable, the soul in its heavenly and complete state is both masculine and feminine, and, in its earthly state, seeks for ever a return to its previous unity. Also, according to neo-Platonic symbolism, a stream of water is symbolic of man's life. Thus in *Alastor* we have:

O stream!
Whose source is inaccessiblely profound,
Whither do thy mysterious waters tend?
Thou imagest my life. Thy darksome stillness,
Thy dazzling waves, thy loud and hollow gulls,
Thy searchless fountain and invisible course,
Have each their type in me; and the wide sky
And measureless ocean may declare as soon
What rosy cavern or what wandering cloud
Contains thy waters, as the universe.
Tell where these living thoughts reside,

when stretch
Upon thy flowers my bloodless limbs shall waste
I the passing wind!

In the very next year after the publication of *Alastor*, Shelley wrote the classic *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. The term "intellectual beauty" occurs in Plato's *Symposium*. Shelley, himself, had translated this work, and he must have come across the term in the passage where the prophetess Diotima speaks on the subject of Love and Beauty. The central idea of the *Hymn* is none other than is contained in Plato's words. For, according to Shelley's translation, Beauty is

"... eternal, unproduced, indestructible; neither subject to increase or decay; not, like other things, partly beautiful and partly deformed; not at one time beautiful and at another time not; not beautiful in relation to one thing and deformed in relation to another . . . All other things are

beautiful through a participation of it, with this condition, that although they are subject to production and decay, it never becomes more or less, or endures any change."

Intellectual Beauty, then, was the only value which lacked transience and which would endure for ever. It was to Shelley like a straw which he must clasp lest he flounder. It was this same Beauty which would eventually lead him through what he called wilderness, another Platonic echo.

The wilderness has a mysterious tongue
Which teaches awful doubt, or faith so mild,
So solemn, so serene, that man may be
But for such faith with Nature reconciled.

This wilderness is not in the least related to the 'wasteland' of T. S. Eliot. Rather, it is a symbol of the maze of the external reality or of the complexity of the individual mind.¹ It occurs again and again in Shelley, especially in *Prometheus Unbound*.

Prometheus has for its source the lost *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, but, as Shelley states in the preface to his poem, "it has no resemblance to the Greek drama. It is original." And it is justly so. Being essentially based on the Greek myth, it abounds in Platonic symbolism and references. The influence of Plato and Dante upon Shelley's thought is evident throughout, even though its philosophy is derived from various sources. "The ethics of Christ," says Professor Grabo, "is fused with the metaphysics of Plato."²

Beside the very obvious borrowings from Greek mythology, *Prometheus* also contains indirect references to Plato. Thus one of the characters is found exclaiming:

Ah, sister! Desolation is a delicate thing:
It walks not on the earth, it floats not on the air,
But treads with killing footstep . . .

In the *Symposium* we have: "For Homer says that the Goddess Calamity is delicate, and that her feet are tender. Her feet are soft, for she treads not upon the ground but makes her path upon the heads of men."

The greatest Platonic influence in *Prometheus*, however, is the very elaborate symbolism which pervades the poem. Asia, the same as Aphrodite, is the personification of Nature. She sings:

My soul is an enchanted boat
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing.

The boat of the song is "harmonious with his neo-Platonic imagery of sea, cloud, cave and stream."³ The cloud in Shelley, as also in the great epic poems of India, symbolises change and fertility. The cave is only an allusion to the well-known passage from Plato in which human life is likened to a cave in which the images are but the shadows cast

upon its walls from reality without. Shelley's cave is only another name for the phenomenal world.

The Platonic thought in *Prometheus* is carried further to all Shelley's later poems, life to him being a compound of shadows, death a mockery, and Love, Beauty and Delight being the enduring things. This attitude is overtly pronounced in the *Sensitive Plant* and *Adonais*. Throughout these poems a Spirit pervades, a Spirit which, Shelley tells us in the essay *On A Future State*, is "the mysterious principle which regulates the proceedings of the universe." Through it, Keats in *Adonais*

. . . is made one with Nature: then is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird;
He is a presence to be felt and known . . .

In 1821, this Spirit was for the first time called God by Shelley. This God had all the attributes of the One of Platonic tradition. Thus:

The spirit of the worm beneath the sod,
In love and worship, blends itself with God.

Again,

From the great morning of the world when first
God dawned on chaos.

In the preface to *Adonais*, Shelley refers to Keats as "one of the noblest specimens of the workmanship of God."

A very important and distinct Platonic concept is the pre-existence of the soul, and Shelley fully believes in it. The belief that our present existence is but a dream is another Platonic concept which often repeats in Shelley. Thus in *Hellas*:

What thou seest
Is but the ghost of thy forgotten dream.

Shelley also believes in the immortality of the soul, which is also a Platonic concept. To Shelley, Keats became "a portion of the Eternal," "a portion of the loveliness which once he made more lovely," and "he hath awakened from the dream of life."

Love is only another attribute of the One, who is, in turn, equivalent to the Ultimate Beauty. Needless to say, these are synonyms which are very characteristic of Platonism, their effect on Shelley being all too evident. He returns again and again to the old theme of Ultimate Beauty, which is "more intrinsically real than the actual objects—waves, flowers, clouds, woods, rocks—which it warms and illumines."⁴ This Beauty is also Love. These various Platonic concepts were to relegate Nature to a secondary place, and Love was the gospel which would eventually save Man from the bondage of custom, tradition and intolerance. The gospel of Love, which was in its essence the same as Plato's Intellectual Beauty, would conduce Man back to Nature, which he had presently forsaken.

1. R. Inghen, *Letters of Shelley*, Vol. II, p. 816. The quotation is from Shelley's letter to Southey, 1820.

2. E. Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, Vol. II, p. 449.

3. J. W. Beach, *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth Century Poetry*, p. 24.

4. L. Winstanley, *Platonism in Shelley, Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, (Oxford, 1913), Vol. IV, p. 76.

5. C. Grabo, *The Magic Plant*, p. 175.

6. *Op. Cit.*, p. 177.

7. C. Grabo, *Prometheus Unbound: An Interpretation*, p. 162.

8. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

9. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 195. Fowett translation.

10. C. Grabo, *Prometheus Unbound: An Interpretation*, p. 89.

11. M. Bald, *Shelley's Mental Progress, Essays of the English Association*, (Oxford, 1928), Vol. XIII, p. 112.



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 FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA : By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 1.12.

The author who is a well-known historical writer and politician, has deserved well of all students of Indian history by bringing out this work (published as early as in 1914) in the cheap and easily available Book University series of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Quite appropriately he has prefixed to this reprint an Introduction in the course of which he has put forward a passionate plea (with which all of us can sympathise) for the continuance of the old economic, religious and cultural ties between India and Pakistan in spite of their political division. Equally unexceptionable is the thesis of the author's work to the effect that the unity of India instead of being a creation of British rule may be traced back in the historical consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age. This is sought to be proved by a mass of details culled with great industry from our ancient literary and epigraphic records. The author's data comprise a common name for the whole country, the occurrence of geographical names in our ancient hymns from the celebrated river-hymn (X.75.5) of the Rigveda downwards, the lists of Hindu shrines and sacred places in the Puranas and other works, the Hindu (to which ought to have been added the Buddhist and the Jaina) institution of pilgrimage, the geographical knowledge of the whole country developing from its dim beginnings in the Vedic Age, the idea and the institution of universal sovereignty and the distinctive physical phenomena of the country.

While we can accept the author's contention to be fundamentally sound, we propose to make a few remarks. The author seems somehow to have missed the basic factor of India's unity, namely, the dominance of one type of culture of which the distinctive characteristics are the institution of caste, respect for the Vedas, Epics and Puranas, a universal system of social and religious law, a more or less common outlook on life and common ethical standards. Equally unfortunate is the author's omission to consider in the context of his thesis the mutual reactions of Hinduism and Islam in the Middle Ages about which period indeed he is completely silent. Some of the author's statements again are not above criticism. Is Bharatavarsha (known for the first time to the Epic and Puranic tradition) the oldest Indian designation for the whole country? (p. 31). Considering the high antiquity of Buddhism and its links with the Brahmanical religion, can we properly state with the author (pp. 63-64) that "Buddhism, in fact, is the

name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, where precipitated in a foreign consciousness?" In view of the foundation of the Maurya Empire by Chandragupta Maurya on the ruins of the heritage of the Nandas, is it correct to say (p. 64) that "the most noteworthy contribution of Buddhism was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India" and so forth? To magnify (p. 80) Harshavardhana's Empire as embracing "the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himalayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujarat and Saurashtra" is to ignore the results of recent research. How is it again that the author (pp. 84-91) while discussing the significance of the Vedic ceremonies of imperial consecration confines himself to the Vajapeya (which by the way does not derive its name from its ritual of the chariot-race) and the Rajasuya and dismisses the Asvamedha with a single reference in a footnote? Finally, is it possible to sum up the genius of India's complex civilisation with a single formula, namely, that "India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire, a nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (*Ahimsa*), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature?" (p. 121).

U. N. GHOSHAL

CONSCIENCE AND REASON : By Grace Stuart. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price \$15 net.

"Whoever you speak to, they're in trouble"—that was a chance remark of a weeping woman in a railway carriage overheard by Mrs. Stuart which ultimately led to the production of this reassuring book. About the troubles of the people no one need be reminded; they are too glaring to remain unnoticed. But the question is: Should we go on suffering from them and blaming Fate and others for them? Pessimism suggests that there is no way out; future of mankind is dark and will grow increasingly darker as century advances on century. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb lend additional support to the development of this attitude.

The spirit of man, however, refuses to be daunted. History produces ample evidence that the spirit has repeatedly triumphed even over the gloomiest of circumstances and has emerged in greater glory even from the most unhallowed situations. The atom bomb is challenging it once more. And it must be admitted that if there ever was an occasion to make the most determined and heroic effort to rise above the circumstances, and to dispel the most thickly accumulated smoke of doubt and despair that per-

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vades the entire atmosphere, that occasion is undoubtedly now.

Fortunately, as Mrs. Stuart mentions, "in spite of difficulties and despair, there has never yet been such wise or such potentially helpful thinking done about human problems as is being done today." The book under review is one of the products of such thinking.

Destructive behaviour is one form of behaviour that is shared by men with the animals. Modern psychology has belied the all too common belief that men are governed by reason and animals by instinct. There is much that is instinctive in human activities. Many illustrations of this have been given in the book. Brute-like destructive tendencies are present in all men, but it is the growth of conscience within us that educates us to refrain from aggressive activities. The growth of conscience depends much on factors and conditions the nature of which we have learnt to appreciate only recently. We have at much cost to ourselves and to civilization, at last come to realise that in this matter of the growth of conscience, forces within us about which we are not conscious play the dominant part. Now that we have gained this insight it is incumbent on us to shape environmental conditions in such a way that the development of the Super Ego of our children may take place on desirable lines. Every chapter in the book helps us in achieving this objective. By removing false ideas about the development of the child mind and by compelling all to think anew about our sense and scale of values the authoress has made a definite contribution towards the attainment of that Peace so devoutly wished for by all. The book is a feast to the intellectuals and an inspiration to the troubled ones. The conscience will be inclined to behave more rationally and the reason tend to function more conscientiously of those who read and digest Mrs. Grace Stuart's *Conscience and Reason*.

S. C. MITRA

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN CULTURE : By Sri Aurobindo. Published in 1953 by the Sri Aurobindo Library, Inc., New York City. (Demy 8vo.). Pp. 442.

The book consists of a series of articles that appeared in the *Arya* from 15th December, 1918 to 15th January, 1921, and later on were revised by the author. Sri Aurobindo is always brilliant in his essays. His interpretations of the Vedas and Upanishads, his essays on the Gita, his poetic criticism on the future poetry have no equal. In these essays he is in the role of a nation-builder. In them he has thrown his searchlight on the principles and foundations of Indian culture, Indian polity, Indian society, Indian religions, and Indian art. He has based his discourses on William Archer's *Is India Civilised?* and Sir John Woodroffe's reply to same. In course of writing he has touched on many eminent thinkers and writers in that line.

There was a time when Europeans entered the domain of Indian culture and such other matters with an attempt to prove that everything Indian was barbarous. They held, by civilization was meant superiority in science and earthly conditions. It was between 1830-1883 that great men like Raja Rammohun Roy, Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, Bhai Protap Chandra Majumdar bearded the lion in his own den, and tried to open the eyes of both the Europeans and the Americans to the special character of religion and spirituality of Indian culture and society. This

they did by lectures, by new interpretations of Indian literature specially religious and by their own lives. As early as that they had prescribed synthesis of the East and the West, of Spirit and Science for the salvation of the world.

This vindication of Indian history and culture soon took a militant character, of which Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo were the champions. Sri Aurobindo played his part in a superb style. The nation will ever treasure his studies of the past and thoughts on the future. Maybe, we may not agree with some of his theories but the way shown by him to awaken the spirit and the thinking power amongst us will remain a beacon-light to the coming generations, who by Providence are charged to build the future India. Bankruptcy of thought and spirituality means the doom of civilization against which Sri Aurobindo raised his clarion voice just when New India was astir with the spirit of Nationalism. The printing, get-up and presentation of the book are excellent.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

OUR PATRIOTS OF WAX, IRON AND CLAY : By T. N. Lahiri. U. N. Dhar and Sons, Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 3.

The author writes in the Preface: "This is a thumb-nail sketch of the main political forces which participated at various stages in the movement for Indian freedom from the point of view of a citizen of Bengal who came in contact with the revolutionary movement for a number of years."

The book is divided into five main chapters, viz., 1. The Background, 2. The Moderates, 3. The Revolutionaries, 4. The Middle Coursers—The Gandhian Phase of the Congress, 5. The Conclusion! In the course of these chapters the author has dealt with the various phases of our political struggle. In the Background he has dwelt on the causes that led to the rise of political consciousness and active political movements. The pioneers of the struggle for freedom have been dubbed by the author as 'Moderates', which appellation they hardly deserve from their sensible countrymen. The author himself took part in the revolutionary phase of the struggle, and the chapter on this phase has necessarily been dealt in considerable detail. The Middle-courers, as he calls the leaders of the Gandhian phase, have received scant justice at the hands of the author. And let us quote what he says about Mahatma Gandhi:

"On the touchstone of reality, the idealism and moral teachings of the high priest of the Congress proved no more than an evanescent hare. The forces he led, walked into power over the hecatomb of whole nationalities and the ruin and degradation of millions."

Reality par excellence!

JOGESH C. BAGAL

1. SWAMI SIVANANDA : MYSTIC, SAGE AND YOGI : By Swami Venkatesananda, Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg and others. Pp. 405, Price Rs. 4-8.

2. EVERYMAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF SWAMI SIVANANDA. Pp. 61. Price Re. 1.

3. SWAMI SIVANANDA AND THE MODERN MAN : Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

The second and the third books are by Swami Omkar-ananda. All the three are published from the Yoga Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book contains among other things a psychological study of Swami Sivananda by Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg, Ph.D., a lecturer of Stanford University, California. This American savant came to India on a special mission from his University to investigate if spirituality was still alive in this country. He stayed for a week in the hermitage of Swami Sivananda at Rishikesh in the Himalayas and was highly impressed with his life and thought. He returned home and reported to the American people that spirituality was alive in India even today but emphasized at the same time that India was threatened all around by modern doctrines imported from the West.

Requested to write an essay about his impressions of Sivanandaji he sent the Standard test of ten ink-block cards pertaining to the Rosschah Test as a means to gather facts in order to have a character evaluation of the dynamic monk. Dr. Rosschah, the Swiss Psychiatrist, developed this wonderful psychodiagnostic test in the last century. After studying the reactions of Swami Sivananda to these psychological tests Dr. Spiegelberg came to the conclusion that Swami Sivananda is a personality of extraordinary vigour and creative drive as well as highly artistic. At the end of this book are given in detail several astrological readings by eminent astrologers of Swami Sivananda's horoscope.

Swami Venkatesananda, Samananda, Omkarananda, Saswatananda and others whose warm appreciations are collected in these three books are beloved disciples and enthusiastic workers of Swami Sivananda. Hence, their appreciations must be devotional outpourings and therefore, be considered as exaggerated accounts. As long as a monk is alive he should not be so much advertised and emblazoned as it definitely belittles the greatness of the man concerned. People are spontaneously drawn to one who possesses genuine worth and achievement.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

TEFEDEST : MEHAREE AU SAHARA CENTRAL : By Louis Carl Et Joseph Petit. Collection "Les Clefs de l'Aventure," Arthaud, Paris. 1953. Pp. 262.

Tefedest is the chain of mountains which stretches northwards from the enormous basalt masses of the Hoggar country in the far south of Algeria. The Sahara, contrary to what many people imagine it to be a flat stretch of sand studded with a few oases—actually embraces many lofty plateaux strewn with rough blocks of granite and deep river valleys.

In October, 1949, four young Frenchmen left Paris to explore the dead and desolate region of the Tefedest massive to make a scientific study of the area which is known to be particularly rich in prehistoric rock paintings. In Europe, the prehistoric art is hidden mostly in subterranean caves. In the Sahara it is found mostly in the form of polychrome wall paintings on rock shelters situated in high places of difficult access. The style of these paintings is delicate and animated with great artistic sensibility. Preliminary work on the rock paintings had been done by the 1935 Coche Expedition and also by the 1945-47 Cousin and Lelubre Expedition. But it is to the 1950 Hoggar Expedition that the chief credit is due for systematizing the records of the paintings and engravings already discovered and for an exhaustive

survey of the area. The expedition had, of course, other objectives—zoological, botanical and topographical research on this yet unexplored region.

This book has been written by two members of the expedition to give an authoritative account of the expedition which lasted for six months. The narrative, vivid and vivacious, makes highly entertaining reading. The journey was undertaken with the minimum of resources, which put the will-power and the zest of the members to a severe test. Transporting the technical equipment to the high places where the rock paintings were located proved almost impossible. Most formidable of all was the task of providing food and water for the men and the camels in this difficult terrain. Many a time they escaped catastrophe by the narrowest margin.

But the hardships suffered were immensely rewarded. The expedition was able to make a very large collection of palaeontological material of great interest as well as rock paintings of high anthropological interest. At the time this book was written the various scientific recordings had not been fully analysed. It looks as though when this new corpus of knowledge has been properly assimilated and its significance mastered, solutions of many old questions will be found and perhaps new theories will suggest themselves not only about the ancient inhabitants of this area but also about the migration of prehistoric peoples in general.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the first-hand account of the mysterious nomadic Tuaregs—the veiled men—their food and music, their superstitions, present-day customs and their strict code of honour.

The book would have been of greater value to lay readers if the authors had annexed to it a detailed map of the region just as reproductions of some of the paintings which were discovered would have added to its interest. Also, the authors might have given a fuller account of some of the paintings that were discovered. Non-French readers who are less familiar with the history of North Africa would have been grateful, too, for an outline of the history of the early inhabitants.

MARGARET R. BASU

BENGALI

PREM-O-MRITYU ("Love and Death") : By Sri Aurobindo. Translated into Bengali by Prithvi Sinha Nahar. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is one of the famous poems of Sri Aurobindo rendered into Bengali by Prithvisinha Nahar. Sri Aurobindo read the story of Ruru and Priyambada in the Mahabharata and wrote this poem "in a white heat of inspiration," where how love won death is described. The fact is, poetry can never be adequately rendered into another language, for it often fails to reproduce the power of language in giving the proper shade to its meaning. The rhythm, the harmonious movement and other things are also to be considered. Of course, a translation mostly depends on the ability of the translator.

The faults in the book under review are obvious. There are far too many compound adjectives, far too many compound nouns and a good deal of rhythmically unsound groups of words that hamper the movement of language. Quotation of a few lines from anywhere of the book will indicate how far this fault can go. The story itself is hardly discernible

from this maze woven out of worn-out words very badly used. However, undoubtedly this is an honest attempt.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

HINDI

PATH KI KHOJ : By Dr. Devamaj. *Buddhivadi Prakashgriha, Lucknow. Parts I and II: "Vishvas aur Nirasha," pp. 412; "Swapna aur Jagaran," pp. 420. Price Rs. 4-8 each part.*

This is a brave novel, rather a series of novelettes. For, like a magician, the author raises a number of multi-coloured balls in the air, one after another, with unusual dexterity and dynamism. In his handling of various situations and the characters participating in them his intellect has worked its way through with the skill of a deft surgeon, neatly and never-failingly. The story is of a young man who, while passing through a forest of traditions, teachings and truths, has to face many problems and perils in the course of his quest for an all-embracing Reality in time, as contrasted from the Reality in Eternity. For, one can live fully and freely only in this manner. Every reader will await the third part of this great work eagerly; nay, impatiently. Doctor Devaraj has, indeed, a world-wide vision of the cross-currents of life.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHAMPO ANE KEL : By Chunilal Modia. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 3.

The *champa* flower and the plantain tree—what a more romantic title could be selected for the batch of the seventeen stories contained in this volume, written by a rising young writer of original tales, than this one! His description of village life, rustic manners, given in the original village dialect of Kathiawar is realistic and that is its best and outstanding merit. He is found to be popular and so he is.

APANI SHRESHTHA NAVALIKAO : By Gulabdas Broker. Published by the National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay-1. 1948. Illustrated jacket. Card-board cover. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3-8.

"Our Best Short Stories," under this heading Shri Broker has reviewed the works of 14 best short story writers of modern Gujarat, prefacing it with a short Introduction on the subject of 'Short Stories.' Mr. Broker's task was none too enviable, but he has achieved his object in an impartial, efficient and able way, and shown how wide and deep his study has been.

RAINO PARVATNI SAMIKSHA : By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri. Published by Ramesh Book Depot, Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated cover. Pp. 104. Price Rs. 1-12.

Having obtained his Ph.D. degree by a thesis on the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's literary work, Dr. Jhaveri had naturally to study his outstanding work, the drama called *Raino Parvat*, wherein due to circumstances a gardener becomes a king. As a result of that study this comprehensive review including the genesis of the *natak* is published. The review has been made ably and informatively and from all points of view. It is a model review.

K. M. J.

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the heart of Asia . . ." And the *London Economist* writes: "Mr. Bhabe single-handed, has done more than all the State Governments to get land for the landless, and he has done it without red tape . . ."

WIDER APPEAL OF BHOODAN

Indians are not the only nation which has been impressed by Acharya Vinoba. This is shown in a beautiful manner by Taya Zinkin, who writing in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* concludes: "Could Bhabe be effective outside India? The answer is yes. His being a scholar, dark-skinned, Gandhian, is all irrelevant. If one day he comes to London or Manchester half-naked, bare-foot, quiet, asking for a room in your house for the poor, you will give it—gladly or grudgingly—but you will give it, just as the landlords of Bihar do, for Bhabe is irresistible." Mr. Alvin R. Field also believes the same when he says: "Vinoba is 5 feet 8 inches tall but his spiritual stature is so large that his shadow falls across the sub-continent. His message may yet travel across the ocean and around the world." In yet different worlds, Hallam Tennyson says: ". . . something in the enormous tranquillity of his patience and his faith . . . told me that Vinoba's message was not limited to the country in which it was uttered. The twentieth century may be rich in jet aeroplanes. But it is pretty poor in saints. We need to remember that what we call 'progress' is nothing if it leads to no corresponding inner change and Vinoba gives us this reminder in the one way which has power to move and impress."



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The Expansion of Ancient Indian Culture

The first part of the article by V. Raghavan in *The Vedanta Kesari* was reproduced in our August issue. The concluding portion is given below:

CHINA AND JAPAN

The silken bonds between India and China started with the exchange of Chinese silk and Indian philosophy from about the first century A.D. Buddhist priests started coming to China and establishing a monastery there. From this time onwards, for ten centuries India was the holy land to which the Chinese made pilgrimages, and the devotion with which the barriers of the mountains and seas were crossed for this spiritual quest forms a unique event in the whole history of learning. During this period when China was in active pupillage under India, 103 Sanskrit scholars from India went over to China and 2,184 Sanskrit works were translated into Chinese and these translations which included some non-Buddhist works also, preserve today Sanskrit classics lost in their originals in India or available only in fragments. The full text of the most celebrated Sanskrit epic poem of Buddhism, Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* is available only here; in Samkhya philosophy, the Chinese translation has preserved the *Suvarnasaptati* and in Vaisesika School of atomic pluralism, the *Dasapadartha-sastra* of Matichandra.

In the beginning of the 6th century, the Indians in China had swelled in number so much that they began to enter Japan. All these were not solely engaged in religious pursuit, but all of them were spreading some aspect of Indian culture, Buddhism, Sanskrit, Indian music, etc. It became necessary for the Chinese to learn Sanskrit; in the beginning of the 6th century, there were 700 monks all of whom knew Sanskrit. Sanskrit names of high spiritual significance were assumed by the Chinese; e.g., Fa Hien was called Mokshacharya; Hieun Tsang, Mahayana-deva; Itsing, Paramarthadeva. Between the Chinese pupils and their Indian teachers, teaching as well as other communications by letters was carried on in Sanskrit. Sanskrit was taught in China till the beginning of the 15th century. Four Sanskrit Chinese dictionaries had been compiled between 7th and 9th centuries. It was with the help of Sanskrit that the arrangement by initials of the 36 letters of the Chinese alphabet was made. Besides the three famous pilgrims whom we have already named, several Chinese pilgrims regularly visited India; and at Buddha Gaya, there was built a special place for them called the Chinasangharama. They continued to come till the end of the 10th century.

It should not be supposed that this movement was solely Buddhist. Several Brahmins were also in it, particularly in artistic activities like music and in the work of Sanskrit teaching or translation. In A.D. 657, the Chinese King desired some ritual to be performed for the strengthening of his life and sent one Wang-Hiun-tso to India to fetch a Brahman Tantrika who could perform it. In the middle of the 8th century, it has been recorded, there were three Brahman temples in Canton, and Brahman families resident there. China borrowed puppet and shadow plays from India. An Indian musician named Miao-ta was a celebrated figure in China between A.D. 550-577. In fact, Indian music had gained so much ground there that a futile attempt was even

made in the end of the 6th century by Emperor Kao-tsu to ban it by a decree; instead of dying, Indian music spread out to Japan. Three notes of the Chinese gamut bear Indian Svaram-names: Panjam which is Panchama; She-li-she (the sound of the bull) is Rishava; Sha-da-lik or Sha-che, Shadja. Indian sculptors, architects and painters went over to excavate cave temples and carve out and paint images of the Buddhist deities; there is a painting of Ganesa at Tung-Huang, executed in the 6th century. China became indebted to India in astrology and mathematics too. There were frequent requests for Indian astrologers, and the Indian astrological schools Kasyapa, Gautama and Kaumara were current there for three centuries. The Chinese calendar was from time to time revised by Indian astrological works and even calendars were rendered into Chinese. In medicine Ravana's *Kumaratantra* on children and portions of Kasyapasamhita were translated, and a mission was sent to India for collecting Indian herbs. As South India had wide commercial and maritime activity, this Indo-Chinese relation comprised some special contacts in South India. Some of the leading Buddhists that went to China were from Kanchipura. Chinese coins are found in South Indian sites. Goodwill missions and exchange of presents between China and South India are known from the first century onwards. In the 7th century, the Pallava King Rajasimha of Kanchi and the Chinese King kept such personal touch that at the request of the Pallava King, the Chinese Emperor christened the Pallava army and a temple built in Kanchi in honour of himself. During the Chola times three such missions were sent, and a similar contact existed also between the Pandyan King and Kublai Khan.

The school of Buddhism that spread to Japan is known as Zen: Zen is just *Dhyana*; and Bodhidharma who spread this was from Kanchipura.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Much more complete and enduring was the influence of India over Cambodia, Siam and the islands of the archipelago. Indeed, in these regions we had for several centuries Hindu kingdoms. No campaigns were undertaken but wave after wave of Hindus, merchants, scholars and others went, married locally, established dynasties, gave the peoples of these countries a script and literature, codes of conduct and government, religion and arts, and brought them up into the light of history. Today, as witness of this great Far East cultural colonial empire of India stand numberless Sanskrit inscriptions, Indian names of places and countries, Indian ceremonial, huge temples and carvings in Indian style and the art of dance and drama. This cultural movement, which went forward, not with flame and sword but with the Ramayana in one hand and Manu in the other, was under the direction of foremost scholars, for firstly the inscriptions found in all these places is not only in correct Sanskrit, but in beautiful poetic style which often-times excels models on the mainland of India; Sanskrit was so well established that some of the Chinese pilgrims who went to India, like Itsing, learned their Sanskrit in these countries before reaching India; secondly, very learned methods of worship and highly original scholarly imagination had been brought into play, with the result that a freedom of expression giving birth to new or fuller realization of forms is seen here. Tantrik worship, the cult of Devaraja, of Siva as the Lord of the mountains, of Vishnu were developed side by side with Buddhism which was



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more prevalent in the islands, and the Trimurtis of these countries comprised Siva, Vishnu and, not Brahma, but Buddha; it is always true that when the people of a country assemble in a distant foreign clime, a new spirit of unity and synthesis develops among them, consciously as well as unconsciously; in these regions of Greater India, there was a blending of Hinduism and Buddhism and a composite form of Siva-Buddha evolved. In India, we are familiar with the Buddha being counted as one of the avatars of Vishnu but in the Far East, the ascetic or yogic conceptions of Siva and the Buddha were much nearer and more helpful for mutual assimilation. Saivism was of course most widely prevalent in Cambodia. In its inscriptions figure a number of Saiva teachers of great learning and austerity, Vidya-pushpa, a Pasupata and poet Somasiva and his pupil Vamasiva, Rudracharya, and a Sivasoma who is said to have been a pupil of Bhagavan Sankara. Agastya was the patron sage of these parts. In temple-architecture too huge proportions which were not quite common in India were resorted to, and the ideal of a temple as the Meru, rising tier upon tier, was realized here, and the supreme examples of which standing to this day are the Hindu Ankor Vat in Cambodia and the Buddhistic Borobudur in Java. In literature, on the analogy of the Ramayana they wrote the Krishnayana, and on the beautiful theme in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* in which King Aja's queen Indumati passes away on the fall of a flowery garland from above, they reared the poem called 'the flowery death'—*Sumanasantaka*. It may be said that the whole civilization here was raised with the Ramayana. India may have produced the epic of Rama but it was in Greater India, in Ankor Vat and Prambanan that you have the richest sculptural representations of the Ramayana; the whole world of Javanese dance and drama is permeated with the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which they do even now, though formally the peoples had been converted to Islam. In fact, according to some research scholars Lanka where Sita remained in captivity was near the Sunda islands. The mountains in the east described by Sugriva in the Ramayana as the habitat of sage Agastya are in the Indonesian islands. In Funan, a temple was built for Valmiki, the immortal sage who gave us the Ramayana, and copies of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were presented to it for being recited and expounded to the public. The Brahmanda Purana was known in Java and Bali.

Besides the Sanskrit inscriptions, a number of sacred Sanskrit texts have been used and preserved in these parts; from Bali, Sanskrit hymns and religious texts were secured and edited by the French savant Sylvain Levi. Recently when I was in Paris, I read in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, photo-copies of a number of Sanskrit texts including Vedic mantras used in daily worship and the purificatory ceremony and coronation of the King in Siam; these were originally written and preserved in the South Indian Grantha script showing South Indian influence and are used by the priests who were Brahmans and still call themselves so, though they have since adopted Buddhism. In Borneo, in its eastern part, have been discovered seven stone Yupas or sacrificial posts; on these are found Sanskrit inscriptions which say that King Mulavarman of that country performed many gifts which were attended and honoured by many Brahmans from different countries.

In music, dance and drama, the Indian arts

travelled to Java and Bali so completely that not only do we derive help from the sculpture of these islands for the understanding of ancient Indian music and dance, but many departments of the music accompaniment of ancient Indian drama and of ancient Indian dance can be better understood and reconstructed by what survives in Javanese *wayangs* and Balinese dances.

Looking at the history of this expansion, we find that in the case of Java, both Gujarat and South India took part in this activity. Even now a newcomer is called in Java Kling, i.e., Kalinga, which is Orissa. One Kaundinya, a Brahman from the South, went forth to Cambodia and was responsible for laying the foundation of Hindu culture there. The heyday of the Hindu Brahmanical rulers of Cambodia extended from the 6th cent. to the 12th cent. From the 7th to the 14th cent. there was a powerful dynasty called the Sailendra which held sway over Sumatra and part of Malay; it came into friendly as well as hostile contact with the South Indian Chola kingdom and Rajendra Chola sent a maritime expedition against the Sailendra King Sangrama-vijayotungavarman and brought as trophy his arch of triumph. In Nagapattinam, on the coast in Tamil country, the Sailendra King built a Buddhistic monastery called Chudamani-varma-vihara. One of the Sailendras built also a monastery in the Buddhistic University of Nalanda in Bihar. Great builders, it is they that gave us the magnificent temple of many Buddhas,—Borobudur.

Ceylon, Burma and Tibet, three countries very much closer to India, simply grew like children nestling in the lap of the Mother. Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in the time of Asoka; along with Burma it forms the greatest home of Pali Buddhism or the Hinayana school as against the Sanskrit Buddhism of the Mahayana which spread across to Central Asia and went to China. Ceylon, also connected legendarily with the Ramayana, was in close cultural contact with South India and the Tamil Chola Kings invaded it and annexed it. So that, from South India, Ceylon received Sanskrit and Tamil influence in literature, religion, dance and drama. Burma was referred to as Svarnabhumi and colonists went forth there from Bengal, Banaras and Ceylon. One of the derivations suggested for Burma is Brahma. Besides, Buddhism, Hinduism also had some vogue there and a Tamil inscription too has been

found here. Tibet, like China, took to Buddhism; and in the large corpus of Tibetan translation, there are many Sanskrit works which are no longer available in their originals in India. Tibet became the home par excellence of Tantrik Buddhism.

SOUTH AMERICA

We cannot say anything definitely about Indian contacts of the far-flung *Polynesian islands*, except that the original inhabitants here turn towards India when they bow to their ancestral home. More has been written upon *South American civilization* and the possible Indian sources. I have gone through about 30 Archaeological Reports and books pertaining to this civilization and presented together in a Tamil contribution of mine all the available indications of Indianism in the remnants of the culture of the Mayas, Incas and Aztecs which have escaped destruction at the hands of Spanish missionary settlers who came there after the discovery by Columbus. The possibility of Indo-American contact in the geological period of the submerged Limuria, the Maya, Inca and Aztec memories of their having come by ships from the direction of India, resemblance of facial features, of streets and houses and of the magnificent temples and worship,—all dispose one to accept Indian connection rather than reject it.

Authorities on this subject like J. Eric Thompson, author of the *Archaeology of South America*, have also drawn attention to the find of Indian cotton, elephant drawings featuring the animal according to specimens known in India and Sumatra, the use of the Indian-discovered zero and decimal system, occurrence of Indian edible herbs and plants, and the art of dyeing—all of which point to a migration of culture from India through Indonesia. According to Hewitt, Mayas might have been the Maghas of Iran and India and Nahuas might be related to Nahusha. Pedra de Cieja says in his *Chronicle of Peru* that the 'Amanta' was a companion and guide and adviser of the King here; this corresponds to Amatya, the Sanskrit word meaning 'one who stands by the King' or the Minister. Harold T. Wilkins has worked out in his book on the *Mysteries of Ancient South America* the similarities of the South American letters and those found in Tibet and Indian inscriptions. George Torres Quintero points out in his study of Education among the Ancient Mexicans that the society was organized into four groups, Kings, Teachers, Cultivators and Workers, that vocation was hereditary, and that the first two groups were held to be higher in status and between them the King and the Teacher controlled everything—all of which strongly reminds one of India. They worshipped the Sun whom they called Vira which may be Viraj; in worship coaches were blown, incense burnt and flowers profusely used. Omens in the sounds of birds and beast were believed

in; ear-boring was prevalent; a sacramental second name (Samskarnama or namakarana) was in vogue; but what is more surprising is that, as Mr. Thompson says in his *Civilization of the Mayas*, this second naming was considered a second birth—a surprising parallel to our 'Dvi-ja'—the twice-born. Birth and death alike were considered as causing pollution, *asaucha*; in separation by death, shaving of the head was known as a mark of grief; mensus-pollution was observed by women. Something like our Sraddha was also done for the dead ancestors. In higher thought, they believed in a Soul and in rebirth and a kind of penance and yogic discipline were also practised. In their temple architecture, we have striking resemblances to our Gopuras, Prakaras and thousand pillared halls. Like India, ancient South America worshipped the Sun; Incas called themselves descendants of the Sun; Ina in Sanskrit means Sun; apart from their adoration of the Sun, the snakes or Nagas or other deified beings like the Makara-fish, they believed in a higher impersonal Divine Being too which may not be much different from our Brahman. I may here narrate an illuminating conversation recorded by Ralph L. Roys in his book *Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan*. When the Spanish missionary first asked the native South Americans about their God, they replied: 'The real God is only one; He has neither form nor name; how could we have an image of Him when he has no body?' The reply might well hail from an Upanishad.

The above account would show how we had not been pure home-birds in the past. Today again we are, in the pursuit of different modern avocations, in all parts of the world. The scientific and technological advancement of the West has left us, the ancient *gurus*, very much behind. But the West still looks to us as the apostles of wisdom. Ever since the Gita and the Upanishads were made available in an European language, in 1785 and 1801, Indian philosophy has exerted visible as well as invisible influence on European thought and literature. The Vedanta and the Yoga of India are today studied all over the world. The yogic discipline, transcending the purely medical sphere, offers a unique method of regenerating and reconditioning the human system and the Vedanta teaches a universal oneness in which the world may end all its competition and enmity and realise in truth the peace of the 'one world' which is uttered as an airy slogan today. Several Hindu cultural missions are no doubt working in the different parts of the world spreading through art, literature and philosophy the message of India, but the fulfilment of this message is nearer when everyone of us abroad is imbued with the true spirit of Hindu culture and functions as a true embodiment and effective conductor of that energy.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Glimpses of the History of India

On the Russian Edition of Nehru's *Discovery of India*, N. Pastukhov writes as follows:

Wide circles of the Soviet public display a great and natural interest in the history of the great Indian people, their heroic struggle for freedom and independence and in their rich ancient culture and art. This interest has not been born overnight, it has age-old traditions. A considerable number of Indian historic, journalistic and fiction writings has been translated into Russian.

The Soviet reader welcomes the appearance of *The Discovery of India* by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

The history of India can provide a great number of splendid examples of heroism displayed by the Indian people in the course of their struggle against foreign oppressors, it speaks of their love for creative labour, freedom and peace. Nehru's book which has been published in the Russian translation by the Foreign Literature Publishing House treats of these characteristic features of the Indian people. In his foreword to the Russian edition Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote on May 28, 1955:

"I am happy that my book *The Discovery of India* is being translated into the Russian language. This book was written twelve years ago when I was in prison and war was waging in a great part of the world. It reflects the mood and my thoughts of that period.

"These past ten years have brought great changes in the world and already we seem to be far removed from the early forties of this century. But the book deals chiefly with the long past of India, and it might help a little perhaps in understanding the background of this ancient country. Perhaps also it will help in giving some understanding of the events which conditioned the present generation in India.

"Within a few days I hope to travel myself to the great country, the Soviet Union, to see for myself what I have read about so much and to gain some understanding of the forces that have contributed to the building up, in the modern age, of this great and vast country which is exercising such a powerful influence over the destinies of the world. It is a special pleasure to me that this book, the product of the solitudes of my prison life, should now find a clothing in the Russian language."

Chapter One of the book recalls the grim years of the Second World War. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru condemns the Japanese aggression in China and the Italy's aggression in Ethiopia. He speaks wrathfully of fascism against which peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition were waging a courageous struggle at the time. The book exposes the policy of so-called "appeasement" carried out by Britain and France with respect to fascist Germany, and emphasises that "there was behind it not only a fear of Hitler, but a sneaking admiration for him."

Mr. Nehru was an uncompromising opponent of fascism. Despite "a pressing invitation" from Mussolini to see him Nehru bluntly rejected the proposal.

Chapter One, among other things, appraises the importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its influence on the destinies of the world. The October Revolution, in Nehru's opinion, "had advanced human society by a great leap."

The subsequent chapters are dedicated to the history of India from ancient times. The approach to the subject differs fundamentally in spirit from hundreds of books written by British authors, Elphinstone, Lyall, Vincent Smith, Moreland, the authors of the six volumes of *Cambridge History of India* and others. Nehru aptly remarks that "the histories of India that most of us have had to read, chiefly written by Englishmen, are usually long apologies for and panegyrics of British rule and a barely veiled contemptuous account of what happened here in the millennia preceding it. Indeed real history, for them, begins with the advent of the Englishman into India."

The chapters of the book dealing with the history of India abound in material of great cognitive value. They contain a description of those majestic architectural memorials of ancient India—Mohenjo-Daro,

and Harappa—built over 3,000 years before our era. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa maintained close ties with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Even at that remote period Indian cities used cotton for textiles; drainage system and public baths already existed; there were two-storeyed private houses made of baked bricks, with bathrooms and other subsidiary premises. "It is interesting to note," Nehru observes, "that at this dawn of India's story, she does not appear as a pulling infant, but already grown up in many ways."

The historic chapters tell of the birth of various religious dogmas in India, Hinduism in particular; the Vedic period in the history of India is dwelt upon, as is the Upanishadas period; the emergence of castes and the spreading of the caste system is described. The book provides interesting information about the development of science and arts in ancient India. As early as the sixth or seventh century before our era Panini, a scholar of the ancient times, wrote his great grammar of the Sanskrit language. The book lays an emphasis on the fact that Professor Th. Scherbatsky referred to the book as "one of the greatest productions of the human mind."

The appearance of such epic works as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata was a glorious landmark in the history of India. The Ramayana is an epic poem, the Mahabharata is a collection of ancient lore. Both epics took their final form by the beginning of our era. "It is really the Mahabharata that is one of the outstanding books of the world," Nehru points out. "It is a colossal work, an encyclopedia of tradition and legend, and political and social institutions of ancient India."

India's ancient culture is, first and foremost, a monument to Indian people's love of labour, to their wisdom and talent. Afanasi Nikitin, the first Russian traveller to visit India, remarked several centuries ago on these traits of character of the Indian people. Soviet people who had a chance to visit India speak and write of this, too.

Those who admired the wonderful frescoes of Ajanta and Ellora, the intricate marble lacework of the Taj Mahal, a pride of Indian architecture. Jaipur palaces and the temple of goddess Minakshi in Madura, are unanimous in their conclusion: the people who built all this with their own hands have not only a great past but a wonderful future ahead of them, too.

The book further narrates the historic developments in India of the middle ages, up to the invasion of the country by European colonisers.

The book furnishes material valuable from the cognitive point of view, and many of its chapters are dedicated to the problems of the development of society. It should be mentioned here that the Soviet reader will not agree with the treatment of some cardinal problems of the development of society. This refers in particular to the negation of the role the class-struggle plays in the development of society, to the appraisal of the role of the working class,

peasantry and the Communist Party in the national-liberation movement, and to some other questions.

The book, however, contains valuable material making it easier for the Soviet reader to understand the historic destinies of the great Indian people. *The Discovery of India* tells the reader of the grim colonial heritage left over to the Indian people by foreign oppressors. Chapters on the two-centuries long rule of the British imperialists in India provide the Soviet reader with a better outlook of the greatness of the struggle waged by the Indian people in our days for the elimination of the consequences of colonial rule and for all-round development of their country.

The British colonisers, writes Nehru, ruined the Indian textile industry. Throughout the 19th century other Indian industries were also broken—ship-building, metalwork, glass, paper and many crafts. Analysing the level and consequences of colonial domination the author draws the following conclusion: "The classic type of modern colonial economy was built up, India becoming an agricultural colony of industrial England, supplying raw materials and providing markets for England's industrial goods."

The consequences of the British colonial rule in India are described in the following words: "Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy: the princes; the minority problem; various vested interests, foreign and Indian; the lack of industry and the neglect of agriculture; the extreme backwardness in the social services; and above all, the tragic poverty of the people . . . Imperialism must function in this way or else it ceases to be imperialism."

For ages the peoples of India had been discriminated against by the colonial powers. [Until now] the Indians, just as Negroes and other "coloured" people, are persecuted on account of their race in countries where colonial regimes have yet been preserved. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru wrathfully condemns racial discrimination, this condemnation being expressed in *The Discovery of India* and in his subsequent political statement. ". . . We in India," writes Mr. Nehru, "have known racialism in all its forms ever since the commencement of British rule. The whole ideology of this rule was that of the *Herrenvolk* and the master race, and the structure of government was based upon it; indeed the idea of a master race is inherent in imperialism."

As vividly shown in the book the freedom-loving Indian people have never reconciled themselves to the colonial subjugation. The history of India knows of many bright instances of a heroic struggle waged by her finest representatives against the foreign oppressors. This struggle invariably roused the admiration of the Soviet people. The book emphasises the fact that the Soviet Union exerted a tremendous influence on Indian fighters for peace and independence.

"But most of all we had the example of the Soviet Union, which in two brief decades full of war

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and civil strife, and in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable difficulties, had made tremendous progress. Some were attracted to Communism, others were not, but all were fascinated by the advance of the Soviet Union in education and culture and medical care and physical fitness and in the solution of the problems of nationalities—by the amazing and prodigious effort to create a new world out of the dregs of the old."

The defeat of Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan in the Second World War weakened the camp of imperialism. A mighty national-liberation movement developed in the countries of Asia and Africa, whose peoples advanced the demand for freedom and independence of their countries.

The British imperialists were not willing, however, to surrender their colonial positions in India. Churchill, who was at the time the inspirer of British imperialist policy in India, admitted cynically that Britain had no intention whatsoever of parting with India. Churchill's words to this effect are cited in the book: "We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the king, which more than all our Dominions and dependencies, constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

Commenting on this statement Mr. Nehru writes: "India was the empire, it was her possession and exploitation that gave glory and strength to England and made her a great power. Mr. Churchill could not conceive of England except as the head and possessor of a vast empire, and so he could not conceive of India free."

The tempestuous growth of the anti-imperialist movement in India threatened to develop into a general uprising of the Indian people against the colonisers. To avoid this Britain granted India in 1947 the rights of a Dominion following the division of her into two parts—India and Pakistan. National governments were set up in both Dominions. The Indian National Congress Party came to power in India, and the Muslim League in Pakistan. Since 1950, India is a Republic in the British Commonwealth.

The appearance of *The Discovery of India* in the Russian translation is an important event. The acquaintance of the broad Soviet public with the book written by the outstanding Indian statesman will help to promote friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding between the two great nations for the benefit of universal peace and security.—*Pravda*, June 5, 1955.

Indians in Mauritius

B. Bissoondoyal writes in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1955 :

There are today some four million Indians outside India who have settled for the most part in British colonies. One of every twelve overseas Indians lives in the little South Indian Ocean island known by the name of Mauritius. This Crown colony was the first to receive Indian immigrants in the early thirties of the last century. Slavery had been abolished and manumitted slaves had developed so great a disgust for all agricultural work that they decided not to till

the soil any more. History records that half of them died as a direct result of this misplaced aversion. Mauritian planters were faced with ruin. It is then that they had the idea of getting cheap labour from India, an agricultural country where labourers had low wages. Even before the advent of the British this island had a sprinkling of Indians. The French occupied the island in the first decades of the eighteenth century. They were fortunate in having Labourdonnais as one of their early governors. Labourdonnais, "the greatest of all governors of Mauritius," turned the island from a wild forest into an inhabitable spot. And in this stupendous task he had the willing co-operation of Indian artisans he had brought from Pondicherry and other parts of French India that is now fast disappearing. The latter gave so good an account of themselves that Godeheu wrote in his diary—a historical document of no mean importance—that they richly deserved a long leave that could enable them to go back home where their countrymen would be prevailed upon to go out to Mauritius in greater numbers.

It is in 1810 that the British captured Mauritius or, to be more exact, *Ile-de-France*. They came all the way, from India and had thousands of sepoys with them. The General that led the expedition congratulated "both the officers and the soldiers, whether they were Indian or European" on their feat. So before the advent of labourers, Indian artisans and soldiers had reached Mauritian shores. The first British Governor came from India. While he was in the Indian Civil Service he had ample opportunity to see that Indians could only be a valuable asset as they were spend-thrift and industrious. It occurred to him that even convicts from India could help to develop the land. Indian convicts came as early as 1815 and they justified his hope. Stalwart Indians were seen constructing the main roads. Darwin felt drawn to them during his historic stay. The convicts were for the most part "Sepoys who had been guilty of military insubordination or political offences . . . They bore their exile with all the indifference of their race. The only crime of which they were known to be guilty was the murder of one or two of their inspectors, by whom they had been treated with cruelty." There were too some Indians who were plying their trade in Port Louis the capital. They had come mostly from the Punjab and Gujarat. "Skilled craftsmen and engineers from Madras and Pondicherry" also were contributing their mite.

As we have seen, the trying need for Indian labour was responsible for the arrival of another

class of Indians. Nor were they less useful. Their piety, patience, temperance, gentleness and courtesy at once earned them the praise of those under whom they worked. The efforts they put forth led the planters to apply for more labourers. Tens of thousands of Indian immigrants arrived in quick succession so that one fine morning in the second half of the nineteenth century the Indian minority became a majority. The immigrants came to stay. Their children began to go to school. In 1865, the then Superintendent of Government Schools wrote that "their mental capacities are of no inferior order." The son of an immigrant topped the list of the successful candidates that sat for the "Pupil Teachers' Comparative Examination" held in 1864. Despite the progress achieved by a handful of

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Indians the masses remained inarticulate for more than half a century. If the world came to know at times that the masters were not always kind to them it was thanks to the humanitarianism of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society that would not brook the inhumanity of men who ought to have known better than to bully genuine co-operators who could turn every idle hour to account. The indignities suffered by the immigrants were materials that were made common coin by numerous contributors to *The British Friend of India*, a London periodical. Once numerous Indians resolved to suffer imprisonment in pursuit of justice.

The period that preceded the arrival of Gandhi was markedly dull. His visit is a landmark in the history of Mauritian Indians. He landed here towards the close of 1901. Hindus and Muslims vied with each other to welcome him. His fame had spread far and wide as a consequence of the victories he had scored in South Africa. The newspapers of the day shed their chauvinism for once. The honour of his visit overwhelmed all Mauritians. Mauritius Indians stepped into a new era. Their illustrious countryman was given a warm welcome wherever he went. The press agreed that his stay was a historic one although he was our honoured guest for only a fortnight. Gandhi chalked out, as it were, a programme for the future. He admonished the Indian traders and labourers to send their children to school. The traders were absorbed in their business and never so much as dreamt that education was desirable. Anybody else's admonition would have left them cold. Mr. Gandhi was a genuine guide, so the lesson was not lost upon them. He did not come on a fruitless errand. Our guest had said in a memorable speech that was as lengthy as it was interesting that Indians had come of age and should accordingly be interested in Mauritian politics. He spoke with unrestricted frankness. His words came as a very invigorating tonic.

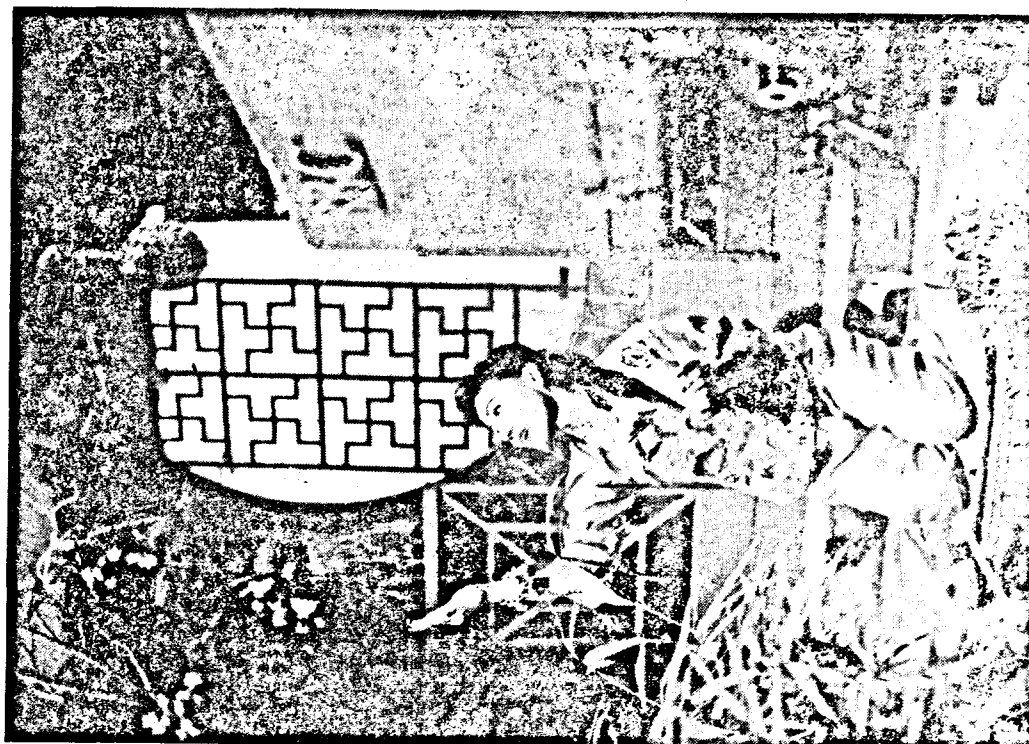
This well-meant and timely advice helped Mauritian Indians out of their difficulty. But for three decades or so all about the visit paid to Mauritius was clean forgotten. Years passed uneventfully. Many Indian planters had grown rich after World War I when there was a phenomenal rise in the price of sugar. Except for the generous act of the Indo-Mauritian planter who spent tens of thousands of rupees to erect a munificent building that housed a school in his native village, the Indians were practically inactive.

An interval elapsed between Mahatma Gandhi's visit and the new awakening witnessed among the Indo-Mauritians of late. The relentless efforts made in almost all fields of activity by an element that was politically non-existent at last bore fruit. The country was awarded a new constitution in 1947. The important Indian languages that are spoken in the island obtained official recognition. Adults of both the sexes who can read and write simple sentences not only in English or in French but also in Hindi, Tamil or Gujarati can now become electors. The number of electors increased six-fold, rising from 12,000 to 72,000. The Indo-Mauritians captured 11 seats, the Coloured 7, and the Whites obtained 1 seat at the General Elections held in 1948. The 1953 Elections had the same results with this difference that instead of 11 Hindus this time 10 Hindus and 1 Muslim were returned. The elders had had their innings. The con-

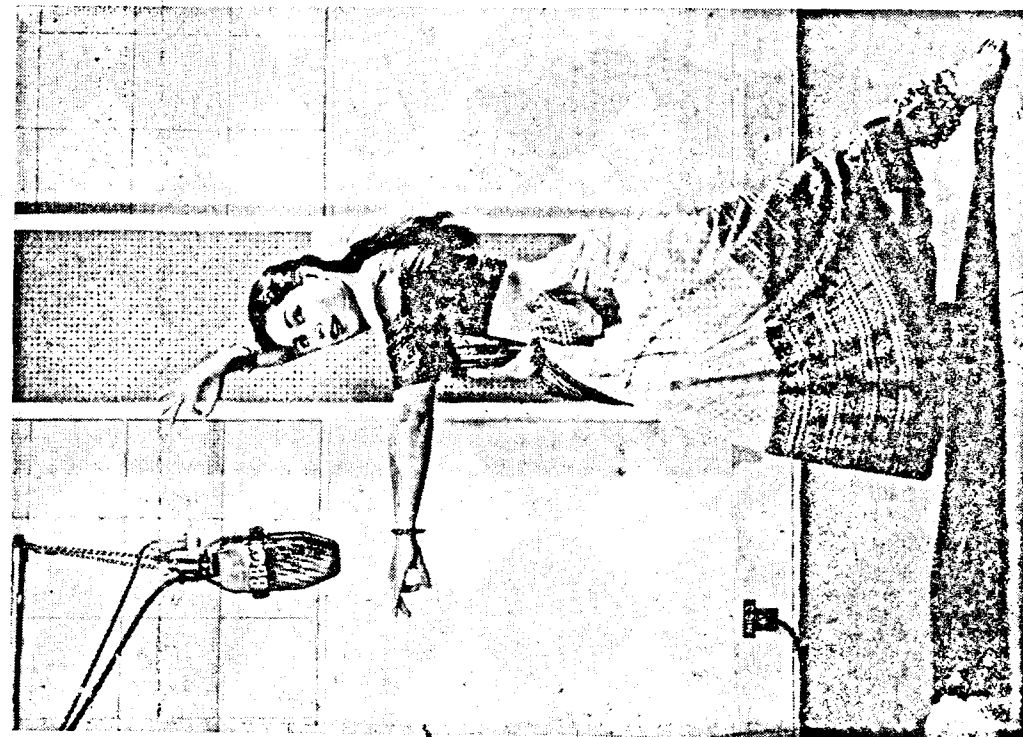
temporaries followed in their footsteps. At one bound they became a force in the country. A new epoch set in. Nor do the latter as a whole prove unworthy of the trust placed in them. Their heart bleeds when the common fatherland does not receive its due. Last year, some members of the Legislative Council expressed the wish to send a delegation to London. An Indo-Mauritian member who has a good grasp of questions relating to Mauritian affairs hinted that even if the delegation were to reach London, the apathy of the British press would nullify the effect it could produce; if that press remained what it is it would only place a tiny and neglected colony like Mauritius at a great disadvantage. That idea had been expressed sincerely. And it did not go unnoticed: a British weekly wrote: "He (the Indo-Mauritian member) shows an unfailing knowledge of our press and its attitude to colonial problems." He who is today anxious to serve his fatherland shows the same solicitude that his immigrant forefathers showed in days gone by.

Gandhi was of the definite opinion that Indians should throw in their lot with their non-Indian neighbours. He said once: "When I was in South Africa, I tried to use as many things as I could made by African hands." Except for a spell, his message, has, across the decades, kindled in the Indo-Mauritian's heart the desire to be of some service to the land of his adoption. This is why he has ceased to be a mere looker-on. It is the Mahatma's liberal-mindedness that endeared him to one and all. His words are echoed and re-echoed today; but unfortunately for us few are the Indo-Mauritian leaders whose gestures are approved of by the non-Indian press. The others are too often thrown off their balance. They fall foul of a certain section of the Mauritian community only because that section happens to belong exclusively to one race, and are full of praise for another only because it differs racially from the one that is looked down upon. The redeeming feature is that the masses are not prepared to do the bidding of those who think in terms of race or the like. At this critical juncture communal harmony is a desideratum that cannot be valued too highly. It must not be merely a pious wish. Indo-Mauritians are 335,000 strong as against non-Indians numbering 165,000, i.e., they number 67 per cent of the total population. Any rash act that can lead non-Indians to believe that they are being overpowered by sheer numerical strength will have disastrous results. Indo-Mauritians have no wish to migrate to India, the country of their forbears. They have made their own the island that required their labour. So far they have not been guilty of any offence that can mark them out as enemies of the land. If they do not allow themselves to be misguided by the counsel of despair, their presence will no doubt be hailed as a blessing. It is a happy sign of the times that the good example set by Mahatma Gandhi is influencing in the right direction all those who are here not to disturb the peace of the island. Nor is the interference of the disturbing element, undesirable as that is, felt as a serious difficulty. Spade-work has been done with astonishing rapidity. It now remains for all elements to be tolerant enough to let a country that is only a speck on the globe continue to enjoy the reputation of being a tiny and quiet spot.

Mauritius.



Chinese actress on BBC Television



Silima Devi, well-known exponent of Kathak dance, in the BBC Hindi Service



MAHISHAMARDINI
By Prabhatendusekhar Majumdar

Prabhat Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Moral Values

A few years ago we saw a book that gave a survey of *Morals* in Britain, in the fifty years from 1900—1950. Sex-morals were included but in a minor way. The measurements taken were principally of Moral values, as obtaining at the turn of the century and as prevailing today, where Britain was concerned. Needless to say, the survey, which was made by a group of eminent research workers in social and economic affairs, indicated a change for the worse in every way, although the findings were as cold, dispassionate and unbiassed, as should be, from the point of view of a detached sociological study.

It is about time such a survey was made in India, of Moral values, by a group of completely impartial research workers. We believe the results would be startling.

We are not writing a denunciatory sermon, nor are we launching upon a tirade against the powers-that-be. We are constrained to write in this tone because we find that the foul murders recently committed in Barabanki, do not seem to have left any impression on the minds of the thinking public, nor did it attract the attention of Authority, excepting an almost casual reference, in the best official pattern, in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly. We quote the report in the daily press:

"Lucknow, Oct. 17.—Yet another member of the U.P. Assembly has been killed, and again in Barabanki district.

"The victim of yesterday's mob violence in the village of Baddupur on the Barabanki-Sitapur border, was Mr. Avadh Saran Verma who belonged to the P.S. Party. It was a case of double murder, the other victim being Mr. Siaram, a local P.S.P. worker.

"According to first reports the incident took place at a public meeting which was raided by an armed mob of 500. The murderers took away the bodies of their victims.

"Mr. Avadh Saran Verma died while trying to save the life of Mr. Siaram. While the meeting had been in progress for some time it was suddenly overwhelmed by the mob armed with lathis and shouting that they wanted to kill Mr. Siaram who was at the meeting. The mob yelled the warning that nobody should come in its way and demanded Mr. Siaram. Mr. Verma rose to the defence of Mr. Siaram, who was being attacked. He covered Mr. Siaram with his body. Both were cruelly done to death.

"On September 7 Mr. Bhagwati Prasad Shukla, a Congress M.L.A., was shot dead in broad daylight in Barabanki town.

"News of the latest outrage was given to the House by Mr. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister, and on his request the Speaker adjourned the sitting for the rest of the morning.

"Mr. Sampurnanand said that Mr. Avadh Saran Verma was 40. He was a prominent nationalist worker of the district and had been to prison twice. He had a pleasant disposition and a

remarkable gift for making friends which he said other members of the House would testify. The manner in which he met his death was in keeping with his character. He died while trying to save another person."

The scanty reports that have appeared in the Press indicate, beyond all doubt, that the murders were premeditated and that the plans were known to the local authorities in charge of law and order prior to the mass-attack.

It has been made out that the murders were the outcome of a private feud. But it seems most curious that a private feud should result in a mass-attack on a political assemblage in a public place and in broad daylight. As investigations are presumably proceeding we shall not expand on the matter.

What we would like to impress on Pandit Nehru, who after all is a Uttar Pradesh whatever his Brahmin sub-caste might signify, that it is about time to enquire as to why moral values are degenerating in his home province. We do not mean to say that any other province is better placed in that respect, but the Uttar Pradesh, being the biggest, should naturally be the best example of progress, of social and moral uplift and of culture. It is up to Pandit Nehru and other prominent representatives of the Uttar Pradesh, to find out which way their province is proceeding.

The Man Singh chapter has not yet been closed. An unbiased historian, if allowed to investigate the causative and subsidiary factors that led to the immense growth of power and influence of that band of freebooters, would unearth factual material that would astonish and shock all right-thinking men. The complicity of men in authority, the direct contact with Congress leaders and the wholesale corruption of the lower ranks of services, that enabled Man Singh's myrmidons to levy tribute over three States, is common knowledge in all that area.

But why pick up the Uttar Pradesh? There is a general down-the-grade movement all-round and all over India. Corruption, theft and bribery is rife in the railways, as never before. The Police record, bad as it was in the past, has reached a "new low" in majority of States, although individuals are trying their best to reform and reorganise that body where corruption has been endemic since the days of John Company. In this work they are actively

hampered by Congress bosses, most of whom are no better than the worst gaol-birds, where integrity and moral purity is concerned.

The Post Office, which had a fine record of service in the not-so-distant past, has degenerated beyond count. It is now "self before service" in every case, and time has become a secondary consideration in all cases excepting that of pay. The telephone service also has degenerated beyond measure.

What is the root cause of this flood of corruption that is tending to plunge the entire country into a morass of evil urges and indiscipline? We believe it lies in party-politics and the consequent degeneration of the Congress. For the Congress today is like a festering marsh of corruption in all States and at the centre. And the evil is spreading even into the realms of *Sarvodaya* and the allied programmes.

Khaddar used to be a symbol of Truth, Pure Ideals and Self-Abnegation. Today it stands for corruption and rapacious self-interest in the vast majority of cases. Those at the top are satisfied with self-aggrandisement, being drugged with flattery to a state of ecstatic Narcissism. But their myrmidons are wide-awake to the main chance, and no ethical consideration is allowed to stand in the way of those vile blood-suckers.

Millions are being spent for the spread of the *khaddar*, spinning as well as weaving. It pains people like ourselves, who have tried to abjure all evil passions, to the best of our conscious powers, with the wearing of *khaddar*, to see that 90 per cent of the money is on the way of being wasted, through misappropriation and through waste. A check survey by any group of non-political auditors would confirm our statement. And the same is the case of every Congress or Congress-Government-sponsored betterment effort, be it Cottage Industry or Community Projects. The men in charge, almost without exception, do not believe in anything else but self-interest and self-advancement.

India is progressing, in the terms of concrete and steel and material output. But the very soul of India is being corrupted, through the total rejection of moral values, as being of no account in this world of Statistics and Plans.

We have adopted the old Tammany Hall methods as our ideals, so what else could be expected? Unless the Congress is purged free

of all the intrusive elements of evil, the future is black indeed.

The Barabanki incidents are merely indicators, as were the acts of violence perpetrated by Hitler's supporters like Roehm, in the early days of the Nazi Party. We are not inclined to believe the story of private feuds, unless substantial proof is forthcoming. Indeed, we shall be very pleasantly surprised—and astounded—if the real culprits are ever brought to book in this case.

It is no use prating about *Sarvodaya*, about soul-force and about India's mission of world uplift, unless the speakers are willing to forswear the vices of self-aggrandisement, addiction to flattery and fetishism. Where the Nation is concerned, these vices are even worse than alcoholism or plain theft. Super-Brahmins of the old days brought seven centuries of slavery and abject degradation on an India that was materially the most prosperous and advanced in the world of the early mediaeval days. Our Super-Brahmins, through their craze for fetishes and a totally un-Gandhian lack of humility and self-introspection, are leading the country the same way.

The writing is on the wall. Would our Nebuchadnezzars take a lesson in history from the ancients?

The Sugar and Wheat Racket

Calcutta is a city where the markets are in charge of groups of racketeers, the equal of whom is hard to find anywhere else. Last year the citizens of Calcutta were mulcted to the tune of over a crore of rupees through the black-marketing of wheat, sugar and cloth. This year there is a repeat performance. The State authorities, be it said to their credit, took firm action in the matter of cloth. But in sugar and wheat they were powerless as the following news report indicates:

"Calcutta's sugar market has been showing signs of instability during the last few days. This is suspected to be the result of speculation by traders taking advantage of the increased Puja demand.

"During the last four or five days, the price in the wholesale market has increased by over 8 annas a maund. As is always the case, the increase in the retail price has been disproportionately high—about one anna a seer. of Rs. 2-8 a maund.

"To check the rise and help stabilize the market, the Government of India has decided to release imported sugar from its stocks in the city at a reduced price, the reduction being 8 annas a maund.

"For similar reasons the Government of India has agreed to resume direct sale of imported wheat from storage depots in Calcutta."

Last year representations were made to the then Minister-in-Charge at Centre, the late lamented Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and he was finally convinced of the necessity to investigate whether those in charge of distribution were involved in the racket. Unfortunately his sudden demise upset all the programme.

We would like to enquire whether the Centre still has the same officers in charge and control in Calcutta as it had last year. It is most curious that the racket developed and went along the identical lines as in last year. This year too the public has been defrauded out of their hard-earned moneys to the same tune and on the same items.

In any case, we consider that there is a case for enquiry at the top. This racket could not have been repeated without those in control being either totally inefficient and careless about public interest, or being corrupt.

States Reorganisation X

If inconsistency is a virtue of the great then the members of the States Reorganisation Commission have certainly attained greatness through their report. For that document may be regarded as being remarkable in its inconsistencies and illogical deductions. The only consistency lies in the adherence to the principle, "What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose."

Let us not cavil at the start on account of those incongruities and inconsistencies. It should be taken into account that the Commission had been set a very hard task, and it should also be put to the credit side that they have worked hard in striving for a solution, in the face of claims and counter-claims.

That they have not succeeded in formulating an impartial solution, in which strict justice had been meted out, is due mostly to the political and parochial hulabaloo that had been set up by those who wanted to stick to their possessions, justice or humane considerations notwithstanding.

What is more difficult to excuse, is the constant shifting of ground in order to suit the requirements of political exigency. The shift starts right from the formulation of the main premises, in which linguistic considerations were pushed aside, as being of no consequence. In this matter let us quote Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, as given in the columns of the *Harijan*, in the matter of languages and linguistic redistribution:

"The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the *lingua franca*—*Rashtra Bhasha*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India."

"I may note here an observation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which is very apt and pertinent in this connection. He said that all our Indian languages are our national languages; Hindi as defined in Article 351 of the Constitution of India will have the distinction of being used for inter-State and all-India intercourse, as it is known to the largest bulk of our people."

Now Pandit Nehru is attempting to further the argument advanced by the Commission. On October 30, he made the following statement in a public address at Surat:

"Shri Nehru asked the people to eschew petty things, parochialism, casteism and narrow outlooks."

"Shri Nehru deprecated bickerings in the name of religion, region or language which, he said, would hamper the nation's progress."

"Shri Nehru said: 'We have made some progress during the past few years. Given some time, we shall achieve more. But it is not the progress of a few. It is the progress of everyone. In a democracy in a people's Raj, the people have a greater responsibility. Unless they understand and fulfil their responsibilities, we cannot progress.'"

"We should not, therefore, be lost in futile controversies and rivalries and lose sight of the goal."

"Shri Nehru characterised 'talk of socialism and revolution as childish' and said, 'Many talk freely of a militant policy, a struggle and a revolt

against the existing order of things. A socialistic pattern of society means equal opportunities for everyone and a welfare State. For this we have to work. Mere struggles and movements are counter-revolutionary. How can you bring socialism in a poor country? We have to first work and produce the goods we need. Then we can talk of distribution. Can we divide and distribute poverty amongst our people?"

"Shri Nehru said that those who talked in the name of a region or language forget for the time that we had to rise or fall as a nation. 'Every-one of our languages has to be cultivated. We shall have to, of course, adopt one language for the whole country. We shall have to learn even foreign languages, especially English, if we have to know the world.'"

"The reorganisation of the States is just for administrative convenience. We do not become a separate State and independent of India, if we are organised on the basis of a language. 'We should not get lost in small quarrels. We should put down in a determined way such parochial tendencies.'"

Prior to that address, he had made a statement in which he expressed himself as being strongly in favour of the Centre acquiring powers to safeguard the rights of minorities in every State, which is one of the recommendations of the Commission.

Both the recommendation and its support by Pandit Nehru can have only one meaning, which is that in certain States linguistic minorities are being denied their constitutional and fundamental rights by the State Governments concerned. It also means that the Commission was convinced of the correctness of that accusation against those State authorities and that Pandit Nehru is also aware of that fact.

It is about time Pandit Nehru understood that the Union cannot be established on firm foundations unless Party-Caucus rule is replaced by a truly democratic form of Government. In most States, as at the Centre, everything is run on party lines.

If that be so, then what is the point in talking of People's Raj, of the nation's progress and so on and so forth? In a country where any substantial minority has outrages perpetrated on them by those in power, all talk of progress and of People's Raj is just moonshine.

Problems of Indian Shipping

India is a maritime country with a coastline of about 3,500 miles; but India hardly owns 2 per cent of the world shipping tonnage. The second world war gave a crushing blow to the Indian shipping strength as it came down from 125,000 GRT in 1939 to a mere 75,000 GRT at the end of the war. In coastal trade the share of the Indian shipping was only 12 per cent and in foreign trade it was barely 2 per cent. Since the attainment of independence, the Government of India took up the cause of Indian shipping and announced a national shipping policy. The tonnage was raised to 280,000 and the share of Indian shipping in the coastal trade increased to nearly 25 per cent. The Shipping Policy Committee in 1947 recommended a target of 2 million tons. Under the First Five-Year Plan, the shipping target was placed at 600,000 GRT to be attained by 1955-56. The total tonnage at the end of the fourth year of the Plan is expected to reach 4,81,739 GRT. There will be further additional tonnage following the acquisition of several vessels by some shipping companies. For the expansion of shipping a sum of Rs. 19.45 crores was originally provided in the First Five-Year Plan and this was subsequently raised to Rs. 23.16 crores.

The following table will give an idea of the comparative tonnage of merchant fleets of the countries of the world: (In thousand tons)

	No.	Gross Tons	DWT Tons.
U.S.A.	3,346	25,483	35,930
U.K.	2,538	17,522	22,876
Norway	1,056	6,559	9,379
Japan	598	3,242	4,760
France	589	3,540	4,330
Italy	581	3,634	4,688
USSR	581	1,729	2,284
Sweden	576	2,492	3,684
Germany	558	1,992	3,098
Panama	519	3,935	3,925
Netherlands	507	3,083	4,042
Liberia	363	3,487	5,452
Spain	285	1,070	1,420
Denmark	315	1,451	2,099
Finland	215	643	967
Brazil	192	753	1,058
Greece	198	1,148	1,707
Argentina	146	908	1,171
China	143	424	601
Australia	131	480	644
Turkey	129	459	631

India	97	458	674
Portugal	92	441	540
Canada	86	358	403
Belgium	76	439	602
Others	876	3,528	7,789
Total	14,793	89,258	124,754

During the first three years of the Plan, only a sum of Rs. 6.54 crores was employed in the ship-building industry. With the subsequent relaxation in the terms of the loans given by the Government of India to the shipping companies, the latter have availed themselves of Rs. 23 crores as loans. From the year 1946 to March 1955, 15 ships have been constructed by the Hindusthan Shipyard which is now owned jointly by the Government of India and the Scindias. The progress of the Hindusthan Shipyard is not very satisfactory and its plan is said to be faulty by experts. The team of French experts that was appointed by the Government of India did not much improve the productive capacity of the shipyard. Recently there has been a change in the design and type of vessels that are constructed in the shipyard. The estimated cost of construction of the new type of ship is nearly Rs. 113 lakhs as compared with Rs. 74 lakhs for the older type.

The Plan frame for the second five-year Plan has placed a target of 1.5 million GRT. The Ministry of Transport has drawn up a plan for the building of 72 ships at a cost of Rs. 80 crores. But how would be the capital raised to the extent of Rs. 80 crores? According to the Study Group (composed of representatives of shipowners) the private sector can provide at most Rs. 10 crores only during the second five-year Plan period. The balance shall have to be provided by the Government. As already noticed, the Government have advanced a sum of Rs. 23 crores to shipowners. The interest charged is 4.5 per cent on loans for developing coastal trade and 2.5 per cent on those for expanding overseas trade. The period of repayment varies between 10 to 12 years. At present nearly 75 per cent of the cost of the ships are advanced as loans by the Government, while the shipowners demand a loan of 90 per cent of the cost of the vessel.

Under the second five-year Plan about Rs. 70 crores shall have to be provided by the Government to the private sector for the purpose,

of constructing vessels. Now the question is, will it not be desirable for the authorities to start new shipbuilding yards for constructing more vessels, rather than lend such a huge sum to the private sector and allow it to earn profit at the cost of the State? In the early days of the Company rule Calcutta was famous for its shipbuilding yards and ships. Now that the Government are contemplating the establishment of a second shipyard, it should be set up on the river Hooghly near Calcutta. It should be provided with modern equipments and it should be a cent per cent Government concern. The resources of the private sector are much too inadequate to undertake shipbuilding on a large scale and we do not think it desirable that the State should lend a sum of about Rs. 70 crores to the private sector for this purpose.

The Industrial Finance Corporation

The latest annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation shows considerable progress in its activities for the year ended June 30, 1955. Since its inception to June 30, 1955, the Corporation has sanctioned loans aggregating Rs. 28.08 crores. The amount actually disbursed to the borrowing concerns was Rs. 14.53 crores or nearly 50 per cent of the total granted. Of the undisbursed amount, Rs. 3.78 crores have been declined by the applicants. This is a normal practice every year that some of the applicants decline the loan sanctioned to them. They do this on account of some favourable changes in their financial position or changes in their plan. Financial assistance has been rendered to various industries including cotton textiles, chemicals, cement, sugar, automobiles and paper. The Corporation gave loans for the purpose of setting up new industrial concerns and also for raising the installed capacity of the existing ones. Loans were given also for renovation and modernisation of industrial undertakings and for conversion of uneconomic units into economic ones.

Of the total amount of Rs. 28.08 crores sanctioned during the last seven years, the sugar industry heads the list with a loan amount of Rs. 4.43 crores, followed next by the textile industry with Rs. 4.11 crores. The cement industry occupies the third place among the recipients of loans with a loan amount of Rs. 3.15 crores, followed by the paper industry with Rs. 3.11 crores, chemicals Rs. 2.81 crores, ceramic and glass Rs. 1.45 crores, electrical

engineering Rs. 1.36 crores, iron and steel Rs. 1.23 crores, automobile tractor Rs. 1.12 crores, and rayon industry Rs. 1.10 crores. Two co-operative sugar-manufacturing concerns, each with a crushing capacity of 800/1,000 tons of sugarcane a day, received loans for Rs. 83,00,000.

The Corporation's gross profit during the year ended June 30, 1955 rose from Rs. 2.51 lakhs to Rs. 24.70 lakhs. This is the highest gross profit earned by the Corporation in any single year since it started operations. But in spite of this rise in the gross profit, the Corporation had approached the Government of India for a subvention of Rs. 11.25 lakhs to meet the entire guaranteed dividend, as compared with Rs. 4.06 lakhs in 1953-54. The total subvention received from the Government of India will thus stand at Rs. 42.20 lakhs. This subvention was required as the Board of Directors decided to transfer a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs to the reserve for doubtful and bad debts as against only Rs. 5 lakhs transferred in 1953-54.

A notable feature of the working of the Corporation during 1954-55 is its disposal of the Sodepur Glass Works over which it lost much in terms of money and prestige. On this transaction the Corporation had to incur a net loss of Rs. 50 lakhs for which provision shall have to be made from the future profits. The Glass Works has been sold to Messrs. Asahi Glass Company of Tokyo at Rs. 62 lakhs. The price will be paid in instalments spread over a period of 17 years, together with interest on the unpaid balances at 3½ per cent a year. The Vendee Company will form an Indian company immediately to take over the assets and work the plant so as to be able to bring the factory into production early next year. The Asahi Glass Company has the reputation of being one of the largest and most efficient glass-manufacturing concerns of the world today.

International Finance Corporation

The P.T.I. reports that Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., signed on 19th October, 1955, the Charter of the International Finance Corporation on behalf of the Indian Government at the International Bank. The Corporation has been established to promote the international movement of private capital in productive enterprises in underdeveloped areas of the world. Early this year the Charter of the Corporation was sent to member-Governments

for their consideration and acceptance. The Corporation will come into being when at least 30 Governments have subscribed the minimum capital requirements of \$75 million. The USA is the largest shareholder in the Corporation followed next by the United Kingdom. The following list will show the share capital of some of the important members: (The figures are in thousands of U.S. dollars):

United States 35,168; United Kingdom 14,400; China 6,646; France 5,815; India 4,431; Germany 3,655; Canada 3,600; Netherlands 3,046; Belgium 2,492; Japan 2,769; Australia 2,215; Italy 1,994; Indonesia 1,218; Brazil 1,163; Pakistan 1,108; Sweden 1,108; South Africa 1,108; Denmark 753.

The basic objective of the Corporation is to supplement the activities of the World Bank by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member-countries, particularly in less developed areas. It will work in association with private investors, assist in financing the establishment, improvement and expansion of productive private enterprises which would contribute to the development of its member-countries by making investments, without guarantee of repayment by the member-Government concerned, in cases where sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. The Corporation will seek to bring together investment opportunities, domestic and foreign private capital, and experienced management. It will also seek to stimulate, and to help create conditions conducive to, the flow of private capital, domestic and foreign, into productive investment in IFC member-countries.

The membership to the Corporation is open to Governments which are members of the World Bank. The Corporation has an authorised capital of \$100 million, available for subscription by members in amounts proportionate to their subscription to the capital of the World Bank. Subscriptions are to be paid either in gold or the US dollars. The authorised capital is divided into 100,000 shares of \$1,000 each. The IFC is affiliated to the World Bank in the following ways: (i) Membership in the World Bank is a prerequisite to membership in the Corporation; (ii) Each Governor of the Bank representing a Government which joins the Corporation becomes a member of the Board of Governors of the Corporation; (iii) The IFC's Board of Directors shall consist of those executive directors of the Bank who represent at

least one Government which has joined the new institution; and (iv) The President of the World Bank, who is Chairman of the Bank's executive directors, will also be Chairman of the Corporation's Board of Directors.

The Corporation is, however, a separate body quite distinct from the Bank. The assets of the two institutions will be kept entirely separate, and the Corporation is prohibited from borrowing from the Bank. The Corporation has its own President appointed by its Board of Directors on the nomination of the Chairman of the World Bank. Subject to the policy direction of the Board and the Chairman, the President is responsible for the conduct of the Corporation's business.

The Corporation is authorised to make its investments without governmental guarantee. It can make loans on fixed interest and also investments of other kinds. The Corporation may purchase securities which will give it a right to participate in the profits of an enterprise and such securities, when sold by the IFC, can be converted by the purchasers into capital stock. The Corporation, however, is not empowered to invest in capital stock, nor can it assume responsibility for managing the enterprises in which it invests. The Corporation has been given greater freedom than the World Bank in financing private enterprises. The World Bank can lend to private borrowers only on governmental guarantee and has a discouraging effect both on private entrepreneurs and governments in approaching the Bank for loans. Further, the Bank can make only fixed-interest bearing loans; but the private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed-interest bearing loans; but private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed obligations for the purpose of establishment or expansion of industrial undertakings. The Corporation can render financial assistance to any kind of productive private enterprise, including agricultural, financial and commercial undertakings. Besides, the Corporation will serve as a clearing institution to bring together investment opportunities, private capital and experienced management.

Where an entrepreneur is in need of capital and technical skill from abroad, the Corporation will endeavour to interest investors outside the country who are in a position to provide capital and management experience. Again, where an entrepreneur seeks to establish or expand industrial undertakings abroad, the Corporation will

make efforts to recruit domestic capital and local partners in the country of investment. In such enterprises, the Corporation itself may invest. It should however be remembered that the Corporation will not supplant private investment, but it will supplement it. It is the supplier of finance in the last resort; where other sources of capital are available, it will not step in.

The IFC can revolve its funds by selling its investments to private investors on satisfactory terms. It has the power to raise additional funds by selling its own obligations in the market. By reason of investments by the IFC, private enterprise will not have any special status under domestic laws and regulations. In matters of transfer of earnings and repayments of principal on its investments, the IFC will be in the position of a private investor and will be subject to the domestic regulations on foreign exchange.

Government of India's Coal Policy

For some time past the coal industry in the private sector is not feeling happy over its future prospects. The rumour is in the air that the Government of India is contemplating to nationalise the coal industry. In the last week of August this year, Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, disclosed during question hour in Parliament that the Union Government was considering the question of nationalisation of coal mines. The Government proposes to carry out all prospecting and establishment of new coal mines as a public enterprise. The private collieries also apprehend that the development of new coal mines will be so defined as to cover even sinking of new shafts and the result will be that the private sector will have very little scope for expansion.

The Government is considering the procedure for cancelling unexploited leases held by existing coal-mine owners and this will facilitate new prospecting and mining by the Government. At present the State Governments are owners of mines in their respective regions and if the coal-mining industry is nationalised, the State Governments will have also shares in the nationalised industry. The Union Government shall have to take leases from the State Governments for exploiting new coal mines. For the present, therefore, there will be partial nationalisation of the coal industry; and the private sector in this field shall have to die a natural death not being allowed to exploit new mines. The Union Government is also

considering to revise the target of production in private as well as in the public sector of coal mining industry.

In June last a conference was held between the Planning Commission and the coal interests and it was decided there to permit the private sector to expand its production by 11 million tons and the public sector would raise its production by 12 million tons—the total increase envisaged was 23 million tons. The overall target for the industry was placed at 60 million tons to be reached by March 1961. Now the Government is considering reduction of the target in the private sector to 8 million tons and increasing that of the public sector to 15 million tons.

Under the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, the coal industry was granted an immunity for ten years. There are still three years to go to complete the said period of ten years, but meanwhile the industry has been thrown into uncertainty as to its future. The private owners of coal mines are further concerned, now that the compensation has been rendered a non-justiciable issue. With the future doubtful the private sector will hesitate to provide the large capital needed for mechanisation of mining operations, stowing and installation of washeries.

The output of coal in 1954 was 37 million tons, of which metallurgical coal accounted for 13.67 million tons. Of the new target of 60 million tons to be attained by 1960, the share of metallurgical coal is placed at 16.5 million tons. The uncertainty about the future of the coal industry has been further aggravated by the fifteenth report of the Estimates Committee of the Parliament on the working of the Ministry of Production. The report was placed before the House of the People on 27th September, 1955. In the opinion of the Estimates Committee, the nationalisation of the coal industry is essential in the long run in the interest of industrial development of the country. The Estimates Committee, however, feels that the Government may not have sufficiency of technical manpower at its disposal just at the moment to take over all the collieries at a time and nationalisation will have to be spread over a number of years. In the meantime, the private sector may be allowed a fresh lease of life for a fixed period to run the private collieries on the following terms:

(a) That adequate capital is invested by them with a view to stepping up production to

the limits laid down by Government for each colliery; (b) that scientific methods are employed in raising coal; (c) that as far as possible, mechanisation and safety measures are to be introduced for quicker and better output; and (d) that labour conditions are improved according to the standards laid down by the Government in this respect.

The Estimates Committee observes that in exploiting natural resources the private owners are guided sometimes by short-sighted policies of quick returns rather than by considerations of maximum economic exploitation and preservation of national assets. It is well known that for more than a century the Indian coal mines have been subjected to destructive exploitation by the over-greedy private owners with colossal wastage of lower grade coal and bye products. The Estimates Committee has rightly suggested that to prevent destructive exploitation, the following measures should be adopted by the Government:

(i) All new collieries should be State-owned and managed under the ultimate control of the Coal Commission, which should be set up immediately; (ii) the State, should, as far as practicable, take over all private collieries which wholly or to a large extent are engaged in raising metallurgical or high grade coal; and (iii) steps should be taken to vest the Coal Commission with powers to take over all those collieries, at present under private management which do not follow its directions and do not function according to the standards laid down by it, or which cannot function economically and satisfactorily due to any reason whatsoever.

The Coal Commission should have power to determine whether the management of the private-owned collieries should be acquired by the State for a limited period or indefinitely with a view to imparting efficiency and economy in the working of the colliery. The Commission may also decide whether in the circumstances of individual cases, the State should nationalise particular collieries and in that case compensation according to the general procedure and principle shall have to be paid to the private owners. The Estimates Committee thinks that the constitution of the Coal Commission is only a preliminary step towards nationalisation and towards organising the coal industry on sound and efficient basis. The Commission will take steps for raising production and ensuring quicker distri-

bution of coal at cheaper rates through introduction of new and up-to-date methods of coal raising, and of better labour welfare measures. The Committee suggests that the Commission should be constituted on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority so as to make it clothed with power of Government but possessed of flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. In this connection, the Committee has recommended the observation of the Indian Coalfields Committee, 1946, which runs as follows: "The managerial autonomy essential for business demands freedom from political considerations and control. This does not imply that the Government or the Legislature should exercise no control over fundamental policies. A determination as to whether a particular coalfield shall be developed and necessary railway facilities arranged involves question of broad policy and hence of economic planning for the Government and the Legislature to decide. But once such a decision has been taken, the opening up of the field, etc., is a task to which political consideration ought to be completely unrelated."

The S.R.C. Report

Under the scheme of reorganisation proposed by the Commission, the Indian Union will consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and there will be 3 Centrally Administered Areas, that is Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans.

The prospective units, their area and population will be as follows:

	STATES	
	Area (In sq. miles)	Population (In millions)
Madras	50,170	30.0
Kerala	14,980	13.6
Karnataka	72,730	19.0
Hyderabad	45,300	11.3
Andhra	64,950	20.9
Bombay	151,360	40.2
Vidarbha	36,880	7.6
Madhya Pradesh	171,200	26.1
Rajasthan	132,300	16.0
Punjab	58,140	17.2
Uttar Pradesh	113,410	63.2
Bihar	66,520	38.5
West Bengal	34,509	26.5
Assam	89,040	9.7
Orissa	60,140	14.6
Jammu & Kashmir	92,780	4.4

TERRITORIES		
		(Actual numbers)
Delhi	578	1,744,072
Manipur	8,628	577,635
Andamans and Nicobars	3,215	30,971

The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed on December 29, 1953 by a Government of India Resolution to examine "the whole question of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union objectively and dispassionately so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as of the nation as a whole, is promoted."

The Commission consisted of Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali, Chairman, and Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of States, and Shri K. M. Panikkar as Members.

The existing structure of the States of the Indian Union, states the Report, "is partly the result of accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India and partly a by-product of the historic process of the integration of former Indian States. The division of India during the British period into British provinces and Indian States was itself fortuitous and had no basis in Indian history. The formation of provinces had been mainly governed by considerations of administrative convenience and economy and by reasons of military strategy and security."

FACTORS BEARING ON REORGANISATION

The Commission observe that an essential consideration is that no change should be made unless it is a distinct improvement in the existing position, and unless the advantages which result from it, in terms of the promotion of the "welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as the nation as a whole," the objectives set before the Commission by the Government of India, are such as to compensate for the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country, which reorganisation of the existing units must entail.

The Commission consider that in the interests of national unity the administrative and political structure of the country should be based on the primacy of the nation. The administrative set-up in strategic areas should be determined primarily by considerations of national security. When border areas are not under the direct control of the Centre it would

be safer to have large and resourceful units.

The Commission state it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of a single test of either language or culture. A balanced approach to the problem is clearly necessary, and such a balanced approach would appear to be—

- (i) to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency, but not to consider it as an exclusive and binding principle, over-riding all other considerations, administrative, financial or political;
- (ii) to ensure that communicational, educational and cultural needs of the different language groups, whether resident in predominantly unilingual or composite administrative units, are adequately met;
- (iii) where satisfactory conditions exist, and the balance of economic, political and administrative considerations favour composite States, to continue them with the necessary safeguards to ensure that all sections enjoy equal rights and opportunities;
- (iv) to repudiate the "home land" concept, which negates one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution namely, equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens throughout the length and breadth of the Union;
- (v) to reject the theory of "one language one State," which is neither justified on grounds of linguistic homogeneity, because there can be more than one State speaking the same language without offending the linguistic principle, nor practicable, since different language groups, including the vast Hindi-speaking population of the Indian Union, cannot always be consolidated to form distinct linguistic units; and
- (vi) finally, to the extent that the realisation of unilingualism at State level would tend to breed a particularist feeling, to counter-balance that feeling by positive measures calculated to give a deeper content to Indian nationalism.

Financial viability has an important bearing on reorganisation proposals, but it has to be considered along with other relevant factors. The units should, as far as possible, be self-supporting. They should be so constituted that they have an incentive to raise and are able to raise, on their own initiative, at least a part of the resources needed for their development.

The States cannot be so reorganised as to conform to economic regions. Nor can the principle of economic self-sufficiency within an administrative unit be regarded as a clear criterion. Consistently with these principles, however, it would be desirable to avoid as far as possible wide disparities in resources between the various States.

The units should be large enough to ensure administrative efficiency and the co-ordination of economic development and welfare activities.

The wishes of the people should be regarded as an important factor bearing on reorganisation, but they have to be considered along with other relevant factors.

The facts of the existing situation are more important than the previous historical associations of different areas. Undue importance cannot be attached, therefore, to historical arguments.

Geographical contiguity of the units is important from the point of view of administrative convenience. Other geographical factors have to be regarded as secondary.

PATTERN OF COMPONENT UNITS

The present classification of States into three categories known as Part A, Part B and Part C States was adopted essentially as a transitional expedient, and was not intended to be a permanent feature of the constitutional structure of this country. The Commission, therefore, recommends that the existing constitutional disparity between the different constituent units of the Indian Union should disappear as a necessary consequence of reorganisation.

Part B States can be equated to Part A States by omitting Article 371 of the Constitution. The institution of the Rajpramukh should also be abolished, as large sections of public opinion view with disfavour its continuance, on the ground that it ill accords with the essentially democratic framework of the country.

As regards Part C States, there is a general

consensus of opinion that the existing set-up of these States is unsatisfactory. These small units will continue to be economically unbalanced, financially weak and administratively and politically unstable. Taking all the factors into consideration, the conclusion reached by the Commission is that there is no adequate recompense for all the financial, administrative and constitutional difficulties which the present structure of these States presents, and that, with the exception of two, to be centrally administered, the merger of the existing Part C States with the adjoining States is the only solution of their problems.

In respect of Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura, the Commission recommend that the Central Government should retain supervisory power for a specified period to maintain their present pace of development. Such of the existing Part C States as cannot be merged in the adjoining areas for security and other imperative considerations should be administered by the Centre as territories.

The component units of Indian Union will thus consist of—

- (a) "States" forming primary federating units of the Indian Union; and
- (b) "Territories" which are centrally-administered.

TERRITORIES

The units or areas which have not been dealt with so far will be directly administered by the Centre and will be known as territories.

1. *Delhi*: If Delhi is to continue to be the seat of the Central Government, it must adopt a model which is sound in principle and administratively workable in practice. The people belonging to centrally-administered territories in India are more advantageously placed than those of centrally-administered areas in other important federal countries, in that full representation in the Union Parliament has been provided for under the Indian Constitution.

2. *Manipur*: Manipur should be a centrally-administered territory for the time being. The ultimate merger of this State in Assam should be kept in view.

3. *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*: The *status quo* in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should continue.

The arrangements in regard to areas which have been or may be brought under Central administration in future, either before or after

becoming *de jure* part of the territory of India, must be flexible, until the position is finally clarified.

SAFEGUARDS

Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother-tongues at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution.

The Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and take steps, under Article 347, to ensure that this code is followed.

The domicile tests in force in certain States operate to the disadvantage of minority groups. The Government of India should, therefore, undertake legislation under Article 16(3) of the Constitution in order to simplify and liberalise the requirements as to residence.

In examinations regulating entry into the public services of the States, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium, apart from the main language of the State, the Union language, namely, English or Hindi, or the language of a minority constituting about fifteen to twenty per cent or more of the population to the State.

S. R. C. Report and Maharashtra

The S.R.C. recommendations have caused wide repercussions, of which the most forceful were those in Bombay. We append below a report of a meeting addressed by Shri Shanker Rao Deo :

"Addressing a public meeting at Shivaji Park on the evening of 23rd October, Mr. Deo warned Maharashtrians against any acts of violence or slogan-shouting to achieve their goal.

"Their demand, he stated, was just and right and Maharashtrians would not try to snatch anything from others. They would take it only after convincing their opponents of the rightness of their demand.

"Mr. Deo assured Maharashtrians that he would leave no stone unturned to achieve a separate linguistic State.

"The Congress High Command had accepted the justness of the Maharashtrian demand for the City of Bombay, but, because of certain difficulties, it could not be joined to Maharashtra.

"On the question of Bombay City there could not be any compromise.

"When the Maharashtrian deputation met Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders in New Delhi, it tried to convince them that there was no need for minorities to fear as their rights were safeguarded in the Constitution and by a special chapter of the SRC report itself.

"He referred to a remark in the report about Maharashtra that there was 'fear and misgiving' among the city's minorities if Bombay was made the capital of a united Maharashtra State.

"He said, it was a grave injustice and a dishonour to Maharashtrians."

The "Slow-down" Policy

The Industrial Tribunal that sat over the adjudication on the slow-down and strike in the Indian Iron and Steel gave its award in the first week of October. We reproduce part of the report below as it is a clear indictment of "slow-down" methods in industry :

"The fifth Industrial Tribunal adjudicating on the slow-down in the hot mills (sheet mills section) of the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Burnpur, in 1953 has given its award in favour of the management in all the four issues referred to the tribunal.

"As a result of the go-slow, there had been a loss of approximately 100,000 tons of finished and semifinished steel to the country from this mill, which had been declared a public utility concern since 1951.

"The tribunal said : 'A slow-down can never be justified under any conceivable circumstances. It is a misconduct, as it interferes with and pushes down production. It is an insidious process which not only does hamper production but also acts unfairly to the employer. The workers get pay, and so they are duty bound to give production. But if they do not give that amount of production which they are normally expected to give but move slowly and sit idle, then they should not earn wages. To earn wages and not to give production can never be justified.'

Nehru's Speech at Perambur

We append below part of Pandit Nehru's speech at the opening of the Coach Factory at Perambur, as it clearly shows his attitude towards basic industries :

"In the speech, explaining Gandhiji's ideals further, Mr. Nehru said the Mahatma would have been glad about the opening of this factory.

"Like all other factories it did not come in the way of development of village industries and generally raising the standard of the rural and urban population. Some people took a rather narrow, lopsided view of Gandhiji's ideals, without understanding all the aspects of their many-sided character.

"Many, he thought, laid emphasis on the philosophy for which the Mahatmaji stood, without understanding the spirit underlying it. For the functioning of a great movement in India, and as the leader of the great struggle against a mighty Empire, he laid stress on village industries. Curiously enough, those who were sceptical of him then, now stood for development of village industries.

"But today,' said Mr. Nehru, 'we stand on the threshold of an atomic era. Atomic energy is an enormous new source of power at our disposal and you cannot ignore it. Even if you ignore it, others will not ignore it but will use it to their advantage. Therefore, we have to use this source of power when the time comes. At the same time, everything has ultimately to be judged in terms of human welfare—in terms of the welfare of the millions of our country.'

"Therefore, he said, it was fitting that this day should be chosen for the factory's opening.

"This Integral Coach Factory, he said, was a symbol of something bigger—some bigger integration—that was taking place. In the factory they were making integral coaches by a process of welding. 'Some of us are also engineers—human engineers—trying our utmost to weld and integrate the nation.

"We, as a nation, suffer from some kind of split personality. We talk in terms of high ideals and act in a completely opposite way. No one in the world talks of higher ideals than we do, but our deeds do not wholly conform to our talk.'

"He said there were powerful forces—forces working for integration and consolidation—while others were working for disintegration and disruption. There was bound to be a conflict between such forces more especially at the time of transition.

"The new integral-type of coach is a lightweight all-welded steel coach. The factory, initiated by the late Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, three years ago, is designed to meet the country's increasing needs in respect of passenger coaches, while the Chittaranjan Factory takes care of the locomotives.

"The Rs. 7.35-crore factory will assemble 20 coaches in the first year, this figure rising to 350 coaches under a phased programme. The factory will provide employment to over 4,000 workers ultimately."

Nehru at Indian Industries Fair

Pandit Nehru spoke much in the same vein as at Perambur, at the Indian Industries Fair as the following report indicates:

"New Delhi, October 29: Mr. Nehru, who visited the Indian Industries Fair for over two hours in the morning, later formally opened it and said: 'It is truly an international exhibition.'

"Credit for giving it this character deservedly went to the foreign countries which had so eagerly participated in it. It was due to them, said the Prime Minister, that the exhibition had become so unusual, not only for India but for the whole of Asia.

"It contained pavilions from diverse countries including 'those which were not considered friendly by some others.' The exhibition, therefore, had become an experiment in co-existence, added Mr. Nehru.

"India, he said, was also changing in the rapidly changing world. Anybody returning to India after two or three years could easily notice the difference.

"The new technical changes, he said, were promising the world an age of abundance for every individual. Yet, at the present moment, some countries not only lived in scarcity but in extreme poverty. The fact remained that in theory, the truth of which could be demonstrated, there was no justification for continuing poverty.

"So far as India was concerned, it stood on the threshold of industrial revolution or a big-scale change, and it was time, he added, it did so. It could not be forgotten, however, that when India did cross the threshold of industrialization, other countries would think in terms of atomic power. Thus, if India took ten steps towards her goal, other countries would be able to move much faster. It was, therefore, necessary that the tempo of progress should be increased if India was to overtake the more advanced countries.

"Mr. Nehru said he was a firm believer in the utility of machines. He wanted them to be bigger and better. The only question was how far the machine could be controlled or was it

likely to be allowed to dominate man or his mind.

"It was clear that India could not run away from the machine. It solved many problems of the day. Therefore, India must have machines, the purpose being advancement of the lot of man. If India had to have machines it must have the latest and best machines.

"Though the machine was inevitable, 'it cannot be allowed to run away with you.' It was necessary to utilize it with understanding, tolerance and compassion.

"While in other countries there was conflict between ideals and objectives, India had yet to satisfy the primary needs of her people and the secondary needs of some of them."

Prohibition

We append below the news-item giving a summary of recommendations of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee.

We have italicized the second paragraph of this news-item in order to lay emphasis on the extremely doubtful procedure of enquiry adopted by the Committee.

Let us state to start with that the policy of this journal is, and always has been prohibition. We have no use for alcohol as a beverage ourselves nor do we like the use of it by others.

But that does not alter the fact that the Committee's assertion that there is strong support for nationwide prohibition in every State, is just a figment of fancy. How do they know it without making a nationwide enquiry at all? It is a total untruth to say that anything like that has been made. We do not like the gilding of truth, or its assumption by fanciful fanatics, and that is the long and short of it.

"New Delhi, October 25: 'We recommend that the target date for completing nationwide prohibition should be April 1, 1958,' says the Prohibition Inquiry Committee appointed by the Planning Commission in its report, issued today.

"The committee points out that there is strong support for such a nationwide prohibition policy in every State it visited and also a demand to put that policy into effect as early as possible.

"We are of the opinion that to focus the attention of all States to this end and to mobilize popular sympathy in favour of prohi-

bition, it is necessary to fix a definite target date to bring into effect complete prohibition throughout the country,' the committee adds.

"On the experience of prohibition in States like Bombay and Madras, the committee says that 'prohibition is not only a sound policy but also a practical proposition. The aim should be to promote nationwide prohibition and to achieve better and more lasting results through effective implementation.'

"In recommending the target date—April 1, 1958—for nationwide prohibition, the committee explains that it has taken into consideration both the urgency of the situation and the practical difficulties which have to be overcome by the State Governments concerned."

"New Delhi, October 24: In a dissenting minute to the Prohibition Inquiry Committee Report, Mr. Kodanda Rao says that there is something wrong with orthodox prohibition when several Governments stimulate consumption for the sake of public revenue and profit, the Congress High Command and the Government of India advise the State Governments to 'go slow' with prohibition and the police are not keen in enforcing prohibition and the magistrates unenthusiastic about deterrent sentences.

"He regrets that the Prohibition Inquiry Committee should have been asked to review only the administration and not the policy concerning prohibition. He suggests that the policy of prohibition should be reviewed by a high-powered commission representing all shades of opinion, similar to the American Wickersham Commission.

"He disagrees with the majority report which stigmatizes consumption of liquor as 'moral turpitude, a vice, a sin.'

"Excessive consumption offends the moral conscience of the world but not moderate consumption,' he adds.

"He refers to the example of progressive nations which treat moderate consumption of liquor as harmless, normal and even an honourable social custom.

"Mr. Rao adds: 'If their great and enviable progress in a variety of directions was compatible with such consumption; if foreigners and Indians may consume liquor in foreign countries and foreigners may do so in India and only Indians in India may not; if some communities do not feel any moral compunc-

tion in consuming liquor; if some of the most respected Indians, official and non-official, take liquor without moral qualms; if liquor is used for sacramental purposes among certain religions, the moral elevation claimed for prohibition is somewhat weakened.'

"In its very nature, he says, the appraisal of prohibition policy lends itself more to subjective pre-conception than to objective conclusions. In the circumstances, he adds, it would be presumptuous to dogmatize.

"He also reveals that instead of asking other States to follow their example, both Bombay and Madras had, in fact, somewhat 'warned them off' although the advice was urged 'with a view to furthering prohibition.'

"Mr. Rao also regrets that the Committee had ignored the advice of Bombay and Madras—the two States whose experience was most valuable in considering extension of prohibition to other States."

Goa

The question of Goa is still in a liquid state. Ferocious sentences are being imposed on *satyagrahis*, Indian and Goanese, by the degenerate Portuguese colonial government.

Indeed, nothing better could be expected from a nation whose entire colonial record is of undiluted brute passions, black treachery and arrant cowardice in the face of a superior force.

The Hindu in an editorial on the 30th of October gives the present position as is given *infra*:

"As early as May of last year our Prime Minister made it clear in Parliament that the Portuguese claim for military aid, from the signatories to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, for retaining her colonial possessions in Asia cannot affect our claim for the re-union of Goa with free India. Mr. Nehru proclaimed categorically that 'to us it is quite clear that those alliances do not concern any foreign establishment in India.' Since then France has voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty over her settlements in this country without calling on any NATO Power to come to her aid for resisting the just claims of the people of the settlements. But Portugal continues to be adamant and there is reason to believe that she may be banking on outside help. For, in April of this year, Mr. Nehru reverted to the subject at the Afro-Asian Conference during the debate on

colonialism in Asia. He commented on the extraordinary stand taken by some members of NATO. Following Portugal's request to them to tell us, 'You should do this and that', India was getting letters from some of the so-called Big Powers along those lines. He did not mention which Powers wrote but it must be mentioned that the United States has never given countenance to the Portuguese stand on Goa. If anything, her leaders have openly and more than once come out against colonialism under any guise. We have already noted the Canadian Prime Minister's declaration that NATO could not be invoked by Portugal for this purpose. Mr. Nehru has observed that it does not matter who these Powers are, but it is gross impertinence and the new Republic of India has told them that it is gross impertinence."

Macao and Goa

The Portuguese colony of Macao, on the mainland of China, has been the worst plague-spot in Asia for centuries. It is a huge conglomeration of brothels, gambling dens and resorts of international drug and opium smugglers. The Chinese have declared their policy regarding Macao, as the following news-item indicates.

It is to be noted that subsequent reports indicate that this note of displeasure was enough to force the panic-stricken Portuguese to abandon the "celebrations":

"Hongkong, October 25: Peking Radio said today that China had the right to demand the return of the Portuguese colony of Macao which adjoins the Chinese mainland.

"The broadcast in English was described as 'a late message.' It said: 'Macao is Chinese territory and the Chinese people have a right to demand the return of their territory from the hands of the Portuguese colonialists.'

"The radio broadcast a report which, it said, had been received from Canton saying that the Portuguese authorities were compelled last week to announce cancellation of their plans for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the opening of Macao as a port.

"Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, declared his support for India's stand over Goa and asked for the prevention of extensive celebrations planned in Macao of the 400th anniversary of the founding of this tiny colony on the Chinese mainland, according to authoritative sources here today.

"Mr. Chou, according to the sources, told Mr. O'Neill, British Charge d'Affaires in Peking and Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hongkong, at a luncheon in the Chinese capital early this month that the people of China and the Chinese in both Macao and Hongkong would be 'very displeased' with the celebrations.

"The sources said that Mr. O'Neill had reported this to the British Foreign Office which in turn had sent a report to the Portuguese Government through the British Ambassador in Lisbon."

Buraimi Oasis

The Persian Gulf is the key to the vast British (and allied) petroleum concessions in Iran, Bahrein and the neighbouring territories. There has been a long-standing dispute, between Saudi Arabia and the potentates of the oil areas of the Gulf, regarding the demarcation of frontiers. Recently there has been a resort to arms as the following news-item indicates. Fighting has broken out after the occupation:

"London, Oct. 26.—Troops of the Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, Arab rulers of Persian Gulf States in treaty relations with Britain, today occupied the disputed Buraimi Oasis which has been claimed by Saudi Arabia, Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister told the House of Commons today.

"Sir Anthony said that the troops had occupied the oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937.

"The Prime Minister told Parliament that the decision to move in troops had been taken because of the breakdown of the recent arbitration proceedings in Geneva on the status of the oasis.

"Announcing the breakdown of proceedings before the tribunal Sir Anthony said the actions of the Saudi Arabian authorities in the disputed area and during the arbitration 'amount to a repudiation of the arbitration agreement and have made a continuation of the arbitration impossible.'

"He said the Saudi Arabian Government was being informed of the decision to reoccupy the oasis up the modified 1935 frontier line.

"I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare, he concluded."

South Viet Nam

In Indo-China the last traces of French colonialism has been eliminated apparently as the news-item below would indicate. The French puppet Bao-Dai has lost his last throw:

"Saigon, Oct. 26.—Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, the Prime Minister, today proclaimed South Viet Nam to be a republic. The proclamation follows last Sunday's nationwide referendum in which a large majority of the voters chose Mr. Diem to replace Bao Dai as Head of State.

"The Premier read the proclamation to more than 30,000 people from the balcony of his official residence.

"It followed a Cabinet meeting which discussed the referendum results.

"The day has been declared a public holiday in celebration of the event.

"Mr. Diem told the crowd outside his residence: 'In the darkest hours of our history our people have always joined together, and now in a moment of supreme unity we have broken the bands of iron and fibre which encircled us, taking the path of independence and liberty.

"We shall see a unified, free and prosperous Viet Nam emerge triumphantly.

"Thailand and Japan today recognized Mr. Diem as Head of State."

French North Africa

French colonialism is still trying to retain its hold on North Africa, now by an attempt at compromise. The French *colours* still want forcible suppression of the demand for liberty, and on the other side are the implacable foes of colonialism in the shape of the children of the soil. Prime Minister Faure is now taking desperate chances in mediation. The reaction, as indicated in the news below, is still unfavourable:

"Casablanca, Oct. 18.—A fresh upsurge of terrorism in French North Africa has taken a toll of 21 lives during the past 24 hours.

"In a new series of attacks and rioting in the principal cities of Morocco, eight Moroccans had been killed by tonight and a number of Moroccans and Europeans injured.

"Algerian rebels claimed 13 victims, seven of them Europeans, when a band of 100 attacked a packed bus on the Bone-Berbillon road yesterday.

"Marakesh, Morocco's third largest city, has been the scene of the worst disorders in the protectorate.

"For the fifth day running bands of youths roamed the streets of the Arab quarter, setting the torch to shops and knocking down telephone poles. Saboteurs cut the telephone cable between Morocco and Algeria tonight.

"The demonstrations are in protest against the composition of the Moroccan Throne Council to replace Sultan Ben Arafa."

Apartheid

The U.N. Commission has given a mild report on the apartheid policy of the degenerate anti-diluvians of "Africans" South Africa. We append the news-item below, for all its worth:

"New York, Oct. 12.—The general lines of South Africa's policy of apartheid had not changed during the past year, the U.N. commission of inquiry into the racial situation in South Africa said in a 15,000-word report presented today to the current session of the General Assembly.

"During the year, a series of legislative measures were enacted which were consistent neither with the obligations assumed by the Union of South Africa under the Charter nor with certain provisions of the universal declaration of human rights, the commission said.

"At the same time, the commission said that the programme of apartheid had during the past year been proceeding extremely slowly, cautiously and carefully. 'At the rate at which the Government is promoting each day a fuller measure of apartheid, it may well take many years before the theories of the new apartheid bear even a modest resemblance to actual fact. By then, the succession of generations, white and black, will have changed the course of events.

"The South African Government is the only Government in the world which believes that it can carry out such a fabulous experiment successfully,' the report said in another reference to apartheid.

"The members of the commission are Dr. Herman Santa Cruz, of Chile (chairman); Mr. Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti; and Mr. Lagier, of France."

Pakistan and Afghanistan

The uneasy truce in the Pak-Afghan disputes has again been broken up, over the issue of Pakhtoonistan. The news report given below summarises the situation:

"Karachi, Oct. 18.—The Pakistani Government this evening announced its decision to withdraw its Ambassador in Kabul, Col. A. S. B. Shah,

following Afghanistan's decision to recall her Minister from Karachi.

"Government sources said that Col. A. S. B. Shah would soon return to Karachi. The immediate cause for the recall of the Afghan Minister was the refusal by Pakistan to discuss the formation of a One-Unit West Pakistan Province.

"Afghanistan is opposed to the integration of Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province inhabited by Pakhtoons in West Pakistan Province without ascertaining the wishes of Pakhtoons.

"A Pakistani Government spokesman said that although the country had decided to recall its Ambassador at Kabul, Pakistan would, 'as in the past, always be ready to discuss and amicably settle with the Afghan Government all matters of common interest.'

"But he wished to make it clear that Pakistan could in no circumstances discuss with Afghanistan internal matters like the merging of West Pakistan Provinces and States into a single unit.

"The Afghan National Assembly, meeting at Kabul yesterday, approved the Government's policy on the issue of 'Pakhtoonistan.'

"Reporting this, a Kabul Radio broadcast last evening said that the Afghan Prime Minister, Sardar Daud Khan, explained in detail to the Assembly the Government's stand concerning a homeland for Pathans residing in what now constitutes Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province.

"The Assembly, the broadcast said, offered its full co-operation in whatever steps the Government takes to vindicate its stand."

Result of Saar Referendum

There was a referendum in the highly industrialised area of the Saar, on the Franco-German border. The choice before the people of the Saar was between international control in the guise of a Europeanised Saar, and merge with Western Germany. They decided overwhelmingly in favour of merger. The reactions of that decision are given in the news below:

"The German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, declared his 'firm conviction that the outcome of the referendum should not, and will not, prejudice the good relations between our two countries,' and added: 'Knowing that both governments sought a settlement in the spirit of European solidarity and have loyally observed their obligations, I am certain that

in the future, too, they will go the way of harmony and friendship.'

"The French Prime Minister, M. Faure, replied: 'Like you, I am convinced that the results of the Saar referendum cannot divert our two governments from the path they have taken. The new difficulties in our way . . . will not weaken our common will to serve the cause of Europe and of understanding between our two peoples.'

"The steps now to be taken about the Saar, London observers point out, are a subject for joint discussion between the French and German Governments. The Saar agreement of last October was at once a consolidation and a symbol of Franco-German *rapprochement*. The manner in which the two governments are approaching the new problem raised by the referendum result is regarded as of good augury."

Egypt and Israel

The mounting tension between Egypt and Israel—indeed between Israel and all the Arab world—has reached the breaking point consequent on Egypt's decision to purchase arms, which they could not get from the U.S. group, from Czechoslovakia. The position is well-presented in an editorial in the *New York Times*, international edition, for the 16th of October. We append a long extract:

"Israel and Egypt both maintain they want no war. Yet the pressures for war are strong.

"At present there is believed to be at least a rough military balance between Israel and the Arabs. Israel is reported to be superior in manpower; she has a well-trained army of 50,000 and a reserve force of 200,000. Together the Arab armies are numerically superior—Egypt alone has 50,000 to 60,000 men—but their training is considered poor and they have no reserves.

"In weapons, however, the Arabs may have an edge over Israel. Egypt has 100 combat planes including a squadron of jets and well over 100 tanks; Israel has a small number of planes, including some jets; there are no reliable reports on the strength of her tank force.

"Egypt's Premier Abdel Nasser contends he is buying Communist jets, tanks, heavy artillery and naval craft solely for 'defense' purposes because, he says, Israel is militarily superior to Egypt and might attack Egypt. Repeatedly Colonel Nasser has assured the West he does not want to fight Israel.

ISRAEL'S VIEW

In Israel, the Arab-Communist arms deal is regarded as the gravest threat to the Jewish state since its birth seven years ago. At that time the Arab states were weak; Israel's forces were vastly superior. The war between them was bloody and difficult but the outcome was never seriously in doubt.

But today, Israel contends, the Arabs are superior to her in weapons; she points out that, notwithstanding his assertions now, Premier Nasser last July said his army was stronger than Israel's. Once Egypt starts getting Soviet Migs and other Communist heavy weapons, Israel will be hard put to defend herself.

"Accordingly, there is some pressure for launching a preventive war against the Arabs now, while Israel has the stuff to ensure victory. It is hard to assess the importance of this sentiment. In Israel's parliamentary elections last summer the biggest gains were scored by the two parties which stood for tough action against the Arabs—Herut and the Workers party. They won about 22 per cent of the vote, and that was long before anyone in Israel suspected that the Arabs would receive new supplies of arms.

"Tomorrow Israel is to get a new government. Its political composition will be about the same as at present, but changes of individual members are certain to affect its collective attitude. The most important change will be the return of former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the Premiership next week; he is now resting under doctors' orders. Mr. Ben-Gurion, a firm believer in the Old Testament principle of an-eye-for-an-eye where the Arabs are concerned, is not a man to sit back idly and wait for an Arab attack on his country.

"What then can he do? He seems to have three possible courses of action: (1) purchase of arms from the Communists; (2) enlistment of Western help in the form of arms to even the balance and or a Western guarantee of Israel's borders; (3) preventive war.

CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

"Israel has apparently rejected the first course. Reports last week that Moscow was offering to sell arms to the Jewish state met with a hostile 'No thanks' from Tel Aviv officials. Israel would have a hard time paying for Communist arms; if she tried, she would alienate important friends in the United States.

"The second course is obviously Israel's best

bet. Last week in Washington her Ambassador, Abba Eban, called on the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, George V. Allen, Mr. Eban did not ask for any specific amount or type of arms. But he urged the U. S. to pledge to help Israel match whatever arms Egypt receives from the Communists. Mr. Eban also asked the U. S. to put into effect the guarantees of the borders between Israel and Arabs that Secretary of State Dulles had proposed last summer.

"As for Course No. 3—preventive war—the majority of Israelis obviously oppose it. But there is the possibility that if the West refuses to help Israel, she might feel herself forced to go to war. As Mr. Eban put it, Israel will not sit like a rabbit waiting for the snake to get big enough to swallow her."

Relief of Arab Refugees

Vast numbers of Arabs were displaced by the formation of Israel. Their homeland occupied by the Israeli immigrants, without any question of compensation or rehabilitation, the plight of these poor displaced people is miserable in the extreme, as the following extract indicates:

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 24) writes: "The report of Mr. Labouisse, Director of the United Nations Relief Agency for Arab Refugees, will receive the more attention because of the new dangers in the Middle East. Over 800,000 refugees are still being fed, and of these nearly 100,000 are still living in tents.

"Mr. Labouisse thinks that new irrigation projects might give livelihood for 200,000. Unhappily, the rejection of the Johnston scheme for Jordan irrigation now puts this in doubt.

"Mr. Labouisse says that the desire for repatriation continues as strong as ever, and he adds an important comment: 'For the majority, repatriation means a return to the conditions they knew in Palestine prior to 1948. It is not possible to know how many of them would, in fact, accept the opportunity to be repatriated if that repatriation would mean something different from their old homes and their former way of life.'

"No prediction can be made until the refugees have been given the opportunity of choosing between distinguishable alternatives—namely, on the one hand, repatriation whose true nature is clearly understood at the time of choice; and on the other, the amount and

form of the compensation that would be offered instead."

"He says that if a major part of the refugees do not become self-supporting soon, the cost of relief will grow. There does not look to be much hope of any improvement soon, though 110,000 have been allowed to return to Israel under the scheme for reuniting families, and Israel is unfreezing the refugees' blocked assets.

"But this only touches the fringe of the problem. Mr. Dulles's recent proposal of a loan to Israel for paying compensation has been accepted by Israel in principle, but on condition that the Arab blockade is lifted.

"The United Nations may see that the refugees do not actually starve, and some of the Arabs may now have grown used to their way of life (and may be apathetically content, though the ration gives only 1,500 calories a day). But to be a refugee is still one of the hardest misfortunes of the modern world."

Turkey To-day

Adversity, it is said, makes strange bed-fellows. So does, it seems, unreasoned bellicosity.

Turkey is the strongest bastion in the "Northern Tier" of the Middle East. It is well known, likewise, that the present-day rulers of Turkey are not of the same ilk as Kamal Ata-Turk, or his followers. They are more a throwback to the old Turkey. The following extract from *Time* of October 24, is illuminating, coming as it does from the most reactionary and bellicose of all U.S. journals:

"Oil for the machines of Turkey lay bottled in the bowels of tankers last June while representatives of four big oil companies served notice on the Turkish government: unless some \$50 million in past oil bills was settled, the new shipments would not be unloaded. With only a week's oil in reserve, the government did some frantic juggling and scraped together a payment.

"The U.S.'s strongest ally in the Middle East is so strapped that it can barely pay its day-to-day bills.

"A newspaper editor reported one day last summer that while Premier Adnan Menderes was off on a trip, some political scalawagging was going on inside the ruling Democratic Party. 'While the cat's away,' wrote the editor, 'the mice will play.' The editor was arrested,

and only by appeal to a higher court escaped a jail sentence of six months. His crime: imputing animal characteristics to the Premier.

"In Turkey," said a troubled Istanbul man, "it is still possible to be a free man, a free journalist, or a free judge—if you are willing to take the risk."

"Only yesterday Turkey had seemed a solid rock in the free world's sea of uncertainties. Now it is a bothered bastion. Its economy is sick and its government is flirting with bankruptcy. Its brief but intense experience with democracy is afflicted with a return of the familiar weapons of autocracy."

"What has gone wrong, and what can be done about it? These questions, raised for months past, concern more than tough debonair Adnan Menderes, his government and his 23 million countrymen. All the other allies of NATO have cause to worry about the health of the member that anchors NATO's Eastern wing, provides the allies' largest single bloc of soldiers (the entire Turkish army of 500,000 men), and stands stoutly across the Black Sea from Russia. The U.S., in particular, has cause for concern. It cannot let Turkey sink, and Turkey insists that the U.S. owes it the means to stay afloat. The proposed means: a \$300 million loan, no strings attached. The U.S. reply: no more loans until Turkey puts its economic house in order. The question: Who will back down first?"

Syngman Rhee Portrayed

Another queer *protege* of the U.S. is that obnoxious little autocrat who now rules South-Korea through the grace of the U.N. We append a sketch of this character from the back columns of the *Worldover Press* of August 26:

"The big issues in Korea are in danger of being lost to sight. When thousands of our allies, the South Koreans, stage repeated and frenzied attacks on American troops defending the safety of the truce commissioners, it is dramatic and distressing. But even if the terms of the commission's mandate now need revision, some sort of supervisory body must do the same job, and it must be representative of both sides. And Syngman Rhee has made it clear that he really opposes any truce commission. For reasons of strategy, he has concentrated his attacks on the Communist members from Poland and Czechoslovakia, but a while ago

he was bitterly assailing the Swedes and the Swiss.

"If Rhee's record is reviewed, the urgent necessity of squelching him becomes apparent. Nine months ago, Rhee gave the Polish and Czechoslovak members of the truce commission a week to get out of Korea, thus acting to break the international truce unilaterally. What was the result? He was 'warned' by the United Nations Command that the truce team would be protected. If sterner action had then been taken against Rhee, this August would not have witnessed the wounding of many U.N. troops and the loss of South Korean lives in demonstrations. Rhee had the nerve to call 'spontaneous' (in good old Nazi style), when they were actually whipped up on his personal orders. Rhee backed down temporarily; but he never departs from his fundamental aim of a new Asian war with the United States committed as the major belligerent."

"Even before the war in Korea, Rhee was a hopelessly undemocratic ruler. In the 1948 elections, there was scant freedom; he systematically disposed of his popular opponents. During the first two years of his presidency, there were 89,710 arrests, including 10 members of the National Assembly and the nation's Vice-President. The Chief Justice of the country asserted: 'Any individual Korean is at the mercy of the police.' Seven newspapers were closed down and their staffs jailed. Political prisoners were treated brutally and often tortured. Some of the victims were not free from the taint of Communism; many were."

"Defying the U.N. Command in early 1954, Rhee was only stopped at the last moment from using ROK troops and U.N. funds and equipment to seize by force, from the U.N. Command itself, a large area north of the 38th parallel. Rhee's intention was nothing less than to annex this area, extending 58 miles north of the parallel."

"The Communists are hard enough to handle without the benefit they derive from the impression, throughout the neutral and uncertain world populations, that Communist sins have their equivalents on the anti-Communist side. Syngman Rhee is no friend of democracy, peace and freedom, and it is high time the U.S. and the U.N. made unmistakable to world opinion their recognition of this truth."

MUST INDIA DISINTEGRATE?

By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S. (London)

1. HISTORIC ORIGIN OF OUR PROVINCES

NATURE has formed India into a self-contained block of land, living in isolation from the rest of the world. Two vast oceans guard her flanks, while her head and shoulders are fenced round by the tallest mountain in the world. But the unity born of this sheltered self-sufficient life has been spiritual, not political. Sanskrit learning and Hindu religion have imposed a cultural uniformity over all the provinces of India, but they have not been welded into one State; a sub-continent cannot quickly be. Indeed, most of India's provinces, though each as large and populous as many a sovereign State of Europe, have failed to acquire a compact frame with oneness of language, tradition and manner of life clearly marking each off from its neighbouring provinces, such as history imposed on Burgundy, Provence, or Lorraine. Our provincial boundaries have constantly changed, since the remotest antiquity, owing to conquest or loss and not to linguistic disharmony. We have a proverb that in this country the local dialect or *patois* changes every ten *kos*!

How the different provinces of India have grown to their present shape on our maps, is a matter of known history. The kernel of each province has remained fairly constant, but its borders have been very elastic, sometimes evanescent. Each has expanded (or shrunk) under the pressure of historical or economic forces, and formed a larger (or smaller) political unit by coalescence (or attrition). Sir Richard Temple in his *Journal* has traced every step of the formation of Kashmir and Jammu (only a hundred years old). The piecing together of the mosaic conveniently called Assam, began even later and has not yet been finalised. Even the changing boundaries of the State of Delhi (I mean the *subah* and not the capital city) is a headache to the compiler of a Historical Atlas of India. The Bombay Presidency, a little older in time, is no better off in this respect.

In the earliest Hindu age traceable in history, each political unit (however small, like the city republics of the Panjab described by Alexander's companions), originated from the settlement of one clan or profession (*i.e.*, caste) and took its name from that body of ruling people. Such was the origin of Malwa (the new home of the *Malloi* tribe encountered by the Macedonians in the Panjab), Gujrat (the Indian colony of the Gurjar or Gujar nomads), and so on. Their bond of union was ethnic, not political, nor linguistic oneness, because two or three clans spoke the same language and yet lived apart in spite of this affinity of speech. Later, in the course of ages, our Hindu empires began to grow and unite several provinces under one political rule, though few of them could retain this union after three generations. Within the empire the diverse subject population held together because the suzerain allowed each locality to follow its own customs, the State's sole concern being to put down rivals and rebels and take one-sixth of the crops for its service,—hence the Hindu king's Sanskrit title of *Sadangsha-Bhak* or the owner of one-sixth.

2. UNIFYING WORK OF EMPIRES

After the Muslim conquest of Delhi (*circa* 1200 A.D.) the States became larger; in many cases each of them embraced two or even more provinces as we now understand that term; but there was as yet no *political* homogeneity in Muslim India. Under the Mughal empire (a live force from 1575 to 1750), the true political integration of India took place and the provinces became really limbs of one empire. By an imperial edict, issued on 24th November, 1586, Akbar imposed the same type of administrative organisation on each of the provinces (called *subahs*) under his rule.

"Two hundred years of Mughal rule gave to the whole of Northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system, and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca*

for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. . . . All the twenty Indian *subahs* of the Mughal empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all official records and letters. Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one *subah* to another; travellers and traders passed freely from one city to another, one *subah* to another."

The British paramountcy only extended and perfected this process of political unification. The official languages (Persian in the middle ages and English in the 19th century) were extremely simple and easy to learn, except for those who want to make a rhetorical parade; they gave the key to the cultural heritage of Asia and Europe respectively. Thus, all our administrative work at the highest level was performed very smoothly and universally, during the Muslim and British regimes, and linguistic difference did not then raise its head as a disintegrating force.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL CHANGES INEVITABLE, WHY

Not only have our provinces changed their frontiers within historic times, but the centre of gravity of many of them has also shifted in an incredible degree. Pataliputra (Patna), the colossal capital of the Maurya emperors as seen by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes in 290 B.C., had become a desolate hamlet in 630 A.D. Kanauj, the famous capital of Harsha, which the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan Chwang glorified in 640, was later "so completely destroyed that nothing beyond rubbish heaps remain." (V. A. Smith). As for the imperial city where Shah Jahan gloried and drank deep, the very title of Dr. Spears' charming book, *Twilight of the Mughals*, indicates its condition in the British period.

The civilisers and kingdom-builders came to Bengal by the land-route from the west, via Anga (Bhagalpur) and Gaur (Malda). In the early Muslim period they moved east, again by land, through Ghoraghat (Bogra-Rangpur) to Mymensingh and then southwards by land through Egara-sundar, Rampal and Bhawal to

Vikrampur (Dacca). The river highway to East Bengal was opened in the 15th century after the coming of foreign traders (Chinese, Persian and Portuguese), when Hugli (Satgaon) grew into our greatest seaport, second only to Chatgaon, the "Great Port" of the Portuguese writers. The real conquest of Bengal by Islam Khan (Jahangir's governor, 1609-13) moved the capital of subah Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca; and in the early 18th century, Murshidabad replaced Dacca, only to give way to Calcutta in 1774.

Under British rule, administrative convenience had led to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa being lumped together as one political unit, as had been the case for a few years in Shah Jahan's reign also. But there was no fusion of these component elements.

Thus the chequered board of India's political map has never attained to finality. Administrative (particularly strategic) convenience has always been the deciding factor in changing our boundaries.

Today the exclusive use of the local vernacular in the official work of each province is being proclaimed, as the highest form of patriotism. It will lead to a great loss of time and money to the Government and the public alike. Even the administration will jog on, like the creaking discarded old motor buses in which I have travelled on the wretched roads (rather ruts) in the interior of the Hyderabad State. But how will this new patriotic policy work if the same narrow parochial outlook dominates the field of our education? Can our grandsons under a purely vernacular education attain to sufficient efficiency for standing up against their rivals in the modern world of competition? How will a free India, with her citizens trained on this pure *sanatani* model, hold herself erect in World War No. III? War is the supreme test of a nation's efficiency.

4. FUTILITY OF THE ONE-LANGUAGE PROVINCE THEORY

Let us consider two illustrations. The State of Bombay as drawn on our maps is a purely British creation, without any historical, ethnic or linguistic unity of its own. It has

six cultural languages, none of which can be ignored.—Marathi (spoken by less than 50 per cent of the people even in the capital, Bombay City), Gujrati (the speech of the richest and brainiest portion of the population, besides being the home language of the Parsis), Kanarese (the heritage of an intransigent minority with millions of brothers across the border), Portuguese and (or) English (for the large Goan population, because more of the educated and enterprising subjects of Portuguese India live outside Goa territory than within it), and Persian (for the ancient cultural heritage of the Parsis and the daily life of the new immigrants, called Iranis, who are prominent in every commercial quarter and even railway station-store). Which of these six languages can you safely exclude from free choice by some section or other of the Presidency's population, as the medium of their education? Remember, these classes form the upper layer of society; they are not Chinese coolies of Hongkong and Canton who speak a broken tongue called *pidgin English*, like the *pidgin Hindi* which we use in railway travel. Their cultural ambition will be frustrated and these very important sections of the State population will be rightly antagonised towards the present rulers of Bombay if the monolanguage tyranny continues. I have seen B. G. Kher and G. V. Mavalankar speak Marathi and Gujrati (besides English) with equal fluency and correctness. But they are exceptional men and even they have not gone beyond three languages.

5. LINGUISTIC INTRICACY OF N.-E. INDIA INSOLUBLE

Let us pass on to the diametrically opposite side of India. Geography has made our north-eastern corner the most vulnerable point in the country's defence front. Here our boundary with Eastern Pakistan runs in a criss-cross line several hundred miles in length, which cuts Assam and other districts off from the sea to its south by way of the oceanic river Brahmaputra. Its races and languages are as diversified as its geography. The population is made up of pure Bengalis (in Kuch Bihar

and Tippera), cultural converts to Bengali for over four centuries (in Manipur, Kamrup—Goalpara and Dhubri), Indian natives of the old Ahom kingdom (called *Kolitas* and admitted as Bengalis by the Persian historians), Ahom immigrants of Shan stock now completely Indianized, besides a dozen wild tribes of remote antiquity and historical importance. The language called *Assami* is written in Bengali characters, and its grammar is Bengali, though the vocabulary contains a small number of non-Bengali (Mongoloid?) words also. If grammar and vocabulary be the essence of a language, then Assami is only a dialect of Bengali, as Konkani (the Goa vernacular) is of the Marathi language.

Less than 30 per cent of the people of this north-eastern block speak and write Assami. The various other tongues when each of them is taken separately, are spoken by even smaller percentages. Among the English-educated people living in this composite province probably as many know Bengali as do Assami or both for literary purposes. How can linguistic monopoly be imposed on such a mosaic of tongues and races? And the monopoly of which of the local languages?

In war-time our entire north-eastern corner's transport and public services must be run by one united command. Such unity of administration cannot be improvised after the war-clouds have burst; it must be a previously perfected and tested machine.

6. STATESMANSHIP AND COURAGE CAN SAVE UNITY OF INDIA

The conclusion is inescapable that in N.-E. India, as in Bombay, there should be a super-State authority, functioning at the expense of "State rights" which is merely a mask for parochialism and the fissiparous spirit. The whole trend of the history of the U.S.A. has been to curtail the State (i.e., provincial) rights and give the Federal Government more and more power of control in the 33 once-independent colonies. The U.S.A. was saved from the fate of Latin America and prevented from breaking up into the Disunited States of (North) America, only at the expense of a

five years' war, which cost the victor 359,528 lives and the losing side 258,000,—the victims being mostly "the young, the proud, the brave" of the nation.

True leaders must *lead* and not follow the mob like slaves under the lash. Let our ruling V.I.P's take warning before the situation, bad already, becomes uncontrollable. It will not "outlast my time."

I am sure that half the present bitterness between nationals and undomiciled (foreign locusts! as I have heard the term used), and all the clamour for the transfer of fringe areas to form mono-lingual States, will die out, if we can provide equal opportunities for all citizens of India in all provinces and thus make them realise in their daily lives that "the Republic is one and indivisible" and that the quarrel between the native and the undomiciled (*mulki* and *ghair mulki* in Hyderabad) is only the quarrel of private greed and not one due to political disability imposed by a dominant majority (in the case of N. E. India, by a minority of 30 per cent only) over all others within the State.

7. COMPROMISE PROPOSALS

True statesmanship can prescribe only one remedy. And I shall here repeat an appeal I made elsewhere before:—

1. The youth of the province (both domiciled and new-comers) not speaking the local vernacular, should be left free to study in high

schools and colleges with the English medium (and primary schools teaching their own mother tongue), if they can conduct such institutions for themselves.

2. This academic freedom should be guaranteed by the Constitution (*pace* State rights in respect of education as a transferred subject), and such 'foreign' colleges should be recognised as competent to grant degrees recognisable elsewhere in India. The Union must create a special University Board of its own to supervise, correct and finance them.

3. An equitable subsidy, at the same rate *per capita* of pupils on the rolls as prevails elsewhere in that State, should be paid by the province concerned to such 'foreign' schools and colleges, and the payment enforced by the Union.

4. Catch the most promising lads of every province when young, throw them together in common mess life in the same (Central) institutions as in the case of military cadets, give them the same education at the same place, and then let them compete for the higher administrative services, which are all-Indian. Thus only can our future leaders be fused into one brotherhood, and India escape the Balkanisation on a colossal scale towards which we are rushing amidst the soul-enchancing music of *Ramdhun* and the rattle of a thousand *charkhas* coming from our Raj Bhavans.



A NEW FORCE FOR PEACE

By SOONG CHING LING (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)

THE old Asia is no more. The new Asia has arisen.

This is a fact of immense importance, encompassing the radically changed status of almost half the world's population. Whoever wants to judge events correctly must make it the premise of his judgment. The vast multitudes of Asia are moving forward to see that long-delayed justice is done, to better their fortunes according to their own design. Nothing can stop them from fulfilling these sacred obligations to themselves, to their countries and to history.

Arising from circumstances brought about by the character and results of World War II, a considerable group of newly-independent countries has emerged in Asia. The conditions under which they won their freedom, and the methods by which it was achieved, were different in many cases. Yet there was a factor common to all: the protracted and unrelenting struggle of the peoples against the foreign oppressors of their lands. This had revived on a new foundation, despite all obstacles, the ties that had bound these countries together from remote antiquity. Since winning independence, basing themselves on this priceless heritage, they have forged fresh links—born of the similarity of the problems they face in safeguarding their hard-won freedom, and of their peoples' efforts to throw off the blight of poverty and ignorance.

Having so much in common in their past and present, these nations find themselves of one mind on many vital issues as they take their place in regional and world affairs today. In expressing their own needs and aspirations, they invariably reflect those of the whole of resurgent Asia. This similarity of viewpoint, it is already apparent, is a new force which has come out of the East to influence the affairs of the entire world. Founded on the struggle for the right of self-determination by each people, it asserts the inseparable connection of this goal with the achievement of world peace. With the interweaving of these two struggles, history has entered on a new course.

In times past, it was typical for each nation to fend for itself. The new attitude is

a product of our own epoch, when the interdependence of peoples, nations and regions has been made sharply evident by the scientific advances of Man. It is highlighted with especial sharpness by the facts of life in Asia, where the peoples have suffered so long from outside intrusion and are still suffering from it, where all burn with the desire to lift themselves out of economic and cultural backwardness. As a result, countless millions have come, almost simultaneously, to high political understanding. They know that their progress must be based on a double foundation—*independence*, which releases the will and genius of each nation; and *world peace*, which makes possible the co-operation of equals for joint benefit.

The renowned Five Principles, or Panch Shila as they have come to be known in India, are the highest embodiment of this new force for peace. They are:

- Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- Non-aggression;
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- Equality and mutual benefit;
- Peaceful co-existence.

The first international documents to make the Five Principles a guide to relations among States were the joint declarations issued by the Premiers of China, India and Burma in June, 1954. These historic statements grew from both the old and new links between Asian countries. They showed what role these countries have undertaken in present-day world affairs. From the outset, the Five Principles were advanced as a code of conduct not for Asian nations alone but for all nations. Since then, governments everywhere have been urged to state their attitude toward these principles, which can do so much to normalize conditions in the world, avert war, and open up bright prospects for the peoples. As Prime Minister Nehru has put it, Panch Shila is a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world and "each country will have to give a direct answer."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam responded immediately. In the past year and a half, the Five Principles have been incor-

porated, in letter or spirit, in joint statements by China and the Soviet Union; China and Indonesia; India and Yugoslavia; Burma and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and India; Poland and India; China and Vietnam; the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Many other events have testified to their value, to the responsible chord they have struck among the peoples of the East and the West.

It was the idea of the Five Principles that formed the basis for the restoration of peace in Indo-China through agreements reached at Geneva in 1954. This settlement stipulated respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three States involved, and non-interference in their internal affairs. That the fuse sputtering in Indo-China did not set off a world-wide explosion was due in a large measure to the positive contributions of Asian States, mainly the Colombo powers and China. Clearly, the Geneva settlement was reached in the spirit of the Five Principles. Clearly, it is in this spirit that it is meant to be carried out.

India, Burma and Indonesia, three countries which subscribed to the Five Principles, joined with two other Asian States, Pakistan and Ceylon, to call the historic Asian-African Conference. Everyone feels now that this gathering has had worldwide influence. The Bandung Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation included ten principles which were an extension and development of the original five. It gave further evidence that the concept of peaceful co-existence, in the minds of the vast populations of Asia and Africa, is directly linked with their own national demands.

The Five Principles, and the results reached in Asia by their application, had their deep effect in helping to bring about the long-awaited meeting of the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France at Geneva last July. One cannot separate from them the fact that the ambassadors of the United States and China sat down, in August, at the same table to discuss immediate outstanding problems.

What is the great hope that the Five Principles, reflecting the new forces for peace, arouse among the peoples? What is it that wins such world-wide confidence in these ideas, not entirely new in themselves, which have issued from the heart of Asia at this particular juncture in history?

The answers to these questions are connected with the facts of our time. True, such principles had been voiced as policy before, in the United Nations Charter for instance. But the peoples had seen them announced only to be side-tracked; they had seen the United Nations turned into a voting machine to rubber-stamp the actions of certain ambitious powers. They saw the resolving of important international problems impeded instead of being promoted. They saw relations between States deteriorate. They saw the Far East ablaze with two wars. The world seemed headed for a holocaust. But this ran counter to the hope and desire of the peoples, who had had more than enough of war. Because there had been an immense political awakening in all corners of the earth, the peoples began to speak out. A peace movement of tremendous proportions developed. There were States of a new type in the world, whose own interests required that the people's voice be heard at all times, that the nations return to negotiations as a way of settling problems, that every government pledge itself not to resort to force.

Taking impetus from the actions of the world-wide peace movement and of these States, the Five Principles emerged from the East. They appeared at a moment when the peoples, wearied by tension and fear, were seeking for an end to the "cold war" that poisoned all things, and an end to the monstrous threat of atomic slaughter. Moreover, the leaders and nations who put forward the Five Principles were obviously sincere. These ancient Asian lands, which have a long history of amicable relations with each other, and which need peace today for their own progress, were proposing a fair, simple way for all nations to live together in peace.

The answer to the peoples' urgent search for avoidance of world catastrophe came from an entirely believable source. It was no preaching from suspect mouths, no piece of fine-sounding but empty oratory. It was advanced as a guide to action by those already acting on it. The peoples, judging it to be a constructive step to peace, gave it confidence and support. Events soon proved them right, because the Five Principles not only sound well but, as the past year's events have shown, are very practical politics.

What has the application of the Five Principles proved? First, it has shown the validity of their basic premise: that while all peoples seek a fruitful, healthy existence, each

wants to pursue this goal in its own way, consonant with its own history and conditions. If this premise is accepted, all countries which observe the Five Principles in letter or spirit, no matter how they may differ in structure and customs, are honour-bound to treat and respect others as equals.

Secondly, practice has shown that where respect and equality exist, what the peoples have in common is stressed, and differences are not allowed to grow into antagonisms. When none wishes conflict, outstanding questions between States can be sincerely negotiated. What is more, observance of the Five Principles does not merely prevent antagonism and conflict. It leads positively to the enrichment of mutual understanding, it increases co-operation, it benefits the peoples, and it consolidates international peace.

This is the heart of the Five Principles. This is why they have captured public imagination on all continents and come to the forefront of the world scene.

It was three Asian States—China, India and Burma—which voiced the principles that have won such broad and growing support. In making their big contribution to extending the area of peace in the world, they greatly enhanced their own international position. Never in the modern era have the nations of Asia stood so firmly on their own feet as they do now, defending their own rights and at the same time showing how tolerance and wisdom may be exercised in foreign affairs. Asia has broken with the past, entered an entirely new phase of historical development, and in so doing helped the whole world in the solution of its problems.

Gone for ever are the times when Asian peoples had to tolerate dictation from the outside. Asia is no longer an echo in foreign policy, in deciding which way the world, of which it is so large a part, shall travel. Asia

has ideas of her own. They harmonize with those of others who seek peace, justice and co-operation among peoples. They are directly opposed to those of any government that seeks domination over the rest, that sees peoples and regions as war material for its own ends.

This harmony and this opposition are not fortuitous. They spring from life itself. They are a manifestation of the great positive fact of our twentieth century, the standing up of the peoples against oppression wherever and in whatever guise it appears.

It was in the process of the struggle to drive imperialist oppression from their soil and open the path to progress for their peoples that China, India, Burma and other Asian nations revived old links and forged the new ones from which the Five Principles sprang. Our friendship, maturing today, was born in that fiery crucible. Needing peace, knowing that peace coincides with the desires of the majority of mankind, our Asian nations have found how to use their own extensive areas of agreement to generate a new force for world tranquillity.

This has helped to create the climate for further relaxation of international tensions. We are proud that we have played our part in easing the hearts of the peoples. The way we advocate respects the sovereign rights of nations, and regards all as equal. We are sure, therefore, that it will make ceaseless headway in the settlement of outstanding problems.

My own country, China, will continue to seek good relations in this spirit with all nations, East and West. By word and deed, we will strive for the building of mutual confidence and for a relaxed world atmosphere. We will continue to act as the peoples of the world wish, and as the times demand. We will work for peace on earth, for the enjoyment by all peoples of the fruits of their labour and the joy of life.

DEMOCRATISATION OF EDUCATION

By SUSHAMA SEN GUPTA, M.A.,

Principal, Lake School for Girls, Calcutta

RECENTLY I came across a publication entitled *Seven Years of Freedom*, published by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, about a year ago. There is one chapter in it entitled "The Democratisation of Education." It says that

"With Independence and the Constitution that

embodied its triumph the democratisation of education had begun. This process of flinging wide the gates of learning to the millions is many-sided, and one of the most important of its aspects is the introduction on a large scale of scholarships at all stages of education."

Going through the article, I looked up the dictionary for the meaning of the word "democracy." I am a student of politics and

at one time, learnt the definition of the term and in these days of controversy between democracy and totalitarianism, there is no one in the world from the President to the *panwalla* who does not have a say about the word. Each of the two great political groups in which the world is divided today, calls itself "democratic" and there is no third superior body that may settle the dispute or convince either about the truth or otherwise of their claims and the common man is bewildered. Being a student of politics and also one of the crowd, I too have my ideas about this much-talked-of word, but still there may be other meanings which might have escaped me and so I consulted the dictionary. The dictionary says that it means *government of the people and also the principle that all citizens have equal political rights*. The word "democracy" though originally having only political significance has now come to be used also in the general sense of having equal rights and I take it that it was in this sense that the article mentioned above, has been written and so I shall discuss its contents in that light.

I find that the achievements in the field of this democratisation of education claimed by the ministry is divided into two parts, one is the "flinging wide" of "the gates of learning to millions" and the other is the provision of scholarships on a large scale for specialised education.

Unfortunately it is too well-known, how wide these gates of learning have been flung open for our millions. Not to speak of the poorer sections (the so-called lower classes) who yet do not bother about education or realise that education is a vital necessity for the fulfilment of man's aspirations and the realisation of his ultimate self, even the middle class people, the so-called *bhadra loks*, are at their wit's end when faced with the problem of educating two, three or four children, which they feel they must. I myself am the head of a Secondary school and I know how many children have to be refused free admission every year and how many are unable to pay regularly even when admitted as regular paying students and this is the case with every school and then there are not enough schools even for the children whose parents can pay.

If all our children and all our adults who had not the opportunity of education during an alien rule, have the equal right to education now, how is our government discharging their duty in the realisation of that right? We do not find the answer to that in this chapter,

which is entitled "democratisation of education."

The fact that the number of educational institutions has multiplied after the Independence and with it the number of pupils who are taught therein, has been proudly stated in the appendices given at the end of the book giving statistical figures. Do these figures mean anything? Schools have been established here and there, but not with a definite State policy, aiming at liquidation of illiteracy or providing adequate education for the masses, neither are most of these schools opened by the government. In this big city of Calcutta there are only four government schools for boys and two for girls and the rest are run by private enterprise. Some of these receive Government subventions which cover but a very small percentage of the total expenditure of these schools. But with all this enhanced number, it does not provide free education to children. Education is still out of reach of most of the common men, and keen as the middle classes are for giving education to their children, it is managed somehow at the cost of the health of children, by underfeeding them and denying them the minimum demands required for their health. The health of most of the school children is poor. Have the Government any reason to be proud of the increase of the general education of our children in this way?

True, for more than a quarter of a century, the Corporations, Municipalities and District Boards are entrusted with the task of providing free education to the children, but the number of the schools run by them is insufficient, and so far as Calcutta is concerned we know that the schools are ill-housed, ill-equipped and ill-cared-for, so that many who really care for their children's education are unwilling to send them there.

Where the children are given free education those who receive always suffer from an inferiority complex and those who impart it suffer from a sense of lofty superiority of doing charity. The poorer classes receiving free education, do not feel that they are enjoying a right and not receiving charity and so they are ashamed to complain, obliged as they feel for the little good that is done them.

This is how the gates of learning have been flung open to our millions. Then coming to the other aspects of democratisation, we find in existence in this country, various types of schools, the Government schools, the Public schools "run on lines of English Public schools," where they have "the chance to develop quali-

ties of leadership" and schools claiming high fees backed by rich people that have good buildings, better paid staff and equipments and then there are missionary schools and convents, etc., etc. Can we call this equal right and equal opportunity for all citizens to receive good education? Why the Government of India even after the achievement of Independence should allow all this distinction to remain is hard for the people to comprehend? Why should there be any school marked "Government schools" in a country that calls itself democratic? Is it not the government "of the people" and "for the people"? Has not the Government a duty and obligation to educate all its citizens and give all of them equally good education? Why should the Government provide all expenditure of some schools termed "Government schools" and why should the organisers of other schools who have spent their life-time in the cause of education, have to go about with a begging bowl throughout their life to improve the institutions built up by them? Good or bad work is not recognised, originality, freshness and vitality is not given any recognition, in the words of a Bengali proverb there is "the same rate for *muri* and *murki*."

Our Ministry informs us that the Public schools offer "the Secondary school child the special benefits of character-training, training in citizenship and the chance to develop qualities of leadership." Without going into the merits of the necessity of the existence of such highly expensive schools in the present background, it can be safely stated that the special chance of that special training is available only to a handful. The Ministry informs us that entry into this *sanctum sanctorum* has been made available by scholarships and in the year 1953-54, 57 candidates were selected out of a thousand candidates. About the total seats in the school there is no mention. The paper goes on to speak of other scholarships also, about research scholarship in humanities, science and technology, foreign scholarships, etc., and there the article ends, giving at the last paragraph again a statistical report of the increase in women's education, leaving us bewildered in a labyrinth to find our way to the democratisation of education.

These scholarships granted to meritorious students to secure places so far closely preserved for a favoured section of the people is regarded by our Ministry of Education as the *summum bonum* of democratisation and that is what made me look up my dictionary and

I leave it to my readers to judge how far the equal right of all to education has been recognised or followed according to this report and what is the sense of this glorious caption.

We do not understand why any special institution should be allowed to remain in this country which calls itself democratic. If any special educational method is invented to prepare a better kind of character or citizen, why that knowledge should not be made known or the method introduced in every school, passes our comprehension. Why even in these days of democracy "Vedas" which mean knowledge should be deemed to be unsuitable for "Sudras" which in modern days mean the unfortunate poor? As for the justification of the existence of these special institutions for preparing leaders, does it not sound like a huge joke to think of adorning the top floor, without laying the foundation? Great leaders in history sprang from the people and were not brought out ready-made from factories.

Coming recently from a country, the U.S.S.R., which is called an undemocratic country, I cannot but here put in a few words about what I have noticed there regarding education. There all the schools are run by Government, no private or special schools are allowed, there is no difference in the curriculum of any school, there are no different schools for man or woman, high or low, no school for preparing leaders though that country believed in dictatorship. There are one hundred and twelve languages in the U.S.S.R. and there are schools imparting education through the medium of all these languages. There are scholarships at the University stage, where education is not compulsory and 96 per cent of the University students are given scholarships. Education is at present compulsory for 7 years from the age of seven to fourteen and during the next five years' plan, from 1956 to 1960, the State is bringing in the whole of ten years' school-course within the span of its compulsory educational scheme. For those who have to leave school at the end of seven or ten years to earn a livelihood, there are elaborate arrangements of special education of various types, and people in great numbers at the field, factory or office avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. Examples are not rare where an ordinary labourer has risen to be the director of the firm by learning while earning. The people all over are enthused with a great thirst for knowledge and the State has made ample provision for them to quench their thirst. New,

attempts and experiments are being made every day on a huge scale to bring all the branches and stages of education within the reach of all. We could not but be struck with the real "democratisation" so far as education is concerned, that is going on there.

Twenty-five years ago, when Tagore visited that country he was struck with the vigorous attempt of that State, which was still in its infancy, in spreading education far and wide, not excluding the nomadic Mongolian tribes of the desert countries of Central Asia and he thought that there lay their salvation. He disliked dictatorship, but he said that if they wanted the continuance of dictatorship, if they wanted to continue methods of violence and oppression which was a natural consequence of revolution, disorder and turmoil, they would not have launched upon this huge programme of education of their people. And that is what we also heard today. When we asked the people of the U.S.S.R., if their State believed in democracy, they said:

"If our State did not believe in democracy it would not have cared to educate us in this way, we would have been kept ignorant as we had been kept during the Tsarist regime. Education develops power of understanding and people educated would naturally understand the difference between good and evil and criticise."

We have, however, seen them thirty-two years after they could stabilise themselves after the revolution, which they did in 1923. But it must be remembered that during this period their people had to withstand the holocaust that came in the trail of the onslaught of the mightiest military power ever conceived of. In spite of that they are now cent per cent educated, versed not only in 3 R's but educated in the real sense of the term that enables one to realise his position in a modern State. Even the blind and crippled are not lost sight of and we have seen how meticulously and tenderly these unfortunate children's education is looked after. Education to sick children who are suffering from chronic maladies is imparted at hospitals and along with doctors and nurses these hospitals are provided with teachers. We visited such institutions.

After a hundred and fifty years of slavery and servitude we have attained freedom. Now is the time to eradicate the evils of ignorance and illiteracy and that must be given top priority. We do not all at once want our children to have *pilau* and *kabab*, but rice and *dal* should first be provided to all, followed as

quickly as possible by fish, meat, milk, vegetables and fruits. Then and then only can we think of delicacies.

So in the case of education, is there any necessity in this poor country of ours for "Public schools after English models" at this stage? If we want to democratise education should not our first charge be free and compulsory education for all, and then when that has been achieved to go up step by step? To say that Indians are so fond of education that "compulsion" in education is not necessary, is to wink at facts. A poor parent would rather have his very young son and daughter earn something rather than study at school, they would also sometimes be afraid that by being educated their children might not want to take up 'low' work. So compulsion is necessary. While in U.S.S.R. we were asked over and over again what the Indian Government has done about educating the masses after the departure of the English. We were at a loss what to say, so we made excuses about our difficulties and so on and said that we are improving and hope to improve as time goes on. But at heart we were thoroughly ashamed and felt that we had nothing to say, nothing to be satisfied or speak about.

Our shortcomings are sought to be justified on the plea of the extreme youth of the State. But at the age of eight a child takes care of many of its things and it begins to show its genius.

What is to be mostly deplored is not that we have not achieved great things in so short a time, but there is no sign of a proper beginning. We may not expect a tree, but where is the shoot? The shortcomings or difficulties of the Government could have been appreciated if these were acknowledged with understanding, but the most dangerous thing is this self-satisfaction, this attempt to deceive self and others of having done a lot while doing practically nothing. This self-complacency of those in power makes us feel that we have very little to expect from our present Government.

We know that the first thing to make Independence and Democracy successful after providing food to its people is to provide education. All the peoples of the world, democratic or undemocratic, have accepted it and we wonder when India would fall in line with this great march of races towards knowledge and more knowledge, and knowledge as we in India know also is the only source of strength and salvation.

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT OF INDIA

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

III

Flora and Fauna

FORESTS: TYPES AND RESOURCES

INDIA is very rich in forests, which cover 18 per cent of the total area (2,65,932 sq. miles) of the country. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the land area of a country under forests is normally adequate. North America covers 33.3 per cent; Central and S. America 38.9 per cent; U.S.S.R. 45 per cent; N. Europe 48 per cent; Central and S. Europe 22 per cent and Western Europe 17.7 per cent; Africa (excluding N. Africa) 22 per cent; S. and East Asia 23 per cent, and Pacific area 6.3 per cent,¹ while Indian forests cover only 18 per cent of the total land area. Compared with other countries this is a low proportion. Also the distribution of forests is erratic, e.g., the eastern region has 36.4 million acres or 20.63 per cent of land under forests while the north-western region only 29.87 million acres or 10.70 per cent; the central region 39.69 million acres or 29.92 per cent and southern region 43.5 million acres or 18.82 per cent.²

Let us have a brief idea of the forest types available in India. From the slopes of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the dry tracts of Rajasthan to the eastern limits of the Assam hills, there is an infinite variety of forest types.

(i) Where rainfall is adequate and its distribution satisfactory *Evergreen Forests* develop, consisting of lofty, dense and evergreen trees with numerous epiphytic ferns, mosses, orchids and aroids. These forests are found throughout the Western Ghats from Bombay southwards to North and South Kanara, Tinnevely, Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore, Travancore and the Andamans; and in North-east India in sub-montane divisions of North Bengal, and the coastal strips of Orissa and Assam. The trees of economic importance are ebony, palm, bamboo, mahogany and sandalwood.

1. *The National Forest Policy of India* (1952), pp. 4-5.

2. *The First Five-Year Plan* (1951), p. 295.

(i) The Eastern Region covers Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Manipur, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands; (ii) The Central Region covers M.P., M.B., Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh; (iii) The North-western Region covers V.P., Kashmir, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Ajmer, Bilaspur, Delhi, Kutch and Himachal Pradesh; (iv) The Southern Region covers Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Coorg.

Vide *India*, 1954, p. 9.

(ii) Under less copious rainfall *Deciduous Forests* occur, containing teak or *sal*, rosewood, kine, bamboo, terminalias, mulberry, *sisu*, myrabolans and a large number of valuable trees. This type is generally found along the eastern side of Western Ghats, in portions of M.P., Bombay and Madras and in drier parts of Coorg, the western portions of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. In the north this type is distributed practically throughout Northern India, especially in U.P., Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam.

(iii) Where rainfall is still less, *Thorn Forests* appear in which the vegetation becomes sparse and consists of acacias, prosopis, tamarix and albizzias and other thorny bushes. This type occurs in Central India throughout the dry region of the Indian peninsula, to the lee of the Western Ghats, from the extreme south up to Indore and Bhopal, being prominent in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay; and in the S.-W. Punjab, Rajasthan and in portions of U.P.

(iv) In the *Himalayan Temperate and Alpine Forests*, pines, spruce, cypress, junipers, *deodars*, firs, oaks and chestnut flourish according to elevation and aspect.

Besides these types, there also occur four additional types of forests which are determined by edaphic factors. They are:

(v) The *Beach Forests* which extend all along the coast where a sandy beach occurs. Strong salt-laden winds render the habitat xerophytic. At other places, small evergreen and deciduous trees and numerous shrubs occur; where open, the maritime grass and other surface creepers which bind the sand are conspicuous.

(vi) *Tidal Forests* are found on ground near the sea coast which is flooded with slightly brackish water at high tide. Such forests occur at the mouths of the Mahanadi, the Krishna and the Godavari and in the Ganges and Brahmaputra deltas. The forest is closed evergreen, having species like *garan*, *bogla*, *sundri*, etc.

(vii) *Fresh Water Swamp Forests* occur above the salt water limit on wet alluvium at the head of big deltas of rivers in parts of Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Madras. These forests are rather an open crop of evergreen trees containing *kadam*, *pandanus*, etc.

(viii) *Riverine Forests* are confined to the banks of larger rivers consisting of new or fresh alluvium. The most characteristic trees are *khair*, *sissoo*, *tamarix*, growing throughout the northern belt from the Punjab to Assam.

EFFECTS OF FORESTS

Indian flora is rich both in composition and value. India has 2,500 species of wood of which about 450 are commercially used for extracting acetic acid, acetone, methyl alcohol, oils, valuable creosote and valuable drugs like sulphamide and chloroform. Forests are indispensable for national development and for the full growth of civilization. "Indeed, civilization has been nursed, nourished and grown to manhood in the regions of temperate natural vegetation." A French proverb rightly says, "Forests precede civilisation but deserts precede them." To an agricultural country like India, the importance of forests can hardly be exaggerated. They increase the fertility of the soil on which they grow. They have a moderating effect on temperature. Trees act as pumps tapping the ground water from considerable depths and transferring it as moisture to the air, thus increasing humidity. The sudden change in the climate of many parts of India is largely due to indiscriminate destruction of forests. By draining the marshy swamps they increase the water-holding capacity of dry soil and prevent floods.³ Apart from these indirect advantages, their direct advantages are also very numerous. Indian forests provide employment to millions of people such as wood-cutters, sawyers, carters, carriers and raftsmen.⁴ They provide fodder for about 13 million cattle, 3 million buffaloes and 9 million other animals. Grazing in States forests yields about Rs. 95 lakhs of revenue annually.⁵ They also give habitation to a number of hill-tribes and provide about 1.8 million tons of timber every year and other major forest-produce of the value of Rs. 171,648 besides supplying various raw materials like tans, dyes, bamboos, cane fibre, flosses and grasses, honey, lac, resin, wax, gums, etc., for our industries.

But in spite of so much importance to the national economy of India, the forest resources have not been fully exploited. The

basic causes responsible for the state of affairs are: Colossal destruction of forests by proprietary rights; inadequate protection from fire; plant diseases; over-grazing of cattle; incomplete utilisation of forest wealth due to the lack of a well-conceived system of working plans; general absence of facilities for seasoning and preserving timbers; inadequate research with regard to utilisation of forest produce; and above all the want of adequate trained personnel for conserving and developing forest wealth; lack of information regarding quantities of timber; undeveloped means of transport of the forest products available in our forests including high freight charged by railway for them and the inaccessibility of forest areas.⁶

In connection with forests, the most important problem in India is to increase the area under forests, to preserve the existing species of trees available in this country, and to introduce new possible species. In May 1952, the forest policy resolution of Government of India emphasized the need of developing and reserving Indian forests. The aim is to maintain one-third of the total area in the country under forests. In the Himalayas, the Deccan and the mountainous regions the proportion of land under forests will be as high as 80 per cent while in plains it would be about 20 per cent of the total. In its policy of forest development, the First Five-Year Plan provides for renovation of areas which were exploited during the war years; afforestation of badly eroded areas; development of forest communications; development of village plantations for overcoming the shortage of fuel; and increasing the use of non-conventional species after proper seasoning and treatment of chemical methods.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

India produces a wide variety of crops not only of the tropical and sub-tropical but also of the temperate zones. The most important among the tropical products are rice, coffee, millets, sugarcane, tapioca, pine-apple, jute, spices, cinchona and banana. The chief sub-tropical crops are cotton, tea, opium and tobacco. Of the products of the temperate zone, the most important are wheat, maize, barley, pulses, potato, hemp, flax and various kinds of fruits.

The periodicity of the season often allows of two and in a few cases three harvests in the year. The total cultivated area annually is

266 million acres. Double cropping is possible in about 36 million acres of the total cultivated area of India. The two main crops are *kharif* and *rabi*. The main *kharif* crops are rice, jawar, bazra, maize, cotton, sugarcane, sesamum, urd, mung, tobacco, forage grasses and leafy vegetables, and the main *rabi* crops are wheat, barley, gram, linseed, rape and mustard, peas and beans, scrub-fodder root and tuber vegetables. In humid regions, *zaid* or *catch* crops are also raised; the crops being melon, water melon, cucumber and leafy and tuber vegetables.

It is interesting to note that in India we have regional specialisation of crops. Rice is grown in the Ganges valley, the mountainous districts of the Punjab, U.P., Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Western Ghats and the coastal belts of Orissa and Madras. Wheat is extensively cultivated in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P., M.P., M.B., Ajmer and Eastern Rajasthan. Sugarcane is grown in the Gangetic Plain, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Hyderabad and the Punjab. Oilseeds such as groundnut, linseed, castor, beans, rape and sesamum are grown in northern Madras and S.E. Rajasthan. Cotton happens to be a special product in specific regions of Bombay, M.P., M.B., Rajasthan, Mysore and the Punjab. Tea is cultivated mainly in the Assam Hills and the Darjeeling and Nilgiri Hills, while coffee is of special interest in Coorg, Madras and Mysore. Tobacco has spread itself over the whole of India, major contributions generally coming from West Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan. Jute is largely grown in Cooch-Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa coastal regions. Rubber, pepper and cardamom plantations are to be found in the Annamalai and Cardamom Hills. Thick coconut groves along the Malabar coast yield coir and copra; the bulk of the country's supply of cashew nuts also comes from these parts.⁷

LIVE-STOCK

India is rich in live-stock and possesses nearly 1/7th of the live-stock population of the world excluding U.S.S.R. According to the 1951 Cattle Census, the total live-stock population in India is 292½ million, of which cattle are 155 million, buffaloes 43½ million, sheep nearly 39 million, goats 47 million, pigs less than 4½ million, horses and ponies 1½ million and donkeys 1½ million, camels 629,000 and mules 60,000. In addition to this we have 67.13 million fowls and 6.26 million ducks. But on

the whole, the quality of cattle and other live-stock in India is very poor. The average yield of milk per cow per annum in India is only 413 lbs. as against 2000-7000 lbs. in other countries of the world. There are in India some good-quality cattle. Among the best cows in India are *Sahiwal* (Punjab) and *Gir* (Saurashtra). The important breeds of bullocks are *Hisar* and *Hansi* (Punjab), *Nellore* (Madras), *Amrit Mahal* (Mysore), *Kankres* (Gujarat), *Kangyam* (Madras), *Malvi* and *Nimari* (M.P.), *Malvi*, *Nagori* and *Tharparkar* (Rajasthan). The best breeds of buffaloes are *Murrah* (Punjab), *Jefferabadi* (Saurashtra), *Mehasana* and *Surti* (Bombay). At the same time a large percentage of population is non-descript. They are uneconomic producers. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people and promiscuous mating are some of the atrocities which are also responsible for this degeneration. The result is that the ill-famished cattle are a drain on country's resources as they cannot drag the heavy plough nor work efficiently as draught animals.

Then there are a large variety of wild animals and birds but unfortunately "some of our notable animals such as, lions, rhinoceros, tragopan, cheetah are on the verge of extinction."

FISHERIES

The long coastline of India has numerous estuaries, salt water lakes and back waters for marine fish, and rivers, canals, tanks and inundated tracts for fresh water fish. Fisheries contribute to about Rs. 10 crores annually to the national income of India. The production of sea fish in India amounts to nearly 100 lakh mds. per annum while that of fresh water fish amounts to less than 50 lakh mds. per annum. Including imports the total supply of fish in India is nearly 270 lakh mds. per annum, out of which nearly 70 per cent is sea and estuarine fish and 30 per cent is fresh water fish. This gives a supply of 34 lbs. of fish per capita per annum which is completely insufficient. The per capita consumption of fish in Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal and Bombay is higher than in U.P., Bihar and the Punjab and negligible in M.B., M.P. and Rajasthan, etc. Of the total population only about 32 million people consisting of Vaisyas, Brahmins and Jains do not take fish because of religious injunctions. In many cases among the non-vegetarians, the

3. According to Mr. C. R. Ranganathan, President, F.R.I. and Colleges, Dehradun, "In defending the land against the evils of erosion, aridity and climatic excesses, forests perform services no less valuable and no more expressible in terms of money than those rendered by the defence forces of a country."—*Vide Our Forests*.

4. Census of India, 1951, Vol. I, A.P.

5. The First Five-Year Plan, p. 291.

6. C. B. Mamoria: *Agricultural Problems of India*, pp. 101-2.

7. Mamoria: *Op. cit.*, p. 38 and *India Reference Annual*, 1954, p. 9.

preference for vegetarian diet is due to non-availability of fish or its high price.

WATER RESOURCES

In India, there are enormous water resources as there are many rivers and some water-falls, but unfortunately they are not being properly harnessed for more than one reasons. Most part of the rainfall is concentrated in a comparatively short period. The rivers carry large volumes of water during this period, a large portion of which goes unutilized because it is neither physically possible to divert, nor economic to store, all but a small portion of this flow. Secondly, the volume of water, in the rivers, also varies from year to year, whereas development schemes can be executed only when the supply is assured for continuous use. Thirdly, in areas of high rainfall, irrigation is either not necessary or is needed only to a very limited extent. Nearly 1356 million acre feet of water flows down the rivers of India per year but only 76 million acre feet or 5.6 per cent of it is used for irrigation purposes. It is estimated that nearly 450 million acre feet of water can be utilised for purposes of irrigation. The area irrigated in India is nearly 51½ million acres, out of which nearly 21 million acres (41.2 per cent) are irrigated by canals, less than 15 m. acres (31 per cent) by wells, less than 9 m. acres (16.7 per cent) by tanks and a little more than 7 m. acres (11 per cent) from other sources. Out of this total irrigated area, grain crops occupy more than 30 m. acres. 41.4 per cent of the total irrigated area is under rice; 15.4 per cent under wheat; 23.6 per cent under other cereals and pulses; 5.9 per cent under sugarcane; 2.4 per cent under cotton and 11 per cent under other crops.*

As India is essentially an agricultural country, the need for sufficient water supply is always great. The uncertainty of rainfall distribution as regards both time and place and the irregularity in distribution throughout the year, the absence of winter rains and the necessity for more water for some crops like rice and sugarcane, are the chief reasons which make irrigation necessary. India occupies an important place in irrigation in the whole world. Roughly about one-third of the total irrigated areas of the world lies in India. The physical factors responsible for such development are:

(i) The rivers rising from the Himalayas are perennial and hence provide a constant supply of water.

* *Agricultural Situation in India* (November, 1954), p. 70.

(ii) The slope of the plain is so gradual that the canals which are taken out in the upper courses of the rivers can easily irrigate the land in the lower valleys.

(iii) There is an absolute lack of rocky ground in Northern India, and therefore canals are easily dug, but in Southern India, presence of rocky surface favours the construction of tanks and embankments.

(iv) The soil is fertile which makes the greatest use of irrigation for raising both food and non-food crops required for feeding the country's vast population and the newly developed industries.

These geographical factors have determined the predominance of particular types of irrigation in particular portions of the country. It is for this reason that the alluvial tract of North India, viz., U.P., Punjab, West Bengal, Bihar, etc., is specially suitable for canals and wells; in crystalline tracts like those of Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras, S.E. Rajasthan, irrigation from tanks and embankments is most extensive; and in certain other parts, especially East U.P., East Punjab, Rajasthan, Bombay, Madras, W. Punjab and M.B., considerable areas are cultivated under wells. The areas irrigated in India are distributed as 2.6 m. acres in the Himalayan regions, 25.2 m. acres in Northern Plain regions, 9.3 m. acres in Peninsular Hills and Plateau regions; 1.6 m. acres in the Western Ghats and Coastal regions and 10.0 m. acres in the Eastern Ghats and Coastal regions. In spite of it, India is not able to satisfy her entire demand for irrigation. Only 18 per cent of her total cultivated land gets irrigation.* Greater emphasis has, therefore, been laid on the extension of irrigation. By 1955-56 the schemes included under the Five-Year Plan will add 19.7 m. acres to 51½ m. acres already under irrigation, of which major irrigation projects would irrigate 8.5 m. acres and minor irrigation projects 11.2 m. acres.

Irrigation facilities have tremendously affected agriculture, population and trade in places of habitually deficient rainfall and the areas that lie in the famine zone. They have averted the great disaster that might have been brought about by chronic droughts and have saved millions of people from death. In fact, they have banished the grim spectre of famine, and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.⁹

Secondly, increase in irrigated land has been a boon to the cultivators, for not only

9. The comparative figures for Japan are 55 per cent, Pakistan 48 per cent, China 46 per cent, Indonesia and Malaya, each 30 per cent and Ceylon 17 per cent.—*United Asia, Food Supplement*, 1950, p. 158.

10. Bernard Darley in *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 167.

the output of their fields is ensured in ordinary years of drought, but also the amount of produce is very largely increased in ordinary years at a comparatively low cost.¹¹

Thirdly, commercial crops have monopolised the irrigated zones, e.g., jute is confined to the fertile deltas of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and sugarcane to U.P. and Bihar.¹² In a way, India adds, by means of canals, every year an Egypt to its land.

Fourthly, besides the above benefits, irrigation yields a handsome profit of 7 to 8 per cent¹³ to the Government.

WATER POWER

India's water power potential is estimated at 40 million k.w.; but the installed capacity amounted to only 2.30 million k.w. on January 1, 1954. This shows that having regard to the vast area of the country, its vast population and its great potential water power resources a very insignificant amount has been exploited so far. The ratio between the total water power development in various countries and their estimated power is: U.S.S.R. 34 per cent; France 32 per cent; Germany 54 per cent; Switzerland 67 per cent; Sweden 27 per cent; Norway 53 per cent; Canada 34 per cent; U.S.A. 24 per cent and India only 1 per cent. The per capita electricity production in Norway is 5,529 kwt.; in Canada 4,282 kwt.; in Sweden 2,904 kwt. and in U.S.A. 2,541 kwt. The use of electricity in India is very limited at present. The average per capita consumption of electricity is only 14 kwt. per year, as compared to 1,100 kwt. in the U.K., 2,207 kwt. in U.S.A. and 3,905 kwt. in Canada.¹⁴ In Switzerland, the production of electricity is 2,252 kwt.; in New Zealand 1,519 kwt.; in U.K. 1,229 kwt.; in Japan 505 kwt., while in India it is only 17 kwt.¹⁵ This is but natural in

the present state of industrial backwardness. The exploitation of hydro-power depends not only on the flow of water at the hydraulic head, but also upon the accessibility of the site to heavy machinery and its distance from load centres, the cost of storage and the manner in which it is proposed to use the power. The seasonal variation in the flow of most Indian rivers is a particularly important factor. The construction of dams to ensure an even supply of water throughout the year also adds considerably to the capital outlay.

The following power zones may be noticed:

(1) The most important region of potential hydro-electric power lies along the foot of the Himalayas from East Punjab to Assam. Here, the snow-fed streams debouch on the Indian plains and while descending they form waterfalls suitable for the generation of power. But having regard to the economic limitations of long distance power transmission it will not be possible for some time to come, to feed India's present major industrial centres with Himalayan power.

(2) The second power zone lies along the western boundary of the great Deccan Plateau. This region has contributed to about 80 per cent to India's total power production.

(3) The third water power region of much lesser intensity in comparison with the first two lies along the Satpura, Vindhya, Mahadeo, and Maikal Ranges in Central India and M. Pradesh.

(4) The fourth region, really speaking, is the thermal power region. It extends from Calcutta in the east to Nagpur in the west and embraces mostly the coalfields of Gondwana belt lying in West Bengal, S. Bihar, Eastern M.B. and M.P. This thermal power region overlaps a major part of the third hydel power region.¹⁶

Possibilities are, therefore, immense in India for the development of water power. It is estimated that the generating capacity would be increased by 1.1 m. kwt. within the Plan period and by 1.4 m. kwt. when the projects in hand are completed. The problem in India is not only to increase the supply of electric energy but to make it available at cheap rates so that the cultivator, the artisan and the factories might get an adequate supply of cheap power.

(To be continued)

16. The important Hydro-electric works in India with generating capacity are:

(a) In W. India: (i) Tata Hydro-electric Works, Bombay, 60,000 kw.; (ii) Andhra Valley Power Co., Bombay, 66,000 kw.; (iii) Tata Power Co., Bombay, 10,000 kw.

(b) In S. India: (i) Pyakara Power Project, Madras, 38,750 kw.; (ii) Mettur Hydro-electric Works, 40,000 kw.; (iii) Papanasam Project, 17,400 kw.; (iv) Pallivasal Hydro-electric Works in Travancore, 13,500 kw.; (v) Sivasamudram Hydro-electric Works, Mysore, 42,000 kw.

11. The Advisory Board of I.C.A.R. holds that the production of irrigated crops per acre is on an average 50 or 100 per cent higher than that of unirrigated crops in the same locality. (Vide, *Mamoria: Op. cit.*, p. 293).

12. C. W. E. Cotton: *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, p. 146, p. 156.

13. C. A. Knowles: *Economic Development of British Empire Overseas*, Vol. I, pp. 367-68.

Cf. In some cases it is even more, e.g., in Madras, Cavery Delta System yields about 14 per cent on the capital outlay; Krishna Delta System, 16 per cent; Upper Bari Doab in Punjab, 21 per cent; Eastern Jamuna Canal and the Ganga Canals in U.P., 63 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.—Vide, *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 371.

14. *The Five-Year Plan*, p. 345.

15. *United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics for August, 1953*. In India, of the total production of electricity, 78 per cent is consumed as domestic light; 16 per cent as commercial light; 4 per cent as industrial light and only 2 per cent for irrigation. Vide *India* 1954, p. 191.

INDIAN FEDERATION

PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

"UNITARIANISM" means, according to Professor Dicey, "the habitual exercise of Supreme legislative authority by one central power" (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 139). The Central authority may delegate powers to local authorities. The relation between the Central and Local authorities then is the relation of principal and delegate. The local authorities owe their existence to and receive their authority from the centre. They exist and function at the discretion of the centre. They cannot claim any separate identity. The central authority is absolute and supreme. Its internal sovereignty is undivided. It is exercised by the Central law-making body and there are no subsidiary semi-sovereign law-making bodies. This is Unitary Government.

As opposed to this, "Federalism means the distribution of the forces of the State among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution" (Dicey, p. 157). The constitution assigns power to both Governments—Central and State. Both are independent in their respective domain. The power of the Centre thus is limited by the autonomy of the State. The line of demarcation is defined by the constitution. Both owe their existence to and receive their authority from the constitution. This constitution is the main source of power of both. Hence in a federation firstly there is the supremacy of the constitution; secondly, there is the distribution of powers between the Centre and States which cannot be changed except on the authority of the constitution; and thirdly, one supreme Judicial authority to decide constitutional disputes that may arise over the domain of both Governments. In short we might say in a federation the internal sovereignty of the State is shared by two authorities—Central and local, and the Central authority does not exercise unfettered authority over the whole state. It is limited by some semi-sovereign bodies. This is federation.

Though the Swiss confederation (which took its birth in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and since then it has a continuous life, being transformed in 1848 into a federal state and thoroughly revised in 1874) is the oldest of existing federal states, the U.S.A. Federal Constitution is the most complete one. Federations vary from state to state—some are more federal allowing greater sphere of autonomy to the units than others which centralise the power and give less sphere of autonomy to the units. Thus federations differ according to the respective powers of the federal authority and federating units. This is determined by two ways as to the method of distribu-

tion of powers between the centre and units; and as to the nature of the supremacy of the constitution.

The constitution of India has enumerated three lists of subjects of legislation and execution—(1) The Union list, (2) The State list, (3) the concurrent list. The Union Government has exclusive authority of legislation and execution over the Union list. The State Governments have exclusive authority over matters of the State list. Both have concurrent jurisdiction over the concurrent list. But if any law or any provision of it is repugnant to any Union law, the State law shall wholly or to that extent be void. The residuary powers belong to the Union.

Incorporation of concurrent list in our constitution may appear to be inconsistent with Federal Principle. The utility of a concurrent list in a federation has been very aptly expressed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee report:

"Experience has shown, both in India and elsewhere that there are certain matters which cannot be allocated exclusively either to a Central or to a Provincial Legislature and for which though it is often desirable, that Provincial legislation should make provision, it is equally necessary that the central legislature should also have a legislative jurisdiction to enable it in some case to secure uniformity in the main principles of law throughout the country, in order to guide and encourage provincial efforts, and in others again to provide remedies for mischiefs arising in the provincial sphere but extending or liable to extend beyond the boundaries of a single province." (*Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1934, para 51).

The U.S.A. Constitution has no provision for the concurrent list. The Australian Constitution designed on the U.S.A. model has assigned, enumerated or selected legislative powers to the Centre and the residue belongs to the States. But Section 51 enumerates 59 entries of power over which both may legislate and Section 109 says, "When a law of a State is inconsistent with a law of the commonwealth, the latter shall prevail and the former shall to the extent of the inconsistency be invalid." The Canadian Constitution also makes provision for the concurrent sphere though to a very limited extent of agriculture and immigration only, and in cases of repugnancy, the Dominion legislation prevails. The concurrent list does not in any way militate against the Federal Principles, rather it helps in

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achieving the uniformity of legislation throughout the whole country over some affairs when it appears desirable and expedient, but allowing the states dominance over them as far as practicable.

As to the residual powers of the centre, it may be said that the three lists have almost exhausted the powers of administration because the Union list contains 97 entries, the State list 66 and the concurrent list 47. A very little scope is left to the centre to exercise authority by its claim to residual powers. It may not be discussed in details and can be closed with this reference that in a Federation the residuary powers may also belong to the centre as in Canada.

In our constitution some over-riding powers over the States have been given to the Centre. On four occasions the Union Parliament can legislate on matters of State list:

(1) If the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary and expedient in the national interest (Article 249).

(2) If the Proclamation of Emergency is in operation (Article 250).

(3) If two or more States express by way of resolution of State legislatures that Parliament should legislate over any matter or matters of State list. But it shall be operative only in the States which desire it (Article 252).

(4) If necessity of the implementation of international obligations arises (Article 253).

The underlying principle of Federal Government is that none of the parties in a Federation should change the basic distribution of powers by its unilateral action. This has been violated in our constitution, because the over-riding authority has been given to the upper chamber of our Parliament. It is a Council of States, but in name only. It does not enshrine the Federal Principle as States are not equally represented in the council. The only silver line is that it shall require not less than two-third majority present and voting to alter the distribution of powers. Again as it is a permanent body and composed of elderly men it is presumed that it shall not be led by emotions and party spirit. There is another safeguard. That is, members of the Council of States are elected by the members of the State legislature. Every second year one-third of its members retire. And such resolution of the Council to change the distribution of powers shall have effect only for one year at a

time [Article 249(3)]. So after every two years State legislature shall have the opportunity to counteract such move of the Union Parliament by sending new members to the Council. After all, this provision bespeaks of Unitarianism in Federal Constitution. In no other federation such Unilateral power of action has been assigned to the Federal legislature, not even in Canada.

Even in time of emergency no other Federal Constitution gives the power of unilateral action in the hands of the centre. The distribution of powers cannot be changed except by an amendment of the Constitution. Such emergencies are met by other ways in other constitutions. During such period of national importance if the Federal Legislature frames laws for the peace, order and good government of a country, the Judiciary interprets the law in that way and does not stand in the way of Federal legislation even if it means that it may affect the distribution of powers. It is evident in the observation of the Privy Council in the case of *Pulp and Paper Co. vs Manitoba Free Press* (1923) in Canada:

"The general control of property and civil rights required for normal purposes remains with the Provincial Legislatures. But the questions may arise of reason of the special circumstances of the national emergency which concern nothing short of the peace, order and good government of Canada as a whole."

Of course it is true even in the U.S.A. that there has been an increasing demand on the part of a substantial section of the people to strengthen the Federal authority, so that it may cope with the ever-growing complexities of the national life of the Americans. Especially after the onset of the world-wide economic depression in 1929 till the end of the World War II, the demand was very much persistent. President Roosevelt was successful in the implementation of his "New Deal" which actually meant the over-riding of some state powers. "In its actual working, the American federal system is not, in 1949, what it was in 1789." (D. Basu: *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 606). De Tocqueville's observation in 1835 that "Government of the centre was the exception, while Government of the states was the rule" does not hold good today because of growing powers of the centre. But one point is to be emphasized, that is, the ultimate competence of over-riding power does not lie with the Federal legislature alone, but with the Federal judiciary. The Federal legislature frames laws encroaching State powers to cope with emergent situations and the judiciary sanctions it when ever it thinks desirable.

The Federal legislature is not empowered to supersede the distribution of powers and to nullify the Federal structure of the constitution. But our Parliament can. If the President issues a Proclamation of Emergency and if it is supported by resolutions of Parliament, virtually that may mean the suspension of Federal structure of the constitution. Of course Article 353 does not refuse to State legislatures any power at all over State subjects under such a situation, rather they enjoy concurrent powers. Over them Union power shall prevail to the extent of repugnancy. There is another provision to afford a scope for Federal despotism, that is Article 356 by which the President may assume to himself all the powers of a State and delegate them to any authority on being satisfied that there is constitutional breakdown in that State. That is analogous to section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 which empowered the Governor of a Province to assume all power to himself acting in his discretion.

No such provision for supersession of State Government by the Federal Authority on the ground of constitutional breakdown exists in any Federal constitution. But if there is any violent resistance to the execution of Federal laws, the Federal authority may compel obedience to such laws as in America. President Lincoln did it during the Civil War (1861). This is similar to Article 356 of our Constitution. President Dr. Rajendra Prasad promulgated two orders under Article 356 on 20.6.51 assuming all powers of East Punjab to himself.

The necessity there arose due to the fact that after the resignation of Dr. Bhargava's Ministry no alternative ministry could be formed. There may be similar cases in future till the political training of the people of India takes a shape. Art. 356 might have a justification at this stage. But the fact remains—there is the scope of federal despotism in our constitution.

Parliament can legislate over a State subject if it is expressly desired by two or more states. Such Union law shall apply to the states which desire it. This is not trenching upon the powers of the states. It is innocent and deserves no detailed discussion.

The invasion of State power by Union legislature for the implementation of International agreement is not unknown in Federal Constitution. Art. VI of the U.S.A. constitution says: All treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of

any state to the contrary notwithstanding. Art. 132 of the British North America Act has similar provision. Australian constitution has no such written provision, but a case law (*King vs. Burgess*, 1936) has made it clear that the Commonwealth Government can invade the state jurisdiction for the implementation of International agreement.

Another mutilating provision of Federal principle is the appointment of Governors or Rajpramukhas by the President. In the U.S.A. Governors are directly elected by the people and cannot be removed unless impeached by the State Legislature. Governors of Australian Provinces are appointed by the Crown and hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and cannot be dismissed by the Governor-General. In Canada Lieutenant Governors are appointed by the Governor-General and can be dismissed as well by him. So our Constitution in this aspect is Canadian and not American.

As to the Constitutional supremacy of our Federation it may be said that the constitution is sufficiently rigid in so far as the Federal nature of the constitution is concerned, but not as rigid as the American. The distribution of power cannot be changed by the general procedure of amendment of the constitution. It shall require the approval of at least half of the State legislatures. In the U.S.A. it requires the approval of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the States legislatures. In a complete federation, there is some amount of legalism, because the Federal constitution is nothing but a charter of contract by which the Federation comes into being. In a Federation the constitution is sovereign. Both the Governments owe their origin and receive their authority from the constitution. The sovereignty of the constitution is maintained by making it a rigid one. Our constitution is rigid to that extent.

The balance of power between the Federal and Unit Governments is held by a Federal Judiciary whose main function is to see that the constitution is respected especially in so far as the distribution of powers is concerned. It has already been said that the U.S.A., Australian and Canadian Courts have been given the power to act as arbitrator in this respect. Of them, the U.S.A. Supreme Court has almost absolute power of interpretation of the Constitution. One ex-Chief Justice of the U.S.A. Supreme Court, Mr. Hughes said, "The Constitution (of the U.S.A.) is what the Supreme Court says it is." So much legalistic attitude was not taken by the framers of our Constitution. But they have made our Supreme Court competent enough to declare

a law or a decree unconstitutional if it violates the constitution.

According to Dicey there are "three leading characteristics of completely developed federalism—the supremacy of the constitution, the distribution among bodies with limited and co-ordinate authority of the different powers of Government, the authority of the Court to act as interpreter of the constitution." (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 144). All of them are present in the Indian Constitution. Hence it is a federation in form. But the very essence of Federalism is that the distribution of powers cannot be changed by an unilateral action.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution, said:

"The basic principle of federalism is that legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by any law to be made by the Centre but by the Constitution itself. This is what the Constitution does. This is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the States have been placed under the Centre. *Centre cannot by its own will alter the boundary of this partition.* Nor can the Judiciary." (Speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25.11.49).

Perhaps he forgot at the moment of his speech that he himself had drafted Articles 249, 250, 253 and 356 which belie this very essence of federalism. But it needs to be told that all these articles are meant for emergencies.

So long as the Centre thinks that there is no emergency, it shall work as complete Federal Government. But as soon as the Centre feels the emergent situation, the Constitution can be switched over to an unitary type by the unilateral action of the Centre. The switch is not in the hands of an impartial Judiciary like that of the American, Canadian or Australian Federations. So much legalism has been avoided in our Constitution. It is a federation so long as the Union Parliament wills it. In form it is federal, in essence it is unitary. Sir Ivor Jennings says:

"India has a federation with a strong centralizing tendency." (*Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution*, p. 1.). P.G. Wheare says: "In the class of quasi-constitution it is probably proper to include the Indian Constitution of 1950." (*Modern Constitutions*, p. 29).

Dr. Ambedkar tried to justify the over-riding powers of the Centre in the course of the same speech:

"The first is that the over-riding powers are not the normal features of the constitution. Their use and operation are expressly confined to emergencies only. The second consideration is that: could we avoid giving over-riding powers to the Centre when an emergency has arisen?"

We do not discuss here the necessity and reason of such over-riding powers of the Centre in any scheme of Government for India with its present socio-political set-up. We only state what it is.

THE INDIAN LAW COMMISSION—ITS TASK AHEAD

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., B.L., W.B.C.S.

APPOINTMENT of an eleven-member Law Commission has been announced and it will soon begin its work. For the sake of expedition it will function in two sections, one in charge of the reform of judicial administration and another of the revision of the statute laws. Each section will have a Joint Secretary, Senior Deputy Secretaries, Research Officers and other necessary equipments. The Chairman of the Commission, Sri M. C. Setalvad, will be in immediate charge of the section dealing with the reform of judicial administration but will direct and co-ordinate the activities of both the sections. The terms of reference are: First, to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; and secondly, to examine the central Acts of general application and importance and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up to date.

imaginable: Sri M. C. Setalvad, Advocate-General of India; Mr. M. C. Chagla, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court; Sri K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court; Sri G. N. Das, retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sri P. Satyanarayana Rao, retired Judge of the Madras High Court; Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta, Advocate, Calcutta; Sri V. K. T. Chari, Advocate-General, Madras; Sri Narasa Raju, Advocate-General, Andhra; Sri S. M. Sikri, Advocate-General, the East Punjab; Sri G. S. Pathak, Advocate, Allahabad; and Sri G. N. Joshi, Advocate, Bombay. But the task ahead is stupendous and the expectation of the Union Government that the Commission will submit its recommendation by the end of 1955 seems to be much too optimistic. It is doubtful if with all the resources at the disposal of the Government, and for the matter of that, of the Commission, it will be possible to find out the real ills in such a short time and suggest remedies. There is, of course, provision for

still better provision would perhaps be that the Commission should report early; for the very composition of the Commission is a guarantee against delay; and one needs just to be reminded that no time should be worse than lost by precipitation.

Law Commissions are not new to India. As soon as the East India Company felt that they were going to be the ultimate masters of this country they made provisions for codification of law, civil and criminal, substantive and procedural, including organisation of Courts. The first Law Commission set up in 1835 under the Charter Act of 1833 with Macaulay as its first Chairman did excellent work in drafting a Penal Code (1837), a detailed but unpublished work on civil law and, above all, the famous *Lex Loci* Report (1840). The times were, however, not propitious for law reforms and most of the times of the Government were taken up by the many wars that followed. In later years the Commission languished for want of encouragement and success. Its failure was admitted and by the Charter Act of 1853 a new Commission was set up with Lord (then Sir John) Romilly, a distinguished English Judge, as its head, and men like Sir Edward Ryan, Cameron and Macleod, as members. Unlike the First, the Second Commission was to work in England and to make its report within three years. This time limit could not be adhered to, but its contribution to the laws of India became memorable; the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, the Limitation Act, the High Courts Act and the like were framed. Its work was, however, much hampered by constant opposition from the jealous Government of India and its unfinished task was taken up by the Third Law Commission appointed in 1851. Their output was so great that there arose a fear in this country of over-legislation. After laying the foundation of practically the whole of all-India laws necessary in those days this Commission resigned in 1870, dissatisfied at the supposed timidity of the Government of India. Even then in 1879 India witnessed another smaller Commission to assist in the act of legislation. In this century Commissions and Committees have from time to time investigated into, and reported on, various matters, the Civil Justice Committee (1924-25) being the most important amongst them from the judicial point of view.

The tremendous progress that India has made in recent years in every sphere of life has made the law and administration of justice much more complicated than before and the task of the present Commission is thus much more important and onerous. If a little less than a hundred years ago when conditions were very much simpler Sir Henry Maine, the then Law Member, found 423 enactments of the Regulation Law of Bengal alone 'to have expired or grown obsolete,' what conceivably may be the position today! Portions of many of the older codes have become stale, patch-works have complicated others and piece-meal legislation has made the position of the lawyer and judge extremely

difficult. Judicial pronouncements testify to the fact that many of the recent enactments were extremely ill-drawn, for they were drafted by inexperienced persons with inadequate skilled advice. Then, there is the lack of uniformity and system in the laws of the several States; and to systematise them will require undivided attention for years together. A whole-time Commission only is capable of tackling with all these problems within a reasonable span of time. Although the Central Acts of general application only are within the terms of reference concurrent legislation in the States makes the apparent simplicity of the task only illusory. It is not that the Government are not aware of the difficulties; they have, indeed laid down that one of the principal objectives of the Commission would be to consider such local variations with a view to re-introducing and maintaining uniformity. To ascertain if any provisions of law are inconsistent with the constitution, to suggest necessary alterations or omissions, to remove anomalies and ambiguities brought to light by conflicting decisions or otherwise, to consolidate Acts pertaining to the same subject and to suggest modifications for implementing the directive principles laid down in the Constitution are comparatively easier; but to simplify the laws particularly procedural, in a vast country like India with varied interests and innumerable local customs, is almost a baffling task.

Equally difficult is the reform of judicial administration. If by that is meant re-organisation of the Court system and revision of certain procedural laws it is simple enough; if, however, it is intended that justice should be speedy and less expensive it will require consideration of various factors relating to the time, the man and the Government (court fees). The time factor is the easiest and perhaps time limits may be put by law even in accordance with the other needs of justice. The Government may also conceivably be generous enough not only to abolish the Court fees but also to appoint as many judges and magistrates as are necessary, although the past history stretching back right up to the time of Lord Cornwallis does not encourage such a thought. But much more difficult to tackle with are the man element, that is the litigants, lawyers and judges.

Class wars, clash of individual interests, avarice, spirit of retaliation and other infirmities of fellow beings compel men to go to litigation and once they have plunged into it they would carry on till one of the parties or both have been engulfed in the whirlpool. Most often the passion is roused and they become almost mad. Victory by any means, fair or foul, becomes their motto. In most cases one of the parties is consciously wrong and the modus operandi it adopts is to take time by false pleas and thus to wear out the enemy, particularly if the latter is less solvent. The idea is that in this way the other party will be compelled to sue for peace. All being fair in love and war it is never felt that any stigma may attach to the character by such fraud upon the Court. By such a

person the salutary principle of appeal may be and is improperly employed for delaying justice often to the utter exhaustion of the opponent. It is not that he himself is not sometimes ruined but there is a morbid pleasure in inviting the deluge. Tricks and falsehoods are thus a potent cause of the delay of justice.

To this mad pursuit of dishonest litigants the forensic abilities of a skilful lawyer are both an asset and incentive. Euphemistically these gentlemen are called 'voaries of truth.' Unfortunately the law as administered in our Courts (as perhaps elsewhere) has no sanction of truth. "If law corresponds with truth only in so far as it reflects the social ideals of the day, the law we know must be pronounced to be very considerably removed from truth," said one of the high authorities who knew our Courts very well. In that circumstance even the most honest lawyer cannot do anything better than a compromise with untruth. As a matter of fact only a few lawyers can rise even so high in the ladder of morality. This unhappy state of things is in the very nature of the profession. It is, after all, a kind of business—a business backed by learning which man adores; and in business, generally, honesty is at a discount. "What litigant will brief a moral crank who will specially strive to present the facts as they are and purposely refrain from putting on them a complexion favourable to his client," asked the same authority. A single exhibition of this form of honesty and courage will end his career at the Bar. That is why the lawyer's task in our Courts is not so much to find out truth as to win a case. For that what is known as tactics is no less necessary than forensic knowledge. Prolongation of a bad case is a part of such tactics. It has got its economic side as well. A modern lawyer sells his knowledge and skill to the highest bidder, and so long as his fee is not fixed by law or he is permitted to command daily, instead of a lump, fee it is to his advantage to see that the litigation is prolonged. Just a few who are at the top of a ladder are surely an exception to this general rule but for the average 'swift justice' is harmful if not suicidal. The interest of this class, shrewd skilful and learned, must be looked into if any permanent result is intended.

The character of the average judge, generally a silent spectator of what is going on in his Court, is another factor contributing to delay. Indolence is one of his main infirmities. Judicial work is generally not pleasant but there is no escape, no occasion for relaxation: From day to day, from year to year, he does the same sort of work which is often nerve-breaking and brings him no reward except the satisfaction of his conscience. After some initial enthusiasm he loses all initiative and eventually becomes a mere automaton. Sloth and dozing come in as a matter of course. More harmful than this indolence is the tendency of the average judge to follow the line of least resistance. To withstand the wily litigants' persistent demand for

more and more time ostensibly for getting ready, requires a firmness which will very often bring upon him the opprobrium of being hard-hearted and end in 'breezes' between the Bench and the Bar. That is why he very often permits a case to drift listlessly in the file. Perhaps the worst of the judge's infirmities is his anxiety to be popular, and this, paradoxically enough, results in delay. Popularity in a court of law means almost the same as abdication in favour of the ministerial officers and lawyers conducting cases. In our country granting of adjournments is the same as being a 'good judge' and even the lawyer on the opposite side would not dislike them, provided some costs are allowed. Public disapprobation of such methods are unheard-of. In such an atmosphere delay is only natural. Over and above all these there are, on the criminal side, the timid Magistracy and the overbearing, police. The Magistrate's position may be improved by a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive but it is hard to mend the Police. Even now the real power is in the hands of the ill-paid Thana Officer who can make or mar a case. It must be realised that power and poverty go ill together; it requires long tradition and good environment for a poor man to be honest, if he has got power to improve his lot.

For reducing the cost of litigation and ensuring expedition in the despatch of business the Evershed Committee of England appealed to the lawyers and judges and sought their co-operation. That course has never been followed in our country. Efforts are being made from very high quarters to take the matter out of their hands and vest the Village Panchayats, and the like with judicial powers. While increasing association of the villagers with administration of justice in petty cases is extremely desirable the history of past experiments in that behalf (through Village Munsiffs, Panchayats and Union Boards and Courts) leads one to believe that the time has not yet come and that to drag justice down to the present unhealthy atmosphere of our villages means nothing but its death by asphyxia. To look to the Village Communities of ancient India for inspiration and example is a misreading of history; there can be no comparison between those days of placid rural simplicity and consideration for fellow brothers and those of class wars, communal interest and personal aggrandisement. Justice at some cost is perhaps better than cheap injustice.

For comprehensive amendment of law, for uniformity for rationalisation and for ensuring cheap and reasonably quick justice there must not only be close application deep studies and a clear grasp of the basic principles (which the Commissioners undoubtedly have) but also an earnest appeal to all concerned for co-operation; otherwise the labours of the Commission may be wholly lost. Peace and justice can be ensured not so much by law and its guardians as by self-imposed discipline.

THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

THE States Reorganisation Committee's recommendations have been extremely disappointing to Bengal, most of whose demands have been thrown out on somewhat flimsy grounds which cannot be reconciled with one another, and this after voluble expression of sympathy for West Bengal's difficult position, due to partition, to influx of refugees 35 lakhs in number and to the fact recognised by the committee that

"The present distribution of territories between Bihar and West Bengal is such as to give rise to real administrative difficulties from the point of view of West Bengal."

While separation of Chas thana from the rest of Purulia subdivision was evidently based on the 71.4 per cent Hindi and only 22.4 per cent Bengali in the Table of Tract Figures on page 41 of the Language volume of the Census Tables (Census of 1951, Paper No. 1 of 1954), the Committee had not a word of comment on the very strange circumstance that the Census Superintendent for Bihar who was so very keen about the innovation of thanawar figures for the Purulia subdivision, never thought of compiling similar figures for Dhanbad and Dhalbhum and even went the length of discounting the separate figures for Jamshedpur City shown in 1931, although these areas, along with the Purulia subdivision, had formed a bone of contention between Bengal and Bihar from a very long time back, from only a few months subsequent to the publication in *Bengalee* newspaper of 4th January 1912 of the letter signed by five Bihar leaders (Deenarayan Sinha, Nandkishore Lal, Parameswar Lal, Fakhruddin and Satchidananda Sinha) which said that

"The whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengalee-speaking and they should go to Bengal the rest of the (Chota Nagpur) Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

Within a few days after Census Paper No. 1 of 1954 became available in Calcutta in June 1954, the Secretary to the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samiti wrote to Sri Ranchor Prasad, Census Superintendent of Bihar, requesting him to supply regional figures for different portions of Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, and separate figures for Jamshedpur City alone, similar to those published for the Purulia subdivision. His reply, sent in Development Department letter No. 239 DR dated 11th July 1954, was:

"I am not in a position to get the information compiled for you as the Census Office was closed nearly a year ago and no staff is available for doing this work."

In the absence of unequivocal official figures it is possible only to make guesses, on the basis of other official figures that are available of the comparative linguistic positions of different portions of Dhalbhum and Dhanbad subdivisions. Admitting for the sake of

argument the contention (implied) that the Chief Minister of Bengal's concession relating to Jamshedpur serves to operate as an estoppel in respect of this particular area, there should have been a very specially detailed scrutiny of figures for the remainder of the Dhalbhum subdivision. But, far from undertaking such special examination, the Committee clouded the issues to some extent by reference, irrelevant in connection with Dhalbhum to the preponderance of Hos in the district of Singhbhum as a whole ignoring the fact that Hos are a very negligible minority in Dhalbhum (in 1931, only 6851 in Dhalbhum rural, 2616 in Jamshedpur, in 1951, 12,188 for the entire subdivision). And the Committee never cared to enquire how the really autochthonous tribal of Dhalbhum, the Bhumij, had faded out from the 1931 figures, 22,521 in Dhalbhum rural, 307 in Jamshedpur, 7351 in Chaibassa and 6038 in Saraikela-Kharsawan, total for the district 35,212 to a mere 922 in the entire district in 1951. The 70:30 ratio laid down by the Committee may be quite sound for bi-lingual areas, but is meaningless in areas with 3 or 4 different languages commonly spoken; for such areas, the regional language should be that spoken by the most numerous linguistic group, particularly if its percentage to total population exceeds the percentages of other linguistic groups by substantial amounts 10, 15 or 20 per cent. For Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, no figures having been supplied by the Census Superintendent for 1951, one can proceed only on the basis of the 1931 figures, and these are:

Out of total population 310,857.

Bengali 123,337 or 39.7 per cent.

Santal 96,555 or 31.7 per cent.

Oriya 35,849 or 11.5 per cent.

Bhumij 22,521 or 7.2 per cent.

Hindi 12,902, a mere 4.2 per cent.

Very large proportions of Santals and Bhumijes were reported to be bi-lingual, almost invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language; and the total of persons speaking Bengali as subsidiary was 82,797 equal to 26.6 per cent. of the total population. (Persons speaking Oriya as subsidiary language numbered only 10,059 Hindi only 3,900). What better case there could have been for declaring Bengali intelligible to no less than 66.3 per cent. of total population, as the regional language (and therefore justifying transfer to Bengal), with only special minority treatment for Santali, Bhumij and Hindi. Some figures including those for Jamshedpur City, are shown in a pamphlet. Facts and figures issued by the Bihar Government "for official use only," and these also testify to the preponderance of persons with mother-tongue Bengali 185 thousand as against 128 thousand for Oriya and 125 thousand for Hindi. But the Committee have decided not for Bengali, not for Oriya, but for Hindi which had the weakest case. It has been definite negation of linguistic justice,

THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT

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and recalls the Aesop's Fables story of the arbiter between two cats fighting over a piece of meat.

It is not understood how the previous history of Dhalbhum's connection with Bengal is described as tenuous! Dhalbhum is distinctly mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as appertaining to Sarkar Madaran, Chukla Medinipur in Suba Bangala (vide Jarrett's translation, volume II, page 141). Along with other parts of Midnapur, Dhalbhum was ceded to the British in 1760 (five years before the Diwani grant). Dhalbhum continued to form part of Medinipur district up to 1833 (it never went to Jungal Mahal district) in which year it was transferred to the newly-created Division of Manbhum in the North-Western Frontier agency (pages 40 and 213 of Singhbhum District Gazetteer). In 1845-46 Dhalbhum was taken out of Manbhum and tagged on to Singhbhum district (page 212, Singhbhum Gazetteer and page 67, Manbhum Gazetteer). Even up to very recent times, Dhalbhum people were disinclined to describe themselves as inhabitants of Singhbhum, preferring to keep that name only for the Singh Rajas' State (the country that was later split up into Porahat, Saraikala and Kharsawan States, page 2 of Singhbhum Gazetteer). Forty-five villages of Dhalbhum were, in the year 1876, re-transferred to Midnapur district (page 106 of Dhalbhum Settlement Report); and these villages, collectively known as Parihati, are still in Midnapur district, in thana Jhargram not very far from Gidni railway station.

Although Manbhum and Singhbhum (with Dhalbhum) went into the Chota Nagpur Division in 1854, they were, on various occasions thereafter, placed under the jurisdiction of the District and Sessions Judge of Bankura (in Burdwan Division) and this arrangement continued till 1910, when a separate Judgeship was created for Manbhum, Singhbhum and Sambalpur. Throughout this period, Bengali was the only Court language for Dhalbhum. Survey and Settlement Records for all villages of Dhalbhum (both within Singhbhum district and in the Parihati group in Midnapur district) were prepared in the Bengali language.

In November 1954 Hindi was prescribed as an alternative language in Courts, to suit the convenience of Hindi-speakers (between 40 and 50 thousand in number) who had come for employment in Jamshedpur. Unfortunately for Bengalees, who are still the biggest linguistic group, Hindi was made the only Court language (and Bengali was thereby banned) for Dhalbhum by a notification of 1948. This was an extremely bad case of suppression of the Bengali language, comparable almost to Nazi Germanisation methods. Dhalbhum people entertained fond hopes of redress, with declaration of Bengali as the regional language, and with consequent re-transfer to Bengal. But they have been thoroughly disillusioned.

And they have failed to understand the nature of implementation of the proposition that "in and around

Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City." They see, in retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar State, no more of de-provincialisation than would have been involved by its transfer to Bengal. Are they to understand that, while attachment to Bengal amounts to provincialisation, attachment to Bihar is de-provincialisation? After Rourkela grows into a City as big as Jamshedpur now is, will it (and, with it, the surrounding district of Sundargarh) be taken out of the provincialising atmosphere of Orissa and attached to Bihar, with a view to de-provincialisation? And, when Bhilani matures, will that also be handed over to Bihar, for purposes of de-provincialisation, and a corridor provided. The only tangible reason why Chaibasa and Saraikela, with magnificent Hindi percentages of 5.0 and 13.4 respectively (6.7 for the two taken together) are to be retained in Bihar, is that they would form the corridor for Bihar's contact with Jamshedpur.

SARAIKELA

Talking of Saraikela brings up the point of one small portion of it, viz, thana Kandra in the extreme north-east, wherein the predominant language is Bengali, as in rural Dhalbhum to its east and in Chandil thana of Purulia to the north. This thana hugs round the railway stations Gomharia, Kandra and Sini which are all within 7 to 16 miles (within 8 miles in every case, in cross-country trek) of Chandil, which is the place where Acharya Vinoba Bhave halted for about a month, convalescing after recovery from fever, and teaching himself Bengali so that he could make his speeches intelligible to the local people. The relative percentage figures of different languages in Kandra thana must be intermediate between those of rural Dhanbad and of Chandil; and these work out at Bengali 47.4 Santali 21.6 (of which at least half are bi-lingual Bengali-speakers), Hindi 17.6, Oriya 6.0, Bhumij and Mundari possibly 3 per cent each. There is no valid reason (unless it be the necessity of mystic de-provincialisation) why Kandra thana should not hereafter be treated as part of Purulia district which is now to be shorn of thana Chas. The rest of Saraikela and Chaibasa have definite majority of Ho (46 per cent) and Oriya (18%).

DHANBAD

An examination of any map showing thanas on the Purulia-Dhanbad border, along with perusal of the Tract Figures for Purulia, reveals at once that

"West Dhanbad, consisting of police-stations, Topchanchi, Katras, Bagmara, Jharia, Kenduadi, Joga and Jorapukhur, which covers the entire Jharia coal-field except such portions as extend to Chas-Chandankari of Purulia subdivision and to Hazaribagh district immediately adjoin the Chas-Chandankari area of Purulia, wherein the Hindi percentage is said to be 71.4 and the Bengali percentage only 22.6.

"East Dhanbad, consisting of police-stations Sindi, Baliapur, Gobindapur, Nirsha, Chirkunda, (also thana Tundi) immediately adjoin the Raghu-

nathpur area of Sadar subdivision, wherein the Hindi percentage is only 23.8 (i.e., 47.6 less than in Chas) and Bengali percentage 57.3 (i.e., 34.7 per cent more than in Chas) and Santali percentage 18.7 (i.e., 13.1 per cent more than in Chas)."

From these data it is certainly not unjustifiable to conclude that, in Dhanbad subdivision also, the Hindi percentage in the west very much exceeds that in the east, and that the Bengali percentage in the west falls short of that in the east, by something between 35 and 48 per cent; for Santali, excess in the east over that in the west, about 15 per cent. Incidentally most of the Santals are bi-linguals, their subsidiary language being Bengali and not Hindi.

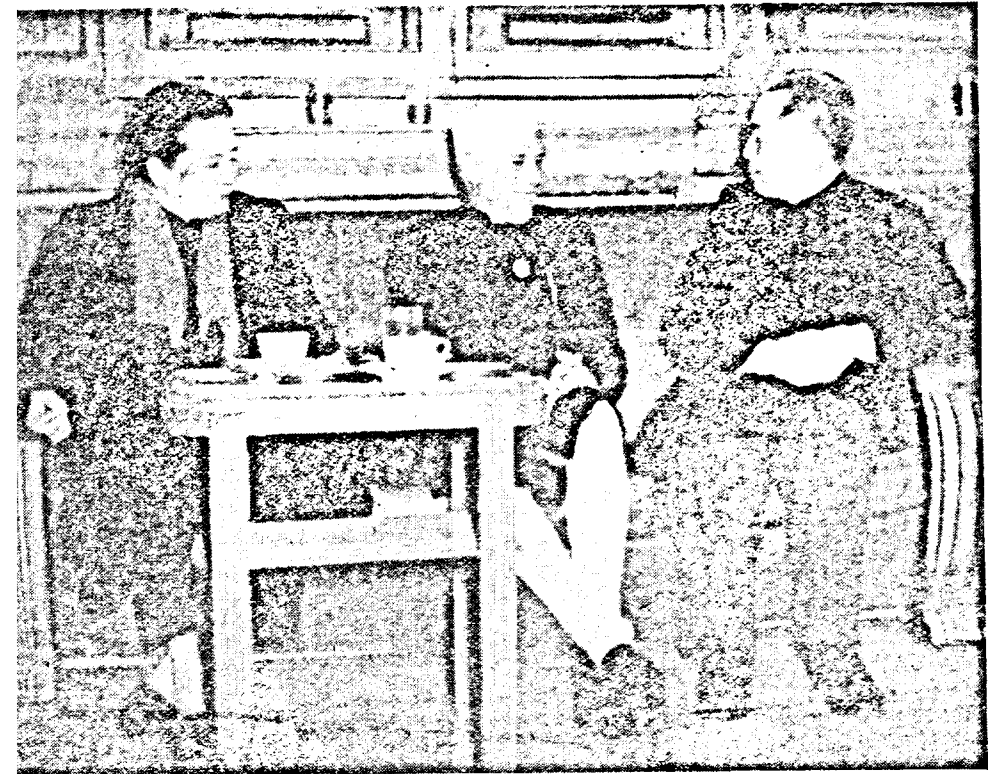
Yet another set of official figures leads to the same conclusion, these figures being of numbers of "persons employed in production other than agriculture" (which, for Dhanbad, practically means "employed in collieries or under railway administration"). The police-stations in West Dhanbad, with aggregate area 301 square miles and total population 437,261, have as many as 209,767 persons (48 per cent of total) under this head of "production other than agriculture." The police-stations in East Dhanbad have total area 489 square miles and total population 294,439, of whom only 33,518 (or less than 12 per cent) are under this category. It is chiefly the colliery and railway workers who are temporary immigrants, mere birds of passage from Hindi-speaking areas; and there is this further justification for concluding that the Hindi percentage in East Dhanbad is very considerably less than in West Dhanbad with its many collieries. In the few collieries in East Dhanbad, extension really of the Ranigunge coalfield,* the labour employed consists chiefly of permanent local residents; there are labourers from outside also, immigrating some from Hindi-speaking districts in the west, but others from the Bengal districts Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum. The local labour, and also the immigrants from Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum, have all mother-tongue Bengali or Santali, the latter group being bi-lingual, invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language. It is only the labour immigrating from the western districts that have mother-tongue Hindi. It would be safe to conclude from these facts and figures that the Bengali-Santali-speaking percentage in East Dhanbad exceeds that in West Dhanbad by about 48 per cent (35 per cent Bengali and 13 per cent Santali), and that 43 per cent is also the measure by which the Hindi percentage in West Dhanbad exceeds that in East Dhanbad. It is a pity that these points were not taken into consideration, and that East Dhanbad did not get the same treatment as that

*This extension of the Ranigunge coalfield into the Dhanbad area is entirely in pargana Pandra. This pargana Pandra had been part of Birbhum at the time of the Diwani grant, and was again for several years subsequent to that, attached to Burdwan district. The local language in Pandra has always been Bengali and Santali—never Hindi.

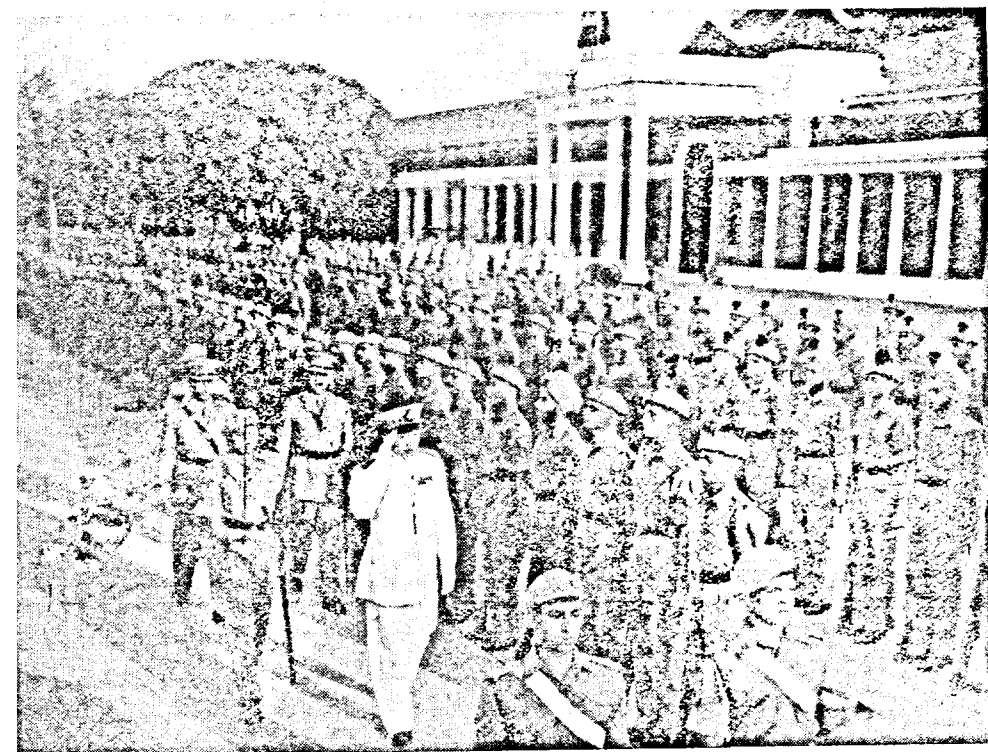
meted to the Purulia Subdivision, viz., transfer from Bihar to West Bengal. East Dhanbad's linguistic distribution is not very different from those noted in page 41 of the Language volume of the 1951 Census for Manbazar and Kashipur-Para areas of Purulia subdivision, 45 per cent Bengali, 33 per cent Hindi and about 18 per cent Santali but very different from that of West Dhanbad or of Chas, Hindi exceeding 70 per cent. Bengali round about 20 per cent and Santali 5 per cent. The majority of 45 per cent Bengali and the 18 per cent Santali-speakers are permanent local residents tied to the soil, 35 per cent Hindi-speakers are mostly immigrant wage-earners with no permanent interest in the locality. Do a lakh and three-quarters of permanent residents deserve less consideration than only 30 to 50 thousand immigrants?

Bengali had been the only Court language for Dhanbad up to 1913, in which year a notification was issued No. 379 dated 21st August, changing 'Bengali' to "both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali in Dhanbad Subdivision of Manbhum district." A notification of 1933 again changed this to "Hindusthani to be written in Nagri or Kaithi script" for Dhanbad and restricted Bengali to the Sadar (Purulia) Subdivision. The consequent banning of Bengali as Court language in Dhanbad, which had in 1933, and still has, more than 1½ lakh persons with mother-tongue Bengali was an act of very great injustice, which, comparable with Nazi methods of Germanisation, continues to the present day. Incidentally, the existence in 1913 of only 29,400 Hindi-speakers in Pakur, only 54,000 in Jamsheda, had been considered justification, rightly enough, for prescribing Hindi as an alternative Court language for the convenience of Hindi-speaking population, mostly immigrants of the nature of a floating population of wage-earners.

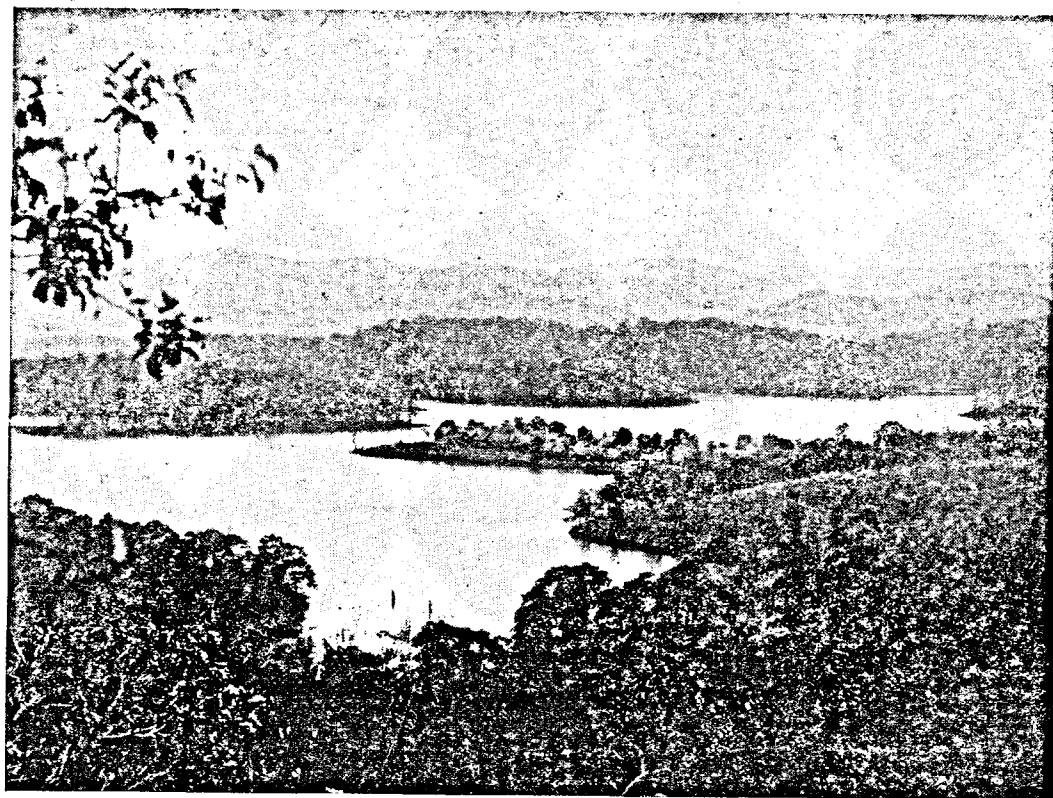
The S. R. Committee have spoken of the West Bengal Government's intention to put up a dam on the Kansai river as one of the reasons for arriving at their decision to recommend transfer of Purulia Subdivision to Bengal. There are two dams on the D.V.C. project, wherein also work will be facilitated by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal, viz., (1) the Maithon dam with its North-eastern end near Kalyaneswari temple in Burdwan district and its South-western end a few miles North-east of Kumardubi and (2) the Pachet Hill dam connecting the foot of the Pachet hill in Purulia Subdivision with a point about 5 miles South-west of Chirkunda in Dhanbad. Two different States at the two ends of the same dam may at times lead to administrative complications; and this is yet another reason though it may not, by itself be a very strong one, why the linguistic position in East Dhanbad and the desirability of its transfer to Bengal should be subjected to careful examination once again. There is a big gap between the Western end of the Ranigunge Coalfield and the eastern extremity of the Jharia Coalfield; and the Jharia field will not be



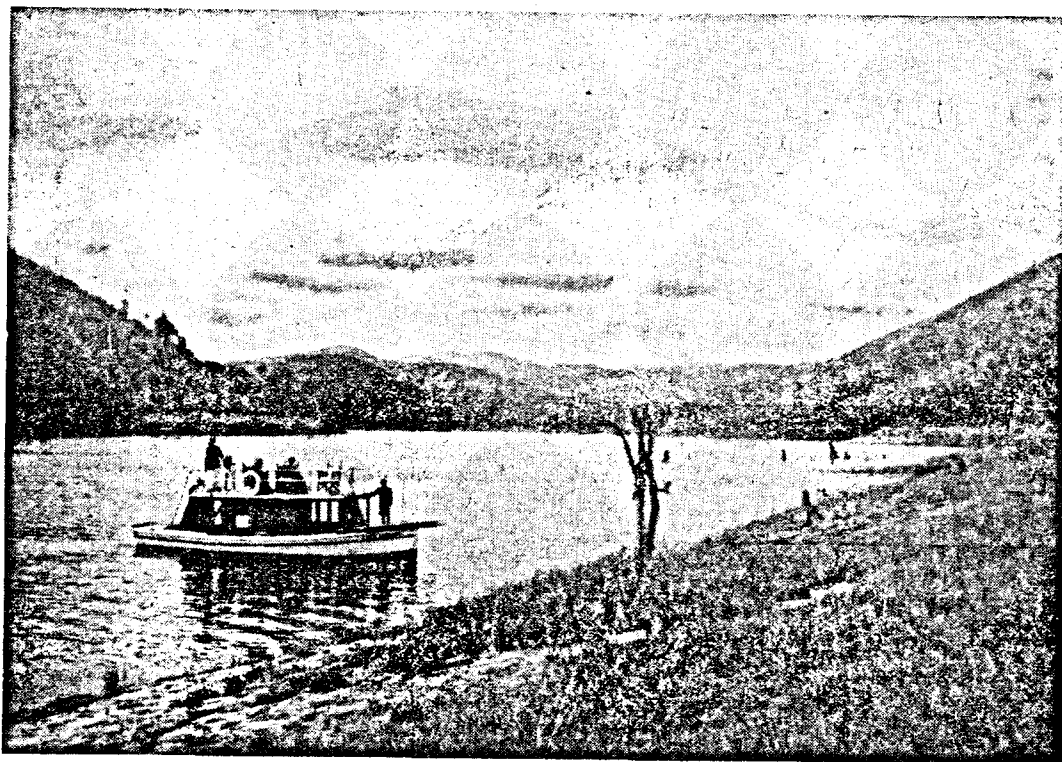
Left to right: Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China



H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Laos, who visited the Military College, Dehra Dun, is seen inspecting the parade held in his honour.



The splendour that is the High Range



Periyar Lake in the High Range. On the shores of this mountain lake is the Royal Game Sanctuary, one of the finest National Parks in the world

the least affected by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal. In fact the inclusion of the entire Raniganj field under the same administration will be a definite advantage, just as bringing into West Dhanbad the portion of the Jharia coalfield that just into the Chas area will be a measure making for administrative convenience.

Very soon after traversing Dhalbhum, Purulia and East Dhanbad one gets close to the Ajoy river which the West Bengal Government propose to utilise for a project similar to the D.V.C., and then the Mayurakshi which has already been so utilised. Both these rivers rise in the Santal Parganas.

SANTAL PARGANA

Both Ajoy and Mayurakshi rise in the Santal Parganas and have only a few miles of course therein before they enter Bengal. The Mayurakshi system has its headwaters at Masanjor in the eastern end of the Dumka Subdivision of the Santal Parganas; and there has been much unpleasantness in the past between Bihar and West Bengal about financial arrangements for a project which gives most of its benefit to Bengal but costs Bihar quite a lot of money (although, in a recent deal, Bihar has realised from Bengal a pretty large amount for rehabilitation of people displaced by the dam). Transfer of the Masanjor area to Bengal would certainly conduce to smooth working, as represented by Bengal; but there is no reference to this in the S.R. Committee's Report (in the summary at least). Mention is made of "the case for transfer of the catchment areas or a portion of territory along the Ajoy", but this is dismissed with remark that it "will be admissible only if other factors are more or less evenly balanced" which "is not the case so far as this district is concerned." How this finding of "not evenly balanced" was arrived at is not very clear; but possibly one of the points was the assumption that Bengali influence is slight in the eastern end of Santal Parganas bordering on Bengal because for "the entire Santal Parganas district Bengali influence is very slight." The possibility (nay, almost certainty) of the "16 and 13 per cent Bengali percentage in Rajmahal and Pakur" being concentrated in the eastern end, on both sides of the railway line, is not examined; and Bengal's contention about 1931 Census figures for Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur and Rajmahal is summarily dismissed.

The Committee did not evidently care to notice how 67,021 Malto-speakers of 1931, with fair distribution between the sexes, could be mutilated by the 1951 Census into only 5,744 males lording over 18,030 females (total decrease nearly 65 per cent)* how the Santali

*The Mal Paharias who speak Malto are the real Adivasis of the district, just as Bhumijes are the real Adivasis of Dhalbhum, South Manbhum and adjoining portions of Bankura, Midnapur, Mayurbhanj. (The Santals are really immigrants who came in about the year 1800, having been pushed out of their original homes in pargana Chai of Hazaribagh district by "incoming" Hindusthanis from Bihar"). Are Adivasi Mal Paharias and Bhumijes becoming

figure could have gone up by nearly 30 per cent (from 761,068 to 982,170) in the Santal Parganas simultaneously with decrease by 33 per cent (from 73,377 to 49,205) in Dhanbad and a nominal increase of 9 per cent (from 97,119 to 105,586) in Dhalbhum, how Bengali figures in subdivisions at safe distance from Bengal border jumped up (in Deoghar from 13,609 to about 45 thousand or by 23%, in Araria from 1,210 to 15,256 or by 1,157 per cent, in Chaibasa from 6,412 to 30,270 or by 372 per cent) at the expense of languishing figures on the Bengal border Jamtara cut down from 73,091 to 15,877 or by 78%, Pakur from 68,792 to 32,120 or by 53 per cent, Kisanganj from 59,393 to 17,038 or by 70%; they ignored also the Bihar Census Superintendent's observations about "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect" which should be coupled with his further assertion that "it is not easy to distinguish between these Bihari dialects and the Western Rarhi form of Bengali," with no reference whatever to non-existent similarity of these "dialects spoken at home" with any genuine dialect of Bihari or of any other form of Hindi.

It is indeed very strange that the S. R. Committee, realizing though they do, the desirability of "enabling West Bengal to control entirely one or more points at which the Ganga river can be crossed," could speak seriously about objection resulting from loss for Bihar of the Rajmahal coalfield. I have not been able to ascertain what the value of the Rajmahal coalfield is—it is not even mentioned in the typed copy that I could secure of the statement at the end of the Report of the Indian Coalfield Committee, 1946. The only coalfields in the Santal Pargana mentioned therein are Raniganj, 10½ million tons, and Jamtara, 4½ million tons, total 15½ million tons; and possibly Rajmahal, (carelessly omitted in the typed copy which reached my hands) does not exceed 10 million tons. These are microscopic figures compared with what Bihar has got in the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau, more than 10,000 million tons and in the Jharia field 2,351 million tons. Will Bihar's economy be really affected by the loss of only about 2% of its huge coal resources whose quantity is larger than the aggregate of all the other States within the Indian Union? In fact, it is very doubtful if Bihar will be able to provide in the near future, or even in several future decades, either the man-power or the technical skill necessary for beginning the exploitation of its 12,000 and odd million tons. West Bengal has at present not more than 2,352 million tons and will, on transfer of Purulia, get possibly another 167 million tons (½ of the 502 million tons of the Raniganj coalfield within the present Bihar

extinct under Bihar Government's paternal administration? Or, is it only a case of an absolutely inefficient Census or of ill-conceived manipulation of Census figures? How long will it take Bihar's paternal Government to liquidate Santals, after they have ceased to be useful as a stick for thrashing the Bengalis?

border). Transfer of East Dhanbad's 335 million tons as well, and also of the entire Jharia coalfield's 2351 million tons, will not bring up Bengal's total to very much more than 5,000 million tons i.e., only about half of what would still be retained by Bihar even after transfer of the entire Dhanbad Subdivision. Calcutta is now the biggest industrial centre within the Indian Union; and it is for consideration by the Central Government whether West Bengal's or Bihar's need for coal resources is the more important and the more urgent.

PURNEA

The S. R. Committee's gift of a narrow corridor to the east of Mahananda river looks like a practical joke comparable only to that practised by a former Ruler of the Junagarh state on Lord Curzon who was presented with a dozen monkeys in response to a requisition for a seaport, (also Bandar in the vernacular). While the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal Congress submitted representations about their difficulties in respect of rail transport, the Committee, possibly out of present-day airmindedness, have given something which requires air transport before Barsoi is reached. And, even as a corridor, the strip offered is of no use, because "east of the Mahananda" does not reach up to Darjeeling district, it ends at a point on the Bihar-Pakistan border about 20 miles south of the southernmost point of Darjeeling district.

*Incidentally, it may be mentioned that "east of the Mahananda" is a very unfortunate and very incorrect expression which was first used in the Bengal Census Report of 1872, which made the further mistake of describing Mahananda as the Mahanaddy. This Report stated, "The thanas east of the Mahanaddy, Kaliagunge, Kisangunge and Balrampur, are purely inhabited by Bengalees, and large numbers of them are found on the right (i.e. west) bank of the river." Another statement is that "The Kosi river used to be the old boundary of Bihar, but Hindusthanis are the prevailing race for some distance beyond." "Some distance beyond" is presumably very much less than the wide expanse between the Kosi and the Mahananda; and this suggests that the Hindi-Bengali dividing line is somewhere near the middle of this wide expanse. And corroboration of this comes from the further statement that "If it were possible to draw a hard and fast line which should divide the country inhabited by Bengalees from that inhabited by Hindusthanis speaking a dialect of Hindi, it should perhaps run in a vertical direction through the police-stations of Amour Kusba and Kudba."

Grierson also made the mistake of noting on page 119 vol. V, part I of the *Linguistic Survey* that "the western limit of Bengali may be roughly taken to be the river Mahananda," although what he really intended was that Bengali extended to far beyond the western bank of the Mahananda, as described on page 139: "That (the Bengali) language, may be taken as

occupying the eastern third of the district (Purnea), that is to say, the whole of the Kisangunge and the eastern half of the Sadar subdivision. This dialect, closely resembling the Koch Bengali of Malda is called Kisanganj or Siripuria, and is returned as spoken by 603,623 souls."

Politicians in Calcutta, unacquainted with the geography of Purnea district, took up the cry of "east of the Mahananda," with the disastrous result that the so-called corridor fails to serve as a corridor. And, even over this insufficient corridor, the S. R. Committee have imposed certain conditions to be observed by West Bengal Government viz, (1) to recognise the special position of Urdu in this area and (2) to make a clear announcement that no displaced persons from Pakistan would be sent to this densely peopled area. They took no notice of (1) the Bihar Census Superintendent's observation that in "the district of Purnea on the Bengal and East Pakistan border, Urdu is practically unknown, except among educated Muslims, and the vast majority of the population (including of course Muslims) speak a mixed Maithili-Bengali dialect known as Kisanganjia, (2) the facts that Bihar Government's choice of place for refugees from Pakistan had been chiefly Purnea district and the still more densely-peopled district Champaran, that Bengalee refugees were never admitted to sparsely-peopled areas in east Santal Parganas or east Manbhum or east Dhalbhum, that Chakulia in Dhalbhum had been made available for refugees from West-Pakistan in 1947 but that as soon as the Punjab refugees left, the sheds were deliberately pulled down, to make it possible to report that no accommodation was available for refugees from East-Pakistan. Will the S. R. Committee which have asked for an announcement of no refugee infiltration for Purnea be good enough to ask the Bihar Government to announce that they would hereafter settle East-Pakistan refugees in East Dhalbhum and in Jamtara and Dumka subdivision of the Santal Parganas in large numbers, until density of population now ranging between 280 and 463 rises to 500 per square mile?

Will the Committee recommend the immediate restoration of Bengali as one of the Court languages in Dhalbhum and in Dhanbad, for the convenience, in either case, of more than 185 thousand persons with mother-tongue Bengali and 20 to 30 thousand bi-lingual tribals who speak Bengali as their subsidiary language (numbers not insignificant in comparison with that of the so-called Urdu-speakers in the so-called corridor to the east of the Mahananda river)? And, will they further request the Bihar Government to take such measures as may be necessary to stop the tribals' march towards extinction, march that has brought down the Bhumij number from 36,212 to 922, the Malpaharia number from 67,021 to 23,774 and in Dhanbad only the Santal number from 73,377 to 49,265, (reductions exceeding 24 to 44 times the number of Tibetans or Sikhs (or Kazaks?) that perished in the fateful Rupkund valley)?

ASSAM

I have no personal knowledge of condition on the Assam border, and cannot venture to offer any comment, except to note on only two points viz:

(1) As the aeroplane flies (though not as the crow flies), Dhubri is on the route from Calcutta. Transfer to Bengal of this subdivision alone of the Goalpara district would be of the greatest advantage.

(2) The observation in the Assam Census Report of 1951 about "the aggressive linguistic nationalism now prevailing in Assam, coupled with the desire of many persons among the Muslims as well as tea garden labour immigrants to adopt Assamese in the State of their adoption. It is not unlikely that some amongst the persons who have returned their mother-tongue as Assamese have done so from dubious motives, even though their knowledge of Assamese may not amount to much" reveals a parallel case with that of Muslims in Purnea who really ignorant of Urdu, return Urdu as their mother-tongue. And quite possibly Pakistani Muslims now in Assam will, after a decade or two, i.e., after they have securely established themselves by driving out Bengali-speaking Hindus, again change their decision about language to declare and return Urdu as their mother-language. Of course they would be speaking Koch Bengali all the time; Urdu will be as much a false declaration then as Assamese is now.

GENERAL

Just as this note is ready for the Press, reports arrive of the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry Mr. Krishnamachari's speech in Jamshedpur on 15th October, paying glowing tributes to the memory of an unassuming Bengali geologist Mr P. N. Bose whose bust still adorns the Park in Jamshedpur, and whose advice was the determining factor in changing Tata's selection of site for their Iron Works, from villages in the C. P. (now Madhya Pradesh) to villages Kalimati and Sakchi in the extreme north-western corner of Dhalbhum. The new project attracted practically no interest in Bihar for many years yet; and the preliminary work, from 1908 to 1911, was done almost entirely by local labour, Bengalees, Bhumijes and Santals, guided by a small party of Parsi and Bengali overseers under the general supervision of German engineers and from 1911, also by an American Foreman Mr. Tutwiler. There was practically no Hindi-speaking labour—in fact, the Hindi-speaking percentage in the district population in 1911 was only 4.9, a very small advance over the percentage 20 years earlier, 4.8 in 1891. The Hindi percentage in Dhalbhum was so small (possibly less than 2) as to be left out of account by

the Census Superintendent in his summary in para 722 of his Report. The Bengali percentage in Dhalbhum was 40, Oriya 11, Santali and Bhumij nearly 40, with a very considerable proportion of bi-linguals, the subsidiary language being invariably Bengali. Bengali-speakers still outnumber Hindi-speakers by nearly 50 per cent in Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, possibly by 500 per cent if Jamshedpur City is left out of account; and it is no wonder that Bengalis feel sorely disappointed over retention of Dhalbhum in Bihar, and, on top of that, the banning of Bengali as a Court language.

But even more painful than the unjust decision of retention in Bihar has been the expression by the S. R. Committee of suspicion about the veracity of statements by Bengalis that a letter written in 1912 by five top-ranking Bihar leaders contained the words: "the whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking, and they should go to Bengal." The letter was published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on 4th January 1912; and one of its signatories Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-law, Calcutta High Court, had 12 days earlier seconded Sapru's resolution in the Congress recommending re-adjustment of boundaries on the linguistic basis. The *Bengalee* of the 4th January 1942 is in the file maintained by the Indian Association, and would have been produced at once if any member of the Committee had only spoken about his suspicion to any one of the many representatives of West Bengal that appeared before the Committee. West Bengal, although very anxious to get back Manbhum and Dhalbhum, would not stoop to mean tricks like fake quotations alleged to be from District Gazeteers, manipulation of Census figures or riotous processions proclaiming *Janamat* or the kind recently demonstrated before cinema houses in Jharia.

The West Bengal Government's assent to the proposition that "in and around Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City on cultural or linguistic grounds" does not certainly support the inclusion of Jamshedpur City in Bihar, any more than in West Bengal—and it had no reference at all to the vast area of Dhalbhum more than, say, 15 miles east, or 8 miles south of Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur has no contiguity with Bihar shorn of Purulia except through the very questionable corridor of Oriya-speaking (27 per cent) and also Bengali-speaking (24 per cent) Saraikela and Kharsawan, wherein Hindi-speakers form less than 13 per cent of the population, but all the same lucky Bihar wins the prize. And on some future day perhaps, P. N. Bose's bust will be pulled down.



A SURGEON WHO WAS A PAINTER

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

It is seldom that surgery and painting go together, but in the case of the late Dr. A. R. Poduval of Trichur, there was apparently nothing incongruous between his calling as a medical man and his devotion to the pictorial art. It was as a surgeon that he made for himself a name, but strangely enough, it is as an artist that he is remembered today, and will be, in the years to come. The paradox can be explained this way, that he never sought the limelight in the world of art during his lifetime, but painted solely for his own pleasure, to give

racy of circumstances, he could not go to Europe, and much against his will, joined the Medical College, Madras.

But he never gave up painting. The cherished desire of his life—a term of training in some European academy—was at last realised, when in 1916, he went to England to study advanced Medicine and Surgery. The short course he took there in painting proved subsequently the decisive factor in his evolution as an artist. Henceforth his themes would be presented in



Violinist, London



Girl at the Post-Box, London

expression to the joy that is in painting. It is not surprising, therefore, that many did not recognise the artist in him till, after his death, his pictures found their way into some of the exhibitions held in the South.

It was indeed much against his will that Poduval became a medical man. His early life was spent in the practice of art, obviously preparing for a career in its service. Even as a boy, he could win the favour of the royalty of Cochin with a portrait of a senior prince, and through the court, the acquaintance of Raja Ravi Varma who was then in the height of his fame. Ravi Varma, "greatly struck by the sketches and studies of animals and landscapes" done by young Poduval, particularly by their "originality and fidelity to nature," suggested to him to undergo a course of training in some academy in Europe. But, by a conspi-

techniques so skilfully developed by Western masters. He believed that art is a universal language, and hence had no hesitation in adopting those techniques that served him best in expressing his ideas. He saw service in Mesopotamia during the closing years of the First World War, and during this period, he sketched the landscapes of the land of the Caliphs. He went to Europe once again, and that was in 1928. Besides taking the Degree of M.D. from the Hamburg University, he visited all the famous art-centres of Europe, studying the latest trends and developments in painting. It was his desire to devote his entire time to art after retirement, but his death in 1940, two years after leaving service in the erstwhile Cochin State as Director of Public Health, put an end to all his planning.

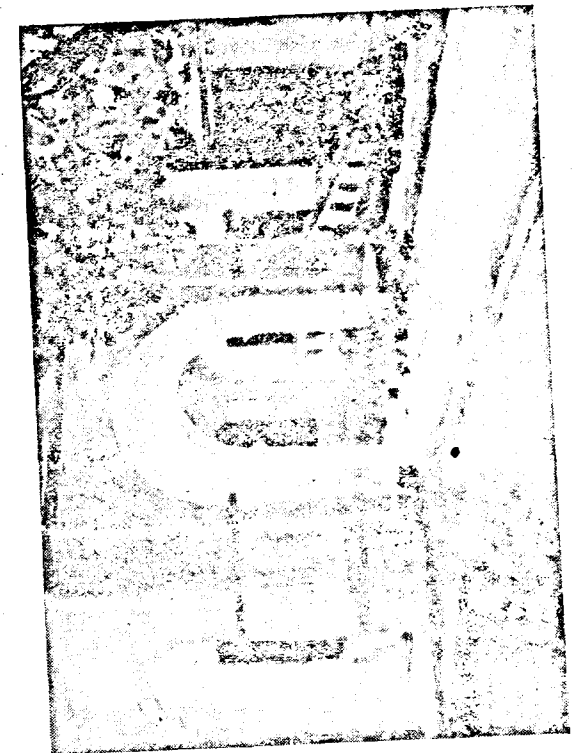
As an artist, Poduval had his own preferences for

A SURGEON WHO WAS A PAINTER

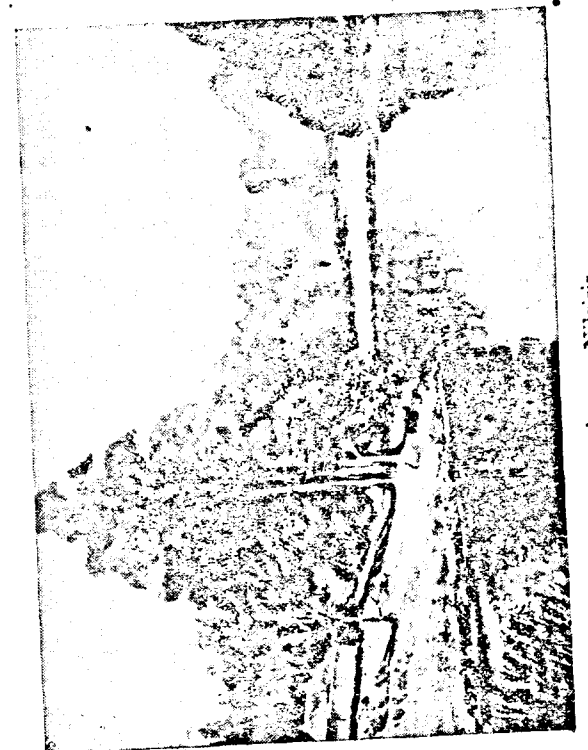
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Still Life Study of Flowers and Fruits, London



Lampit Porch, Mesopotamia



Landscape, Nilgiris

media, subjects and schools. He has worked with water-colour, pen and ink, charcoal, chalk and crayon,

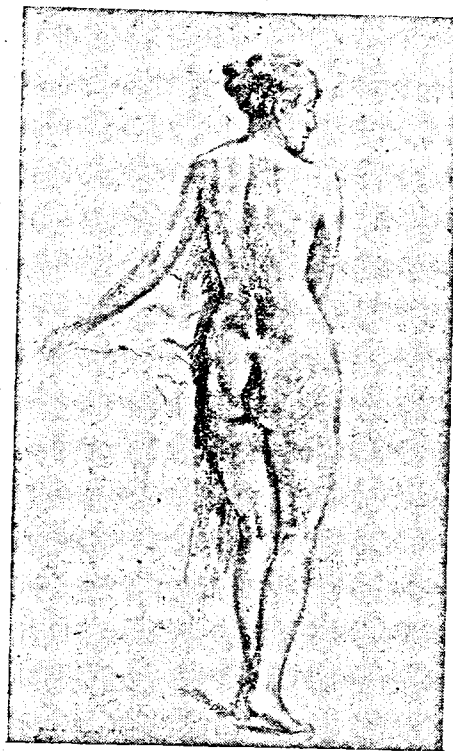


In the Rain, Trichur



The Artist, Dr. A. R. Poduval

but his predilection was for water colour. An endless variety of subjects has fascinated him—landscapes, human and animal forms, still lives, etc., but he is seen at his best in rendering landscapes. The influence of Western schools, particularly of Impressionism, is manifest in his pictures, but there is absolutely no trace of unimaginative imitation. The landscapes he has executed under the influence of Impressionism are perhaps his best paintings. His main concern is with the fugitive effects of light, and other details being treated as secondary. The reflections in water in some of his pictures show the minutest vibrations of light. This



Nude in Crayon

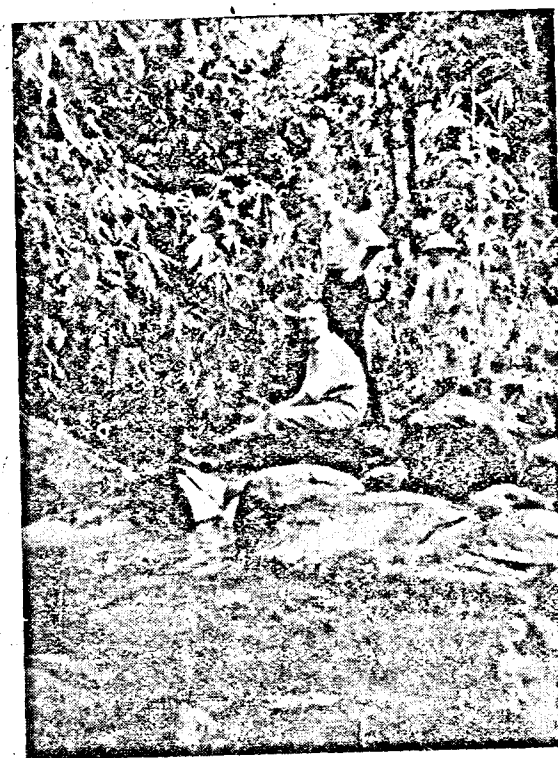
effect is achieved by the method of painting with broken touches. His studies of human and animal forms are different in that light is no longer "the principal person" in them. They give us an impression of rugged simplicity, of weight, density and solidity. His was a bold hand emphasising the outstanding features of the subject with a few strokes of the brush. His colours are bright, but never aggressive. On the whole, there is a sure touch of genius, of perfect mastery, and an unmistakable note of honesty and sincerity of purpose in all his works. The sympathy with which he has treated his human forms also cannot fail to make a strong impression on our vision.

THE HIGH RANGE—SCENIC PLAYGROUND OF INDIA

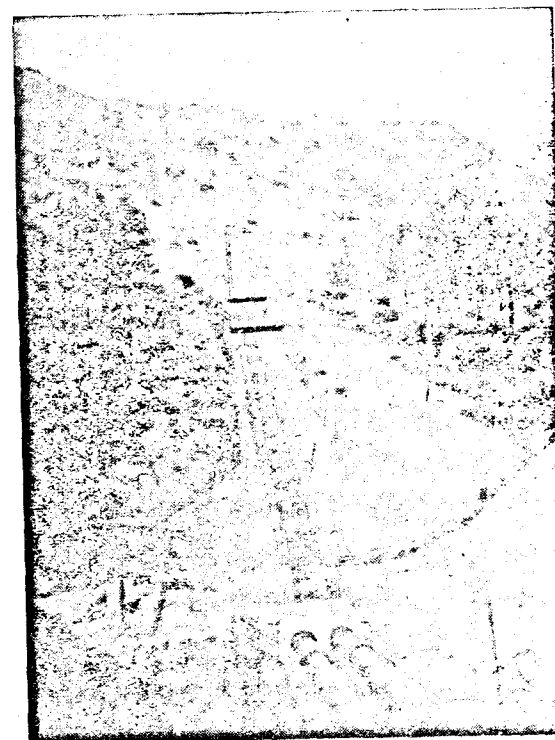
By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

No person who is a lover of the mountains can afford to miss the delightful trip to the High Range in Travancore-Cochin. It is a mountain range resplendent with life, colour and charm. For a traveller whose heart is after new experiences, grave and gay, amid the grandeur of scenery acknowledged to be without peer, the High Range—the region of sunny plains, glistening mountains, singing woods, roaring torrents, full-blooded aborigines, unique and diversified fauna and flora, gigantic hydro-electric undertakings, vast tea, rubber and cardamom estates—offers a diversity of attractions. The manifold charms of the magnificent primeval

beautiful and under extensive cultivation. Tapioca, banana, pepper and vegetables are grown in abundance in these plains. The pepper gardens are a feast to the eye. The picturesque road traverses the rubber region and amidst entrancing brown and emerald mountains. From either side of the winding road rise the rubber gardens and it is like driving through lovely parks. In serried ranks the rubber trees stand sentinel looking cool and shady in the tropical sun. The rest of the journey is through dense jungles, interspersed here and there by tea plantations. Miles and miles of hilly slopes are covered by tea shrubs. On the summits of the vast tea



A mountain stream in the High Range.
Tourists are taking rest after hiking in the forest



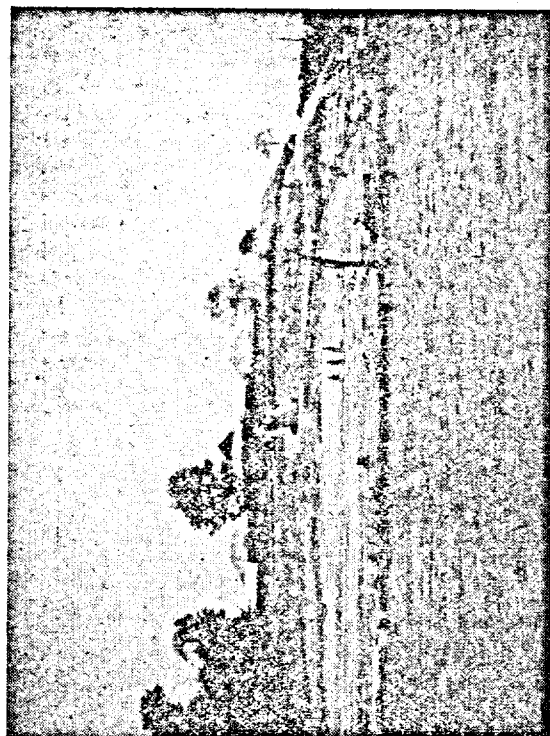
Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project.
Pen Stock lines piercing the forest

forests are displayed at their best in the High Range, known also as the *Anamalais* or "Elephant Hills," for they are the favourite haunts of wild elephants. Anamudi, the loftiest peak in Southern India, is in the centre of the High Range and rises 8837 feet high. With a length of six miles and a breadth of three miles, the High Range includes five peaks, all over 7200 feet high. Just below the High Range are the Cardamom plantations in the hills, the height of which varies from 5099 feet to 7900 feet above sea level.

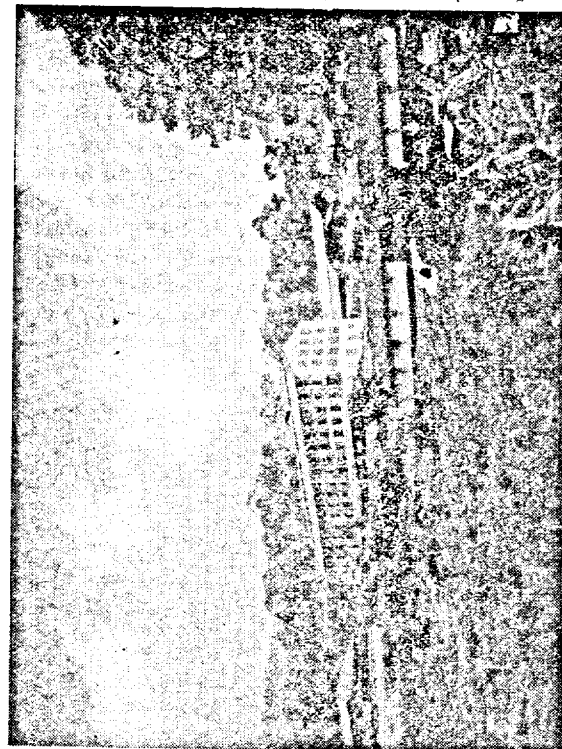
The journey to the High Range, through hills and dales, offers many thrills to the keen motorist and rider. The first stretch of way lies across fertile plains, most

plantations are perched beautiful bungalows commanding panoramic views all round. Ferns and other trees embellish the flanks of the road, often disputing the right of way with the traveller. All around the tourist is a conflagration of colours, and he is enraptured by the rhythm of the hills and dales, romantic ravines, and wide expanses. The quaint and lovely mountain villages in the fragrant forest glades with the picturesque forestfolk crowding the weekly bazaars make a lasting and delightful impression in the mind of the seeing and understanding tourist.

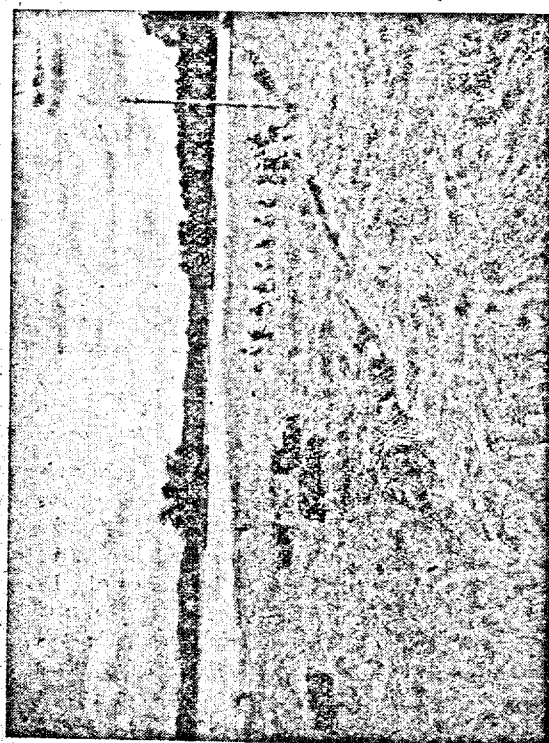
The High Range possesses the most wonderful and variegated scenery and a lovely climate during the dry



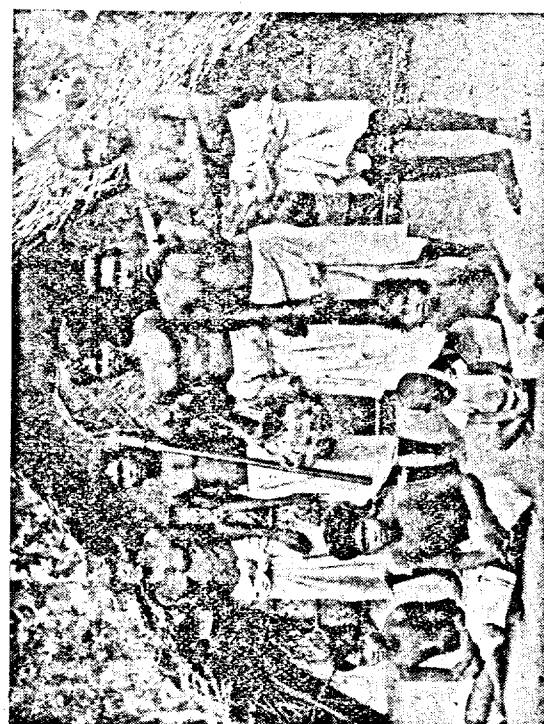
On the shores of the Periyar Lake



A tea estate in the High Range



On the way to the High Range. A view of the plains with extensive paddy cultivation



Forest folk, who cultivate the jungle, in front of a hut made by them

THE HIGH RANGE—SCENIC PLAYGROUND OF INDIA

months when the landscape symphony is full and charming. The two older hill towns in the High Range are Munnar and Devicolum, and the most recent settlement is Chitrapuram. Situated almost on the summit of the High Range, the lovely little town of Munnar takes its name from its situation at the confluence of three mountain streams, called Kundala, Kanni, and Nallathanni. The Munnar Valley is 5000 feet above sea level, in the north-eastern High Range, and is the centre of tea plant-

small mountain stream at the foot of the hills. The and Bottom Stations, at either extremity of this ropeway are picturesque outposts from where the visitor may look over to other ranges of hills. From the Top Station could be seen the Palni Hills, and Kodaikanal is but 30 miles from these hills. To the pioneering spirit of the enterprising European planters, Munnar owes its birth and rapid growth. A beautifully laid-out town with all modern civic amenities, nestling amidst

picturesque hills, it has a population of about 40,000 and has a first-class and second-class rest-house where tourists could stay in comfort. The famous Pallivasal Falls, the main source of hydro-electric power in the State, is only four miles to the west of Munnar, and has an elevation of 3,800 feet. At Chitrapuram, not far from the Pallivasal Falls, are the quarters and offices of the staff attached to the hydro-electric works. The Kundala Valley, which is being converted into a sanatorium is situated above Munnar. The Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project is well worth a visit. Inaugurated in February 1944 this huge white coal generating enterprise is situated in a region where Nature revels in her wildest and grandest form. In this region where dense wood and profuse water mingle, man's handiwork



Chitrapuram—a, picturesque Hill Town in the High Range

ation and the most favourite summer resort. 92 miles from Kottayam and 82 miles from Ernakulam, Munnar is easily accessible from the plains by the Neriamangalam Pallivasal Road and is connected by a good motor road, turning off from the main central road at the town of Muvattupuzha. Munnar is also linked up with Coimbatore by a motor road through Pollachi and Udumalpet. A hundred miles long, this road is known as the Northern Outlet Road. On this road are the, picturesquely situated camp sheds at Thalliar and Chinnar. The 60 mile long Neriamangalam-Pallivasal Road which pierces the heart of dense forest, has made, through communication possible. A bridle path from Bodinayikannur to the Top Station also leads to the High Range. Bodinayikannur may be reached by train from Madura or by bus from the Kodaikanal Road. Sixty-five miles eastward on the Alwaye-Munnar Road is the viewpoint of Lockhart Gap, which affords a panoramic view of the Cardamom Hills and Chitrapuram.

Munnar is the headquarters of the tea industry in the State of Travancore-Cochin. It is a delightful pastime to drive round the beautiful, terraced tea-gardens through winding roads. The transport of tea is partly done over an aerial ropeway 18 miles long, one of the longest of its kind, and quite an ingenious mechanism which is worked by a turbine driven by a



Hill tribes inhabiting the High Range

has created a marvel of engineering skill in the Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project whose maximum estimated output of energy will be 29,000 kilowatts capable of turning out annually 200 million units.

Situated in the cool heights of the High Range, Devicolam is the queen of hill stations in the State. Devicolam (old) is ten miles to the south-east of

spot where the aboriginal tribes share the forests with wild beasts. Shooting game in the High Range is subject to the control exercised by the Peermade Game Association. In the many mountain streams and pretty lakes, masheer and trout fishing could be enjoyed. Elephant, bison, bear, tiger, leopard, sambur, deer, wild, boar, panther wild dog, wild doe, jungle sheep, these and



Cardamom plants in the High Range

Munnar and is easily accessible by a motor road. A sanctuary for the lover of nature, this place derives its name from a lovely idyllic lake with which is associated many stories and legends. Devicolam (new) is the head-quarters of the Taluk. Ideal weather prevails at Devicolam, rendering it one of the best hill stations in India. There is an excellent rest-house at Devicolam where the tourist could stay in comfort and see the terraced hills studded with tea shrubs nearby, and in the distance the virgin forest, and occasionally hear the angry growls of carnivorous animals and trumpeting of wild elephants, breaking the uncanny silence of the place. Oodumbanchola, 26 miles from Devicolam, situated in the heart of densest jungle, is a pretty forest village surrounded by a deep elephant trench. The intrinsic charms of the mountain range display themselves in the many hidden haunts, nooks and creeks.

The forests in the High Range form the natural habitat of a wonderful variety of big and small game. A happy hunting ground alike to the expert cameraman and the enterprising *shikari*, this region is a beauty-



Huts of hill tribes in the High Range

many other animals are found in large numbers in the primeval forests which present a sublime idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. A constantly changing variety of mountain scenery—hills and dales in quick succession, summits and peaks clothed with mist, rocky escarpments, woodlands, deep gorges, ravines, precipices, vast plateaus, many streams gurgling and careering, little brooks and rivulets, leaping and tumbling cascades—greet the tourist and provide him with a succession of changing thrills. The climate in the High Range has a languorous warmth in the summer. In the winter there is beautiful, scintillating sunshine, with a tinge of chillness which is bracing.

The High Range affords ample scope for research to the enterprising ethnologist and anthropologist, for the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the dense forests are so different from each other in appearance and mode of life, manners and customs. The hill-folk who live in and cultivate the forests are a set of very interesting people, primitive in dress, shy by nature, and generally contented. Divided into many tribes and exogamous clans, they have many curious customs and stories and legends steeped in the background of tradition which add

THE HIGH RANGE—SCENIC PLAYGROUND OF INDIA

to the colour and romance of their wild life. Some of the hill tribes, like the *Mala Uralis*, *Mannans* and *Muthuvans* are comparatively more civilised than their brethren in the other hills due to their contact with the planters. They take delight in wearing shirts, coats and turbans. Of extremely active habits and ever alert, they have developed a keen sense of smell which enables them to scent out wild animals with amazing ease. Their primary occupations are hunting in the dense forest and cultivation of hill paddy on the slopes of the mountains. They are highly superstitious and awfully afraid of their chieftains, medicine-men and priests and the primitive gods whom they speak of as the "S'iving Ones." Their folk-songs and community dances indicate their nearness to earth, their simplicity, and hoary belief in tradition. Pleasure and excitement expressed in wild dances and songs, oftentimes stimulated by intoxicating beverages, find their outbursts during festive occasions. If you want to know the good-natured freedom-loving, pagan forest folk, sun-bronzed and handsome in a wild sort of way, you should get into touch with these hill tribes who live in closest association with nature. Though rude in talk they are most hospitable and friendly, and of expert assistance to hunters and hikers. Their tree-houses called *Anamadams* (elephant huts) made of reeds and bamboos, serve as safety huts protecting them from marauding wild elephants. To share the tree-house with the forest folk and to bag wild game is an unforgettable experience for any *shikari* who is eager to adorn his home with magnificent trophies. If the tourist-shikari so chooses he could convert hunting expeditions into exciting stalks for shooting with the camera instead of the gun.

To the painters and hikers who spy out Nature's hidden moods and pranks and the poets with songs in their hearts who seek out the sublime in eternity, in the woods, clouds, waters and mountains, the High Range around Munnar constitutes a supremely lovely paradise for camping, picnic, hiking, mountaineering, angling, boating, shooting, and for recouping health and vigour. The best time to commune with the manifold charms of the High Range is between the months of December and June when dry weather prevails.

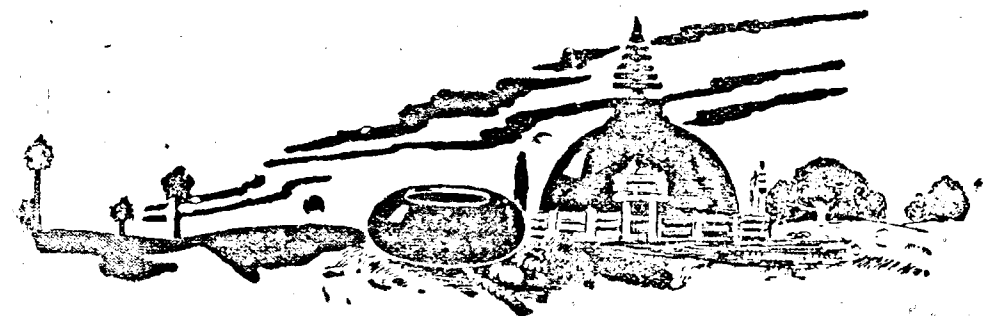
Blessed with exceptional climate privileges,

enchantingly beautiful mountain villages, transport facilities, cordial inhabitants, and an diversity of scenery, fauna and flora, the High Range is a goal for tourists, botanists, anthropologists, ethnologists, ornithologists and *shikaris*, and the influx of visitors to this region bears evidence to the unique charms of the High Range, the best known summer



Pallivasal water-falls in the High Range

resort in South India. There is nothing artificial about the place. The High Range is not a place essentially for the man who uses his legs. For a holiday that is very different and exceedingly charming, come to the High Range, the scenic Playground of India, a veritable palette of colour. He who has once communed with the bounteous charms of the High Range will ever long to visit it again.



"KOLO"—THE ENSEMBLE OF NATIONAL DANCES OF SERBIA

WHEN a citizen of Belgrade wishes to show any foreign visitor something he is particularly proud of, more often than not he will take him to the concert of the "Kolo," the Ensemble of the National Dances of Serbia.



Macedonian folk-dancers

The "Kolo" has developed out of the traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the continuous intensive creative genius of the anonymous artist whose feelings and moods have been expressed in song and dance. For although the most beautiful examples of popular song and dance traditions probably belong to bygone days, nevertheless now and then masters of dance and brilliant interpreters of popular songs are still to be found among the population of towns and villages.

The programme of a performance of the "Kolo" is a picture of the variety and wealth of songs and dances prevailing all over the country. "What a geography course; what a lesson in sociology"—was the exclamation of a well-known Paris critic after the first "Kolo" concert in the Palais Chaillot.

And indeed, the Warlike Rugovo dance with its Yatagan duel for the lady is succeeded by the lively dance of Eastern Serbia followed by the ancient "Dumb Dance" of Glamoc, accompanied

only by the jingle of the jewellery; the famous Macedonian "Teskoto" succeeds the Montenegrin high-lander dances accompanied by singing; in the "Dalmatian jig" the lads swing the girls sweepingly around the "liyerka" instrument players; in the "Shota" the audience is impressed by ancient love lore; the pagan accents of the "Rusalija" evoke the realities of magic and charm, then followed by five smiling Vojvodina lads competing in a masterful measure around daggers stuck in the ground. People and countries unfold before us. Yugoslavia, the land of plains, mountains, sea-coasts, the tortured slavery under the Turkish yoke, the struggle for freedom and the heroic living traditions; men, proud, self-confident, exhilarated and sustained, always masters of dance; luxurious costumes of gold, silk and wonderful embroidery; all this and much else passes before our wondering eyes to be terminated—usually by two large dance suites. A Serbian and Croatian one—whose happy mood and the rapturous beauty of form and movement leave an unforgettable impression, and a longing to see it all again. For, in these dances there is nothing artificial, everything is genuine, sincere, everything comes straight from the heart and therefore conquers the hearts (Brugsch Handelsblad, Brugges). The visit to Switzerland in 1950 was a sensational one; the very next year the



Montenegrin folk dance in traditional costumes

"Kolo" won three first prizes at the Festival at Llangollen (Wales), for national dance, for solo national song and for solo national instrument. The Ensemble visited London three times (in 1952 alone 28 performances at

the Cambridge theatre), Holland and Switzerland; then follows a tour of Belgium, Austria, Greece, Turkey and Western Germany and, in addition to a tour of the whole of France, the "Kolo" gave fifty concerts at the Palais Chaillot in Paris on three occasions.

Unanimous in praise, the foreign critics, many of which are well-known experts in musical folklore, pointed out that the interpretation of national dances was rendered in a perfect form, and with a purity, precision and such a sincere animation that it constituted a great creation of art. "Every dance unfolds a new page of a richly illustrated book on the Balkans and we, like children, acclaim with joy and applaud every new scene,

and there is no end to our admiration and wonder"—writes, for instance, the *Duisburger Anzeiger*. Like many others, Cyril Beaumont, the English ballet expert, expressed the opinion that this Ensemble "will do more to bring nations together than a dozen diplomatic conferences." And indeed, youth talent and beauty, happily united in this Ensemble as the guardians of a traditional culture, unwittingly become the instruments of the great longing of humanity for peace, for, by the force of their art, speaking sincerely to all the peoples of the world, they remove the barriers among men and States.—*Yugoslav Embassy Bulletin*.

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SRI SUBRAMANYA BHARATI KAVISWARAM

The Great Tamil Poet of the South

By NARENDRA DEV

IN the vast domain of our poetry it is very difficult to define the position of a multivocal composer like the illustrious Tamil poet Sri Subramanya Bharati Kaviswaram who can be truly described as poetry personified.

From the stories and legendary lores surrounding his wonderful life-history we can easily gather that the Poet lived a divine life. He was well-versed in our sacred ancient literature in which is enshrined the wisdom of ages, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagabat Geeta, etc. He was also fully adept in all the best Kavyas and Puranas of our land. He lived virtually on that supra-mental plane of higher thoughts and ideas which was the preserve of the Rishis and sages of old.

Bharati worshipped Sakti or Mahakali, his great Mother and the Mother of this Universe, as the symbol of the immanent and transcendent force pervading all the creation.

As a poet Subramanya Bharati certainly impresses one with his boldness, his grand and beautiful conceptions, his noble ideas and subtle emotions, his powerful passions and sacred sentiments, his higher inspirations and joyous ecstasies. Going through the English translation of some of his best lyrics I am convinced that he was a poet of a very high order. He was also a popular poet, popular not only with the masses but also with the classes. His poems are easy to follow but they are pregnant with lofty visions and sublime ideals, with scholarly erudition and logical precision, with philosophical outlook and poetic emotion.

Great art is never born without an urge in the artist himself for self-expression. Poet Bharati had that

urge. He has expressed himself in the way, a creative genius always does.

He was an ardent lover of freedom. His great zeal for liberty turned him into a revolutionary patriot. He came into the field of literature during the exciting days of the Swadeshi Movement. The Movement was started in Bengal and spread itself in other provinces. It was a political upheaval in India in the early part of the twentieth century. He imbibed the strong and vigorous spirit emanating from the Vedas and the Upanishads. *Nayamatma balaheenena labhya*. This was the teaching of Swami Vivekananda the Sanyasi patriot and saint of Bengal, whose fearless and forceful ideas were followed by Lal, Bal and Pal, the great trio of the independence movement of India.

It is a matter of pride and pleasure for me to find that Subramanya Bharati passed his Entrance Examination from the Calcutta University; and from Bengal, the birthplace of All Freedom Movements, he was initiated in the service of his motherland.

I have learned from my Tamil friends that he has very ably translated the Bhagabat Geeta. He used to write short stories, sketches, articles on social and religious problems, he attempted to write a novel also. Bharati never wrote down his poems till he had made an extempore recitation of the same. He used to sing songs while composing them. This is a very extraordinary talent, and proves his great natural gift in the art of poetry and music.

Bharati's works may be classified under several headings, such as his patriotic songs and heroic sagas, his verses on social and religious inequities, his poems

of love and romance, his folk-songs and doggerel verses, and verses, almost personal, pertaining to God and Nature. The last but not the least, is his characteristic compositions based on fragments of the ancient epics.

Let me first refer to his patriotic poems and songs. One of his best poems, "Freedom," should be mentioned at the very outset. In it the poet demands freedom not only from political slavery but also from the very humiliating social tyrannies from which the Panchamas and other Harijans still suffer. The poet sings:

"Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!
To the Pariyas, to the Teyas, to the Palayas
Freedom!
To the Paravas, to the Kuravas, to the Maravas
Freedom!"

Freedom was the keynote of all his patriotic songs. Freedom first, freedom second and freedom always. In this poem the poet vigorously implores all his countrymen: "Come! Let us labour all, in the way of Truth and Light. None shall be oppressed." He boldly declares that

"Those who are born in this sacred land, are all of noble birth: Let us live like brothers all alike; equality in every walk of life. Man and woman shall have the same privilege in our land. Let us banish all ignorance. Let wealth and learning flow in every corner. In joy and bliss let us live peacefully."

Everyone of us who loves his land of birth and cares for his own people will certainly join in the chorus of the poet's song of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

In the poem "Our Wild Mother," the poet's conception is that Mother India herself is that *Para-sakti*, the Force Transcendent, all powerful and irresistible, fierce and inscrutably beautiful. Her spirit is wild. Her consort is Siva, the Great Natarajan who carries the flaming torch of life and dances the cosmic dance which raises waves of melody in the sea of song. The mother rides on the crest of the waves, that causes the woodland to be bright, with, blooming buds and divine beauty. She, being drunk with beauty, takes the flowers in both hands and reels on her tripping feet. She sings and the Vedas ring! She conquers death by brandishing the Trident.

The poet's imagination in this poem, though wild, is typically oriental, rather typically Indian. We seldom find any foreign ideas or expressions admitted in his poems. His similes and metaphors are all indigenous and are very unlike those of the modern poets. Again in another poem we hear the poet singing to awake Mother India from her deep slumbers of centuries. He whispers into her ears:

It is dawn,
The dark shade of evil have fled
Routed by our penance,
And the Sun of Light
Has flung his young golden beams across the world,
Thousands and thousands of thy sons
Are gathered here to pay thee homage,

To bless thy name and to serve thee.
How strange that thou should be wrapt in sleep!
Awake Mother! Awake!

It is a fairly long poem, very beautifully expressed and I feel tempted to quote every fine line of it, but our space is limited and I have to restrain myself very reluctantly.

His poem addressed "To Liberty," though it appears to be a bit of personal reminiscence of his prison life, reveals the poet's strong passion for freedom from all bondage that curbs the natural development of the human soul. In the poet's opinion, every success in man's life, his wealth, treasures, good name and fame are of no worth if he is not allowed to breathe in a free land.

Sri Subramaniya Bharati, though he is great in every branch of poetry, certainly excels in his patriotic poems.

As to his verses on social and religious subjects, I would like to mention only a few such as the "Gopi Song," "The Cottager and His Wife," his "Prayer" and his "Conquest," in which his deep reverence for and staunch faith in the gods and goddesses of his land have unquestionably been established. In the "Conquest" the poet has conquered self and come out victorious. In the "Gopi Song," the intense love of the Gopis for Lord Krishna has very cleverly been expressed only in a few simple lines:

"Now along the flowery grove
By the Champak's odorous pile
Eyes made visionful by love
See your deep alluring smile.
Koel's note from tree to tree
Speaks your voice with sweetest smart
And the dark blue rolling sea,
Tells the pushing of your heart."

This is something which we cannot but say wonderful and sublime!

In the poet's "Prayer" to Mother Sakti he entreats her, "Speak, Mother! Wilt thou deny me strength to live for the great world's betterment?" He prays on for "a life that regenerates itself ever anew, a life that for ever burns, a will unshaken wedded to its aim, a heart that yearns to sing your praise even if fire consumes the body's frame." Such a courageous and dauntless desire can only come from a brave soldier who has dedicated his life to the service of his motherland.

In his poem the "Cottager and His Wife," we are in the midst of a dark and severe stormy night when we overhear the cottager's request to his wife, "Unto the mother let us pray. May her grace save us apace, from the tearing elements' play!" But his wife who has stronger faith in the Divine Will, answers quite unperturbed, "But yesterday in yonder hut where we lay had we stayed tonight, what would have been our fate? It was held by Divine Might?" Such was the strong faith and implicit trust of the poet in fate or destiny, which only the Divine Will rules.

In his poems which deal with Love and Romance, Bharati has proved himself to be one of the greatest love-poets in our romantic literature, because his love is not only human but also divine.

God is the greatest lover. We find that when the feeling of loneliness came upon the poet it filled his heart with bitterness, but as soon as the sense of his lover's presence dawned on him, it overwhelmed his heart with delight. Thus the realisation of the Great Lover was a matter of infinite joy for him.

His "Love Message" wrings our heart. It reminds us of the beautiful love lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidas, the twin love-bards renowned in Vaishnava literature, who have described so acutely the pangs and pathos of the agonised heart of Sri Radha, separated from her divine lover Sri Krishna. In Bharati's poem, a girl in her wounded pride and assailed dignity, beseeches her lady-friend and companion to go to her lover and probe into his heart to find out for what fault of hers he has become so indifferent to her and left her to suffer the ignominious sorrows of a heart smitten with pain born of this unbearable separation. In his "To the Beloved," the poet speaks of his intimate relations with the beloved; it transpires at the conclusion of the poem that his beloved is no other than that Great Lover. So it is again repeated, in his poem "Kannanna my Love."

"In the rolling ocean's wave I see thy face
And only thy face in the broad expanse of the sky,
And but thy face in the tiny bubbles' race,
Naught did I see but thy infinite grace!"

In his poems, the "Evening" and the "Tryst," we find the poet appearing in a very different mood. These two fine pieces of poetry are full of passionate but dignified feelings towards the opposite sex. We also find, in these lines, pictures vividly drawn of the delicate feelings and the pleasant warmth of the woman's heart, which are always more human than divine.

His folk-songs and allied verses are highly above the level of the poems by village signers. His word-music in the poem "Rain" is notable. His assertion as

to the unparalleled beauty of the Tamil language is worthy of being mentioned here. "Tamil is best and Tamil is lofty."

Bharati's compositions, based on the fragments from the ancient epics are almost epics themselves, as he is more in his own element in these writings. Some of them are much better than the original poems, more artistic and imbued with modern ideas, and as such these have a stronger appeal in them. The best of these tiny epics is "Panchali Sapathan" (The Vow taken by Panchali).

His magnificent poem "The Fire" takes us to the long-lost Ashramas of the old days where the Rishis used to perform *yajnas* by lighting the sacred fire to drive away the Asuras and other evil spirits who were in the habit of constantly disturbing the peace of the Tapovans. This poem appears to be an allegorical one, in which the Asuras seem to be the undesirable alien rulers, and the Rishis the leaders of India's Freedom Movement.

A very powerful and gifted poet as he was, he indulged in composing poems and songs in many different styles and embracing every possible subject. Some of them are mystic, some are symbolic, some are allegorical and some are realistic. A few of his poems can be classified as exclusively personal, such as "The Span of Earth" in which the poet deals with the idyllic picture of the simple life of a poet.

Bharati sacrificed his life to save a deadly frightened girl from the attack of a mad elephant who ran amok on the street. The girl was saved by him but he himself could not escape the rage of that mad beast who killed him on the spot.

Thus at the age of only thirty-nine, ended heroically the glorious career of this great Poet Subramaniya Bharati Kaviswaram, the father and creator of the modern Tamil language and literature.*

* This appreciation is based on the *Voices of the Poet*, an English translation of some of the Poet's best pieces, published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham of Calcutta.



"TRUE religion is not belief in God, but is trust in the good in man"—Swami Rama Tirtha

AMONG the latter-day saints, Swami Rama Tirtha's hallowed name is one to conjure with. He was a true descendant of the Rishis of yore, i.e., one of those whose noble mission is to direct the faltering steps of a frail humanity heavenward and teach it to walk in the way that leadeth to life.

He may, in a sense, be said to represent the third generation from Paramhansa Ramakrishna, in direct spiritual lineage. Ramakrishna is a world-renowned saint and needs no introduction to the readers; nor does his brilliant disciple Swami Vivekananda, who galvanised, with the superb wisdom of his Vedantic teaching and marvellous oratory, huge audiences at the magnificent Parliament of Religions in America.

Now, properly speaking, Swami Rama Tirtha, the proud Prince Rose in the garden of spirituality and saintliness, in the renowned Land of the Five Rivers was no disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Saints, like the proverbial poets, are born, not made. They are of God's own anointed ones. Rama Tirtha had caught the wholesome, generous infection from, and been under the special pupilage of, his friend and spiritual mentor and guide Dhanna Bhakta; but it is no less a fact that it was his meeting, at Lahore, Vivekananda, when the latter toured the Punjab, that proved the determining factor in, and set the seal on, the ultimate choice of Rama's vocation in life. He found his life-mission in the service of his country—rather humanity at large—by way of spiritual ministry. Like all Mahatmas of old, he realised that if it was gallant to rescue a man from drowning or even from the gallows, it was nobler to save mankind being submerged in the *Bhava Sagar* (the ocean of worldly Evil and Temptation); and to lead people to Heaven. And the contact with Swami Vivekananda crystallised his resolution, and made him definitely discover his manhood and full spiritual stature. Though in fairness to him it must be allowed that he was, by then, already in excellent making and had, so to say, gone more than half way to meet the brilliant disciple of Ramakrishna.

As pertinent to this point, it may be recalled that in November 1897, Swami Vivekananda visited Lahore and spent about a week there. He delivered many lectures, but the others faded into insignificance before the one in Vedanta delivered by him, at the instance of the young enthusiast Rama Tirtha, in a circus-pandal. The place was chosen, as being considered sufficient to accommodate the huge gathering that was anticipated and since a better one, equally suitable, could not be arranged for, at the moment. Vivekananda's divine eloquence, "burning renunciation, indomitable strength, dynamic personality and gigantic intellect" made a deep impression on the packed audience. Swami Rama, too, was profoundly moved and stirred to his spiritual depths.

The visit of Vivekananda, no doubt, strengthened the silent ambition of the youthful Swami Rama to lead the dedicated life of a monk and to go round the world, preaching Vedanta and propagating light, like Vivekananda.

The association of the two revered names, we mean those of Vivekananda and Rama Tirtha, tempts one to compare the two transcendental, fiery and flame-like personalities. It must be conceded that in literary scholarship and command of formal platform-oratory, Vivekananda excelled. Such accidental inferiority, however, is practically immaterial in the case of a spiritual philosopher, a seeker after Truth, one keen to pierce the thick veil of *Maya*, i.e., illusion and to attain "self-realization." The parallel of Tulasi and Kabir is a case in point. In spite of the abysmal difference between their respective learning, in the accepted sense, both pursued apparently separate ways, but equally successfully attained the common goal. Here, too, of course, Rama Tirthaji was well-versed in Vedantic, Sufi, and mystic philosophy. Verses from the Vedas and Upanishads, as well as lines from Persian poet-philosophers, like, let us say, Maulana Rumi and Shams-e-Ishraq, Hafiz and Omar, would, during his discourse, trip triumphantly from his eloquent lips. Even otherwise, the seeming inferiority of Rama was more than made up in the superior, crystal-clear magnetic current that gushed forth from the powerful personality of Swami Rama and had its inexhaustible source in the fount of Vedantic doctrine, of which he had drunk long and deep. So that he ever seemed inebriated by the heady wine of spiritual exaltation, which framed his fascinating face with the nimbus of a dazzling glow and glory. But both were "great and honourable" men of dynamic soulforce all compact.

We do not propose to deal herein, with the spiritual equipment and soul-loftiness, or the self-realization attained by Swami Rama Tirtha but just to afford a fugitive glimpse of my lively and unfading recollection of the saint's short visit to the historic city of Lucknow.

On September 1, 1905, Rama came down to the plains and after touring Bengal and Bihar reached Lucknow early in October. He was accompanied by his chief disciple Narain Swami and some others of the celestial band. He, with his party, was the guest of the revered B. Ganga Prasad Verma, the well-known editor and a prominent and highly popular public man. Shri Verma was a man of arduous application and a prodigious worker, but Rama proved a greater giant and easily eclipsed B. Ganga Prasad's multiform astounding activity. Swamiji spent about a fortnight here.

Every morning hosts of college students flocked to the Advocate Library to greet the dawning day with

melodious chants of *Om* in chorus with Rama. Thereafter, he would go out with his host for a walk. On returning, after a hurried bath and frugal repast, Rama met the waiting crowd, discussing and discoursing, which kept him busy during the greater part of the day. The afternoons were invariably devoted to addressing meetings of students in Colleges and High Schools. After five p.m. the people of Lucknow irrespective of caste and creed, age or sex, gathered in thousands on the spacious satiny lawns of Kaiserbagh, under the magnificent canopy of the heavens, with the dazzling October sun scorching their keen faces, squatted on the ground, waiting with eager impatience the appearance of Rama; to be blessed with his *Darshan* and to drink in, with avidity, the nectarine flow of unstudied but commanding eloquence from the inspired lips of the Mahatma.

The sweet reverberating hum, as of a myriad bees, from the southern gate of Kaiserbagh, electrifying the audience with anticipatory delight and fervid enthusiasm, announced the approach of the saint, with his pupils and band of admirers, forming a sort of a select bridal-party, with Swami Rama, vowed to life-long celibacy, as the bridegroom. An answering roar of *Om* went forth, as if to exorcise all vestige of evil from Lucknow. Rama surrounded by a number of saffron-clad, clean-shaven Sanyasins would suddenly emerge as if from nowhere, from behind the adjoining cluster of bushes and ascend the platform. On the one hand, the sun was setting behind red clouds and on the other, Rama's beaming benignant face and his body swathed in ochre-coloured garb, showed as if a rival sun had arisen. Rama began with the invariable singsong *Om*, the *Sadhus* bearing company and the congregation in sweet self-abandonment joined the swelling chorus that rose incense-wise heavenward, as a prayerful offering, from the altar of so many devout hearts, in thanksgiving for the right rare privilege of a *Darshan* of the saint. And in the over-wrought state of the mind and the atmosphere one might have been excused for the vivid imagining that, some distance behind and around, the gold-washed walls of Kaiserbagh looked like serried closed ranks of giant *beragis* echoing and re-echoing the sound *Om*, with the silent melody of their own. When the mounting, exultant intoxication had attained culmination, Rama would, at the tense, psychological moment open his lips, touched with the true Promethean fire, and veritable elixir streamed forth in an apparently ceaseless current. It was a sight and an occasion for the very gods and angles to rejoice over. This would go on literally for hours. The enraptured audience sat entranced under the spell, and the Swami, delivering under inspiration, unpriced pearls of wisdom which Solomon himself would have envied, equally oblivious, lost all count of the passage of time. After a seeming peroration, he would again pick up the thread and weave out a fresh pattern of a pleasing picturesqueness kaleidoscopically different from its predecessor,

He was a peerless weaver of spells and it was a wonderful improvisation. He would suddenly come to a stop as he had started, and the procession would return to escort him back home, at his host's residence, usually late enough to find his host in bed, while the guest found fresh claimants on his attention. But who can say what divine, exhaustless energy animated the Swami who would tackle the waiting visitors, and retire to rest usually after midnight and sometimes in the small hours of the morning, to resume his programme early, the next day.

His lectures and talks were always suited to the intellectual as well as the spiritual level of the audience and with his inimitable tact he had always something or other to say to appease the soul hung r of almost every single unit in the assembly, who should not have been far wrong if he considered that the discourse had been deliberately designed specifically for his particular behoof.

He never posed to be superior to the basic physical needs of the normal individual. He never boasted of powers to perform miracles, nor did he ever pretend to be above the common laws of Nature which he respected; though when the mood possessed him he would claim them to be subject to his *Will* and their operation, a process of his own ordering. While addressing students he particularly insisted on their holding their bodies as something as sacred as their souls. He favoured and advocated a harmonious evolution of human personality on all planes, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. He himself used to take regular exercise. So that, even physically, he was always in fine mettle, which contributed not a little to the magnificent perfection and balance of his mysterious, many-sided and magically magnetic personality.

Recalling some of the simpler aspects of his teaching we have already quoted under the title of this article, the substance of his moral teaching, raised to the level of a regular religious sentiment, viz., "Religion is not belief in God but is trust in the good in man," a text suitable to be prominently displayed in the meeting hall of the UNO. If those attending the meetings, frankly and honestly, treated it as a religious, moral and political tenet, about half of their vexing problems would, automatically, be solved.

As to religion proper, for the average householder, he said something in a public lecture, held in Victoria Park, to the following effect:

What God asks of us is our Faith and Love, that faith which comes as much from the heart, as from the head. Mere persuasion, mere conviction is of little value in His sight. The most assured results of argument and reasoning, as long as they spring merely from our minds, remain outside our real selves and supply no power to influence our character. What God wishes to see in us, is that faith which may spring, indeed, from the head, but whose home is in our heart, in our spirit, that faith, which is not indeed opposed to our

reason, but goes beyond into a region that is open to love, but closed to naked thought; that faith which can pierce beyond experience, beyond sight, and make real to us things that we hope for, and test the things that we have not seen and cannot see.

He was not one of the highbrows and spiritual bullies who by means of their oratory and argument,

sophistry and subtlety, compel a possibly unwilling, unsympathetic conviction and forcibly silence all doubt.*

* I must thank P. Brijnath Sharga Sahab Sharga, M.A., LL.B., a senior member of the Lucknow Bar, for allowing me to draw upon his brilliant biography of Swami Rama Tirtha, which those interested, will find not merely, eminently delightful reading, but a rich mine of information and inspiration.—K. N. Bajpai.

—O:—

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Portraits of Contemporary Men and Women"

To The Editor, *The Modern Review*,

Sir,—I have made the appeal before, and do so again, that our talented artists should record in adequate aesthetic forms the visages of our contemporary men and women, the makers of our modern history, our political leaders, and the leaders of thought in the realm of Art, Science and Literature. Whatever little that has been done, has been done in Bengal, the artists of the other provinces are too much engrossed in experiments in "isms" to look around them and to take any notice of our great contemporary personalities. The first move in this direction was made by Mukul De years ago with his *Twelve Portraits*, recording in impromptu pencil-sketches Sir Asutosh, Sir P. C. Ray and other great personalities. Then came Sri Pulin B. Dutt (of Bombay) with his series of portraits of Mahatma Gandhi. But the Father of the Nation and Pandit Nehru have not been immortalized in worthy effigies, though frequently caricatured in hasty and irresponsible sketches. They have been painted by non-Indian artists, but our national artists have not been able to give us masterly studies of these great men. Sarojini Naidu has passed into immortal life without being immortalized in any masterly portrait. In England, most of the contemporary leaders are represented in the National Portrait Gallery, and galaxy of able portrait-painters have paid their national homage to their national heroes and heroines. The contemporary portraits from the brush of Sir William Rothstein are striking examples of this fulfilment of a national duty. The recent portrait of Dr. Radhakrishnan by Elizabeth Brunner shown in the Delhi Exhibition in January last, though not a great masterpiece, has been a serious study by a competent and versatile artist. But we should like our national leaders to be immortalized by our national artists.

The Moghul and the Rajput portrait-painters have left wonderful portrait-studies of nearly all the great contemporary figures of their times. Most of them are masterpieces in the field of portrait-paint-

ing. It is said that our great leaders seldom commission our talented painters to paint their portraits; they probably expect that the artists should work free in order to fulfil a national duty. There is a movement on foot to remove the portraits of foreigners which now 'decorate' the walls of our Raj-Bhavans and to replace them by effigies of our great leaders. This is a movement in the right direction. But the commissions should be divided amongst a number of artists so that most of our artists could get a chance to present proofs of their talents.

Oil portraits are expensive ventures sometimes beyond the resources of the members of our middle-class society now on the verge of poverty. To meet this situation one could suggest that our artists should develop a school of miniature-portraits, so that men of moderate means could commission them. It is a pity that the talents of our artists are going to waste and are not utilized to record in worthy aesthetic presentations most of the leading figures in our social and political life. They are only represented in banal photographs, the machine-made abominations of the modern age.

The recent exhibition of Japanese colour-prints have also a relevant lesson to us. There were numerous fine masterpieces of portraits of popular actors of the Japanese stage. Why cannot our talented portrait-painters immortalize the darlings of our stage and cinema in superlative forms of beauty, demonstrated by the artists of the Ukiyoye School. If the artists do not come forward on their own initiative, the management of our stage-plays, who are running hundreds of nights of popular plays, could come forward to commission artists to paint the heroes and heroines in worthy aesthetic forms. The banal habit to commemorate our contemporary life, through mechanical or "art" photographs, must be replaced by hand-made presentations in worthy pictorial forms.

Yours faithfully,
O. C. GANGLY

PLANNING FOR THE "SOCIALISTIC PATTERN"

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE informal meeting of the A-I.C.C. held in Delhi on the 3rd and 4th of September was unique in several ways. It was, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the Congress that we met informally in a business-like manner to thrash out issues of national importance, particularly about the economic development of the country. The splitting up of the meeting into three sub-committees, was also a new procedure in Congress meetings. These sub-committees worked for the whole day and reached a number of important conclusions after serious discussion. On the next day the reports of the sub-committees were presented to the full meeting of the A-I.C.C. After discussion these reports were referred to the Congress Working Committee for further consideration and necessary action. The A-I.C.C. meeting in Delhi was a systematic attempt to work out the details of the "Socialistic Pattern of Society" which we had resolved to establish in India at the Avadi Session of the Congress in January last. The nature and content of the Second Five-Year Plan has to be viewed in the light of our new objective.

The report of the sub-committee on the 'Plan-Frame,' presided over by the Union Planning Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, made it very clear that the main objective of the Second Five-Year Plan should be the achievement of fuller employment in the country through the development of small-scale, village and cottage industries, on a very large scale. It also laid stress on creating a suitable atmosphere in the country for increasing tax resources for additional development projects. Unless an atmosphere of equality of opportunity and of sacrifice was created in the country, it would be difficult to secure the necessary finances for the Second Five-Year Plan. Special attention should be paid to the needs of the under-developed sections of the population and the requirements of backward areas and regions. The need for securing public co-operation in a large measure through local bodies and village Panchayats was also stressed. Attention was drawn to the necessity of building up basic industries and the development of transport and communications on an adequate scale for achieving proper distribution of increased production of consumer goods in the country. The report emphasised the need for the reform of the educational system on the basic pattern and pointed out the urgency of training the required personnel for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan in different sectors of national economy. The report

of the Committee on Village Industries and Co-operation, presided over by Shri Vaikunthlal Mehta, dealt with the question of organising industrial co-operatives throughout the country in order to produce the necessary consumer goods in the decentralised sector. It also gave certain concrete suggestions for evolving common production programmes in regard to cloth, hand-pounding of rice, edible oils, tanning and footwear so that unnecessary and unhealthy conflict between the large-scale and small-scale industries may be eliminated. The report of the third Committee on Organisational matters, presided by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, gave several valuable suggestions for the revitalisation of the Congress Committees which have to be toned up for serving as an effective instrument towards the attainment of the Socialistic Pattern of Society. The reports of the sub-committees on the Second Five-Year Plan and Village Industries and Co-operation will now be considered both by the Planning Committee of the Congress as well as the Planning Commission so that the details of the Second Five-Year Plan may be worked out in the light of the various suggestions contained in the reports. We would, however, like to draw pointed attention to certain aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan so that there may be no misconceptions about our basic policies.

Firstly, it must be constantly kept in view that the Second Five-Year Plan has to be in the nature of a definite step towards the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society in the country. This means that during the next five years, we should be able to tackle the problem of unemployment, more particularly of the educated unemployed, quite effectively. While due emphasis has to be laid on the development of basic industries, the need for developing small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country cannot be over-emphasised.

Secondly, systematic attempts have to be made for providing equal opportunities to all sections of the population in regard to their social and economic progress. With this aim in view, glaring social and economic inequalities have to be reduced considerably during the next five years. There must be balanced development of the urban and rural areas. There should also be equality in taxation so that incidence of additional taxation may be just and equitable on the richer and poorer sections of the population. The recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Commission

about bringing down economic disparities to the level of 1 : 30 has to be constantly kept in view. If possible, we should try to bring down these disparities to the level to 1 : 20 during the next ten years.

Thirdly, the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan should not result in excessive bureaucratisation. We have to remember that planning under democracy can be successful only if adequate initiative is left in the hands of the public. We have to plan from the bottom upwards and not impose our plans from the top through a centralised bureaucracy. The need for developing the village Panchayat system in the countries, is, therefore, very obvious.

Fourthly, special attention will have to be paid to the integration of our educational system with the developmental projects. We know that a number of schemes under the First Five-Year Plan have not been completed for want of adequate trained personnel. This mistake must not be repeated in the Second Five-Year Plan. The Union as well as the State Governments will have to plan from now about providing the necessary training in different spheres for speedy and effective implementation of the next Plan.

Fifthly, the need for giving the highest priority to the felt-needs of the backward sections of population and scarcity areas should be constantly borne in mind. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of "Unto This Last" cannot be overlooked in the process of building up a socialistic pattern. For example, the slums in cities, particularly in Delhi, must be liquidated in a substantial measure during the next five years.

And lastly, the system of administration has to be reformed in such a manner that the people may have full confidence in the efficiency and integrity of the machinery for planning. It would be impossible to generate an atmosphere of confidence in the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan, if the people do not seriously feel that the additional taxes raised from them would be spent by the administration in an honest and economical manner. It is true that the prevalence of inefficiency and corruption in the services is often exaggerated and is, therefore, unfair. But the fact remains that there is enough scope for improvement in this direction.

We should also draw particular attention of the national planners towards the problem of Land Reforms in the country. Although some progress has been made in regard to the introduction of progressive

land reforms in India during the last five years, much still remains to be done. One basic principle which should be kept in mind in regard to land reforms is that the basic of ownership of land should be essentially labour and not capital. The Congress has always stated that the land should belong to the tillers of the soil and not to those who live on land by merely investing capital. From this point of view all those who are resuming land for "self-cultivation" without putting in certain amount of labour of their family, cannot be allowed to enjoy the fruits of land for long. Even living in the village for supervising cultivation is not enough. Land is a gift of nature and not the creation of human labour. It is fundamentally different from other commodities like factory goods. Land, therefore, should belong only to those who are prepared to work on it "with the sweat of their brow." Casual labour may be employed by the land-owning families at the time of special agricultural processes like ploughing, weeding and harvesting; but merely managing or supervising farm cultivation should not be regarded as an adequate condition for the ownership of land. Moreover, attempts should be made to evolve a system of land cultivation in which the village community gradually occupies a key position. Acharya Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement has now entered a new and revolutionary phase of *Gram Dan* in which the whole village community surrenders its land for equitable redistribution. This phase of Bhoodan movement should be carefully studied by the Planning Commission in order to evolve a new pattern of land-ownership and cultivation in India.

But economic equalities have to be brought about in both the rural and urban sectors. The imposition of the Estate Duty, the reform of the Managing Agency System, steeper Income Tax, etc., are steps in the right direction for scaling down inequalities in the urban sector. We have to remember, however, that all these economic reforms have to be introduced through peaceful and democratic processes. The Socialistic Pattern of Society in India must have its foundations on truth, non-violence and persuasion rather than on methods involving falsehood, violence and coercion. In the ultimate analysis, real national planning involves the planning of national character. The success of economic planning in India would ultimately depend upon the quality of men and women who participate in this mighty adventure of building up a new, prosperous and progressive India.

KASHMIR

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

KASHMIR, the traditional land of saffron, of the stately cedar, of idyllic peace and romantic charm, has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan for seven years and more. Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz has traced the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the present day in a nicely printed, bulky volume of more than 700 pages with a de-luxe get-up.* The publishers' blurb says, "The author has masterfully presented the problem (of Kashmir) in a lucid and refreshing manner. His analysis of the accession issue is objective and dispassionate." We too certainly congratulate the author on his style and manner of presentation. We cannot however regard his performance as 'objective' and 'dispassionate.'

The history of Kashmir, according to Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*, begins in 2450 B.C. when Gonanda I laid the foundation of monarchy in Kashmir. It formed a part of the dominion of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha, who were the first non-Kashmiri rulers of the valley of Kashmir. Buddhism, introduced by Asoka Maurya, produced revolutionary changes in the political, social and cultural life of Kashmir.

Kashmir threw off the Maurya yoke after the death of Asoka. It formed a part of the Kushana empire later on. It was a stronghold of Buddhism under the Kushana in the first and second centuries A.D. The Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Kanishka. Attempts to revive Brahmanism in the post-Kushana period resulted in the evolution of a new religious philosophy in the long run. This is Kashmiri Shaivism, also known as Trika Shaivism, which is a synthesis of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

The Hunas held sway over Kashmir for a time in the early 6th century A.D. The Huna Chief, Mihirgula, son of Toramana, was a heartless tyrant and is called *trikotila* (slayer of three crores). He persecuted the Buddhists and built Shiva temples and Brahmanical monasteries.

Lalitaditya Muktapada (695—732 A.D.) is one of the greatest kings of Kashmir. He was a great conqueror. He raised his country to the height of glory. Never before was Kashmir so great and powerful. The ruins of the temple at Martanda near

Anantanag and of his city of Panihaspura, fourteen miles from Srinagar, bear eloquent testimony to the greatness of Lalitaditya. That greatness was, however, built upon the miseries of his people. While the king and the nobility rolled in luxury, "the food of the common people was rice and *hakk* (*Sans. shaka*)."
Lalitaditya was a drunkard and followed Machiavellian principles in the administration of the country. His death was followed by a period of confusion during which his empire felt to pieces. Avantivarman, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 855 A.D., tried to improve the condition of the people culturally and socially. Effective steps were taken to control the floods, which devastated Kashmir valley every year. The history of Kashmir after the death of Avantivarman (884 A.D.) is dark, dismal and, at times almost sickening. We read, for example, of the unscrupulous Queen Didda, who was the defacto ruler of Kashmir for more than 50 years (950—1003 A.D.). So great was her lust for power that to make her own position secure she procured the murder of two of her grandsons. She imprisoned a third for disobedience.

The unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015 marks the end of the ancient period of the history of Kashmir. Women were highly respected in ancient Kashmir. Seclusion of women was unknown. Queens of Kashmir, such as Yashovati, Sugandha and Didda, excelled as rulers. Kalhan speaks of women leaders of the army. The Supreme Council composed of ministers and feudal lords acted as a brake on the autocratic authority of kings. The Council could even make and unmake kings. Life was simple and, land, the only source of production. Ten per cent of the yield was the king's share. Slavery as such was not practised. The common man, however, was more or less a serf of the feudal landlord.

Ancient Kashmir was a great seat of art and learning. Hiuen Tsang, who visited the land in the middle of the 7th century A.D., observes that the Kashmiris were educated and lovers of learning. The earliest religion of Kashmir was an amalgam of Naga worship and the Vedic religion. Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Confucianism also played a part in the religious life of ancient Kashmir. Buddhism was introduced in the 3rd century B.C. Kashmir Shaivism replaced Buddhism later on. Ancient Kashmir produced a number of great intellectuals. Patanjali, the great grammarian and Charaka, the great physician,

* *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir—Cultural and Political—From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*: Prem Nath Bazaz. Published by Kashmir Publishing Company, 122, Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi. Price Rs. 20.

are believed by some to have been Kashmiris. Kashmir also made considerable progress in the domains of art and literature.

Rinchen, a Buddhist prince of Ladakh, who had taken shelter in Kashmir, seized the throne in or about 1319 A.D. He embraced Islam and took the name of Sadar-ud-din. The Hindu rule, restored for a time after his death in 1322, was finally overthrown in 1339 A.D. by Shah Mir, a Muslim from the Swat Valley. Muslims, it should be noted, did not enter Kashmir as conquerors or plunderers. The Muslim rule was established with the help of the Hindus. To quote Sir Aurel Stein, "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest."

Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D. The Mughal rule lasted till 1752 when Kashmir passed into the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali.

The 500 years between the fall of the Hindu power and the Mughal conquest constitute an important land-mark in the history of Kashmir. Saints and seers like Lalla or Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-ud-din (Nund Rishi) preached Religious Humanism, which was the basis of the Kashmir State and polity throughout the medieval period. Persian ousted Sanskrit from its place of honour and finally became the court language under the Mughals. Sanskrit, however, did not die out. Literary activities were considerable. Sanskrit as well as Persian were the medium of contemporary Kashmiri literature. Women also contributed their quota to the literary output. They had however lost much of their freedom. Most of the arts and crafts that flourish in Kashmir today owe their origin to the Muslim kings, particularly to Zain-ul-Abidin (Bud Shah), 1413-1470 A.D. He also introduced the use of fire-arms in Kashmir and employed a foreign expert to teach their use to the army.

Kashmir and the Kashmiris were not happy under the Mughals. Their cup of misery and humiliation was full under the Afghans. The country was economically ruined. Its womanhood was shamelessly dishonoured.

The Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir in 1814 A.D. The invasion was rolled back. Invited by the Kashmiris themselves, Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir for a second time in 1819 A.D. and drove out the effete Afghans. The new rulers of Kashmir were no less "cruel, rapacious, short-sighted, intolerant and fanatical than the Afghans." A European visitor to the valley in 1824 observes:

"The Sikhs looked upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh was punished with a fine to the Government from sixteen to twenty rupees of which four were paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two if he was a Muhammadan."

The Kashmiris, the children of the soil, were victims of extortion and exploitation in all forms and varieties. The Kashmiri army was disbanded. Recruitment of the Kashmiris to the army had been already stopped by the Afghans. The Sikhs followed the Afghan precedent. Kashmir lay prostrate at the conqueror's feet.

Kashmir passed into the hands of Gulab Singh, the Dogra Raja of Jammu, and an influential noble of Lahore Court at the end of the first Sikh War in 1846. The Dogras ruled the country no better than the Afghans or the Sikhs. People suffered from want of food, clothes, medicines and education. Taxes literally broke their backs. Almost everything was taxed. Bribery was rampant and openly practised. The Kashmiris were shamelessly discriminated against. The Muslims, who constitute 78 per cent of the population, were the worst sufferers.

The oppression had its inevitable re-action. There were at first faint murmurs against the governmental oppression and exploitation. They grew and grew in volume till at last the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference came into existence in 1932. The conference was frankly a communal organisation. Its conversion into the National Conference on June 11, 1939, is the starting-point of organised nationalism in Kashmir. The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah soon came under the influence of the Indian National Congress. Kashmir was awake. A literary renaissance at the same reflected the hopes and aspirations of the submerged humanity in Kashmir.

Kashmir was invaded by tribal and Pakistani raiders in October, 1947. They looted and burned, killed maimed and raped as they advanced. Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to the newly created Dominion of India. The Indian army reached Kashmir not a day too soon to save it from the fanatical raiders. The enemy's progress was halted. In January, 1948, India complained to the Security Council against Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh had in the meanwhile run away from his capital Srinagar. The National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah came to power. Sheikh Abdullah fell from power in August, 1953 and was succeeded by Bakshi Golam Mohammad, his second in command. A part of Kashmir has constituted itself into an Azad Kashmir. It is in the grip of Muslim communalists, enjoys the patronage of Pakistan and stubbornly refuses to fall in line with the rest of Kashmir.

Mr. Bazaz narrates the above story at great length in very readable English and with distinctly anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani bias. It is not clear why he gave the name of *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* to the volume under review. We have more serious complaints against the author.

Inaccuracies and misstatements deprive his work of much of its value as a historical treatise. Thus, according to Mr. Bazaz, Emperor Asoka conquered Kashmir and reigned from 274 B.C. to 237 B.C. (p. 5). He quotes Kalhan in one place and says that Gonanda I ascended the throne of Kashmir in 2450 B.C. (p. 5). He speaks in another place of the rise of the Gonanda dynasty at the end of the Saka rule (p. 8). Many we fear, will not accept the learned author's view that

"The rule of the Muslims came as a blessing not only politically but intellectually and spiritually . . . politics had dehumanised Kashmiris; Islam made them men again" (p. 49).

Raja Man Singh, the famous general of Akbar, is said to have committed suicide in 1586 A.D. (p. 70). In the author's opinion, Pakistan is as much a secular State as India (p. 372). Instances may be multiplied. Reference may be made, for example, to pp. 76, 92 and 125.

Foreigners were invited on several occasions in the past by the Kashmiri leaders "to save the people from tyranny." Mr. Bazaz supports their conduct on the ground that they preferred 'freedom' (1) to 'independence' (p. 125). Strange logic! Are Mirzafar & Co. entitled to the gratitude of posterity?

We are taken out of our breath by the statement that three years of Congress rule (1937-39) in eight out of the eleven British Indian provinces "fired the Muslim intelligentsia with a spirit of Muslim nationalism" and that the Muslim intelligentsia in 1939 "were thinking of having a separate organisation of their own to ventilate their grievances against the Congress Raj as well as British Imperialism" (pp. 172-73). Mr. Bazaz, we feel, has hanged, drawn and quartered Darje History in the fewest possible words.

The learned author has hardly a kind word to say about any one of his well-known contemporaries in India. No man, we admit, can be above criticism. The pity, however, is that the author's language is often unrestrained and undignified. The reader's

attention is drawn in particular to his remarks on and insinuation against Shri Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Does 'Envy' really 'hate the excellence it cannot reach'?

Mr. Bazaz does not regard Kashmir as a part of India. Indians are foreigners in his eyes. Time and again he speaks of the Kashmiri culture, religion, philosophy and the like. But can Kashmiris claim to have any culture which is not essentially Indian? He is profuse in his profession of love for Kashmir. But he has not many words to condemn the tribal-cum-Pakistan raiders who wrought havoc in the smiling valley of Kashmir in 1947. Patriotism without a love for the compatriots is hypocrisy or self-delusion.

Time and again we come across such expressions as Hindu Imperialism, Indian Imperialism, Imperialist India, Expansionist India, Reactionary and Imperialist Hindu India and the like. The author holds that India's secularism is spurious, her nationalism fraudulent. "Nationalism of the Congress and communalism of the League are," according to Mr. Bazaz, "identical creeds. The former is the Nationalism of the Hindus and the latter Nationalism of the Muslims" (p. 376). He would have us believe that India is "culturally backward" (p. 376). Is she? We would like to draw the author's attention to a recent statement of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane in which the professor observes that in India "one has the absolute impression of being in a highly civilised community."

It is a pity that a volume, which bears an unmistakable stamp of its author's diligence and scholarship, has been deprived of almost all its value by misstatements, misinterpretations and the author's inability in not a few cases to see beyond his nose. One reason is that much of what has been narrated in the volume under reference is the part of a story, "a story which the Fates are still telling." It is, therefore, only natural that the author himself, a somewhat important character in that story, could not rise above passions and prejudices. He should have waited till the atmosphere was cleared of the heat and dust of current controversies.



A NEW ERA IN ARCHAEOLOGY

By MANINDRANATH SENGUPTA,

Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

THE gradual development and progress of modern science make the common people very much conscious of what lies still behind the curtain. It is rather a duty of science to let the people be aware of what they should be aware of, to let the people know what they do not know, to let them have the opportunity to get acquainted with those things which still lie beyond their imagination. Archaeology is one of the most important branches of that science. Archaeology helps people to be acquainted with the relics, remains and records of antiquity. What was the old civilisation and culture of an ancient country, say of Babylon or Greece, what was the exact life in those ancient countries in those old days, may we not have a little knowledge about that in the present days? Yes, we may have. There is archaeology, go and take its help, you will find the answer. That is the technique. Now, as a devotee of that great science of archaeology, I like to state something, relate a little experience that I gathered during my past excavation in Sind.

In India, Archaeology has developed to a great extent. In particular, I may refer to the potteries in ancient India, of which people came to know many things from our Mahenjodaro excavation. Now, to say something of the potteries. The most peculiar point which strikes me regarding the potteries in ancient India is 'the introduction of ceramic colours in the ancient potteries of India.' The most striking fact is regarding the texture and colours used in potteries, beginning from ancient times right up to the modern age, and I like to draw attention of the archaeologists of India to this aspect.

It was several years ago, when I was busy with the Sind Excavation. I accompanied the late Nanigopal Mazumdar and we arranged some trial diggings in the various sites of Sind. When I went to Hyderabad (Sind), I was lucky enough to get the information that on the other side of the river Indus there is situated a place called Hala, and pottery industry is still prevalent over there exactly as in Mahenjodaro. It was rather my curiosity which took me there, and I watched with great attention the types of potteries which they used to prepare. After noting them very carefully, it struck me that the potteries, prepared there, have a strange resemblance with those in Mahenjodaro. The red slips and black paints are exactly the same both in Hala and in Mahenjodaro, the only point of difference is with

regard to the motifs and wares. This resemblance in spite of the point of difference attracted me strongly and I liked to examine their techniques and the colours they use. So I visited their factories and had an opportunity to look to their colour-vats. After noting them, it was my belief that they at Hala were using some metallic oxides collected from natural ores. And these ores were compounded with sand clays with a little adhesive. Adhesives used by them were mainly *bihidana*, which were nothing but gelatinous seeds. Observing these compounds of colours and slips it struck me that these are nothing but ceramic colours.

During the excavation in different places of Sind, I had a good number of collection of potteries and I marked certain very important properties in them, viz.,

- (1) The colour and slips are not faded.
- (2) They (the colours and slips) stand weather wearing.
- (3) They are in excellent preservation, except in the cases, where the action of salt is brought on.

Now it is my turn to request all the readers to mark the second property stated above very carefully. You all know that vegetative colours and aniline dyes cannot stand weather-wearing. Now, at this stage, will it not be my inference, that the colour and the slips in those potteries are not vegetative colours? You may guess that it will be exactly so.

Now let us look to the third property. I request you all, to mark the line 'except in the cases where the action of salt is brought on' very carefully. The immediate question, which comes to our mind is, what is the action of salt on the colours and slips. To answer that, I had a number of examinations to carry on, and I got the answer. The action of salts on the body of the pottery is vigorous, leaving the paint and slips. Particularly, the reverse portion, where there is no paint or slip, is more affected. These paints led me to research works.

I came to the Indian Museum, and started studying in Geological Galleries. I used to study the various ceramic colours and its oxides by which the colour is made. There, I started analysing the potteries from Mohenjodaro and other sites of Sind. Analysis showed that my idea regarding the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, came to be true; it was also found that in each case, there is a percentage of silicate and metallic oxide. I was confirmed in my idea to some

extent. This confirmation greatly excited me and I went on analysing potteries after potteries from different parts of India, of different periods, varying from Calcholithic to Maurya, and lastly, followed by Islamic period. This analysis revealed a very interesting fact to me that there is a good percentage of Caoline composition similar to that of porcelain of modern age. I carried on my analysis with vase fragments, bangle fragments, etc., which were mainly considered so far as fiance (fiance is a soft stone of pale green colour, a rocky substance), and here is the result.

The substance under observation is a vase fragment (exhibited in the Indian Museum, N.S. 4537—A 470). After examination I found that there is a distinct mark of joining two portions together into one. Examination showed that the mark is nothing but a cement lining. The work is done in a way as if to connect the two in one, and the mass is made homogeneous in the outer border by fusion. Another interesting fact to watch is the presence of a linen impression inside. Wherefrom this linen impression comes inside? Had the substance been a rocky one like fiance, how was it possible to get the impression sketched inside? Despite all these questions, if any one calls the substance a fiance, I can but only pity him. After so much conclusive data, a child even can understand that the substance is not a fiance, but it must be something like clay. The lining of cement, the impression of linen are possible only in the primary stage of clay before fusion. Further, it was noted that in the outer border of this substance a glaze is present. The glaze is sufficient to prove the existence of silicate. Otherwise, in the absence of heavy percentage of silicate this glaze is never possible. This observation was followed by chemical analysis and it was found that there is a heavy percentage of silicate (SiO_2 87.84%) and aluminium, the composition being almost similar to that of Caoline.

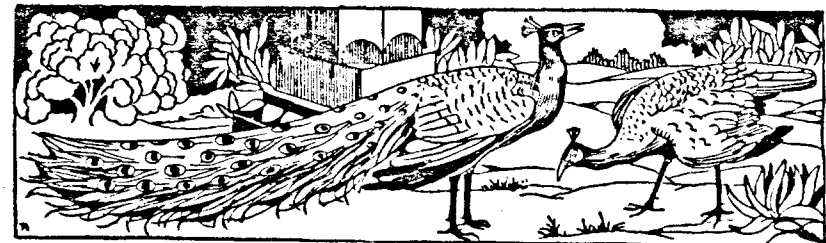
This experiment with the vase fragment is rather sufficient to confirm my idea about the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, and that the so-called

idea of fiance (the vase fragments and bangle fragments) is wrong and those are actually some clay works.

Now, regarding the period of existence of these bangle fragments and the vase fragments, it was found that these belong to the calcholithic period ranging from 3500 B.C. as they were found along with the chert flakes and other pre-historic objects in Mahenjodaro. In Mahenjodaro, there were other finds, existing in the later period, and these were excavated by the great archaeologist, the late Rakhaldas Bhandopadhyaya, the discoverer of that site. In the *stupa* site the antiquities discovered on the first layer were found to belong to the Kushan period. Among those, there were a lot of potteries and painted pottery fragments. In the outer border, these fragments showed some resemblance with those in the Calcholithic period regarding the glaze. The glaze textures of these later findings were again analysed, and a strange fact came to light. Analysis showed a presence of a good percentage of silicate (SiO_2 48.64%) with colour. The difference between the substances in the two periods—Calcholithic and Kushan, turned a good focus to the world. It was found that in the findings of the later period, the percentage of silicate is higher than that of the former period. The immediate conclusion is that the ceramic industry has not grown abruptly, but is a gradual development from the early, primary stage onwards.

This gradual change and the advancement were recorded from other evidences. The texture of the pottery in the later period were found to be different from those in the earlier period. Husks were used along with clay in order to exert greater heat required to melt the silicate having a greater percentage. The actual analysis of the percentage showed a variation of 5 to 10 per cent in the Calcholithic period, and of 48 to 50 per cent in the Kushan period.

My idea of 'the introduction of ceramic industry in India' has thus developed gradually, and I like to continue it further in the near future with illustrations.





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

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY: By T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the Madras University, 1955. Pp. x + 475. Price Rs. 13.

This is one of the most important works published so far in the *Madras University Historical Series*. It gives us the first critical and comprehensive account of the political institutions of the Hindu States to the south of the Vindhyas from the earliest times down to the fall of Vijayanagar (c. 1650 according to the author). It is based upon an exhaustive study of the original sources comprising material drawn from archaeology, indigenous (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese) literature and the notices of foreign (Greek, Chinese, and Arab) writers as well as modern works. In the Introductory chapter the author deals critically with the fundamental question of the influence of geography and social as well as religious institutions of the people upon their political life through the centuries. The following seven chapters deal very thoroughly and successfully with the different branches of the South Indian administration under the successive heads of Kingship, The Imperial (read, the State) Council and the Secretariat, Income and Expenditure, Law, Justice and Police, Military organisation, Provincial government and Local government. In the course of this description the author discusses frequently with reference to earlier authoritative views and in a spirit of scientific detachment a number of important questions relating to the various topics of the administration. Under this head we may mention the limitations on the power of kings (pp. 17-21), the constitution and functions of the groups of 'five' and 'eight' forming the kings' *entourage* in the Tamil classical literature (pp. 101-04), the rates of assessment of the land-revenue and the burden of taxation with special reference to the Vijayanagar empire (pp. 160-67, 186-89), the resemblances and differences between the feudal (*nayankara*) system of Vijayanagar and its counterpart in Mediaeval Europe as well as the merits and defects of the former system (pp. 327-30), and the question of ownership of the soil (pp. 360-63). The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a very full Index.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work it is possible for us to offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p. 2) denying the continuous flow of the culture and the institutions of Northern India into Southern India and *vice versa* is not borne out by the fact that social and religious movements emanating from the two zones have profoundly influenced each other from the earliest times. Nor again is it possible for us, in view of the important settlements of Roman and later of Muslim merchants in

the great ports of Western and Southern India to agree with the author's contention in the same context that "the foreign merchants who came to India for trade were comparatively few." The author's two statements that the influence of the South Indian village assemblies "was at its highest from the 9th to 16th centuries" (p. 10) and that these "village republics worked with great success from about A.D. 700-1400 and showed signs of decay and disruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (p. 370) are somewhat inconsistent with each other. The author's view (p. 19) that "Hindu political theory did not postulate any institutional relationship between the ruler and his subjects," and that the only bond between them was conceived to be "the paternal feeling" of the one towards the other is contradicted by the references in *Manu-Samhita* and still more in the *Mahabharata* to the occasions for resistance in various degrees by the subjects against an evil or incompetent ruler. The statement (p. 198) that the *Dharmasastras* being "based upon the established usages" "received the respect and authority of the Vedas themselves" and that the customs of the people were taken into account "in course of time when the commentaries came to be written for the *Dharmasastras*" is inaccurate in all its parts. The rendering of *danda* as 'a goddess' (p. 190) in Manu's well-known verses is unfortunate. The author's account (pp. 201-03) of the laws of the South under four specified heads is based wholly upon the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions and takes no notice of the very valuable contemporary *Smriti* Digests like the *Mitakshara* of Vijnanesvara and the *Smriti-Chandrika* of Devana Bhatta which indeed do not figure at all in the Bibliography at the end. The long list of errata at the end is incomplete, as is shown, e.g., by the misprint of the title *Milinda-panha* on pp. 108n, 401 and 437.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LIFE OF MAHARAJA ALA SINGH OF PATIALA AND HIS TIMES: By Kripal Singh, M.A., Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar. 1954. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 3.

Ala Singh Jat (1691-1765) was a remarkable man of his time. Son of an obscure landowner of less than half a dozen villages, he yet rose to be the founder of a principality which now forms the nucleus of the Pepsu. Example of small States like the Electorate of Brandenburg developing into a mighty State or small *jagirs* like Sasseram and Poona becoming the training-ground of the founder of kingdoms are not uncommon. But the instance of a village farmer turning into a sovereign ruler of a region by the eclipse and extinction of chiefs of considerable standing is a phenomenon very rare, indeed, even in

that age of political adventurers. Professor Kripal Singh, therefore, deserves the thanks of all for resurrecting, out of oblivion, the career of such an interesting personality as Ala Singh Jat.

Born in 1691, the first important event in his career was his marriage with Fateh Kaur which connected him with two important families of the locality, (i) of Gurbaksh Singh Kaleke, (ii) and of Bhai Dayal Das. A more important turn in his career occurred in 1722 A.D., when he shifted along with his brother Sabha Singh from Bhadaur to Barnala. The two brothers then held in their possession only ten villages, surrounded by the domains of influential chiefs, e.g., Rai Kalha of Rajkot and Jamal Khan of Mulerkot in the north, the Brans of Faridkot in the west, and the Bhatti chiefs in the south, headed by Muhammad Amin Khan of Bhatner. About eight years later (1730-31), Ala Singh repulsed an attack on Barnala made by the Manj Rajputs of the Cis-Satlaj territory and the Jalandhar Doab. This successful resistance at once raised Ala Singh to the rank of a chief. In the following years he further improved his position by holding his own against the attacks of the Bhatti chiefs of Budhlada and Harihao and acquiring certain other villages.

In 1748, he distinguished himself by leading forays against the foraging parties of Abdali's army, as Ananda Ram Mukhlis clearly states and won a *khilat* (honorary robe) from Prince Ahmad, who led the imperial army against the hosts of the Afghan King. (*Tazkirah-i-Ananda Ram*). A couple of years later, in 1750 A.D., Lal Singh, son of Ala Singh, took possession of Munak which became a spring-board for a campaign against the Bhattis. Backed up by the *Dal Khalsa*, Ala tested his strength with Muhammad Amin Khan at Khudal in 1755 A.D. and won a large part of Bhattiana. Three years later, in 1758 A.D., he again successfully met challenge of Muhammad Amin Khan, backed by Abdus Samad Khan, *faujdar* of Sirhind and beat them at Rampura, near modern Akalgarh. The successful contests and the acquisition of large tracts of land after each trial of strength raised Ala Singh to considerable importance.

Ala Singh's great distinction was that he supported the Marathas as against the alien Afghan invader in 1759, by attacking Prince Timur's army, during his march across Sirhind to Lahore, helping the Marathas with supplies during the siege of their encampment by Abdali in 1761 A.D., and finally giving the straggling Maratha fugitives shelter in his territory after their defeat at Panipat.

Politics in the Cis-Satlaj region assumed a new complexion after the Abdali victory at Panipat and the appointment of Zani Khan as the *faujdar* of Sirhind. The *Dal Khalsa* swept in successive bands across the region and practically wiped out the Afghan authority. Abdali repeated his inroad and massacred twelve to fifteen thousand Sikhs at Kup. Ala Singh's secret understanding with the *Dal Khalsa* and their unrestrained ravages into the imperial territory and the East Punjab made both the Afghan King and his lieutenant Najibuddaulah eager for his friendship. He no doubt used his influence to bring about an accommodation between the Ruhela and the Sikhs, but the statement made by Professor Kripal Singh that Ala helped Najib with a contingent of 1000 troops is very doubtful.

In 1763, Ala Singh reached the apogee of his career when the Abdali appointed him *faujdar* of Sirhind with the right to use *table-a-Alam* drum and standard. This high honour obtained by submission

to the Afghan King caused a rupture between him and the *Dal Khalsa* who made inroad into his territory. Ala stood up in arms against his co-religionists in 1765 and eventually through the mediation of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, came to terms with them. However, before he could carry out the design of extending his arms to the Valley of the Jamuna, he was taken ill of fever and died on the 22nd August, 1765.

Such is in brief the outline of Ala Singh's career. Professor Kripal Singh has worked profitably among the printed documents and unpublished material in Persian, Gurmukhi and Urdu, preserved in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and presented, on the whole, a fairly good account of Ala Singh's career, against the background of the varying political situation from 1715-1765. He has shown conclusively that Ala Singh was born in 1691 and that he was arrested by Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela in 1745 and not in 1741 as was stated previously. There is hardly any doubt that the alleged *Firman* of the 21st *Ramzan*, 1127 A.H., in which Ala Singh is described as *Raja Ala Pahl* is a forged document. The words *Raja* and *Jalus*, and the date are enough to mark it as such and the author's laboured argumentation to prove it so was not perhaps necessary. The insertion of the photo-prints of the Vatjala Rajas has reduced the value of the monograph. The portrait of Ala Singh is certainly welcome, but the rest could have been profitably left out or at least appended at the end of the book.

The author has examined a large mass of documents and painstakingly collected the data scattered in them to reconstruct the career of the hero, but evidently through oversight he has stated certain facts which will not stand scrutiny. For instance, the story of Ala Singh's keeping the locks of his hair of head by paying Abdali a few lakhs of rupees is a myth. The anecdote is based on Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*, (published under the title of *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1939, which was composed between 1591-1611 A.D. (vide Elliot, V, 1-2). The sensational story has, therefore, been interpolated in the text and has to be rejected. Similarly, the grant of an *independent status* to Ala Singh by Abdali mentioned in pp. 104-105, is at variance with the statement on p. 124, describing him as a tributary. Then again, there is something to be said as regards the perspective with which the author has reviewed his hero's career. From the very beginning he takes him to be a considerable chief, and makes such misleading statements, as, "The conquest of village Nema had far-reaching consequences," (b) The battle of Barnala exalted him to the position of a powerful chief of the Cis-Satlaj territory and stream-lines the chapters, with such titles as *Extension of Territories 1748-1754* and *Sovereignty Short-lived*. Ala Singh was great because he rose from a husbandman to the position of a feudal lord and *faujdar* of Sirhind.

The Persian annalists mention of Ala Singh as "Ala Jat ka Upda az Jamidani-i-Sarhind bud" is no mean reflection. It would be better if the book were recast and reduced to half its size, by cutting out unnecessary observation, useless repetition, e.g., Chapter X and such an analogy as, "Just as Napoleon had benefitted by his marriage with Josephine, similarly Ala Singh substantially benefitted by his marriage with Fateh Kaur" and correcting all misprints and inaccuracies, e.g., Sirhind was *under* (in) weak hands, p. 40, Ala Singh helped the imperial

force away from his territory, p. 88, Ala Singh's successful companions rankled in his eyes (heart), p. 85, the Bhatti hordes gushed (poured) out of Pabha, p. 89, etc.,

N. B. Roy

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OCCULT: By D. H. Ratchiffe, Derric Ridgway, London, 1952.

The author of the book has taken extraordinary pains to subject every form of the so-called occult manifestations to rigorous scientific analysis. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that in it one can find a unique collection of all "occult" practices and "supernormal" phenomena current in every part of the world. It is a source book of all information relating to the subject. Hysteria, hypnotism, fire walking, crystal gazing, rope trick, E S P experiments, telepathy, etc., etc., nothing escapes the attention of the author. He radically denounces every one of them and utterly demolishes—to his own entire satisfaction—the spurious scientific justifications of the phenomena. He is astonished that some of the famous Universities of England, America, Germany, —Cambridge, Harvard, Bonn, for example to name a few,—should condescend to encourage studies on 'psychical research' by granting Fellowships and Doctorate degrees. He feels an urge within him to save this absurd situation from deteriorating further and therefore takes upon himself the task of scrutinising thoroughly the so-called 'facts' and exposing once for all the bias which blinds the investigators in this field and leads one, even trained scientists, to misinterpret natural events. Belief in the occult is as old as mankind but should not continue when reason develops. It is the author's thesis that a more critical exercise of the powers of reasoning and judging would expose the hollowness of the 'psychical' phenomena.

One can thoroughly share the author's general view that free exercise of reason may destroy many cherished illusions and hallucinations of mankind. The rapid advance of scientific studies has, in fact, changed our outlook in many fields. The mentally afflicted old woman is no more a witch and she is treated now in a mental hospital. Therefore it is good to be critical about psychic phenomena and not to take everything for granted.

We welcome the book for the serious attempt that has been made to consider critically the various forms of the occult. But while in many cases, the verdict is definitely against the existence of the phenomena, in other cases the counter arguments are not sufficiently adequate and the questions still remain open.

The reviewer is one with the author that the facts must be scientifically studied. But after rejecting many forms of the occult there would still remain some phenomena which cannot as yet be accounted for on scientific principles. Just as there may be a 'so-called occult phenomenon it should be remembered there may also be a 'so-called scientific procedure.' Approached from the psychoanalytical point of view many of the unexplained experiences can be more satisfactorily understood. A reference to Freud's writings on the subject would testify to that.

The book is a highly interesting one and maintains a challenging style throughout which keeps the reader always on the alert. But one question crops up in our mind: Is the author protesting too much?

S. C. MITRA

THE GRACE OF GOD: Edited by Swami Madhavtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, Valad Post, Ahmedabad. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.

This book contains the spiritual experiences of a South Indian devotee now residing in Saurashtra. It shows how from the ordinary ritual worship the devotee is gradually led through the grace of God to spiritual illumination. The five chapters into which the book is divided deal respectively with purification, illumination, bliss, realisation and integration. Swami Madhavtirtha, who is a distinguished monk and author of about a dozen thought-provoking books on Vedanta philosophy, has contributed an adequate introduction to this book. The two appendices of definition of a time-vision and singularity of soul are also written by him. These three compositions have definitely increased the worth of the book. The spiritual experiences are described in the form of questions and answers. The questions mentioned are raised by the questioning soul and their suitable answers were received through the grace of God. It is rightly stated in the Abadhuta Gita that by the grace of God a man gets undivided integral knowledge. This book is, therefore, rightly named and sure to impress upon the reader that ritual worship is never useless but very necessary for the aspirant as preliminary practices for spiritual life. The religious practices are, therefore, not to be discarded but slowly transcended when higher stages of spiritual unfoldment are reached by the devotees.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SRI AUROBINDO: ADDRESSES ON HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: By A. B. Purani. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1955. Medium 8vo. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 6.

Sri A. B. Purani is a well-known disciple of Sri Aurobindo. He has dived deep into the spirit of his master. He is neither dogmatic nor superficial. In these addresses he has dealt with most of the works of Sri Aurobindo. From these lectures one can have an easy introduction into the works of Sri Aurobindo. It is encouraging that at least a few modern thinkers are being faithfully re-thought and re-lived by some of their followers, which alone can bring out the true import of the messages that have been ushered into the new age and thus benefit the coming generations.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

CONTINUITY: By Taradas Chatterjee, M.Sc., B.L. Published by B. Mukherjee, 112, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1.

In this small philosophical discourse the author has presented almost all the prevailing philosophical and scientific ideas and touched almost all the scientific subjects, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, Biology, Psychology, History and Religion, in support of his theory that from the beginning of creation the life-process is in a state of continuity towards the evolution of man's mind. One would be amazed to find the vast amount of knowledge in almost all the branches of science incorporated in this small book. The author has marshalled the scientific facts with skill and the whole book has a persuasive strength of conviction.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

FRENCH

L'AVENIR DES PAYS SOUS-DEVELOPPES (The Future of the Under-developed Countries): By Michel Pontalowski. Collection de "L'Economie," Editions Seif, Paris. 1954. Bibliography. Pp. 139. Price 16-6.

Any book which contains, as this one does, in a short compass such a wealth of information on one of the liveliest economic issues of the day cannot but be, even when lacking in original thought, of immense value to laymen, students and administrators. It is a model of scholarly comprehension and logical presentation of difficult material, not to speak of lucidity and realism in which French writes peculiarly excel. But the book is endowed with original thought.

In the days of imperialism, the industrially advanced countries arrogated to themselves a divine right to invest much of their capital in their own colonies which were rich alike in cheap labour and in valuable raw materials. The two world wars have changed all that. Many of those under-developed countries have since attained political self-determination. The new nations do not wish to be developed except on their own terms. Even the most enlightened schemes of development, when such schemes emanate from foreign countries, are held in suspicion.

But the need for development is there. The urgency and necessity of developing the under-developed countries is much on the conscience of the relatively advanced countries. And contemporary political strategy has rendered the development of the former the necessary price of survival of the latter. Political self-determination has led to economic self-determination and since technical knowledge as well as the possibility of obtaining foreign aid have vastly improved, the hunger, poverty and ignorance which exist in these areas and the intimate knowledge of better standards of living elsewhere have driven the leaders of the under-developed countries to achieve progress at any cost.

The essence of the problem is not therefore whether the under-developed countries should be developed but how, or more pertinently, how best. To judge from the literary energy devoted to it, the definition of an under-developed country has been a thorny problem. What country is there which can cork a snook at development? The basic criteria which command the greatest measure of acceptance in defining the under-developed areas are insufficient utilisation of the known resources of the country and a very low standard of living. The emphasis is clearly on potentiality of development? It is now a commonplace of the extensive literature of the United Nations and the economic publicists that two-thirds of the entire population of the world are underfed, that about twice as many people as before the War now fail to have the minimum food ration of 2200 calories per day, that 85 per cent of the world's income is enjoyed by one-third of the population, that at the present rate of population growth a constant increase in the national income by 3 per cent to 5 per cent is necessary for reasonable improvement in the standard of living of the under-developed areas, that to raise the national income of this population by 2 per cent per annum there will be required a total annual investment of \$14,000 million.

Clearly, much has to be done, before capital on such a vast scale can be mobilized for investment in the under-developed areas. In the light of experience,

it looks as though short of adoption of an international statute defining the terms of international loans, investment will lag behind the level necessary. On the other hand, the economically advanced countries should be prepared to facilitate an expansion of trade by the under-developed countries by lowering tariffs and subsidies even at the risk of increasing competition and to stabilise the prices of primary products in the world markets on which the under-developed countries are excessively dependent. Clearly, the prejudice has to be broken down that the development of these areas will not be to the ultimate detriment of the lending countries. Clearly, the pace of development must not be set too high. The author emphasizes the risk inherent in forcing the tempo of changes in the social framework of the traditional pattern of life through such measures as drastic land reforms. Clearly, the essential equilibrium between agriculture and industrial production, between export goods and goods for home consumption, between saving and consumption, must be maintained. Caution is equally necessary against an uncritical application in the under-developed countries of economic measures based on Keynesian principles more appropriate to highly developed countries. Clearly, the health services and education must not be pushed ahead of the capacity of the country as a whole. Longer lives and extra mouths do not reduce but add to the problem.

Coming from a Frenchman the book has a good deal to say about the French colonies. The author warns his compatriots against the danger of economic paternalism since the colonies must be able, if they are to live, to buy on the cheapest market and sell on the dearest. But the excellence of the book lies above all in the selection of the soundest principles of development and in the clarity and cogency in stating them. Readers will be repaid for the extra trouble which may be entailed by the fact that the book is written in French.

MARGARET R. BASU

MARATHI

SHRIMAD BHAGVAD-GITA: Translated into Abhangha by Tukaram. Edited by V. S. Bendre. V. V. Patankar, Poona-2. Pp. 283.

The competent editor's illuminating introduction to the translation into Marathi *abhangha* of the *Bhagvad-Gita* (together with the original Sanskrit text) by saint Tukaram is bound to enhance the reader's joy and understanding of the scripture. Indeed, the *abhangha* form lends itself easily to a congregational singing of the Lord's song. For simplicity of idea and of expression constitutes its very soul.

G. M.

HINDI

TALASH: By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 113. Price Rs. 2.

PANCHARANGI: By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

These are two collections of short-stories. Their author is today an acknowledged adept in the art of telling a tale from a peculiar angle and in a particular style, reminiscent of some of the European masters, but with a gusto, which never wearies the listener. However, satire, realism, non-conformity, suggestiveness, tantalization, idiomatic excellence—all these are there. Who can ever, for instance, forget the story, entitled "Coupon" in *Pancharangi*? Its rollicking

humour will resound in one's ears for many a long day. And so will the sights and sounds of Kashmir, in which *Talash* abounds, abide in his memory lingeringly. If literature is more of a mirror and less of a mentor, then Shri Krishna Chandra has achieved this objective admirably, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SURYA : By Gulabdas Broker. Published by the *Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad*. 1950. Illustrated cover. Thick card-board. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 3.

This is a collection of a dozen short stories, written in Shri Broker's chatty style, painting a realistic picture of our changed present life, social, domestic, and cultural. The reader will not fail to notice the points made by the writer, viz., that we are changing.

VIDYA PITHA READING SERIES, Books I, II, III : Published by the *Gujarat Vidya Pitha, Ahmedabad*. 1950. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 58, Price As. 4; Pp. 106, Price As. 7; Pp. 138, Price As. 10.

In 1940, the Gujarat Vidyapitha had published a reading series. The present series is a modified form of the same, the modifications being prompted by experiences of the requirements of the students and the attainment of Swaraj in 1947. It is an admir-

able series, just the thing required for children and juveniles. The lessons are easy to pick up and follow, and the suggestions given at the end of each lesson to supplement its contents and impress the object of the lesson by means of relevant stories are the most important part of this otherwise very valuable series. Patriotism, duties as a citizen and as a member of society, with suitable national anthems and songs set out in them, add to their utility.

VIJNAN PRAVESH, Part I, II, III : By Hararaj Anmlakhray Desai, B.A.S.T.D.C., Bombay. 1950. Published by the *Ananda Book Depot, Ahmedabad*. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 93, 116, 140 respectively.

These are introductory books to the study of science in Standards V, VI, VII of Primary and Standards I, II, III of Middle schools. Study of science was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1949 and these three small books written by one who has been a life-long educationist now retired after getting mature experience of teaching such subjects, have given the benefit of it to the students and teachers by prescribing lessons therein. The second sections touch topics like, breathing, diet, water, fire, flower and tree, the sky and the stars, the sun and the moon and furnish requisite, relevant and useful information about them with suitable drawings. The books are sure to prove useful.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Olive Schreiner

Olive Schreiner was one of those fascinating characters who both perplex and captivate their contemporaries. She was easier to love than to understand. She was a restless and solitary soul in the midst of her fame and her many friends. She combined a rationalist outlook with a mystical temperament, and was both a passionate crusader and a creative artist. Although an ardent feminist, she never lost her feminine charm and grace. Miss Dorothy Hewlett writes in *The Aryan Path* :

A Man's life of any worth is a continual allegory—and very few can see the Mystery of his life—a life like the scriptures, figurative.—JOHN KEATS.

In *The Story of an African Farm*, written in youth, Olive Schreiner gives us a story, an allegory, concerning a hunter who abandons the chase for a lonely search after Truth. He seeks Truth among mountains, climbing ever higher, hewing out the ascent painfully step by step, from hard rock. The search has been long; the Hunter grows old; at last, looking down at the comfortable valley far below, he pauses, panting in an air rarefied almost beyond human breathing. His "wizened, shrunken face looked out above the rocks."

It saw the eternal mountains rise with walls to the white clouds; but its work was done . . . If Truth had appeared above him in the clouds now he could not have seen her, the mist of death was in his eyes.

But others will follow, making the ascent by that stairway he had fashioned with so much pain. "My soul hears their glad step coming," he said, "and they shall mount! they shall mount!"

On reading this remarkable book we hardly need to be informed that the sensitive, suffering Waldo to whom a mysterious Stranger tells the story of the Hunter (interpreting a carving of the boy's own) is Olive Schreiner herself, or one aspect of her. The story, the allegory of her life, is here made plain.

She was born, the daughter of a German missionary and an English mother, among mountains, the Witteberg, the "Switzerland of South Africa," one hundred years ago, when life in these remote uplands was still primitive and the only transport by ox wagon. During her life, with much personal effort and pain, she was to hew steps for others to follow, as a feminist, as an advocate of justice and of world peace and, above all, as an apostle of love. "You know," she wrote, "We must love everyone in this world. It is only ignorance and darkness keeps us from it."

Her outlook was Christian but she was a freethinker from childhood; a freethinker nagged at and persecuted by brothers and sisters. The too close view of a narrow religion in a minister's household, among Boers leading a pastoral life with their flocks and herds, who believed

literally in the Bible—particularly in its harsher aspect—early sickened her of conventional religion: although inclining in later years towards Buddhism, she never subscribed to any faith. But in both heart and mind her yearning was towards the high hills.

In those hills Olive Schreiner breathed freer, not only mentally, emotionally, but physically: at sixteen she was struck down by an attack of asthma, a disease which was to dog her through life. But this nervous ailment was a symptom of a graver defect in health, almost a cleft in personality. She, who hated war, was torn apart by a conflict within herself.

The circumstances of her early life were frustrating: the endeavour to write while working as an ill-paid governess among ignorant Boer farmers, a lack of formal education with a feverish but unsystematic effort to fill up the gaps in her knowledge. But others have triumphed personally over such handicaps and attained at last to peace of mind, and in one way her path was made easy: fame came to her comparatively early with the publication of *The Story of an African Farm*. In England, and the centre of admiring friends, she might have settled down to continuous work, giving the world more books of the same calibre. But it was not only asthma which was to drive her back to African wilds and limit her output: that frequent concomitant of genius, a capacity for laborious work, seems to have been denied her. She could concentrate fiercely, but only for short periods of time.

And, apart from her work, Olive Schreiner was inhibited, incomplete. A woman physically strong, vital, beautiful, she was unable to respond naturally to the love of a man. "This celibacy," she wrote. Have-lock Ellis in 1888, "has not been good for me; but it would have been worse to marry any man I have ever seen . . ." When love did come to her in 1893, in her late thirties, Olive fought against it, doubting, returning to England on a visit to test her feeling. After her marriage in 1894, surrendering completely to a man worthy of her, she could not enjoy happiness to the full, being unable to live on the farm he worked and loved. The cruel asthma again struck her down. She was denied motherhood: her only child died a few hours after birth.

She might have got peace within herself, have been able to exercise her craft to the full, if she could have lived continuously with her husband, Samuel Cronwright, a man who, in the days of accepted male domination respected her both as genius and as individual. So strong was his admiration for his wife and her feminist views that he added her name to his, calling himself Cronwright-Schreiner. From the first he relieved her of all household cares.

In search of health for Olive he abandoned farming, consenting to live for two years on her small income so that she might have tranquillity to complete two other big novels already partly written, and which it was calculated, would bring in enough money to render her financially independent. But illness, or temperament,

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did not permit his wife to keep her side of the bargain. His sacrifice of his work, or freedom, was made in vain; she wrote little. At the end of that time Cronwright-Schreiner was forced to take up the law seriously, thereby binding himself to a town, and eventually settled in Johannesburg, where she was unable to live in the summer heat. For most of their married life, therefore the two were parted; not only, in Cronwright-Schreiner's opinion, because of the recurring asthma but because, dearly though she loved him, Olive, a prey to deep-seated restlessness, was unable to live for long in one place.

As in work and marriage, so in other spheres Olive Schreiner's peculiarities, marred her life making those steps upward painfully hard to cut, and often ineffective. Her personal habits were so strange that existence was difficult anywhere except in the wilds of her native South Africa. She would sleep during the day and walk about half the night muttering to herself, disturbing other inmates of a house. She had little social common sense; during her five years in England as a young unmarried woman, at the height of her fame, she would receive men friends in her room, keeping them with her until late at night. This, in an age when the division between the sexes was still wide and behaviour conventional, outraged many landladies, who asked her to leave. She, a born rebel, refused to pander to convention. Once, when talking with a prostitute in the street, trying to help the poor soul to a purer life, she was nearly arrested by a policeman.

These misunderstandings, these hostilities, were particularly painful to one who loved her fellow men. "I can't live with people without loving them." Her arms were stretched wide to embrace the world and yet she was at odds with it. In relations with a number of closely attached (and long-suffering) friends there was again no compromise. She, an idealist with little sense of character, expected too much of those she met and, when they quite naturally failed her, was bitterly hurt and disappointed.

Yet Olive Schreiner's life was not all frustration, all tragedy: that outwardly uncompromising, "awkward" woman had a rich inner and private life. Her work, though she was humbly aware of a smallness of output in spite of intense effort, was the result of glowing fervour. Writing was to her, she told Havelock Ellis, "like being continually in love." This power of concentration, in a complete oblivion of surroundings, resulted in those minutely observed descriptions which are now, I suppose our chief pleasure in *The Story of an African Farm*—such as the behaviour of the chickens at the close of the book where she writes that Waldo drew his hat lower over his eyes, and sat so motionless that the chickens thought he was asleep, and gathered closer around him. One even ventured to peck at his boot; but he ran away quickly. Tiny yellow fellow that he was, he knew that men were dangerous; even sleeping they might awake. But Waldo did not sleep, and coming back from his sunshiny dream, stretched out his hand for the tiny thing to mount. But the chicken eyed the hand askance, and then ran off to hide under its mother's wing, and from beneath it it sometimes put out its round head to peep at the great figure sitting there. Presently its brothers ran off after a little white moth, and it ran out to join them; and when the moth fluttered away over their heads they stood looking up disappointed and then ran back to their mother.

But in Olive Schreiner's own day it was her allegories (as well as this powerful story in its novel setting),

her outspoken criticism of intolerance both in religion and social behaviour, and her plea for the freedom of women, which so excited interest and enthusiasm. There was, too, in that rather weary *fin-de-siècle* period, a zest in the book, a hope for life and the future, which inspired or stimulated earnest young people who saw salvation in the new socialism. But in socialism, though she outwardly adhered to it, Olive Schreiner with her wider vision foresaw danger, a danger which has become in our own time a frightening reality: the danger of regimentation. "Socialism," she wrote, "is only one half of the truth, individualism is the other half."

We, who accept so much, forget the newness of these pioneers, men and women who wrote and spoke for social justice, for the advancement of women; and who, like Olive Schreiner, pleaded pity for the criminal and the prostitute, seeing in their ill behaviour a disease. We accept a truer relation between the sexes, especially in marriage, forgetting that it was women like Olive Schreiner who first tore apart the veil of reticences, talking and writing of sex feelings to the investigating Havelock Ellis. Some of her pamphlets, like *Women and Labour*, had an immediate power of conversion, but it is the long slow influence of her ideas for which we have perhaps to thank her most.

And, apart from this triumph of doing what can we say of the frustrated life, the genius largely unexpressed, of this strange woman? Was she fundamentally dissatisfied, unhappy? In the main, I think, not. The power of intense concentration which fashioned her genius gave her moments of happiness, of ecstasy so intense that, when more than middle-aged she could find herself singing, dancing, clapping hands at the sight of a moving train. "Life," she wrote to her husband, "is such an awful delight to me if the physical and mental pressure is lifted a little."

She lies now, fitly as part of the allegory, in a high place at the summit of Buffels Kop beside those dearest, her husband, her baby and a favourite dog; in a high place chosen by her where, once, on a perfect summer's day, she had experienced one of those movements of concentrated, "awful delight" as soon after marriage, she watched with her husband beside her a swarm of butterflies feed on a spike of flame-coloured aloë.

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The Land of the Kazakhs

Ivan Sergeyev writes in the *Soviet Land*:

It is said that the first impression is the strongest. And my first impression of Kazakhstan, which I had first seen in my youth, was remarkably distinct: nowhere have I ever had the feeling of such broad and limitless vistas as in the land of the Kazakhs. In that year of 1925 I covered thousands of kilometers over Kazakh territory, and it seemed as if there was no end to it.

True, this limitlessness can easily fit into ordinary geographical standards and concepts. The land of the Kazakhs stretched from the mouth of the Volga and the Caspian Sea to China, from West to East, and from the Siberian Steppes to the swamps and snow-capped mountains of Tien-Shan, from North to South. The territory occupied by Kazakhstan approximated the size of the territory of the Indian Republic today, but the population of Kazakhstan was only about one-fiftieth of the population of India.

That probably accounts for the impression of a limitless desert.

This impression was heightened by the peculiar nature of the country.

Steppes exposed to all the winds . . . level plains with barren lakes within flat shores . . . vast expanses dotted with small conic hills . . . the Kyzyl-kum sand desert . . . one could travel through this territory for a whole week, a fortnight, a month and two months, and still have before the eyes the same pictures of desolate steppes, barren plains with spots of lifeless salt lakes, dead depressing sands . . . rarely did we encounter tiny settlements, lone tents, filthy sheep flocks and camel caravans.

The region seemed deserted and vast also because we saw its truly vast proportions as pedestrians or horsemen.

The automobile was rare in that part of the country in those days, to say nothing of the aeroplane.

And there were very few roads in Kazakhstan.

Only one steel thread stretched from Central Asia to the North, towards Russia, along the shortest but the most boring route, through desolate steppes, sands and the barren bank of Syr-Darya river.

Dusty cities with small populations and paltry handicrafts industries were encountered along this sole railway.

But this story could perhaps be told best of all by the geographical maps of those days.

I had a map printed immediately before the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the few years between this significant date and the year of our trip nothing had changed on the map with the exception of the internal boundaries indicating the national demarcation of Turkestan, the name of which the vast region inhabited by the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, the Kara-Kalpaks, Dzungars, Uigurs and other of the less numerous nationalities, was known in the recent past. The boundaries of the new states were defined in August, 1920. That year witnessed also the birth of the new republic of the Kazakhs the 35th Anniversary of which was observed recently.

The map kept us from going astray, and it also gave us a better understanding of the country, of its history and of the spirit of the people. We saw on the map the routes followed by caravans, dotted lines indicating the sands, dashes indicating swamps, winding ribbons of the few rivers and the rare circles of inhabited points. Only, in the South, at the Tien-Shan spurs, where the fields received water from the cool mountain streams, were these circles more numerous. We knew, however, that those villages were inhabited not by Kazakhs, but

by Russians who settled there in the second half of last century.

They cultivated the land, planted wheat and raised wonderful fruit orchards. There were very few Kazakh farmers. All the people, young and old were wandering through the limitless steppes with their herds.

"We are a nomad people and we shall remain nomads to the very end," was what an old Kazakh I had met when we pitched camp near a well told me in his leisurely way. He wandered through the steppes together with his two sons, their wives and children. The eldest boy was 11 years old.

In my notebook I still have the following record:

" . . . and will these children keep on wandering as their fathers and grandfathers had done? But how can a nomad life fit in with science and culture? With schools and universities? But perhaps nomads have no need for them? I heard that they have only two literate persons per 100 Kazakhs . . . It would be interesting to see what will become of these children some 25-30 years hence . . ."

Turning a few pages, I find the following:

"Life will change here as well within one hundred years or more. Some change is bound to occur. There will probably be roads and some settlements will spring into existence. After all, it is a rich region with deposits of coal, oil, copper, lead . . . but all this will not be tapped soon. I shall probably not live to see it."

My readers, you have probably never met any people who would sincerely rejoice over their own mistakes. But the author of this article belongs to that class of people. And my joy was especially great owing to the speed with which my error was disclosed.

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It would take a long time and much space to give a detailed account of that. I shall therefore let you gather the story from the new map of Kazakhstan published in 1955.

On this map you will see numerous railways in the East and South, in the West and North of the republic. The Kazakhs call them roads of life, and they had truly brought an active, bubbling life to the formerly desolate expanses.

You can see its features in the black signs on the map next to the steel roads: They stand for the new ore and coal mines sunk in the barren steppes, for the new oil fields extending in the West next to the Caspian Sea, new factories and mills built in the heart of the desolate plains, on the low hills, on the lake shores, in the foothills and right in the mountains.

Equally striking are the changes in agriculture. The cultivated areas occupied a barely noticeable place on the pre-revolutionary map, whereas they occupy a vast territory today. It is especially large in the North, in the virgin steppes adjoining West Siberia and the Altai. The tiny spots of irrigated territories have grown manifold in the South of the republic where wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar beet, various technical crops and wonderful fruit (remarkably beautiful and tasty apples, honey pears, grapes and a wealth of raspberries used for making splendid raspberry wine) are growing today.

In the year when I made my first trip to Kazakhstan its production was limited to meat, wool and a small amount of grain.

The rich natural wealth of the republic was still dormant, whereas today nature's hidden treasure store is nurturing a powerful mining industry and many enterprises which process these minerals. Nor are they ordinary enterprises. The Karaganda coal basin is one of the leading of the USSR for its technical equipment.

The lead works at Chimkent are classed among the biggest in the world. The Balkhash copper refinery is the most powerful of its kind in European Asia.

I need not ask myself the question how it was possible for a typical land of nomads with a low cultural level, without machines or implements, to take such a leap in technical progress. But this question must arise in the mind of any person who has not had the good fortune of seeing the country and the character of its people change with such remarkable speed.

It has been the good fortune of the author of these lines to see all that with his own eyes.

I have made many trips to that country in the past thirty years. I have seen the construction of the Turksib, the first railway between Turkistan and Siberia, of the Chimkent colossus of the first hydro-electric stations in the mountains. I was present at the opening of the first Kazakh University and of the first opera theatre. And I saw with my own eyes the most wonderful change in the history of a people, the transition from a nomad to a settled existence.

This change from a mode of life which prevailed for many ages was not as simple and light a process as it may seem today. To most of the nomads it meant a difficult departure from age-old habits which had become traditions. And many difficulties had to be surmounted before the first villages came into existence.

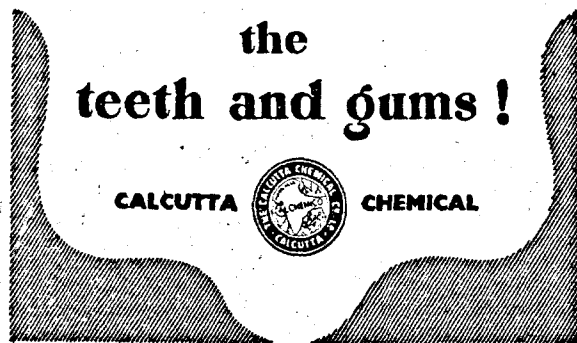
The pioneer village appeared in the South of the Republic next to the Russian villages, and the nomads had a concrete example: the few Kazakh families there were far better off. Their life was more secure than the life of the wanderers in the steppe.

The Kazakhs who led a settled existence were



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always sure of food, warmth and shelter. They did not starve, did not freeze and they were not ailing as much as the nomads. Their children did not die in the first or second year of life for very few could endure the scorching heat in summer, the bitter cold in winter, the autumn rains and the cool spring when the steppe was swept by howling winds.

The Kazakh villagers had a school next to their homes, and a hospital where the sick were treated by doctors and not by incantation of the witch doctors in the steppes.

The new villages were growing like mushrooms after a summer rain. This growth was so quick that the villages were given numbers (11, 28, 46, 73, etc.) before names were found for them.

The Russians helped the Kazakhs to educate a national intelligentsia.

They also helped the Kazakhs prospecting their natural wealth, and they built the first factories and hydro-electric stations and mines.

These industries received young technicians, engineers and other specialists educated in the colleges of Moscow and Leningrad and trained in the ore mines of the Donbas and the Urals, in the factories of the Ukraine and Russia. A few years later a university and institutes were founded right in Kazakhstan. And the research institutions opened in Kazakhstan were subsequently turned over to the Kazakh Academy of Sciences.

Thus did the Kazakhs acquire their own scientists, professors and academicians.

Thus were Kazakh workers trained for the oil, mining, lead and copper refining and other industries. They learned to operate the machines which cultivate the soil and reap crops of grain and rice, cotton and tobacco and many other plants which found a new home in Kazakhstan.

The population of the republic has been growing year after year, this growth becoming especially rapid owing to the great decline in the mortality rate. And still the republic would be sure to suffer from a shortage of labour if it had not been for the powerful machines and other equipment which do the work of hundreds, thousands and even—tens of thousands of men.

These steel assistants of man required electric power. It is supplied by the fuel-driven stations built next to the coal and oil deposits and by the hydro-power of the swift mountain rivers.

Kazakh cities differ little today from many cities in the advanced republics of the USSR while such a garden city as Alma Ata, the capital of the Kazakh people, is superior to hundreds of other cities. It is perhaps one of the most beautiful cities of the Soviet Union.

During my recent trip to Kazakhstan I chanced to retrace the route of my first trip. I remember how I once regretted the fact that I did not make a note of

the name of the old herdsman and of the names of his sons and grandsons. Today, however, I think that it was not necessary, because their fate is inseparable from the general destinies of the Kazakh people. I am certain that there is not an illiterate member in that family because illiteracy has been banished from the Kazakh republic. And surely every member of that family has his trade or profession and place in life as does every Kazakh: We meet in their midst today, pedagogues and doctors, architects, writers, composers and astronomers.

In three and a half decades Kazakhstan has covered a great historic road. There is incalculable natural wealth in the vast territory of Kazakhstan. It is not without reason that the republic is called a land of unlimited possibilities. But its greatest asset is represented by its people who are cultivating the wealth of their native land, reclaiming millions of hectares of virgin land for agriculture every year, steadily advancing the culture of the rich and strong nation into which the Kazakhs, a nation of yesterday's nomads, have developed in the family of Soviet nations.

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Why Russia Can't Attack Us Now

The "inside report" that Dr. David J. Dallin analyzes here is one of many trying to show that a Communist attack is imminent. Such "reports," often officially inspired, invariably lead to the conclusion that we must strike first. Dr. Dallin shows how flimsy are the premises for such stories; our readers can judge the intentions of those who circulate them:

A story called "Russia's New Strategy for War," written by an anonymous former military attache of a Western power, has been published in *U. S. News and World Report* and aroused considerable discussion. The story says that, under Khrushchev and Bulganin, the Soviet Union is out to regain the strength it lost after the war "thanks to Stalin's stiffness and Molotov's unimaginativeness." Since March 1955, the unknown author says, new and highly aggressive military plans have been developed, which Soviet "marshals and admirals" are now working out in detail.

The essence of the "new strategy," according to this analyst, is the belief that surprise nuclear attack would be decisive in any war. Therefore, it would be a "deadly error" for the Soviet to wait for such an attack by the West. Instead, the Soviets must "forestall the enemy by attacking by surprise" themselves. With appropriate quotations from Soviet sources, the author builds up the following picture of Soviet reasoning:

1. The Soviets, no longer encircled, are no longer bound to defensive strategy.
2. The West's war preparations and political-economic solidarity must not be underestimated.
3. The new thermonuclear weapons, employed by surprise, might decide any war.
4. Thus, the Soviets must avoid a surprise attack on the part of the West; they must continue building their own strength and weaken the West, so as to gain enough power for their own, decisive attack.

The wide circulation given this story recalls the forecast three months ago by a "highly authoritative source" in Washington that the Chinese Communists would attack Formosa in mid-April. Although that forecast was presumably based on intelligence reports, the attack never materialized. The "new Soviet offensive strategy" seems to have emanated from a similar source. Taken seriously, it would call for a complete revision of the policies of the Atlantic alliance; the logical consequence of such an analysis would be to prepare for a speedy "preventive" attack on the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, however, the analysis is not true to fact; its materials are culled from a much broader context which, on the whole, gives little cause for sudden panic on our part.

Soviet military doctrine, in its consideration of atomic warfare, has always distinguished between two

kinds of wars: (1) a war between a great power and a small nation, and (2) a war among two or more great powers with strong air forces using nuclear weapons. In the first type of war (a war similar to those between Italy and Abyssinia, Nazi Germany and Holland, the USSR and Finland), a surprise attack emphasizing airpower and the most modern weapons can be decisive. But in a war between two first-class powers, neither atom bombs nor hydrogen bombs nor a surprise attack utilizing both can be decisive. The *U. S. News and World Report* story quotes an article by Marshal P. Rotmistrov in *Red Star* (March 24, 1955), which says that "in some cases, surprise aggression might become a deciding condition for success not only in the initial phase of a war, but even for its final outcome." However, Marshal Rotmistrov goes on to say, such success would be possible only against a nation which could not properly resist or retaliate.

The molders of Soviet military strategy are experts and level-headed planners; they are controlled by a set of leaders who, though aggressive and ruthless, are not long-shot gamblers. Let us attempt to see this supposed "new offensive strategy" through their eyes.

Let us imagine that the Soviet surprise atomic attack has taken place and that it was "successful." Millions of Americans are dead, other millions are wounded, a number of cities lie in ruins, and death continues to devour thousands of victims. Has this successful attack meant victory for the attacker?

Moscow knows full well that the U.S. state, economy and defenses cannot be paralyzed even by several air attacks. Despite tremendous losses, a U.S. government, U.S. armed forces and a great number of dispersed U.S. bases and arsenals would survive. The Soviets have never doubted that, within 24 hours of its "surprise attack," a huge fleet of U.S. bombers would bring death and havoc to Russia. Because U.S. stores of nuclear weapons are admittedly bigger and better than the Soviet stores; because the U.S. has bases not only at home, but at a myriad of points around the Soviet perimeter; because the U.S. would be assisted by other nations whose combined forces are vastly superior to Russia's; and because Russia's radar screen is inferior—for these reasons, the destruction of Soviet cities would far exceed the losses inflicted a few hours earlier on the United States.

And then what? Not a single one of the nations involved in this apocalyptic struggle would be anywhere near victory. When the sun rose the following morning and made its way slowly from Siberia over Moscow, Berlin and London to New York, Washington and Chicago, everywhere its rays would be cast over mountains of corpses and heaps of ruins. Yet life would not cease, and victory would be just as far away as before the attack. When human and material losses were counted, Russia would be the biggest loser in any war started by her own government. And her chances of winning the war in subsequent stages would be almost nil. Belligerence and ruthlessness are not enough to win a war; this the world learned from the Axis in World War II.

Because of these atomic facts, the Kremlin cannot launch a surprise attack. Although the Soviets suffer from many misconceptions, an exaggerated belief in the decisiveness of atomic weapons is not one of them. Quite the contrary: This is one of our most widespread misconceptions. First came the illusion of "victory through air power" which facilitated dangerous cutbacks in our ground forces. Then came the illusion that the newest-model A-bomb alone could win any war for the nation possessing it. Behind these illusions was an unwillingness to face the imperative need for recruiting and equipping large-scale ground forces. Neither Stalin nor his heirs have made similar mistakes.

It is also inaccurate to depict Stalin as a "stiff" adherent of "peaceful co-existence," and to deem the Khrushchev-Bulganin course aggressive by contrast. Stalin was far more inclined toward risky international adventures than any of his collaborators or successors. He played with the fire of war from 1939 till the day of his death. It was Stalin who invaded Finland in 1939; who ordered his armies to hold the Balkans at the end of the war; who kindled the Communist upheaval in Northern Iran; who stayed in Manchuria long enough until Mao Tse-tung could successfully wage the Chinese civil war; who ordered the Berlin blockade; who initiated the war in Korea and so on. Since Stalin's death, his heirs have been trying to limit the scope of the conflict.

Were it true that the Soviets are preparing a surprise atomic attack, then their recent maneuvers would be all deception: the Austrian State Treaty, the rapprochement with Tito, the release of U.S. fliers from China, the *de facto* truce in the Formosa Strait, the easing of travel to and in Russia. Are these steps calculated simply to lull the West into a false sense of security? If so, the policy of this nation is a sequence of grave blunders. If we are to expect an atomic catastrophe soon, perhaps in the next few months then there is no place for careful, circumspect diplomacy; then the only intelligent men in Congress are the three Senators (Jenner, Malone, McCarthy) who voted against the Austrian Treaty.

But are such expectations of disaster reasonable? To be sure, "peaceful co-existence" is a hypocritical phrase in the mouths of the Soviets, and among the world's governments today, the Soviet regime is certainly the most quarrelsome, provocative and militant. At its first opportunity to make a real gain it would not hesitate to move its forces into a foreign land. That is why the armament of the free world is so essential, and present bones for effective disarmament so illusory.

Nevertheless, Soviet policy is not a mere cover for an imminent attack. There has been a real change in Soviet policies in recent months. It

is not a reorientation from "cold" to "hot" war. Though halfhearted and inconsistent the new Soviet course represents an effort to stabilize the *status quo*, to freeze present strategic and military relationships before new facts reduce the relative impact of Soviet power. The new Soviet policy is dictated by the realization of the weakening of Soviet and Communist positions all over the world, but especially in Europe.

Soviet spokesmen react bitterly to American comments that the new Kremlin policy is being dictated by the West's "situations of strength." Yet that is the fact nevertheless. There is a world of difference between the power of the United States and its allies in 1945-46 and their combined power now.

In addition to the fundamental military and economic changes induced by Western rearmament, there has been a basic psychological change. Something new has been growing: the Western will to

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resist. It first emerged with the Berlin airlift, then again when we helped Tito after his break with Stalin. It emerged in full force when American troops entered the Korean War. Now the principle that Soviet encroachments must be resisted by force is a permanent and basic assumption of American and British policy. Strong will is itself a powerful force in world politics; Moscow understands its impact and is now trying to draw the consequences.—*The New Leader*, June 27, 1955.

Pilani—Combination of Gurukul and Varsity

K. K. Duggal writes in the *American Reporter*, September 14, 1955:

Pilani (Rajasthan).—On the arid soil of this remote village in the heart of the Rajasthan desert has grown an oasis—a 400-acre campus of rolling lawns, flower-studded parks, tidy cottages, and sprawling schools and colleges.

Here is afoot an uncommon experiment in education that combines the ancient Gurukul philosophy of austerity and the modern, uninhibited, congenial atmosphere of the American university campus.

In this ideal rural setting where no city noises distract the student nor cinema houses or luxury restaurants claim his time and energy, are groomed career engineers, economists, researchers and administrators. What is more important, they are taught to be self-reliant, enlightened democratic citizens who will help build the New India in the making.

What started as a two-student *pathshala* for Seth Shivanarayan Birla's grandsons 55 years ago has today grown into a first-rate academy of education where 4000 boys and girls pursue study courses in arts, sciences, crafts commerce, and engineering.

One of the 17 institutions that make up this "university town" of Pilani is the Birla Engineering College, which, within nine years of its birth, has assumed a truly international character. Here come scholars from countries as far as Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan and Africa to acquire professional skills in varied engineering careers. And from here have graduated 700 engineers to man India's leading industrial plans and factories, the multipurpose river valley projects, and the Air, Naval and Army workshops in different parts of the country.

Recognition of the college's usefulness has come not only from the nation's private and public sectors and the Rajputana University but also from across the seas. Two years ago, the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., entered into a TCM-sponsored teachers' exchange agreement with the Pilani college.

Under this programme a "mature, ripe teacher" (to quote Principal Lakshmi Narayanan) from the world-famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Prof. Boyd B. Brainard was assigned to the college faculty for one year. He left in May this year. Two more Americans—Prof. Franklin O. Rose and Prof. Lawrence A. Ware—will arrive shortly to teach mechanical engineering and electronics. Prof. Ware is an authority on electronics; he has written two text-books for American students.

The visit is being reciprocated by four Pilani professors—N. K. N. Murthy, B. L. Maheshwari, Indarjit Nagrath and R. P. Javath—who left for the United States by air on August 29 on a two-year study-cum-teaching grant from the University of Wisconsin. The grant includes free passage, free tuition, and free

maintenance. They will prepare for their doctorates at Wisconsin. Principal Narayanan also has been invited. He plans to leave some time next year on a six-month lecture tour.

Of the exchange programme, Mr. Narayanan said: "Cross-fertilization of ideas promotes Indo-American understanding and goodwill. From Prof. Brainard our students and staff learnt a good deal about American teaching methods and the American people in general. The visiting professor, in turn, enjoyed living at the Pilani campus. Both he and Mrs. Brainard made many friends with whom they continue to be in correspondence."

Prof. Brainard, recalls Mr. Narayan, was pleasantly surprised at the Indian students' level of intelligence. Once he remarked: "Indian students are more hard-working and devoted to their studies than their American counterparts."

CLOSE TIE WITH U.S.

The exchange programme is not Pilani's only link with the United States. A close study of U.S. campus layouts and curricula went into the college blueprints. "We tried to adopt as much of U.S. practices as we could," said the Principal. "That is one advantage," he smilingly added, "of starting from scratch. You are not hampered by traditional, outworn techniques."

U.S.-manufactured tools such as electronic gadgets, electric generators, Ford and Chevrolet auto-engines, graphs on nuclear science and the Argus-Wright airplane on which students learn aero-engineering, fill Pilani's well-equipped laboratories; books by American authors line the shelves of the 5,000-volume college library.

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The Vice-Principal, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, who heads the Electrical Engineering Department, is an alumnus of Illinois and Cornell Universities. One bright student of the college, Jagdish Chander Snourie, is currently studying for Ph.D. at the University of Columbia, Missouri. Another graduate, Harish Chander Pandey, is leaving this month for the University of Purdue, Indiana, for higher studies.

Eastman—Author of Modern Photography

G. N. Radha Krishna writes in the same issue of the *American Reporter*:

It was the summer of 1888 and the *Hartford Courant* flashed the banner-line "Beware the Kodak!" on its front page. It added:

"The 'Kodak' has added a new terror to the picnic. The sedate citizen can't indulge in any hilarity without incurring the risk of being caught in the act and having his photograph passed around among his Sunday school children. And the young fellow who wishes to spoon with his best girl while sailing down the river must keep himself constantly sheltered by his umbrella."

The 'Kodak' brought a fortune to George Eastman and photography to millions. This catchy name was evolved one day when George Eastman was playing anagrams with his aged mother. The name Kodak raced round the world from the Hawaiian Islands to the remote hill tracts of Tibet. The newspapers outdid themselves in giving the name unprecedented publicity as demonstrated by the banner headline of the *Courant*.

Kodak's famous slogans, "You press the button and we do the rest," appeared in 1889 and release another whirl of publicity.

Eastman's interest in photography grew in an accidental way. When he planned a vacation trip to Santo Domingo, a fellow employee of his bank suggested he buy a camera and make a picture record of his trip. Eastman's interest was aroused and he started taking lessons at \$2 per lesson. It was the era of wet-plate photography. The plates had to be made and then photographed. The process was clumsy, slow and irksome.

From then on, Eastman became an ardent fan of photography. He pored through all technical literature and journals. An article in the *British Journal of Photography*, describing how dry glass plates are being used in England, drew his attention. He learnt the method and started making them in his own way and on a mass scale. He marketed them under his own trademark to the largest dealer in New York City. He was then working full time at the bank and gave his photographic business what attention he could, "between the hours of 3 p.m. and breakfast." His only rest was on Sunday when he slept, except for mealtimes, straight through the day.

All these ventures used up all his savings and he might have well gone bankrupt but for the boarder of his mother's one Henry Alvah Strong, a Civil War veteran who owned a buggy whip factory, who invested \$5,000 in the business. This enabled Eastman to resign from the bank and go in full steam ahead into the photography business.

Eastman entered photography at the close of the wet-plate era, passed rapidly to the use and manufacture of dry plates and then by a series of inventions and improvements, which he completed in 10 years, shoved the whole process forward approximately to modern photography.

In 1879, Eastman started mass-producing negative material on machinery. Later, there was a race to substitute glass with lighter, flexible material. This contest among rivals continued from 1880 to 1884 till Eastman patented the "American Film" in 1884. It was not like the film of today. It was a band of paper coated with two layers of gelatin, one of which was made sensitive to light by silver salts. After it was exposed and developed, the sensitive layer of gelatin was peeled off and became negative for printing.

In 1884, in collaboration with William H. Walker, his partner-engineer, he invented the spool to roll up the "American Film." Eastman's personal invention came in 1888, when he produced the Kodak Camera, which contained a lens, a roll-holder and spool of "American Film" with 100 exposures. The novelty of this invention was the revolving shutter which was operated by simply pressing a button. In 1889, Reichenbach, employed by Eastman, produced a material for making films without a paper-back support. This was used till 1940, when replaced by acetate film.

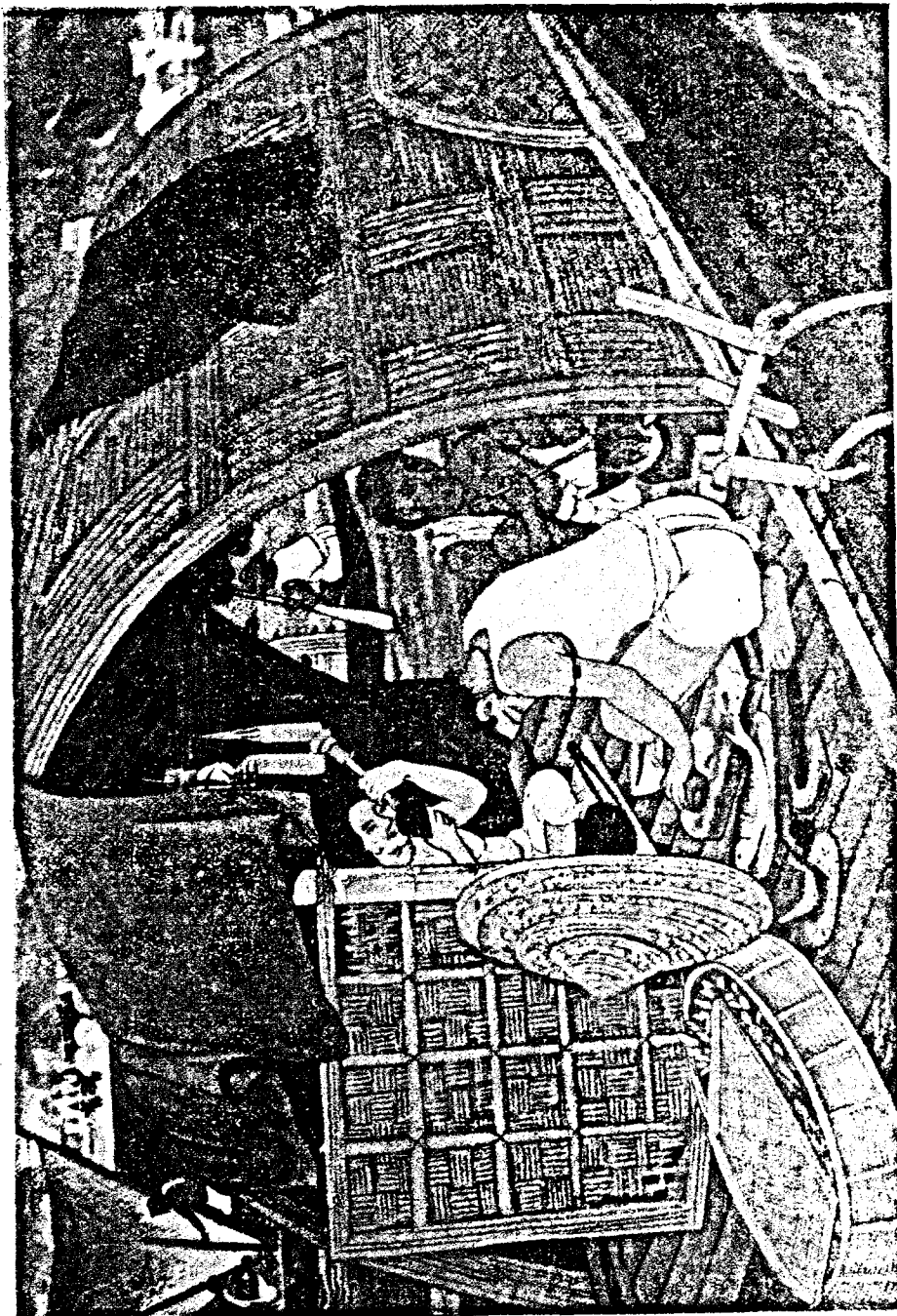
QUALITY AND CHEAPNESS

Apart from his inventive genius, Eastman proved his mettle in business. His ambition was to trade throughout the world and to capture all international markets. He achieved this by the quality and cheapness of his products. The first Kodak Camera was sold for \$25 in 1888; 10 years later a much improved model cost \$5. In 1900, Eastman brought out what he then considered as the ultimate in camera value—the \$1 Brownie with rolls of films for only 15c.

In 1925, when Eastman stepped out of the presidency of his company, its profits were \$18.5 million. In 1953 alone, it sold \$633 million worth of products and made a net profit of \$50 million after paying \$87.5 million in taxes.

George Eastman remained a bachelor throughout his life. His constant companion was his mother. Eastman spent his money as fast as he made it. As soon as he made his first million dollars, he began to give it away in large chunks. During his life, he gave away \$80 million and his will added public bequests of \$20 million more. If he had retained his capital and invested for personal gain, he might have died worth \$200 million to \$300 million.





BOATMEN OF THE PADMA
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Palasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Our Guests

We have had a number of distinguished visitors from many lands, as State guests, within this last month or so. Mr. Lester Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, arrived here at the end of October, with the specific invitation to open the Massanjore Dam of the Mor Valley Scheme. That pleasant function took place at the beginning of November, and will be remembered long, by the people of West Bengal particularly, as a lasting link of friendship with Canada.

The next to come were Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, on a visit and tour of goodwill and friendship. They were given a rousing reception and they are still with us at the time of writing these notes.

Then came a flying visit of an old friend, Premier U Nu, on his way back home from a tour in the U.S.S.R. He arrived practically in time to add his personal felicitations to our Premier, on the occasion of his 66th birthday. In passing we may also record our good wishes, for an occasion that has, quite fittingly, now been recognised as a festival for the young custodians of our future.

Dr. Hatta, the Indonesian Vice President, had also arrived, and ended a prolonged tour of goodwill in the third week of November. His visit was a mark of the bonds of friendship that binds India and Indonesia.

Then came the long-awaited visit of the Russian leaders, M. Nicolai Bulganin, the Prime Minister of U.S.S.R., and M. Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Soviet

Communist Party. They were welcomed with the greatest demonstrations of friendship ever accorded to any distinguished visitor, at New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and indeed all over the country.

Lastly came the visit of King Saud of Arabia on a State visit. He was given a royal welcome at Bombay and Delhi, and is still on tour at the time of writing.

What is the significance of all these visits? That is the question over which foreign Powers, particularly of the Western Bloc, are racking their brains. The main point, of course, is the official tour by the two topmost executives of the U.S.S.R.

Here in India, as abroad, different views are being taken of these visits. Most people think that at last India is being put on the World Maps. Others again think that at last this country is finding friends, who are willing to help in raising India's status.

There are quite a few that are concerned with the fear that India might be forced, through the repercussions of these visits, to align herself with one of the warlike groups, and thus be obliged to abandon her neutrality. They point out the reactions of the extreme leftist parties, particularly the Communist Party of India. They also point out that with the exception of the Bombay S.R.C. incidents, the myriad functions and processions that have ensued out of these visits, have passed in calm and quiet, thereby clearly emphasising the source of all disruptionist activities.

It is too early yet to comment or to draw conclusions. We shall have to wait for the world repercussions.

The French Car Industry

The car industry remains one of the greatest of French industries. It directly employs 110,000 people and indirectly gives a living to more. Its turnover topped 350 billion francs in 1955 and will easily exceed this total in 1956. Every autumn French and foreign techniques can be compared at the French Automobile Show.

In 1938 the French car production ranked fourth in world production, with 358,000 vehicles of all descriptions. France came after the United States, Great Britain and Germany, and was closely followed by the U.S.S.R. and Canada. In 1953, with 497,757 vehicles, France kept the fourth place, having been outstripped, so it seems, by the U.S.S.R., but coming before Germany. During the first half of 1954 France turned out 301,965 vehicles, and was classified after the United States, Great Britain and Germany.

The characteristics of French car construction are closely connected with the needs of the population. France is no longer, as in former times, one of the richest countries in the world: for that reason luxury cars are less prevalent. On the other hand, the average customer is more attracted by this means of travel; but they demand cheap cars which consume very little petrol and oil.—*News from France.*

French Technology Abroad

J. G. Fevrier writes in the *News from France*, 15th April, 1955:

When one speaks of French commercial expansion abroad, one thinks chiefly of foreign trade statistics, that is to say, of the direct sale of goods. But there are many other ways in which French technical achievements reveal themselves successful in other countries. They can chiefly contribute to the industrial development of other countries by sending engineers and specialists, by drawing up plans for works, by the granting of patents and by delivering machines. This form of exportation creates stronger and more lasting ties between France and her customers than a mere exchange of goods. But this is not often known, and some still continue to represent France as a country only interested in the production of high-quality wines, fashion models, and the so-called articles from Paris.

Perhaps as illustration it would be worth mentioning that the fastest electronic calculating machine in the world (3 times as fast as those of rival countries) is of French invention and manufacture and that America has ordered them in large quantities (to a value of 2 billion French francs); and that the Egyptian government has signed an agreement with the great nationalized French firm, Electricite de France, for the organization in common of the production and the exploitation of electricity in Egypt.

It is not possible here to draw up a list of all the successes obtained by French technical achievements abroad in the last few years. But a few typical facts must be mentioned.

South America is a zone where international competition is particularly keen. In Columbia the highly important Iron-smelting works of the Paz do Rio will shortly begin production. They were built by French firms and engineers. French firms are also charged with supplying the town of Cali with drinking water. In Peru, a group of French firms associated with the Bank of Paris and that of the Low Countries, has been awarded the contract for the works which are to finish the building of the enormous Santa factory; these works comprise a saw-mill and a hydro-electric generating station, the total cost of which amounts to more than

15 million dollars. In Brazil the National Company of Alkali has ordered from French firms the materials necessary for the construction of an important factory of chemical products at Caba Frio, near Rio de Janeiro; in the same country, the firm, "Grands Travaux de Marseille," is charged through a local firm with the harnessing of the Cachoeira Dourada falls, on the Paranaiba river, the construction of the dam and the installation of a hydro-electric power plant.

Throughout the East, international competition is just as keen. We have already spoken of Egypt. In Iraq the Development Board Officially announced that the important works to be carried out on the Dokan river in the Kurdistan mountains (construction of dams and irrigation works) will be in the hands of French firms.

In India, at Jachali, near Bangalore a factory for the manufacture of electronic material will start work as from 1956; it will be administered by the Bharat Electronic Ltd. Twelve Indian technicians are at present going through a training course in Paris, at the General Company of French Broadcasting and Television, in order to form the technical nucleus of the factory. In Ceylon, a French firm, the Industrial Work Company, is carrying out the test of enlarging the port of Colombo. In Turkey, French industry has obtained a large number of orders. Three French firms have been awarded the contract for construction of several aerodromes. Etibank has charged the French firm, Merlin and Gerin of Grenoble, with the research, the supplying and the installation of 15 transformer sub-stations to supply a transport network with energy (15,400 volts) in the North and North-West of Anatolia. The whole of this order amounts to almost 200 000 French francs. The General Society for Tractors and Exploitation has signed an agreement for the construction of an underground railway line at Istanbul.

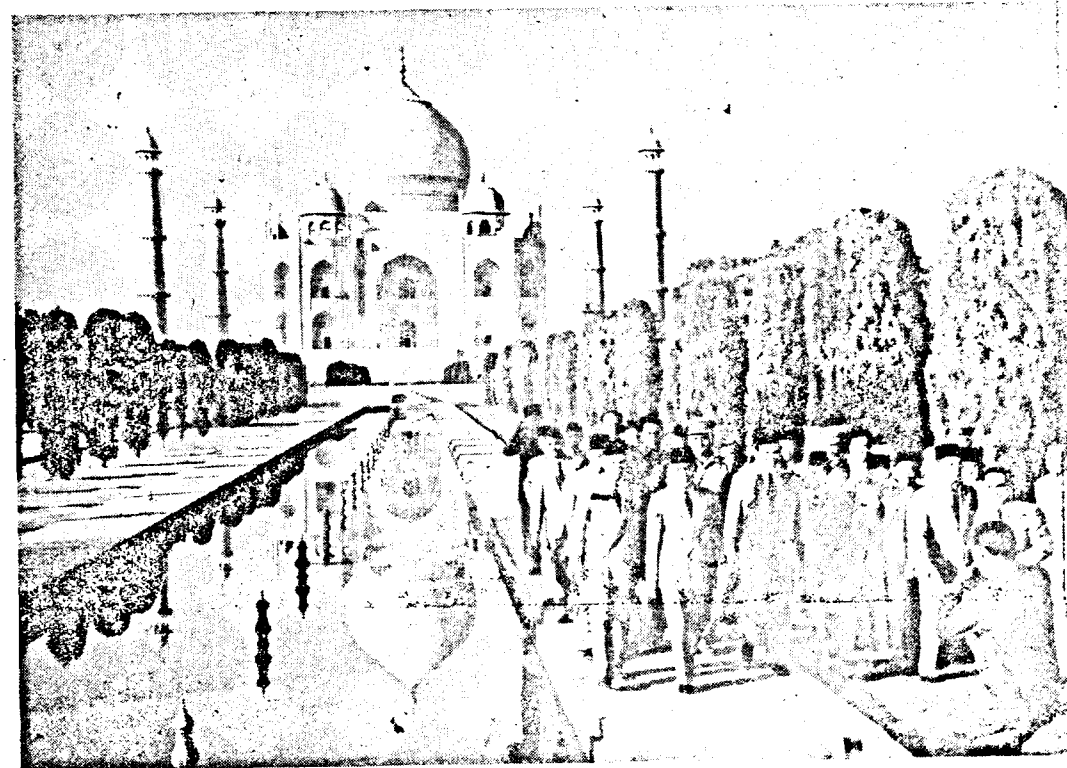
In the Far-East, except for China, which is economically dependent on Russia, French technical achievements have been just as successful. In a highly industrialized country such as Japan, the Shuan Machine Tool Company at Osaka is equipping itself for the construction of 20 precision lathes with a license from the French firm, Cazeneuve. These lathes are supplied with hydraulic copying devices. The Shouan Company will sell these lathes in Korea, Siam, the Philippines, Formosa, Indonesia and naturally in Japan itself. In Indonesia the firm Degremont is building installations for the purification and the complete treatment of the waters of the Bangir canal at Djakarta; the contract has a value of 200,000 French francs. In Australia the government invited tenders for the construction of an electric generating machine on the river Tumut. In spite of keen competition it was a group of 6 French firms which was awarded the contract for a total value of 3,900,000 Australian pounds. The generating station, situated in the region of the "Snowy Mountains," will be underground. It will be equipped with 4 generators each of 90,000 KW.

If we now turn to Africa we find that in Kenya two French firms are building a pipe-line, 150 miles long and for a value of 500,000 French francs. In the Belgian Congo, the Home and Colonial Firms have just finished a dam on arm of the Inkasi river. In South Africa, at Durban, a French firm has obtained a big order for the canalisation of water.

This enumeration is of course incomplete but at least shows that French production is not only turned towards specialities, it also manufactures which need the most modern equipment and the best technical achievements.



Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev with a group of artists who participated in a Dance Concert, specially arranged in their honour, at Nangal, on November 22



Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Taj Mahal, Agra, during his recent visit to this historic city

Indo-Soviet Relations

The Indian people have given the heartiest welcome to the Soviet leaders, M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev. The visit is historic in every sense of the term and Sri Nehru was not exaggerating a bit when he said on November 19: "This day on which we are welcoming the distinguished guests from our neighbour country, the Soviet Union, will go down in history as a very important event. I hope the result that will now flow from it will be significant not only for the Indian people, but the whole world."

In an editorial article on November 21, the *Hitavada* writes that though commercial, cultural and political relations had existed between India and Russia for centuries it was only since the achievement of Indian independence in 1947 that the two countries came really near to each other. The most notable feature of Indo-Soviet co-operation since that time was the initiation of the one-million ton Steel Plant at Bhilai. "This plant which is rapidly taking shape under Russian sponsorship represents a new and fruitful phase of Indo-Soviet collaboration in the industrial field. In the sphere of international relations there has been a Community of interests between the two countries based on the acceptance of Panchashila and on the need for lowering tension and promoting world peace."

Concluding the newspaper writes: "We are confident that the relations between the two countries, based as they are on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference and close co-operation, will grow still further as a result of the visit of M. Bulganin and his colleagues to this country. We also hope that the friendship and collaboration between India and the Soviet Union will serve as an example of the co-operation that is possible between States with different political and socio-economic systems."

Writing on 18th November just on the eve of the Soviet leaders' arrival in India the Soviet Communist Party daily *Pravda* (Truth) says: "The Soviet people, who gave a warm and generous welcome to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, in their own country a few months ago, unanimously welcome the return visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to the friendly India."

"Through their leaders the Soviet people extend their warmest brotherly greetings to the great peace-loving people of India."

The newspaper recalls that Indo-Soviet re-

lations had all along been friendly and mutually respectful and writes: "The great Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, had a deep faith in the creative forces of the Indian people and in their inevitable victory in the struggle for freedom and independence."

The newspaper concludes: "The Soviet people have always sincerely wished and do wish the friendly people of India happiness and success in further strengthening their national independence and in their efforts for peace. Speaking at the meeting in Moscow Nikolai Bulganin said: 'The industry and talent of the multilingual four hundred million people of India, who have created immortal cultural monuments in the course of their centuries-long history, their steadfast striving for freedom and national independence, their invariable love of peace, have earned them the profound respect and warm sympathies of our country.'

"May Soviet-Indian friendship and co-operation gain in strength and scope for the good of the peoples of both countries, for the good of world peace and security."

The influential *Izvestia* of the same date writes: "Soviet-Indian relations are built on a firm and reliable basis. It is founded on the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. Our relations with India convincingly confirm the correctness of the principles proclaimed by great Lenin on the possibility of peaceful co-existence and co-operation of states with different social and political systems."

"The Soviet people on their part highly appreciate the role played by India in the struggle for peace. With the active participation of India together with the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic armistice was established in Korea and an end was put to hostilities in Indo-China. Like the Soviet Union India comes out for reduction of armaments and armed forces and for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Our countries make joint efforts for the successful settlement of the problem of Taiwan with due regard paid to the national interests of the Chinese people. They struggle jointly for granting the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate place in the United Nations. The peace-loving peoples appreciate the fact that India was one of the countries that took the initiative in convening

the conference of Asian and African countries in Bandung, which was an important landmark in the struggle of the Asian and African peoples for their rights and independence, for strengthening universal peace."

Bulganin's Speech at Calcutta Airport

Marshal Bulganin and M. Khrushchev were received at the Dum Dum Airport by an address of welcome in Bengali by the Chief Minister, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.

The *Hindustan Standard* reports: "M. Bulganin prefaced his reply to the welcome with the words 'Dear Friends' which drew loud applause from the crowd."

"M. Bulganin said that it was a great joy to be on the soil of Calcutta, which had played a great role in the history of India's national liberation movement and in the development of India's economy and culture. From their plane they had seen great fields, peaceful villages and big rivers. They had also seen the biggest city, Calcutta, with its smoking chimneys and factories."

"M. Bulganin added, riches of golden Bengal were unaccountable, and together with you we are glad that the people of Bengal are becoming masters of wealth created by them. They were participating in the great work of building up their motherland, he said."

"We shall be happy," M. Bulganin continued, "to have close acquaintance with the work and life of Bengal, with her achievements and success. We have brought to you the best wishes and the warm greetings from the multi-million people of the Soviet Union, who have been following the progress of independent India with great interest. Let us strengthen the friendship and fruitful co-operation between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union," he concluded.

The Soviet Leaders in Calcutta

Shri Krishan Bhatia, *Statesman* reporter, covering the Indian tour of the Soviet leaders writes: "The mammoth welcome which M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev received in Calcutta on Tuesday has completely eclipsed the receptions given them in the other big cities of India." He adds, compared with the reception in Calcutta the other receptions including the one in New Delhi "appear small functions."

"That the breakdown in traffic arrange-

ments caused inconvenience to M. Bulganin and his companion is regrettable, but the Calcutta crowds were probably more orderly than in Bombay. On the Russians' arrival in Bombay, some parts of the city experienced a traffic jam which lasted over two hours. Many people were unable to reach the reception on that account."

"In respect of decorations on the road from the Air Port to Raj Bhavan, Calcutta did not impress those who had seen the decorations earlier in the tour."

An American newspaper correspondent who had travelled widely and had been in the profession for long time, told Calcutta reporters that his experience on Tuesday was "unique," the *PTI* reports. He had never seen such a large crowd.

The Soviet Leaders' Tour

As expected the present tour of the top Soviet leaders in India has had different reactions in the Western Press. Some have reacted strongly against the welcome accorded here, others have taken a more or less sober view. Thus writes the *New York Times*, International Edition, of November 20:

India is not Communist, nor is India on the road to communism. These examples of Communist activity throughout the country—and there is a mountain of others to choose from—actually show something quite different. And that is that the Communists have come to think of India as the major obstacle to a Communist Asia and have made India the target of their most intensive and integrated propaganda campaign in this part of the world.

In the past year Moscow has sweetened that campaign, at least publicly. For the time being it does not fit in with the Soviet Union's happy attitude toward India. But chances are that historians some day will decide that the Communist party of India lost nothing from the fact that Moscow so enthusiastically pursued Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the spring, summer and fall of 1955. All over India these days city folk and villagers are seeing motion pictures showing in detail the astoundingly warm reception received by Nehru wherever he went in Eastern Europe. Some of the glow felt here today the Russian people must be reflected on the Indian Communists.

Indians feel that all the emphasis on

communism, its growth or decline, overshadows the work being done by a non-Communist Government to build up the nation. "India is not just a Western problem," said a young Indian journalist, "it is our country."

But grant once that the story of India is what the Government and people are doing with their country, and not just what the Communists are trying to do to it, and most Indians would agree that they have been paid the compliment of having been selected as communism's No. 1 Asian target.

The United States and Britain carry on propaganda work in India, too. But the truth is that the West's propaganda work simply is not in the same league as the Communists, and can never be. The Americans and the British have some top-notch specialists in India doing diplomatic and information-service work, men who know the country and are warm to it. But they operate always, and must operate, as foreigners. They have to walk and talk softly; this is a country sensitive to the nerve-ends against being sold anything political from the outside.

Soviet Objectives

The same issue of the *New York Times* gives front page editorial space to a retrospect and survey of world politics titled "After Geneva," in which are the following comments on the objectives of the Soviets:

What were to be "the means short of war" by which the Soviets would pursue their objectives? The pattern had begun to unfold before the Foreign Ministers' conference. Russia clearly was embarking on a course in which it planned to use all its non-military resources—economic, political and diplomatic—to try to create trouble for the West and advance the frontiers of communism.

There are three main target areas at which the Soviets seem to be directing these tactics—Germany, the Mideast and Southeast Asia. This is the apparent Soviet strategy in each region, and the problems for the West:

Germany. Moscow clearly believes it is in the cat-bird seat on the German question and hence was in no mood to negotiate on Germany at Geneva. Russia alone, by her control over East Germany and her diplomatic relations with West Germany, has the power to negotiate unification.

Mideast. Russia is playing a complex and

dangerous game in the highly unsettled Mideast. The volatile conflict between Israel and the Arab States has stopped short of an explosion largely because the Arab nations are militarily weak and have been dependent on the West for economic aid and diplomatic support. Soviet offers, through its satellites, to sell arms to all comers in the Mideast; its hints that it might supply funds and technical aid for construction of a huge hydro-electric project on the Nile and another in Lebanon; and its alliance with Arab nationalists in the U.N. have brought Russia four-square into the Mideast picture.

Southeast Asia. The Soviets have begun to woo the "neutralist" Southeast Asian nations with diplomatic and economic overtures. Last week, as major step in that campaign, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Communist party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev set off on a 5,000-mile "good-will" tour of India, Burma, and Afghanistan. In New Delhi Friday, an estimated 1,000,000 Indians turned out to greet and cheer the Soviet leaders.

In the matter of economic aid, Soviet capabilities are limited. Nevertheless, they appear to get maximum propaganda advantage out of every gesture they make. For example, a Soviet offer to send a team of oil experts to India received as much attention in the Indian press recently as the United States' appropriation of \$50,000,000 to India this year. Russia has also achieved a high degree of success in economic penetration of Afghanistan. There are about 500 Soviet technicians in the country which now sends 35 per cent of its exports to the Soviet Union. It is assumed the Soviet leaders will hold out some form of economic bait when they reach Rangoon.

In terms of economic aid, the United States is in a far better position than Russia to supply the money and goods the countries of Southeast Asia need. But in granting economic aid, the United States has to contend with political problems and pressures that are foreign to the Soviet rulers. John B. Hollister, director of the International Co-operation Administration which handles the Administration's foreign economic aid program, has gone on record as favoring a curtailment of foreign expenditures. In an election year, the pressures for budget balancing and tax reductions—and consequently cuts in foreign aid—are bound to be strong.

In short, the West is now confronted with

a diversified Soviet challenge that promises to provide some of the sternest tests in the history of East-West relations—tests that cannot be met with military alliances. The London *Economist* said last week:

What the free societies of both the West and Asia now face is a challenge to mortal combat—no less mortal for being largely nonmilitary.

Tata-Kaiser Steel Agreement

Under a recently concluded agreement one of the largest engineering and contracting firms in the United States Steel Industry, Henry J. Kaiser Company, would help the expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company of India. The designing procurement and construction of the expansion project would cost about 65 crores of rupees. The project would increase India's current steel plant capacity by about 45 per cent and raise the Tata plant's production from approximately 1.3 to 2 million ingot tons annually. It would be completed in about two and a half years' time.

A spokesman of the Kaiser Company announcing the conclusion of the agreement said on November 22 that the agreement was a "private deal and not government to government."

A U.S. Department of Commerce bulletin of November 22 disclosed that the U.S. steel mills were operating at 98 per cent of rated capacity in October, 1955.

Banks on Wheels

The State Bank of India would open several hundred branches in the rural areas in the near future. In this background the following news-item published in the 15th October issue of the *News from France* is of some interest. The periodical reports: "One of the problems which the French regional banks had to face was how to reach a scattered clientele, living at varying distances from the head office or even the branch offices. To have opened more branch offices would have involved too much expenditure on buildings and staff, which would not have been offset by the addition of new clients. So a new solution had to be found, and it has been found by introducing a system of travelling banks in vans, like travelling circulating libraries. These little banks on wheels visit a number of centres every-

day, and their itineraries and halts are fixed in advance and notified through the papers. These travelling banks are very well furnished, and contain both public counters and offices for the agent."

Indian Employees in Foreign Firms

The position of Indian employees in foreign firms operating in India over the past several years is available from the following table published in the *Hindu* of November 6, 1955:

Year	No. of Indians	No. of Foreigners	Total
1947	6,162	7,623	13,785
1948	7,902	8,052	15,954
1949	10,033	8,286	18,319
1950	11,803	8,318	20,121
*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*
1954	18,642	7,750	26,392
1955	21,242	7,526	28,768

The *Statesman's* special representative in New Delhi adds that the progress of Indianization of services in foreign firms were officially regarded as satisfactory and no legislative action had therefore been taken.

He further writes: "A new factor being taken into consideration is the demand for technicians created by the industrial boom in Europe which, together with the increase in taxes in India, has reduced the net inducement to work in India.

"Government policy, it is officially pointed out is not to push foreigners out in order to create vacancies but to ensure that a high proportion of posts falling vacant in the normal course are filled by Indians.

"A recent example of an agreement seeking this objective is with tea plantation companies in which the highest percentage of foreigners are employed. They have agreed to appoint Indians to three out of every four senior vacancies.

"Employment figures indicate that foreigners are now in an overall majority only in plantation companies. Jute companies, in which a similar position existed last year, have employed an overall majority of Indians this year."

Resources for Second Five-Year Plan

Recently the problem of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was dis-

cussed at several authoritative levels. At the third meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, held recently in New Delhi, the question of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was considered. The Committee reiterated its emphasis on heavy industries and proper integration between hand industries and large-scale industries producing consumer goods. The Committee also placed the target of expenditure at Rs. 4,300 crores and stressed the need for exploring additional methods of increasing revenues and savings for financing the Plan.

The Prime Minister emphasized that planning had to be on an all-India basis and said that the various draft Central and State Plans added up to more than Rs. 12,000 crores as against the plan provision of Rs. 4,300 crores. The raising of resources is a complicated problem and they will have to give serious thought to the question of adding to the resources for financing the Plan by 'normal' ways. They would also have to think about 'abnormal' ways of adding to the resources for the Plan.

Referring to the basis of approach for planning, Pandit Nehru said that the authorities had decided to lay emphasis on heavy industries and village and small industries. He has rightly pointed out that without heavy industries, the rate of progress would be low and a country remains dependent on imports from abroad. For instance, the shortage of steel is a great big hurdle to our expansion programmes not merely in respect of rail transport but in regard to housing and other schemes of development. Sri Nehru considers the development of heavy industries as vital to the nation's economy, and also of the small industries as an employment providing factor.

The Finance Minister put emphasis on the fact that the size of the Plan and the resources should be properly matched. From such calculations as had been made it appeared that if the ratio of public receipts to national income was maintained at the existing level, the Government should be able to provide altogether about Rs. 3,500 crores for the Second Five-Year Plan. As against this, the size of the development programme as indicated in the Plan frame papers, was Rs. 4,300 crores. The problem is how to raise another Rs. 800 crores so that the size of the Plan and of resources may be suitably adjusted. A part of this expenditure shall have to be raised

by taxation. The Finance Minister, however, stated that efforts would have to be made to devise new methods of raising loans and mobilising savings. In his view, a lowering of the size of the Plan in the public sector below Rs. 4,300 is not desirable. During the First Plan period the rate of increase in national income was about 3 per cent per annum. "This is the minimum to be kept before us as a target," he added. He pointed out that the Planning Commission had in view a target of 5 per cent increase in national income.

If the country continues to increase the national income at the rate of 5 per cent per year, the national income will be doubled in 14 years. Taking into account this long term prospect, the Finance Minister emphasised that the raising of resources to match the development programme was absolutely necessary. If there is a short fall in the resources, of Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000 crores, what is to be achieved in five years will be achieved in six years and there will thus be a lengthening of the period for achieving a given level of development.

Reviewing the general position regarding iron and steel, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry stated that, including the demand of the Railways, India would need about a million tons of imports every year to meet internal requirements. Some progress has been made in regard to the Russian and German steel plants and actual production will start in January 1959. The Government, however, is trying to speed up the production programme of these two plants. The Government has also expansion schemes for the Tatas and IISCO's plants. Production of Tata's plant will be stepped up by another 500,000 tons by early 1958 when the steel situation is expected to ease. Production at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works is also proposed to be stepped up from its present capacity of 25,000 tons to 100,000 tons and India's steel production would total 4.5 million tons by 1959.

The essential aspects of the main approach in the draft plan-frame are: (1) Planning is to be undertaken with reference to the physical needs and possibilities subject to financial considerations and especially foreign exchange requirements; (2) emphasis is to be placed on heavy industries, especially on the development of machine-building capacity; and (3) development of village and small-scale industries will be speeded up. The development of village

and small-scale industries is important from several points of view, notably, supply of consumer goods, employment, decentralisation of industry, avoidance of social problems such as slums, lower capital costs and smaller expenditure on overheads.

On the subject of financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan, the outlay in the public sector has been divided broadly into two parts, namely, Rs. 900 crores on revenue account and Rs. 3,400 crores on capital account. It has been estimated that the balance from revenue and additional taxation could be brought up to a total of Rs. 700 crores. 'There is a gap in the share of the States in this amount which has to be made good. There is also a further gap to be met if the resources on revenue account are to be raised from Rs. 700 crores to Rs. 900 crores. The target of public loans and small savings over the next five years has been placed at Rs. 900 crores, i.e., an annual amount of Rs. 180 crores per year. As there will be a gap of Rs. 800 crores for a plan of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector, additional steps are needed to be taken to raise the amount to be obtained from public loans and small savings.

In considering the size of the individual State plans, the Planning Commission will take into account a number of factors such as population, commitments carried over from the first to the second plan, the level of development reached at the end of the first plan, the revenue position of the State and its ability to finance its plan on revenue account and the programme of irrigation and power which was determined largely on the examination carried out by the Technical Committee for Irrigation and Power.

As regards the employment aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan, 10 million jobs must be provided for new entrants to the labour force and there is also a considerable back-log to be made up. From such estimates as made by the Planning Commission, it appears that if the physical targets envisaged in the draft plan are achieved, in the non-agricultural sector employment opportunities to the extent of about 8 to 8½ million jobs may be realised. The Planning Commission also emphasises the need to devote special attention to the problem of educated unemployment. Special programmes are to be worked out for providing opportunities for the educated unemployed persons through work and training camps and other measures. The aim is to equip 1,00,000 educated

youths in the first year of the second Plan for productive work either in specific jobs in fields in which large-scale development was being undertaken and by way of self-employment.

During his Press conference at New Delhi in the first week of November, the Finance Minister of India gave the latest position regarding the financial resources of the Second Five-Year Plan. He expressed a sense of satisfaction with the progress of expenditure under the first Plan. His estimate is that nearly 85 to 87.5 per cent of the expenditure envisaged under the first Plan would be spent by the end of March 1956, that is, out of the target of Rs. 2,300 crores, as much as Rs. 2,000 crores would be spent. The achievements of the first five-year Plan include the ending of food scarcity, and the sufficient production of clothing and agricultural raw materials for industries. But the most disappointing failure under the first Plan is in the direction of providing employment at a much faster rate. The Finance Minister himself admitted that unemployment during the period of the first Plan increased by 4 million, although no correct estimate of unemployment is available. On the assumption that the creation of a job per person involves an expenditure of nearly Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000, the Finance Minister estimates that additional employment to the extent of 4 to 5 million jobs must have been created in the first Plan, as against an increase of 9 million employable persons during that period. These figures indicate some idea of the magnitude of the problem. The population of India is increasing at the rate of 4.5 million per annum, and without the investments in the public sector under the First Five-year Plan, the unemployment situation would have worsened.

The Finance Minister estimated that of the amounts spent so far, Rs. 200 crores would represent deficit financing while by the time the Plan ended another Rs. 300 crores would have been spent by deficit financing making a total about Rs. 500 crores. Judging by the present level of prices, he felt that the deficit financing had been more or less matched by the additional production. He said that this deficit financing of Rs. 300 crores also included some of the expenditure planned for tackling the unemployment problem. The amount of deficit financing is nearly 25 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores.

Dealing with the resources for the Plan, the

Finance Minister said that after taking note of the trade balances and the foreign assistance likely to be available, the deficit was expected to be of the order of Rs. 400 crores. Possibilities of floating a foreign loan had been explored in a distant way and he had some preliminary talks last year in Switzerland and he had made some tentative enquiries in the London money market. But for the moment India does not need to go in for loans and the question might become of some importance only during the second plan.

As regards the total outlay under the second Plan, the Finance Minister gave his personal opinion that the second Plan would be of the order of about Rs. 4,800 crores, thus representing an addition of Rs. 500 crores over the original estimate. This estimate he made from his association at various stages in the formulation of the Plans of the States and Central Ministries. In his view, the foreign exchange requirements would be of the order of about Rs. 1,500 crores. Of this amount, nearly Rs. 700 crores would be made up by way of foreign trade balances and about Rs. 400 crores by way of foreign assistance including loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There would still be a gap of another Rs. 400 crores. Asked whether there was need for floating loans in foreign markets, when they had large sterling balances, the Finance Minister said that part of their sterling balances would have to be utilised as backing for their currency which would grow in the implementation of the second Plan on account of deficit financing. Taking all that into account, it would be found that the spendable surplus of the sterling balances would be small, even if nothing else happened.

To encourage the flow of foreign capital to this country, particularly dollar capital, the Government of India would take a decision on the American investment guarantee scheme in the not too distant future. The United States Government has suggested to the Government of India that India might participate in the scheme. Twenty six countries including the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Japan and the Philippines are stated to have joined this scheme. If India accepts this scheme, the payment of compensation to an American investor in this country in the event of nationalisation would not be justifiable matter in the sense it might have been

between a private party and Government, but would have to be settled between the two countries, namely, India and the USA by methods to be agreed upon as part of the scheme. The Finance Minister said that India would require foreign capital and foreign "know-how" in the field of those goods which our people cannot produce. In regard to the American investment guarantee scheme, the investment of the American investor would be in the private sector like the consumer industry which the Government of India is not thinking of nationalising.

In our view, India's foreign exchange resources can be increased by two ways, apart from those under contemplation of the authorities. Firstly, the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank should be revalued in line with present world price level. The old price of Rs. 21 per tola is much too unrealistic and uneconomic. By revaluation India should certainly get an additional sum of quite a substantial amount. The value of the present gold holdings is about Rs. 41 crores. We do not agree with the Finance Minister's views that sterling balances could not be spent as these are kept as currency reserves.

It is simply a wastage to keep gold or foreign exchange as a reserve against the issue of currency notes. Britain has adopted the system of entirely fiduciary issue which dispenses with the necessity of keeping gold or foreign exchange reserves and in consequence this system is the cheapest in the matter of note issue. It is time that India should switch on from the present costly system of proportional reserve to the fiduciary issue. The Bank of England's gold holdings are almost insignificant. There cannot be any better credit than that of the Government and gold is a costly substitute for that. In the socialistic pattern of economy, reserves of foreign exchange against currency issue seem to be an anachronism.

Trade Protection

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was modified at the tenth session of the Contracting Parties who met at Geneva during the last week of October, 1955. For various reasons this session was important from the point of view of international trade. This is the first session after the admission of Japan into the GATT. Moreover, the deliberations and decisions at this session will pave the way for a freer and smoother flow of world trade. It

may be recalled that the Havana Trade Charter which was drawn up in Havana in March 1948 has remained inoperative since then and the GATT has continued to be applied provisionally by its signatories. In accordance with the provisions of the GATT, a review of its Articles became necessary in view of the changing conditions in the pattern of world trade. This review was undertaken at Geneva in the winter of 1954. The objectives of this review were firstly, to consider amendments to the GATT itself where necessary and secondly, to provide for the setting up of an Organisation to administer it, since the International Trade Organisation which was to administer the Havana Charter had not come into being.

Speaking broadly, the GATT has three objectives: firstly, to eliminate trade discrimination; secondly, to abolish unfair practices of all kinds, and, thirdly, to reduce the barriers to the smooth flow of international trade. India is in full support with the first two objectives. India does not believe in trade discrimination, and she allows imports from all parts of the world with the exception of dollar area. This is because on account of dollar shortage she has to be more restrictive. Likewise, in the matter of tariffs, she does not apply a discriminatory rate against those countries that do not have a Most Favoured Nation Agreement with us. Our country does grant preferences to certain specified goods originating in particular countries within and outside the Commonwealth. These preferences are being continued largely because so long as some countries enjoy preferences in particular markets, India cannot afford to give up our own preferences. The GATT prevents the creation of new preferences, and as a result of the tariff negotiations under the GATT the area of preference has been considerably reduced.

The second aim of the GATT is to provide a set of trade rules to regulate international commerce. In this category come matters such as the freedom of transit, methods of valuation for customs purposes and formalities connected with import and export. There are also provisions to deal with the questionable practices like subsidies and dumping. All these are matters where India can unhesitatingly subscribe to the principles of the GATT and the application of these principles are necessary for the interests of our own foreign trade. India does not give

subsidies, open or hidden, to her exports, and she does not dump goods in other markets. But if other countries do not follow a similar code, our exports and domestic industries are sure to suffer. So far as non-discrimination and trade rules are concerned, the GATT has the full support of India.

But when we come to the third principle, that is, the question of reducing trade barriers, we feel that the provisions of the GATT call for amendments. As a country with a substantial stake in international trade, India can certainly demand that there should be the minimum of obstacles to the smooth flow of her foreign trade. She has many industries dependent on export markets. These are important industries like the jute industry, the tea industry, the mica industry and the coir industry, to name but a few. It is quite undesirable that these industries should be allowed to suffer on account of unjustified trade restrictions.

The Government of India holds the view that in the course of our economic development it is inevitable that we should seek to discourage particular lines of imports in order that domestic industries producing similar goods may grow and expand. This point was recognised when the original GATT was drafted by providing Article XVIII for special measure to promote economic development. But the problem which the industrially developed countries have in this respect differ largely from those confronting a country which is in the early stages of its industrial development. This was the point which was overlooked by the old GATT. The old provisions of the GATT gave to its members a completely free hand except where the country concerned had during the course of tariff negotiations voluntarily agreed to give any tariff concessions in return for any concession which it had asked for and received. Although this was in no sense an unfair position, India felt that what was necessary was that there should be a suitable procedure to enable countries in the process of rapid economic development to withdraw concessions on particular items without too much difficulty or delay if such a course was found necessary in the interests of their development.

Further, the GATT stipulated that Quantitative Restrictions on trade should not be used except when a country is in balance of payments difficulties. Accordingly, the Indian delegation to the review session of the GATT was given in-

siructions to press for amendments to its articles to secure two objectives: namely, to enable under-developed countries like India to use quantitative restrictions on import in order to fulfil their programme of economic development and to assist the development of particular industries, and secondly, sufficient flexibility regarding the bound rates of tariffs should be secured to enable under-developed countries to make changes as and when new industries develop.

Accordingly, to meet the special position of the under-developed countries in the matter of extending protection to their growing industries, Article XVIII of the GATT has been wholly revised. Under the modified Article, member countries in the early stages of industrial development would enjoy additional facilities to enable them (a) to maintain sufficient flexibility in their tariff structure to be able to grant the tariff protection required for the establishment of particular industries and (b) to apply quantitative restrictions on imports to protect their balance of payments in a manner which takes full account of the continued high level of demand for imports likely to be generated by their programme of economic development.

*The modified Article begins with the recognition that there should be special facilities for the development of economies which can only support low standards of living and are in the early stages of development. There are thus two criteria laid down for use of these special provisions. If a country is under-developed in the sense that there are vast resources which have not yet been tapped but which has a high standard of living—for example a country like Australia, it cannot have recourse to all the facilities of Article XVIII. The same applies to a country which has a low standard of living but is well developed economically, as for example, Japan. The modified Article is really intended for countries which suffer from both handicaps like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and certain South American countries. Provisions for these have been incorporated in Section A, B, and C of the Article. Section D deals with countries still in the process of development but not having a low standard of living.

We on our part should, however, like to suggest that the protection of industries should be related to an overall plan of economic development; otherwise there may be unequal distribution of burdens and an unplanned

and uncoordinated development of industries. The criteria to be applied for granting protection to industries in the unplanned private sector should be the economic advantages enjoyed by the industry, its actual or probable cost of production, possibility of its development within a reasonable time and its ability to carry on successfully without protection or assistance and/or it should be an industry to which it is desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance, the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community being not excessive. Protection must not be the protection of uneconomic and inefficient industrial units, nor protection should be an indulgence to recalcitrant and anti-social industries, as was the case with the sugar industry which was admittedly anti-social in the difficult days after the attainment of independence.

Another point which we should like to stress in this connection is that the authorities should not forget, while according protection to industries through import control, that the interests of the consumers would suffer if competition is totally shut out. A total prohibition in the import of particular consumer goods will lead to price racketeering at the cost of the State to the detriment of the consumers.

Why the Stubbornness over Goa?

The Soviet's standpoint on Goa has been very clearly expressed by our distinguished guests. It has had many repercussions in the West, and further reactions are likely. It would be interesting to note the background to it all as given in the *Worldover Press* for September 9, under the above caption:

On the face of it, Portuguese India, or Goa, is nothing but a relatively unimportant speck on the west coast of India. Its area is only 1,538 square miles, partly jungle; its population only some 640,000. Yet India is determined to acquire it, to wipe out this vestige of colonialism, and Portugal has an obvious—and an undisclosed—reason for hanging on. The little territory has every characteristic of colonialism—an idle clique of Portuguese socialites, the trappings of a virtual police state. If India gave firm guarantees, more than Nehru's personal assurance, that Indian possession would not detract from Catholic observances, local stubbornness might be assuaged.

As usual, however, there are factors that do not meet the eye. Even as far from Europe as

this, the drive to put Spain into NATO has had a lot to do with the controversy. Portugal's dictatorial regime is Spain's chief sponsor and unofficial spokesman. Britain has often gone along with Lisbon's boss, Dr. Salazar. Indians reason that if Spain gets into NATO, the nature of that alliance will change for the worse, and even as it is, India wants neutrality rather than backing for the NATO set-up. It sees Goa as a potential outpost of NATO in a future conflict, and can't tolerate the thought of even a theoretical military activity centered on its doorstep. In spite of its confidence that Goa could hardly, without NATO, ever be used as a springboard for interference with New Delhi policies, it hasn't forgotten that when the Portuguese first occupied Goa, their leader exclaimed: "If you lost the whole of India, from Goa you could reconquer it."

Behind the Worry over NATO

The same issue of the *Worldover Press* has also the following revealing comment which would explain a lot regarding U.S. sympathies for Portugal:

You can discount some of the moans lest NATO countries, in view of the changed Russian line and the spirit of the "Summit" Conference, "let down their guard." There is genuine concern because France has pulled troops out of West Europe to back its colonialism in North Africa. And though the Italian government backs U.S. plans, last March a popular poll showed 51 per cent of the Italian people for neutrality, and the tide in recent weeks has swelled.

Concealed behind the expressed alarm, however, is American frustration in Washington's attempts to get the Spanish dictatorship into NATO. When a House of Representatives committee voted for it, several NATO countries were angered. Norway said, "Never." Denmark ditto. And in recent days, off the record, other governments have manifested a strong displeasure.

West European countries which hate all forms of dictatorship have not yet recovered from their shock at a message sent last July 18, by President Eisenhower to Dictator Franco, congratulating him in effect on his 1939 overthrow of the legally elected Spanish Republic with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini. The triumph of Spanish Fascism is now celebrated as an annual holiday, though for 80 per cent of the people it is an ironic mockery. Yet Mr. Eisenhower said to Franco: "On this national holiday of Spain, it gives me

pleasure to convey to Your Excellency and to the people of Spain the best wishes and congratulations of the people of the United States." World-over Press informants inside Spain have reported the despair and dismay caused by this moral backing for the cruel and oppressive Madrid regime.

Singapore and Malaya

The background to the recent occurrences in Singapore and Malaya is provided by the following commentary in the *Worldover Press* bulletin:

Singapore.—Ever since early April, when David Marshall took over as Chief Minister in Singapore's first mainly elected government, there has been labor trouble. Criticized in the initial outbreaks as showing lack of firmness, the Chief Minister has lately been coming off better. At best his task has been extremely difficult.

What is going on in Singapore, a small island with 1,250,000 people, might not matter so much if it weren't for the important position it occupies in South-east Asia. What happens there, however, can easily influence the Federation of Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Borneo and Hong Kong. A lot hinges on Singapore's experiment in democracy.

The government's first big test came in late May. Workers at a Chinese bus company came out on strike because the company tried to break the men's union with a yellow union created by the firm itself. Thousands of Chinese students ranging from 11 to 22 years toured the streets singing songs and shouting slogans. Bloodcurdling speeches by strikers and students aroused hatred against the police. When rioting broke out, 20 badly hurt policemen were sent to hospital; two were beaten to death. In the senseless fury, an American correspondent, Gene Symonds, was also brutally murdered. Ironically, Gene was known for his sympathetic understanding of Asian aspirations.

Peace was restored when Mr. Marshall brought pressure on the bus company to dissolve the yellow union. But when he threatened to expel from school certain students he said were guilty of inhuman brutality, thousands of boys and girls staged a stay-in strike. There they remained until the Chief Minister changed his mind and set up a committee to go into the whole question of Chinese education in the colony.

Shortly after, 2,000 bus drivers and conductors came out in a sudden strike in sympathy with striking Harbour Board Clerks and a conductor charged with cheating the bus firm. At this stage, three trade union leaders threatened a general strike. They were Assemblyman Lim Ching Siong (aged 22), secretary of the Factory and Shop Workers' Union; Devan Nair, not long out of prison where he spent two years as a Communist suspect; and S. Woodhull, secretary of the Naval Base Union. At first, although sympathetic strikes are illegal, Marshall talked with these men, giving the impression he had made a deal. That night, however, the police arrested six trade unionists and raided the premises of Lim's union.

Enraged, the three unionists called a general strike. While 17,000 bus and factory workers came out, more than 100,000 workers—Mr. Woodhull's own union among them—ignored the call. To save face, the trio told workers to go back for eight days to see what happened to the six men who had been arrested and charged with planning subversive violence. Marshall refused to be intimidated. Nevertheless, on June 24 the last of the arrested men were released.

Lim, Nair and Woodhull are members of the anti-colonial, socialist People's Action Party. Consequently, his party has been blamed by Mr. Marshall and a strong section of public opinion for causing all the trouble. The three, in fact, did not have the party blessing. The party's policy is based upon constitutionalism. Neither its president nor its secretary gave any approval to the acts of Lim, Nair and Woodhull, and the secretary, Lee Kuan Yew, pointedly stayed on holiday.

There is an extremist group within the party, however, and a struggle between the party and the Labor Front government for control over the unions, for political purposes. Few trade union officials here yet understand the idea of unions democratically organized and operated.

Indonesian Elections

The first General Elections in Indonesia were held on September 29. Though the final results are not yet available a broad picture of the relative position of the contesting parties discernible which is not likely to be materially disturbed by the final figures.

The most notable outcome of the elections

is the disappearance from the political arena of the greater of the majority of the one hundred and ninety parties and organizations that took part in the elections. Even some of the parties with relatively large membership in the "provisional" parliament have failed to gain popular backing for them. So that for some time, at least, Indonesian politics is going to be a struggle for power between four parties—P.N.I. (Nationalist), Masjumi (Moslem), Nadatul Ulema (Conservative Moslem) and the Communist Party.

About 75 per cent of the 430 million voters actually took part in the elections in which the proportion of male and female voters were about equal. Despite a number of instances of malpractice detected it may safely be concluded that the elections were greatly successful.

Indonesia is soon to have another election based on adult franchise. On December 15 the citizens of Indonesia would elect a 520-member Constituent Assembly which would frame a constitution for the country.

UNESCO on South Asia

The second issue of the *South Asia Social Science Abstracts* covering the year 1953 was recently published in New Delhi by the South Asia Science Co-operation office of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Following the classification in the first issue the abstracts are presented in five groups: Sociology, Social Anthropology, Social Psychology, Political Science and Economics. The abstracts cover 57 publications in three countries, India, Burma and Ceylon, but admittedly the greater majority of the abstracts come from Indian journals since the number of social science journals published in Burma and Ceylon were very small. The Abstracts showed that greatest emphasis was being given to Economics in the three countries, although Political Science also claimed some interest. Relatively little was published in the other social science disciplines.

A publication of this character, even with its present limitations, particularly as regards the number of countries covered, cannot fail to receive the heartiest welcome of all concerned with the study of social sciences.

Britain and Self-determination

Mr. Samuel Hoare, the British delegate in the United Nations Social Committee, urged the adoption of a motion sponsored by the three

powers—Britain, Australia and the Netherlands—to eliminate the first article of draft covenant on Human Rights which said that all peoples and all nations have the right to self-determination—namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status. According to the view of the British Government there was a "fundamental difference between self-determination as to right as (as it was spoken of in the right) and as a principle (as it was referred to in the United Nations Charter)." The British Government accepted the principle but denied the right, which could give a handle to minorities in many countries to launch break-away movements and deal a blow at the sovereign rights of nations.

Speaking on a different occasion and at a later date U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert D. Murphy also echoed the British view. In a speech before the conference on "Africa and Asia in the World Community" sponsored by the Catholic Organization for World Peace, Murphy expressed U.S. sympathy for the colonial people's striving for self-determination. "We look forward," he said, "to the day when the remaining non-self-governing territories, large and small shall have attained the goal of self-government and where suitable, the status of independence." But "the Charter articles on self-determination should not be given the far-reaching interpretation of a general right for any people or country to break all ties with the mother country."

Mr. Murphy added that because of the various concepts of self-determination, the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations would propose that the whole question of the principle be made the subject of a "much more profound study to see if a substantial measure of agreement on the meaning and essential elements of the problem can be reached."

Reuter reported from New York on November 3: "India today appealed to opponents of the article on self-determination in the draft covenants on human rights—particularly the U.S.A.—to reconsider their position and join in a final attempt to reconcile differences on it."

Rev. J. D'Souza, the Indian delegate referred to the fact that the U.S.A. had joined with India, Belgium and Lebanon at Paris five years ago when it had been decided that there should be two separate covenants—one dealing with civil and political rights and the other with economic, social and cultural rights. The U.S.A. had then

agreed to welcome the covenant on political rights, but now it took a position that it could sign neither.

A Sample of "Civilization"

Southern Rhodesia in the continent of Africa is a British colony. Its membership in the 1953 Central African Federation did not materially change its political status. Despite general non-interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia by the British Government the approval of the latter was compulsory for any enactment relating to the African population.

Following the usual racial policy of the European settlers in other parts of Africa, Southern Rhodesia also had a system of racial segregation in operation within the country. Needless to mention that the best lands had been appropriated by the white settlers.

Recently two diplomatic and consular representatives from India and Pakistan went to Salisbury—the capital city of Southern Rhodesia—on official business. But in spite of great efforts they could not secure suitable accommodation for their offices. The two representatives were (at least to the British eyes) dark-complexioned; so they could not secure any premises in the area inhabited by the whites. The African-inhabited areas, on the other hand, being very poor had no suitable accommodation to offer from where diplomatic and consular activities could be carried on fruitfully. Eventually they were able to obtain temporarily an office for their purposes only with the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, Lord Malvern.

It may be mentioned here that it was not only in regard to residential accommodation that the Indians were subjected to such humiliating discrimination. Such discrimination extended to cinema houses, hotels and streets.

Middle East Security

The Egyptian Economic and Political Review, a monthly review of economic and political affairs in Middle East published from Cairo, writes in its leader of October, 1955, that the crumbling facade of the Turco-Yugoslav-Greek alliance over the Cyprus question conclusively demonstrated that "no serious defence of the Middle East can be assured without the collaboration and support of the

local populations;" that alignment in military pacts and defence structures being hopelessly incapable of rallying the required popular support was no solution at all.

Referring to the periodical Western accusations against Egypt and other Arab countries that the latter were irresponsible trouble-makers the review writes: "It is only fair today for us to accuse both the Turkish Government and whoever in Britain is responsible for the present Cyprus impasse of equal irresponsibility and disregard for Middle East security."

The magazine regrets the attacks on the places of Christian worship in the anti-Greek riots in Turkey and condemns these outrages, "for such deeds are not only condemned by the Faith, but the Moslem is required to protect and secure the churches of the Christians from attack." Even after all these riots the Cyprus issue was not nearer any solution and such disorders were clearly unnecessary, the paper notes. The Turkish Government's efforts to disclaim all responsibility and to put all the blame on the Communists are ridiculed in the editorial article. "In the Turkish police state hardly anything happens without the Government's knowing about it, for, in Turkey, there are more policemen and soldiers per inhabitant than in any other country in the world," it writes. The violence of the anti-Greek demonstrations was also "a reflection of the state of internal security in Turkey, where growing economic instability and political resistance is steadily increasing against the Government."

Criticizing the British stand on the Cyprus issue the editorial says that the main stumbling block to any agreement or compromise in Cyprus lay in the outlook of the British Colonial office "that Britain is in Cyprus for good." This indefensible stand upon permanent occupation of the island must at once be given up. Again if it was Britain's policy to stay on the island "there was really no reason at all for inviting Greece and Turkey to discuss a matter which must in such circumstances be an internal British affair."

The editorial assails the Turkish claim to represent the Cypriot Moslems in the following words: "Cyprus has never been Turkish, for Turkey is a product of the First World War. If, on the other hand, relationship with the former Ottoman Empire now inspires Ankara, one must assume that it is concern for fellow Moslems that moves them. Should this

be the case, one feels that other Moslem States whose relationship to the Empire was more definite than that of the 'Kemalist Turkey should also have been invited to London."

Refuting the argument that Turkish concern for Cypriot Moslems was related to the maintenance of her State security in the southern borders, the newspaper points to the fact that Caucasus area was far more important to her State security than is Cyprus. "There are certainly more Moslems of Turkish origin in Southern Russia than there are in Cyprus. It is easy to adopt martial attitudes when the attendant risk of retribution is small, but where the Caucasus is concerned Ankara no doubt considers that discretion is the better part of valour," the periodical writes.

A Philosopher's Sacrifice

The subjoined news-item sent by *Reuter* from Rome is a reminder of the cost of one single step forward in the genuine advance of humanitarian scientific knowledge: "Prof. Mario Ponzio, pioneer Italian radiologist, today (October 25, 1955) underwent his 18th operation in 30 years for cancer contracted in the course of his radiation studies. One of his disciples Prof. Achille Mario Dooliotti amputated two of the three remaining fingers on his right hand.

"The senior professor, whose condition is stated to be satisfactory, lost his left arm and part of the shoulder last July."

The Buraimi Oasis Crisis

For several years now the Buraimi Oasis has been an apple of discord in the relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom. The question of the jurisdiction over the disputed area was submitted to a five-man arbitration tribunal in Geneva in July, 1954. The tribunal was to decide: (1) the location of the common frontier between Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Sheikdom of Abou Dhabi involving some 75,000 square kilometres of territory lying between Buraimi and Hofuf; and (2) sovereignty over Buraimi Oasis, an area defined for arbitration purposes as a circle containing about 2,000 square kilometres. Saudi Arabia considered Buraimi to be a part of her territory while the United Kingdom supported the claims of Obou Dhabi to part of the Oasis and the claims of the Sultan of Muscat, who also Britain represented, to the remainder. The British delegate on the tribunal, Sir Reader Bullard resigned on Septem-

ber 16 of this year alleging that the Saudi Arabia representative on the tribunal, Sheikh Yusuf Yas'in was not acting impartially as a member of the tribunal. Following the resignation of the British delegate the President of the Tribunal, Dr. Charles de Visscher of Belgium also resigned from the tribunal on September 23. The other members of the tribunal were Sr. Ernesto de Dihaigo of Cuba and Mr. Mahmud Hassan of Pakistan.

In a statement issued on September 18, the Saudi Arabian delegate, Sheikh Yusuf Yas'in refuted the charges of the British delegate. He pointed out that his official position in the Saudi Arabian Government had all along been known to the entire tribunal and his position had never been a cause for objection on the part of the neutral members although the tribunal had been in existence for nine months and had held two full sessions.

Following this disruption of the tribunal troops of British-protected Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi occupied the disputed Budaimi Oasis on October 26, 1955. Disclosing this fact in the British House of Commons on the same date Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister, said that the troops had occupied the Oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937. He added that the Saudi Arabia Government would be informed of the decision to reoccupy the Oasis up to the modified 1935 frontier line. "I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare," he concluded.

The Saudi Arabian delegation to the United Nations denounced this action of the British Government and said that Britain was trying to force the Buraimi issue to an armed conflict rather than settle it by peaceful methods. The statement of the delegation issued on the night of October 2 recalled the fact that originally Saudi Arabia favoured a plebiscite in the disputed area to ascertain the wishes of the people whether they wanted to remain Saudi Arabian citizens or would like to join either Muscat or Abou Dhabi, "so-called British protectorates." It was only at the suggestion of the British Government that Saudi Arabia had accepted international arbitration. But at the moment the British Government "felt that the tribunal's decision was going to be unfavourable to her, she ordered the British

representative to resign in order to hinder the work of this international body and forestall any peaceful settlement of the dispute." Afterwards an official protest was lodged with the British Government against the forcible occupation of the Oasis.

In a statement issued from Cairo on October 29, Emir Faisal, the Saudi Arabian Prime Minister, warned the Persian Gulf chiefs, the Sultan of Muscat and the Sheikh of Abou Dhabi against the dangers of furthering British designs at the Buraimi Oasis.

The British Commonwealth Secretary, the Earl of Home, said in Peshawar on November 1, 1955, that the occupation of the Buraimi Oasis by British troops was an act under treaty obligations. Troops had been moved in only at the request of the Rulers of Muscat and of Abou Dhabi.

According to *Reuter* the permanent Saudi Arabian delegate to the United Nations reportedly said on November 2 that unless the British Saudi Arabian dispute over the Buraimi was solved peacefully "we might have to resort to force." The delegate, Sheikh Abdullah at Khayyal added the question of bringing the matter before the Security Council was under active consideration of the Saudi Arabian Government.

Commenting on the resignation of the British delegate to the arbitration tribunal the *Egyptian Economic and Political Review* writes that "on the British must rest the responsibility for the stoppage" of the work of the tribunal. However, it notes, the disruption of the tribunal was not surprising since clearly "the Buraimi question is of an importance and a magnitude which tends to place it above the competence of an arbitration court, for of such conflicts wars are made" (the editorial article was written before the British occupation of the territory in October, 1955).

It goes on to add: "It would appear that Sir Reader had counted far more than was prudent on his supporters in Muscat and Abou Dhabi and was in consequence taken by surprise when confronted with the evidence that many of these had supported the Saudi argument rather than his own. It is this that has brought forward the accusations of Saudi bribery, which has been broadcast with such vehemence during the last few weeks.

"It would be interesting to hear the British representatives' opinion on what they

consider is bribery. Bribery is a word easy to use but hard to prove and define. For the coercion of bribery can come in many forms but not least amongst them that of the military and financial support given to many of those whom Britain claims to represent in the *Persian Gulf*.

Referring to the bloodshed in the Buraimi area consequent on the armed attack on Saudi Arabian positions on October 26, the Moscow weekly *New Times* writes that evidently it was not the vassal states of Muscat and Abou Dhabi "that are interested in the annexation of Buraimi, but British oil companies which intend to operate the petroleum deposits of the area. The *London Times* wrote some two months ago that it was important to retain control over Buraimi, 'because it is supposed to contain rich oil deposit, because companies are prospecting there and because, if sovereignty cannot be determined, they will not be certain that their investment is made upon a safe foundation'."

The *New Times* notes the significance of the timing of the armed occupation of Buraimi and says that "it is in a way a demonstration of determination to act in the Middle East from 'positions of strength.' It is plainly a move to exert pressure on Saudi Arabia which, with some Arab States, is pursuing an independent foreign policy and upholding its national interests."

U.S. Air Bases in Pakistan

The New York correspondent of the *Madras Hindu* quotes the *New York Times* of November 18 to report that agreement was reached between the United States and Pakistan for use of 20 million dollars of American counterpart funds for improving air bases, port facilities and highways in Pakistan.

He adds: "General Talley, who was in charge of construction of American air bases in North Africa will, it is stated, proceed to Pakistan next week to supervise the operations there."

Traffic in Women

Press Trust of India reports that the Social and Moral Hygiene Advisory Committee appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board were presented in November 11 at the conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards in New Delhi by the

President of the Committee, Mrs. Dhanwanti Rama Rao.

The Committee laid greater emphasis on preventive steps rather than on detection and punishment in regard to trafficking in women. It also drew attention to the weak enforcement of the existing laws.

The Committee referred to the existence of a countrywide network through which this immoral business prospered. The existence of such a network was evident from the fact that in large cities women drawn from distant parts all over the country were lodged in what were freely pointed out brothel areas. These women could not have found their way unguided into those areas. "Most prostitutes operate only under the 'protection' of the *gharwalis*, *naikas*, pimps and procurers. A determined effort to break the system is the surest method of minimising this evil."

Though prostitution was regarded as primarily being an urban problem as many as 66.5 per cent of such women came from rural areas, the age group of prostitutes falling between 10 and 29 years on the average. On the causes of prostitution the Committee gave the following facts: 55.4 per cent took to prostitution on account of economic distress; 27.7 per cent due to domestic disharmony, inadequacy, ill treatment, desertion, widowhood, etc., and 16.9 per cent due to certain social and religious practices obtaining in some communities. "While figures for kidnapping and seducing are not available, it is estimated that even in respect of such women the original cause would fall under one or other of the above three heads," the Committee said.

Military Wealth of USA

Anthony Leviero writes in the *New York Times* that, according to an official estimate disclosed on October 29, the United States had \$123,900,000,000 tied up in armed forces properties and goods. This evaluation, however, did not include the investment in atomic energy which was valued at \$12,500,000,000 including \$6,000,000,000 in capital investment. The following categories were also excluded from the above estimate: Properties and equipment of the national industrial plant and equipment reserve, which were in the custody of the General Services Administration; supplies and equipment in overseas field Army

depots and some overseas Airforce depots that had not yet brought into the monetary accounting system, properties in the hands of the Civil Works Organization (rivers and harbours and flood control) of the Army corps of engineers and certain other minor items.

The bulk of the evaluated properties could be used up, wasted away or could become obsolete. The report of the Defense Department to President Eisenhower said: "Some 4,000,000 of different kinds of items aggregating well over \$100,000,000,000 of assets comprising the properties and material inventories owned by the Department of Defense are involved in these accounting and reporting systems."

Land, buildings and long-life equipment, such as ships were priced at acquisition costs. The total cost of the Government of real estate controlled by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force was thus valued at \$21,500,000,000 as on January 1, 1955. But that figure by no means indicated the present market value of the properties because some land had been acquired a century or more ago at a fraction of today's prices and some lands had been received as donations to the Defense Department. On the other hand, no allowances had either been made for loss in value as a result of depreciation. Moreover, since the data represented an inventory as of a given date, they did not include costs of structures which had been demolished or replaced prior to that date.

The Army portion of the total inventory holdings on the basis of cost was 39 per cent, Navy 34 per cent, and Air Force 27 per cent.

About 82 per cent of the holdings were in the continental United States.

"The Department of Defense," the report said, "though the three military departments controlled a total of 29,400,000 acres of land throughout the world on January 1, 1955. This included land owned, leased, used on temporary permit, and various occupancy rights (easements and foreign rights of different types)."

Recapitulation of the Inventory (Millions of Dollars)

As of December, 1954*				
Type of property	Total	Army	Navy†	Airforce
Grand total	\$123,866	\$34,082	\$56,428	\$33,356
Real property				
inventories	21,469	8,399	7,352	5,718
Machine tool inventories	2,883	836	1,084	963

Equipment & supplies in the supply system	50,643	20,729	17,680	12,234
Stock funds inventories	8,784	6,185	2,019	580
Appropriated funds inventories	41,859	14,544	15,661	11,654
Industrial funds inventories†	332	121	211	**
Major equipment in use	48,539	3,997	30,101	14,441

Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

A resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the establishment of an international atomic agency which was sponsored jointly by eighteen nations was adopted by the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by a vote of 53 to 0 with 6 abstentions (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen). The resolution made the following major points:

It recognised the necessity of ensuring that the agency and the nuclear material which might be placed at its disposal would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes; it suggested the convocation of a conference of all prospective members of the agency—all members of the United Nations or of its specialised Agencies—on the final text of the agency's statute; it requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to draw up suggestions for the future relationship between the agency and the U.N.; it increased the number of drafters of the statutes of the agency from eight to twelve by the inclusion of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the Soviet Union; it recommended the publication by the agency of a scientific periodical on peaceful uses of atomic energy; and the holding of a second international scientific conference within two or three years and technical conferences on specific subjects and it endorsed the continuation of the Atomic Advisory Committee of the UN Secretary-General.

Whaley-Eaton Service in Washington recently published the world's first catalogue of the more than 1000 scientific and technical papers submitted to the UN Atoms-for-Peace Conference in Geneva. The catalogue is available free on request by educational institutions, business firms and government officials.

* Except inventory in machine tools, which was as of March 1, 1955.

† Included marine corps. ‡ Consists of raw materials, supplies, work-in-process, finished goods, excess and salvage. ** Less than 0.5 million.

Radiation Study

The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved the establishment of a U.N. machinery for a scientific study of nuclear radiation levels, their effects on mankind and for setting uniform standards to measure them. The resolution sponsored by India and the United States was approved by 59 votes to nil on the 7th November. Earlier the Committee rejected several amendments, separately sponsored by the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia and Syria calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests and for the participation of China.

The decision marked the second time within less than a month that the United Nations reached unanimity on a matter connected with peaceful uses of atomic energy. The earlier decision gave U.N. backing for international co-operation in the utilisation in medicine industry and agriculture.

Under the present resolution the Secretary-General of the United Nations would convene a committee of scientists from 15 nations to carry out the radiation study. After collecting and evaluating radiation reports from national sources, the Committee would make annual progress reports from national sources and would present a summary of its findings by July, 1958 at the latest.

The resolution called on all the members of the United Nations and its specialised agencies to co-operate with the committee and on the specialised agencies themselves to co-ordinate possible work in radiation research with the Committee. The countries making up the Committee were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and the USSR.

A USIS news release says: A Soviet amendment calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests was defeated by a vote of 39 to 9, with 8 abstentions. A similar suggestion by Syria and Indonesia was turned down by 36 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions.

Another Soviet amendment to include China and Rumania in the scientific Committee was rejected by a vote of 40 to 9 with 9 abstentions. An Indian amendment not naming China but opening the door to active Chinese participation was defeated by a 23 to 25 vote with 6 abstentions.

The Political Committee by a vote of 43 to 0 with 11 abstentions accepted an amendment

sponsored by all the Latin American countries to add four nations—Argentina, Mexico, Belgium and Egypt—to the Scientific Committee originally projected as including eleven members.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission recently rejected a proposal for an "Atomic Summit" meeting in the Pacific made by one of its five members, Mr. Thomas E. Murray as "contrary to the best judgment of the AEC." The statement issued on November, 17, by Commissioner Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, Willard F. Libby, John Von Neuman and Harold S. Vance said that the Commission had earlier rejected a similar suggestion of Mr. Murray to invite foreign observers, including Communist observers, to witness tests of nuclear weapons. The statement recalled that the Russians had been given an opportunity to witness the atomic explosion at Bikini in 1946. But that had not improved co-operation.

After the recent atomic explosion in Russia Moscow Radio announced on November 29 that the Soviet Union was ready to discontinue tests of nuclear weapons if other Powers would do the same.

American Big Business

Five hundred American business firms, comprising less than two-tenths of one per cent of the 360,000 mining and manufacturing companies in the United States, controlled more than half of the United States industrial production and approximately one-quarter of that of the non-Communist world. All but two of these five hundred firms had net annual sales of \$50 millions or more and together they accounted for 51 per cent of the sales of all manufacturing and mining companies in USA. Reaping 66 per cent of net industrial profits they commanded 56 per cent of all industrial assets although employing only 44 per cent of the country's industrial workers.

The report in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* from which the above facts have been taken adds: "By far the most imposing of these giants is General Motors Corporation, with sales in 1954 of nearly \$10,000 million. Second to General Motors come Standard Oil (N.J.) with sales of \$5700 million, and next probably Ford whose sales, although not officially published, are thought to beat those of U.S. Steel, \$3200 million, for third place.

"In many industries, three or four major con-

cerns dominate production and continue to hold the lead from year to year. Below these, however, the composition of the 500 largest firms varies a good deal from year to year. In 1955, for example, between 50 and 100 new firms may succeed in pushing others of the list."

A USIS news release, October 28, adds: "The world's largest private manufacturing enterprise, the General Motors Corporation (GMC), in the first nine months of this year has exceeded its earning for any full year in its history. The net income for the first nine months of 1955 amounted to \$912,887,537 larger by 13.3 per cent over its income in the whole of the year 1954.

Private U.S. investments abroad stood at \$26.5 billion at the end of 1954 registering a rise of nearly three billion dollars over 1953, disclosed the Office of Business Economics, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Most of the investments were mining and petroleum enterprises in Canada, Latin America and the Middle East. A striking development in 1954 and early 1955 was greatly increased purchases of European securities. Net purchases of European Corporate Stocks were \$100 million in 1954 and a further \$55 million were purchased in the first half of 1955. At the end of 1954 American holdings of foreign bonds and stocks were valued at \$5 billion in current prices sixty per cent of which was in Canada where by the end of 1954 U.S. direct investments were valued at nearly \$6 billion—\$2 billion being invested in mining and petroleum and \$2.5 billion in the manufacturing industries.

Direct investments in Western Europe were climbing at a rate of about \$200 million a year in recent years, mainly through reinvestment of earning. At the end of 1954 their value was \$2.6 billion, including \$1.4 billion in manufacturing and about \$700 million in petroleum enterprises.

Capital outflows for investments in foreign securities and short-and-medium-term foreign credits and assets reached a post-war high of \$860 million in 1954.

The following chart shows the different types of investment:

Private U.S. Investment Abroad, 1953 and 1954. (Billions of dollars; year ends).

NOTES

	1953		1954			
	Total	Total	Canada	Latin America	Western Europe	Other Countries
Total	23.8	26.6	9.7	7.7	4.8	4.4
Long-term	22.3	24.4	9.5	6.7	4.1	4.1
Direct	16.3	17.7	5.9	6.3	2.6	2.9
Portfolio	6.0	6.7	3.6	.4	1.5	1.2
Short-term	1.6	2.2	.2	1.0	.7	.3

Russell Pushes Abolition of War

In view of the new turn in the cold war, the following interview that the *Worldover Press* correspondent, Maurice Cranston, had with Bertrand Russell is of interest.

It will be seen how even this philosopher-scientist had to change his views when the "other side" also got the "know how" and the technique of atomic weapons:

London.—Undeterred at the brushing aside of his appeal for the ending of war by some American scientists, Bertrand Russell talked to me about the importance he still attaches to that statement, backed by many eminent scientific figures and addressed to the governments of the world. Lord Russell does not intend to slacken his effort.

"Scientific methods of warfare," said the 83-year-old philosopher, "have had the unexpected result of making war absurd. War can no longer be used as an effective instrument of policy, because nuclear weapons will destroy most of the participants in any war and may even destroy the human race."

I asked Lord Russell whether he did not think the traditional moral justification of war was obsolete. He said it was. "We can no longer say it is right to go to war to defend freedom, because war can no longer defend freedom. It can only serve to destroy freedom together with almost everything else." He did not accept the view many people hold, that it would be a good idea to ban nuclear weapons alone. "To say 'Let us ban nuclear weapons' is as futile as saying 'Let us go back to bows and arrows.' We must outlaw war."

Asked whether, while it might be impossible to defend freedom by nuclear war, it might be possible to defend it by the threat of nuclear war, Lord Russell replied: "That was the view I put forward myself five or six years ago, when the West had an overwhelming superiority of atomic weapons, and I thought an atomic threat might force the Communist to come into an international organization for peace. But now, of course, one can see that the threat of nuclear war can be used

to uphold tyranny against freedom just as easily as to uphold freedom against tyranny. Behind such threats is the reality that neither side could achieve its object by acting on such threats. Both sides have the power to inflict enormous damage on the main cities of the other side in a matter of hours, but neither side has the power to destroy the other's power to retaliate with the same weapons. That is one reason why a nuclear war is a war which cannot be won."

Lord Russell did not suggest there was any prospect of international friendship eliminating all disputes; he only recommended that there should be international machinery for settling such conflicts by peaceful means. "This is a long and arduous task," he admitted, "and it is not likely to be completed quickly."

At a recent conference of scientists on nuclear warfare held in London, several eminent scientists said they were reluctant to sign such appeals as that drawn up by Lord Russell because they did not think the scientist as such had any authority to speak on moral questions. "I have never claimed that the scientist has any such authority; what I have said," declared Lord Russell, "is that it is the duty of scientists to warn mankind of the disasters war must inevitably bring to the world now that nuclear weapons have been devised. It is also the scientist's duty to tell mankind about the immeasurable benefits which science might bring if the danger of war is removed."

Lord Russell said it was certainly not for scientists to decide how their knowledge should be used; the statesmen and politicians would have to decide that, and they in turn would be guided by public opinion.

"We have reached a point in history where human beings must make the great decision," Lord Russell said. "On the one hand there is the prospect of war which may bring death not only to all mankind, but also to all living things on our planet. On the other hand, there is the prospect of peace and happiness, with scientific knowledge being used for the elimination of misery and want. That is the choice. I allow myself to hope that men will choose peace."

Film Awards

We have received the following communication from the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akademi:

The Sangeet Natak Akademi has decided to

institute Akademi Awards in the field of films, similar to the awards for outstanding attainment in the fields of dance, drama and music. The first two film awards will be made along with the next Akademi Awards in early March, next year:

1. To the best producer or director of a feature film.
2. To the best actor/actress in a feature film.

Film organisations and institutions, film critics and other individuals connected with films are invited to recommend names of persons who, in their opinion, are qualified for the above two awards. In each case, full particulars of the person recommended and the reasons for the recommendation should be given.

Recommendations should reach the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akademi, 70 Regal Buildings, New Delhi, not later than January 31st, 1956.

Inquiry into Suicides

Suicides have apparently assumed such disturbing proportions in Saurashtra that the Saurashtra Government have considered it necessary to appoint a seven-member board under the Chairmanship of Sri Maldevji Adodra, M.L.A., to inquire into the reasons for suicide in the State. The Board would enquire details of suicides in the next three months and recommends to the Government the steps to be taken, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number, are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers before the 28th instant by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

SOCIAL REGENERATION IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, PH. D. AND SONYA RUTH DAS, D.LITT. (Paris)

A most important factor in the upbuilding of India's new civilization is her social regeneration. Indian society has for a long time been moribund and backward and more or less immobile and static, due to a number of causes such as poverty and disease, illiteracy and ignorance, caste and untouchability, superstition and prejudice, idolatry and priesthood, and invasion and conquest. Although the Renaissance and various other social movements have made great contributions to the awakening of national life, they have not yet touched more than a fringe of the vast society and its progress has been hampered by such factors as revivalism, communalism, separatism, colonialism, and imperialism. India is therefore urgently in need of reconstruction and reorientation of her cultures in order, first, to establish a solid moral and spiritual foundation of her new civilization and second, to build her social, political and economic life.

The most important factor in social regeneration of India is the achievement of national independence, which has been followed by the establishment of the democratic Republic. In the First General Election of 1950, India mobilized 176 million men and women of 21 years of age and over, by far the majority of whom were illiterate. It was not only the greatest event in the history of national election, but was also the greatest factor in the awaking of India's masses, who had remained asleep in the countryside since primordial times. There are, however, several other organizations and movements which have long been engaged in bringing about a veritable social regeneration of India, some of which have been discussed in the pages of this periodical.*

CULTURAL REORIENTATION

The greatest asset of society is its cultural heritage or social tradition coming down from time immemorial and supplying not only the

most of the techniques of group life—mores, beliefs, folklores, customs, laws, and institutions—but adding some kind of mysticism and sanctity to the social process and making life worth living. Social tradition in fact forms the basis of life, whether national, group, or individual, and gives it stability and solidarity. Moreover, its significance lies in the fact that it forms a subconscious part of human nature and exerts a great influence upon human behavior in all social activities.

RATIONALIZATION OF THE TRADITION

Like the human body, the human mind, as far as its social attributes are concerned, is a continuation of the past. Even before it becomes self-conscious the child absorbs social traditions from its parents and other members of the primary group and gradually comes under the influence of larger and larger groups. An important problem of cultural reorientation is the rationalization of the old traditions in order to create an objective attitude towards the world and to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge in its true perspective and significance. The greater the volume of scientifically ascertained social traditions of a community, the greater the possibility for its continued progress.

Both the volume and the value of social traditions are of great importance to the development of the individual and society. Although a living institution, social tradition has fallen into inertia and inactivity in India, and this is also the case in many old civilizations. In spite of its great achievements in art, philosophy, and science, India's cultural heritage suffers from a number of defects:

First, by far its largest volume was acquired during the pre-historic and ancient periods when superstition and mythology were the dominant features of social traditions. Moreover, unlike other religions, popular Hinduism is a mode of living consisting of customs, mores, practices, habits, laws, and institutions rather than a set of tenets or doctrines, compiled from the preachings of a prophet or the Sacred Book.

* See, for instance, in *The Modern Review* the writers' article on "India's Creative Recreation," (February, 1955), and "The Educational Movement in India" (June, 1956).

Second, Aryan and Dravidian cultures are extremely rich in literature, such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and other works which have become parts of Hindu religion practised by the common people. But during the medieval period India was invaded, conquered, and ruled by the Moslems, and this often involved the destruction of temples, palaces, and universities, the annihilation of royal dynasties, and the forcible conversion of Hindus into Moslem religion, all of which had deteriorating effects upon Hindu culture.

Third, during the modern period, India was conquered and ruled by the British. The very fact of domination by a foreign power thousands of miles away, discrimination by the British Government against the Indians in all high functions of the State, and the neglect of India's arts and crafts that might compete with Britain's growing industries, created an inferiority complex among the people and retarded their moral and spiritual development.

Hindu civilization has thus passed through many varieties of experience from pre-historic to modern times and has inherited not only the cultures developed by the Aryan and Dravidian peoples, but also indigenous aboriginal cultures and heterogeneous foreign cultures. It thus contains a large variety of cultural traits, some of which are of the highest social value while others are primitive, obsolete, grotesque, and contradictory.

An important problem of social regeneration in India is the rationalization of her cultural heritage. Research studies should therefore be undertaken in all the phases of India's cultural history from ancient to modern times. An immense amount of research has been done both in India and abroad and the results of these researches should be compiled. Moreover, a large amount of Buddhistic literature, which left the country immediately after the suppression of Buddhism in the 12th century, should be brought back to India and translated into various Indian languages.

While there should be some general collection of facts throughout all these periods to serve as a source book, what are more important are : First, a cultural history of India from the earliest periods up to the present time including the various epochs and periods—Vedic, Buddhistic,

and Hindu ; second, a history of Moslem rule and its contribution to Indian civilization ; third, a history of British rule and its contribution to Indian civilization ; fourth, effects of Moslem and British rule on Hindu civilization ; and fifth, such general subjects as religion, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, politics, economics, metaphysics, philosophy, mathematics, physics and chemistry, with an outline of the historical development and actual achievement in each case.

A very important step has been taken for the reorientation and reconstruction of India's cultural heritage by the appointment of a committee to prepare a history of Indian philosophy, and it is hoped that similar committees will be appointed for the study of each of the important subjects mentioned above, thus giving an authentic and comprehensive idea of India's cultural achievements to her own people as well as to the world at large.

ADAPTATION OF NEW CULTURES

The adaptation of new cultural traits is still another important method of cultural reorientation. These may be derived from a variety of sources, as indicated below :

First, primitive indigenous cultures, some of which have already been assimilated with the Dravidian and Aryan cultures, particularly during the Buddhist period. They and the Buddhistic culture formed an integral part of Hindu civilization and should be analytically and critically studied in order to adapt them to India's rising civilization. The cultural traits of the tribal groups, numbering about 20 million in 1951, had been derived from the influence of their natural environment for thousands of years and may form the nucleus of some new cultural traits and also help in amalgamating these groups with other parts of India's population.

Second, Moslem rulers made India their home and brought their arts and crafts and science and philosophy and other cultural achievements with them. While some of their cultural traits have been fused into Hindu or Indian civilization, others have still remained unassimilated or even neglected. It is time for the Indian people, especially the Moslem population, to study such cultural traits as can be adapted to the national life of India. Moreover, such cultural adaptation would help to bring Hindu-Moslem communities closer together.

Third, under the impact of the West, some

of the British and other western cultural traits have laid the foundation of modern political, juridical, economic, and educational institutions, and have already become India's cultural heritage. But many other cultural traits brought into India by the British and other Western nations still remain unassimilated, and attempts should now be made to ascertain their suitability for adoption into Indian national culture.

Fourth, some cultural traits of other countries should also be studied to determine their adaptability to Indian national life. The co-operative rural industries and mass education systems of China, the Japanese art of living with its simplicity, elegance and cleanliness, and the arts and crafts of Europe and elsewhere may be profitably studied for the same purpose.

POPULARIZATION OF LEARNING

Popularization of learning is still another method of cultural reorientation, especially in India, where foreign domination during the medieval and modern times retarded not only political and economic development but also moral and intellectual progress. Reference has already been made to dissemination of knowledge through various methods, and some of them require further discussion.

First, the issuance of publications by competent authorities on modern science, philosophy, art and literature in Hindi or the national language under the auspices of national universities and with government subsidies ; these should probably be of convenient size. Similar publications should also be prepared by provincial universities in provincial languages and with the help of government subsidies. Such publications should improve both national and provincial languages. Moreover, the professors at national and provincial universities should be required to deliver public lectures in their respective fields.

Second, the circulation of valuable works through libraries. An important step in this direction has been undertaken by what has been called the library movement in Bombay. "A library for every village" is the slogan of the movement, and it proposes to set up a network of libraries in the entire province. The first step was

taken on June 26, 1947, when the central library was opened in the city of Bombay. To carry out the project, the plans provided for : (1) Three regional libraries ; (2) a library at each district headquarters ; (3) a library at each *taluk* or *peta* (subdivision) ; (4) a library in every village having a population of 2,000 to 5,000 ; and (5) the gradual extension of the scope of the movement to include smaller and smaller villages. A similar step has been undertaken by Bihar and there is no doubt that similar measures will be taken by other provinces.

Third, the most significant social groups are what might be called the learned associations in science, philosophy, history, economics, politics, education, literature, medicine and other subjects, which have been increasing in number throughout the country for the last quarter of a century or more. These associations meet periodically and discuss important topics of their own research or of others both in India and abroad and often give suggestions as to the best means of solving some of the outstanding problems. They often guide social thought and it is through their constant efforts that society generally obtains scientific knowledge and directs its activities on progressive lines.

Fourth, the movement's like those of political parties, trade unions, employers' associations, agrarian movements and other organizations of different political and economic interest are also important factors in the dissemination of knowledge. Although most of these movements are guided by party interests, their activities are important in view of the fact that they bring group interests to the attention of the general public.

Finally, the press and the platform are also great institutions for national awakening, inasmuch as they supply necessary information on almost all social questions. While most of the journals and periodicals are party organs and often express partisan views, there are also others which are impartial and take an objective view of things. To these must also be added the platform for the propagation of religious, political, industrial, ethical, aesthetic ideals by different organisations or individuals. Both the press and the platform are of great help to the popularisation of knowledge.



GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

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

IV

MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

RECENTLY several projects have been undertaken by the Government, for power and irrigation in India. These projects are known as multi-purpose projects because of the manifold advantages they yield. They are designed not only to provide irrigation facilities for growing additional food and commercial crops, but also for hydro-electric power, flood-control, fish-culture, navigation, conservation of soil, afforestation, drinking water and recreation facilities. After the completion of these plans, India will be using about 10 per cent of her latent water power capacity, and about 28 million acres of land will become available for cultivation. About 153 projects are under execution in different parts of the country. Of these only six are multi-purpose, 104 irrigation and 43 power projects. 12 of these 153 projects are major. Of the major projects, 6 are multi-purpose, 3 power-schemes and 3 irrigation-schemes. The cost of these 12 major projects will amount to Rs. 439 crores and of the remaining 141 projects to Rs. 680 crores. The Five-Year Plan provides for the execution of 173 projects which will irrigate 8.53 million additional acres and provide a million kw. of additional hydel power. Eventually these projects will irrigate 16.94 million additional acres and generate 1.5 million kw. of additional power.²

TRANSPORTATION

The extension of facilities of transportation is the most essential condition for the successful commercial and industrial development of a country. In fact, transportation permits a country to utilize its economic resources to the best possible advantages. Various kinds of transport means are available

in our country. From the track animals of the mountains and the desert, the bullock-cart of the trackless agricultural areas, the country boats and crafts of alluvial water courses, to the railways that link up parts with important inland industrial and trading centres, the motor cars that have rendered door to door conveyance easy and economical, and aeroplanes that have reduced barriers of long distances to a minimum, India has become an epitome of all classes of transport. Transportation in India can be divided into four heads: (i) Roads, (ii) Railways, (iii) Waterways and (iv) Airways, all of which are influenced by the topography and climate of the country to a very great extent.

The road transport by its very nature touches the heart of the country and affects the well-being of the people at every turn. In India, road is the indigenous means of communication. Over a large part of India road-building of unmetalled type is a simple affair and presents no great difficulty. India has miles of roads. Over most of the country 40 to 75 per cent of the area is not served by road at all. Considering the size of the country this mileage is very meagre. We have only 73 miles of roads per 100,000 population compared to 2,411 miles in U.S.A., 4,398 miles in Canada and 934 miles in France.³ Of the total road mileage of 241,513 miles (1950) only 95,463 miles are hard-surfaced. More than half of the metalled roads is in Peninsular India where the old hard rocks facilitate the building of such roads. Of the unmetalled roads, 146,060 miles, on the other hand, about four-fifth lies

3. The following table gives an idea how deficient we are in road mileage in comparison with some other countries:

Country	Per sq. miles	Per 1,000 sq. miles	Per 100,000 persons	Remarks
Canada	..	160	4,938	..
Italy	0.89	1,467	376	Motorable
Japan	3.00	3,988	728	..
England	2.02	2,070	381	Motorable
France	1.84	—	934	..
U. S. A.	1.03	1,006	2,411	..
Germany	1.95	—	260	..
India	0.15	201	73	Only 35 p.c. motorable
Australia	—	168	6,602	..

—Vide *Eastern Economist*, Annual, 1952, p. 1064.

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

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in the Indo-Gangetic valley, where the soft alluvium, the great distance from which road metal has to be obtained and the frequent floods naturally favour the construction of the unmetalled road which is rebuilt chiefly after every rainy season. Want of adequate roads is keenly felt in rural areas. By far the greater portion of these roads is unbridged and heavy shower cuts off the communication whenever the stream crosses a line, and they are in many cases so unfit to stand the effects of the wheels while the surface is wet that in monsoon months they are out of use except for cattle or foot passengers.⁴

The best-served part of the country is South India and the areas worst served in this respect are Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa, Kutch and the Punjab. These are either too arid and thinly populated or too rainy and jungly with unbridgeable gorges and streams which intersect them.⁵

Indian roads are divided into five classes: (1) National Highways, (2) Provincial or State Highways, (3) District Roads, (4) Urban Roads and (5) Village Roads. The first are the important arteries of communication in the country.⁶

India's road system is insufficient for her needs and therefore in the Five-Year Plan a provision of Rs. 100 crores has been made for the purpose out of which 27 crores are to be spent on national highways and the rest mainly on State roads. The Plan envisages the development of nearly 3,000 miles of new roads and 16,000 to 17,000 miles of village roads through community effort.

RAILWAYS

The Indian railway system is by far the largest in Asia and the second biggest State-owned enterprise in the world. They employ about 9.23 lakh people, carry 123.21 crores of passengers, and 98.3 lakh tons of goods; consume about 10.8 million tons of coal; and their net earning is 66.55 crores of rupees. India has now 34,000 miles of railway lines,⁷ which operate on three different gauges: 6 ft. 6 ins.; 3 ft. 3½ ins. and 2 ft. 6 ins.⁸

4. D. R. Gadgil: *Modern Industrial Evolution of India*, p. 4.

5. *Indian Year Book*, 1945-46, p. 36.

6. At present there are 6 National Highways: running from (a) Calcutta to Bombay; (b) Delhi to Bombay; (c) Bombay to Madras; (d) Madras to Calcutta; (e) Calcutta to Bombay via Nagpur and (f) Delhi to Madras via Nagpur.

Of the total route mileage roughly about one-half is in the Indo-Gangetic Valley, which with its fertile plains and large population together with Calcutta naturally offers the most favourable conditions for railway development. The general characteristic of this route in this valley is that it is straight over long distances because of absence of hills. But while the level nature of the valley helps the railway, the heavy rainfall and the numerous streams necessitating costly bridges are a drawback. The frequent floods also raise the cost of maintaining the track. The railway lines in this valley are characterised by a large number of branch lines, which are particularly numerous in areas where the traffic is spread over the adjoining area. The railway lines running in Peninsular India are zig-zag. The broken topography of the south compels the lines to change their course and gradient from place to place, and also causes the making of tunnels at some places to get over obstructions. The mountains in the north and the Western Ghats also present considerable difficulties with regard to the construction of railway lines. The Satpuras and Vindhyas are low, and the railway lines can bypass the big ranges or cross them by means of tunnels. The Thar desert in Rajasthan with scanty population and resources make railway operation difficult and unprofitable. Thus in India, the railway pattern has been much influenced by the forces of economic geography.

The mileage of railways in India is very small as compared with that of other important countries. Large countries with comparatively small population, such as Canada and Australia, record a low territorial ratio, viz., 11 miles and 9 miles of railways, while smaller countries with dense population and a high degree of railway development show high ratios. U. K. has 206 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles; France 120 and Japan 87 for the same area. India with her large territory

7. On the eve of the partition, there were 40,524 miles of railways in undivided India of which 6,938 miles went to Pakistan and 33,586 miles remained in India.

8. Of the total mileage, 15,700 miles narrow broad gauge, 15,000 miles are metre gauge and only 3,300 miles narrow gauge. The metre gauge railways are seen mostly in the State of Assam, North Bihar, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and also in the northern part of West Bengal, in South India and some parts of U.P. The narrow gauge railways are in existence in mountains and in interior parts of the villages of West Bengal. In other parts broad gauge railways predominate.

1. In N. India: (i) Mandi Hydro-Electric Works, East Punjab 43,000 kwts.; (ii) Ganges Canal Hydro-Electric Grid System (U.P.) 12,000 kwts.

The important multi-purpose projects are:

(i) Damodar Valley Project; (ii) Bhakra Nangal Project; (iii) Koehi Project; (iv) The Hirakud Project; (v) Rhind & Nayar Dam Projects; (vi) The Tungabhadra Project; (vii) Machkund Hydel Scheme; (viii) Rampad Sagar Project; (ix) Tungabhadra Project and Chambal Project.

2. *The Five-Year Plan*, p. 351.

but with a moderate extent of railway development has only 28 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles. Distribution of railway mileage on the population basis presents an entirely different picture. Large countries with a small population such as Canada and Australia, show low ratios; while small countries with high population density, despite the relatively large route mileage, such as U.K. or Japan, stand comparatively low under the population ratios. India has but 10 miles of railway per 100,000 people.*

With a view to effecting economy and efficiency in administration, a scheme for regrouping the entire railway system, except a few privately owned light railways, was prepared by the Railway Board in 1950 and enforced during 1951-52. As a result of regrouping the six zones were created: (i) The Southern Railway, 6,017 miles with headquarters at Madras; (ii) Central Railway, 5,428 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (iii) Western Railway, 5,461 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (iv) Northern Railway, 6,007 miles with headquarters at Delhi; (v) North-Eastern Railway, 4,767 miles with headquarters at Gorakhpur and (vi) Eastern Railway, 5,667 miles with headquarters at Calcutta. And from August 1955, a seventh railway zone, viz., (vii) South-Eastern Railway zone is also going to be opened.

WATER-WAYS

India is a land of many rivers, and yet her water transport is not much developed. This is due to certain geographical drawbacks. Firstly, during the rainy season the rivers are in high floods and consequently have a strong current which is not easy to navigate. During the dry seasons, only the big rivers have water throughout their course, others become disconnected pools in which navigation is impossible. Secondly, even in big rivers the water is very shallow and there are sandbars due to silting which further reduce the depth of

S. Country	Routes mileage	Routes mileage per 1000 sq. miles	per 100,000 persons	Per capita passenger mileage	Electric traction routes miles
U. S. A.	227,244	60	118	224	2,708
U.S.S.R.	54,487	..	..	..	1,040
Canada	42,336	11	291	211	..
India	34,000	28	10	111	239
Australia	31,199	9	321	287	..
France	25,601	120	61	413	2,520
U. K.	19,357	206	38	411	905
S. Africa	13,932	28	102	Not available	..
Japan	12,572	87	15	568	3,591

*Vide *Directory of Railway Officials and Year Book*, 1952.

water. Thirdly, owing to the shifting of river courses, permanent jetties or wharfs cannot be made. Fourthly, the rivers usually enter the sea in shallow, sandy delta-mouths instead of deep and broad estuaries. In lower Bengal, Assam and in the river deltas on the east coast, there is enough water in the rivers and navigation is possible throughout the year. These regions are not well-supplied with roads or railways. This fact naturally makes navigation the only efficient means of communication. On the Ganga in Bengal and Bihar and on the Brahmaputra in Assam a large number of steamers ply.

There are other parts of the country where canal navigation is active. In Andhra and Madras States, the Godavari canals including the Dummagudan canal, the Kistna canals, the Buckingham canal, the Kurnool-Kuddaph canal, the West-coast canals and the Vedaranniyam canal; in Bengal, the Circular and Eastern canals; in U.P., the Ganges canals; and in Orissa, the Orissa canal, are important high ways for water-borne traffic. On the West coast the backwaters form the chief means of transport.

The total mileage of waterways in India is estimated to be 25,000 miles. Of these about 10,000 miles are rivers and 15,000 miles canals. But the approximate length of navigable waterways at present is only 5,141 miles distributed, as U.P. 745 miles; Bihar 715 miles; West Bengal 777 miles; Assam 920 miles; Orissa 287 miles; Madras and Andhra, 1,700 miles.*

India has a coastline of over 3,500 miles and merchant ships from all important maritime countries call at her ports. The sea routes radiate mainly from the five major ports of Calcutta, Vizagapatam, Madras, Bombay, and Cochin. The principal sea routes are the Suez route, the Cape route, the Australian route and the Singapore route.

At the end of 1952, the total tonnage of Indian ships of over 150 G.R.T. was 452,274 G.R.T. with 111 ships and 25 companies. The coastal traffic is reserved for the Indian fleet since August, 1950. According to the statement made by the Government in Lok Sabha in March 1953, 24.48 lakhs of deadweight ton cargoes were carried on the coast in 1951 and 24.66 lakhs of deadweight tons in 1952. In order to carry our coastal cargo 259,000 G.R.T.

**Times of India's Directory and Year Book* (1954-55), p. 260.

of Indian shipping was employed. Practically the entire coastal trade and 43 per cent of the adjacent trade is now being carried by Indian ships. The total freight earnings of Indian companies from the coastal trade amounted to Rs. 10 crores in 1951-52. Indian shipping companies have regular cargo services to the U.K., the Continent, the U.S.A. and Australia. By the end of 1952, the total tonnage employed in the overseas tradeway 173,000 G.R.T. The freight earnings of the Indian companies from overseas trade during 1951-52 was Rs. 9 crores, under the plan the total tonnage employed in the coastal and overseas trade will increase from 362,150 to about 600,000 G.R.T. by 1955-56 for an expenditure of Rs. 14.94 crores.¹¹

AIR TRANSPORT

India's place in Civil aviation is fourth among the nations of the world. As a meeting point of the air routes between the East and the West, India holds a key position in the international aviation. With its vast distances and favourable climate throughout the year, India provides an ideal field for air transport. But in spite of this fact, compared with U.S.A., U.K. and Canada the progress of Civil aviation in India is very modest.

There are three types of air-transport routes in India: (i) Trans-Continental trunk routes, (ii) Regional trunk routes and (iii) Local service routes. A typical trans-continental route is one which connects Bombay with Calcutta and is linked up with foreign and overseas air routes at Bombay and Calcutta. The regional trunk routes connects foreign and over-seas routes at Bangalore, Delhi, Nagpur and Hyderabad. The local service routes feed regional and trans-continental routes.¹²

11. India's share in the world's merchant shipping fleet is very insignificant as would be clear from the following figures:

Countries	No.	Gross R. Tonnage (000 tons)
U.S.A.	3,492	25,793
England	3,102	18,873
Norway	959	5,136
France	519	2,889
Holland	500	2,820
Italy	423	2,474
Denmark	307	1,116
Japan	423	2,783
Germany	174	476
India	111	452
World		872,000

—Vide *Eastern Economist Annual*, 1952, p. 1071.

India has three international aerodromes, Bombay (Santa Cruz), Calcutta (Dum Dum) and Delhi (Palam); seven major aerodromes at Agartala, Ahmedabad, Begumpet, Bombay (Juhu), Delhi (Safdarjung), Gauhati, Madras and Nagpur; 29 intermediate aerodromes and 37 minor aerodromes.¹³

The total route mileage is 27,763 miles of which 14,050 miles are domestic route mileage and 13,713 international route mileage.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we may say that India is a country unique in many respects. Within her own borders she presents every variety of natural features to be found on the surface of the earth. Snow-capped mountains, precipitous ravines, undulating hills, high plateaus, level plains, sandy deserts, verdant oases, mighty streams and rich fields diversify the surface of the country. India has been favoured bountifully from the permanent snows of the Himalayas and the glorious alpine regions of Kashmir to the rainless desert of western Rajasthan and the continental extremes of western U.P. and Rajasthan and the perpetual hot-houses of Malabar. India possesses great diversity of animals, vegetation products and minerals ranging from the heavily coated Kashmir sheep to the camel of Rajasthan, the tiger of Bengal and the elephant of South India; from wheat, fruits and fir trees of the north to the jute and rice fields of West Bengal and slender and elegant areca palms, banana, mango, and *dhupa* trees of Mysore, coconut palms of low-lying swamps and coastal regions; and from the coal and iron fields of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the go'd region of Mysore, the manganese region of Madhya Pradesh, the salt lakes of Rajasthan and the oilfields of Assam.¹⁴ Diversity of

12. There are 14 Indian transport companies. These companies run air lines on 7 routes as follows:

Route No. 1 (Formerly Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—5 Services.
Route No. 2 (.. Bharat Air Ways Ltd., Calcutta)—7 Services.
Route No. 3 (.. Himalayan Aviation and the Kalinga Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—2 Services.
Route No. 4 (.. Indian National Airways, New Delhi)—7 Services.
Route No. 5 (.. Deccan Airways Ltd., Hyderabad)—4 Services.
Route No. 6 (.. Air India Ltd., Madras)—6 Services.
Route No. 7 (.. Air Services of India, Ltd., Bombay)—4 Services.

Besides these internal services, Indian Air Corporation maintains overseas services with U.K., Burma, China, Japan, etc.

13. *Times of India's Directory and Year Book*, 1954-55, p. 252.

14. Vera Anstey: *Economic Development of India*, pp. 5-6.

physical features and the climatic conditions have produced great varieties in population and the economic habits of the people. What different types are represented by the hard-working Deccanees of the peninsula, the ease-loving agriculturists of Bengal, the shepherd hill-men of the Himalayas, the traders and commercial magnates of Rajasthan and the primitive hunters of the hill regions!

What strikes us is the fact that though our economic life is rich in variety man in India has failed to profit adequately. The contrast between the bounties of nature and the poverty of man is here very striking. Nature has been very bountiful in bestowing her gifts lavishly but man has failed to play his part well. Hence, the usual statement, "India is a rich country inhabited by poor people."¹⁵ What is needed is initiative, enterprise, business skill, capital, government co-operation and above all

active population to use and exploit the dormant resources for material advancement and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. It is a happy augury to see that we are now fast on the road to development. India is not only reclaiming her marshy lands and bringing new lands under the plough with the help of tractors and bull-doers, enriching her soils by inorganic fertilizers and improved appliances, planning her agriculture and industries, developing her vast water resources, exploiting her forests and mineral wealth, fighting with her food and raw material shortages by every possible means, organising her railways and opening vast tracts of new lands by country roads but also developing her new outlook of life and devising various means of making the masses happy, healthy and prosperous.

(Concluded)

15. Jathar & Beri: *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, p. 32.

CHINA AND ASIAN STABILITY

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

As Russia with the Asian Soviet forms the vast single block of diverse nationalities and languages inspired by a common ideology, so China, the compact mass of mankind dominantly Mongoloid is being transformed into the bulwark of Asian solidarity. But there is another fragment of Chinese party politics in Formosa under Chiang Kai-shek who with American support mainly is trying to perpetuate schism defying the People's Republic, fully functioning from 1949, with over 500,000,000 souls. Then the third element is represented by the Overseas Chinese numbering about 10 million: majority of them in Asia (with 2½ m. in Malaya and 1½ m. in Indonesia) and also in Oceania, Africa, Europe and America.

In religion the Chinese were cosmopolitan in spirit, harbouring the Jews in Honan, the Moslems counting 50 million and the Buddhists 150 million coming from outside. The rest are Taoists or Confucians but all religious groups are now subjected to the new communist drive to secularization. The resultant psychological types and their reaction to the new Government should be cautiously watched. The West has clashed with the East, in China as well as in India

for over three centuries of modern history started by the Manchu dynasty (1640 onwards). Emperor Ch'en Lung (1736-1795) was a contemporary of Clive and Hastings; so we may follow easily the quick transformation of China during the last two centuries. China invaded Tibet in 1751 and began controlling the succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1758 Keshgaria was conquered maintaining Chinese control over Central Asia. In 1781 the revolt of the Muslims were suppressed, the Formosan rebellion was crushed, and the Gurkhas of Nepal were vanquished (1792).

Between 1757-1842 China suspicious of the Christian westerners stopped them systematically from settling down in any Chinese port under the pretext of trade; Earl of Macartney was sent away (1793) from the Chinese Court of Peking; but the Americans luckily entered into a profitable trade in Canton (1784).

During the century of 1795-1895 we notice China declining through total refusal to take to modern science and industry which Japan accepted and, thus defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1893-94.

CHINA AND ASIAN STABILITY

In 1821 the Opium trouble started, for the East India Company began sending (defying Chinese Emperor's prohibition) 5000 chests of Indian opium to China. It was temporarily stopped (1834) with the end of the Company's monopoly of British trade with China. The Chinese burnt 30,000 opium chests and the British opened the Opium War (1841-42) and forcibly took Hongkong and opened other ports like Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai. Chaos reigned between 1850-64 when the Tai Ping rebellion led to ruthless destruction of life and property. The French took advantage of it and gradually grabbed Indo-China (1862 onwards).

In these gloomy days was born Sun-wen famed later on as Sun Yat-sen (1862-1925), a contemporary of Lenin. Dr. Sun tried to organise rebellion against the decadent Manchus (1895) but failed; he escaped *via* Hawaii to Europe and America and organised (since 1893) the overseas Chinese. Meanwhile Japan defeated the corrupt Manchu rulers of China and took Formosa (1895). The big Powers of Europe—France, Germany, Russia—began a scramble for "concessions" forming States within a State. So the hot-heads of China started the Boxer Rising (1900-1901) lowering the prestige of the Manchus who were driven out in 1911 by the Revolutionary Chinese who elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen their President (December, 1911). After a second revolution in July, 1913, Yuan Shi-kai was elected President; but he too tried to play the Emperor (1917) and lost his chance. Dr. Sun moved to Canton and made his Government in 1921. In 1915 Japan presented the notorious 21 demands during the First World War but the Washington Conference (February, 1922) guaranteed to China independence and territorial integrity. There was also the remission of the Boxer indemnity of 6 million dollars diverted to rehabilitate Chinese education by creation of the China Foundation for Promotion of Education and Culture. So U.S.A. sunk billions of dollars in China to conciliate the Chinese and to capture their vast market. But other factors went against U.S.A.

Soviet Russia in repudiation of the Tsar's ill-gotten gains gave up (1919-20) extra-territoriality, etc., at Tientsin and Hankow and balance of the Russian share of the Boxer indemnity to be used for the education of young Chinese in Russia who with many other Asians,

were invited to the first Pan-Asian Congress in Baku (1920). In January, 1924, the first Kuo Min Tang Congress at Canton with Sun Yat-sen as President admitted the Communists to the party which began to be influenced by Russian advisers, notably Michael Borodin; and Chiang Kai-shek (born 1887), himself trained in Japan, headed the Russian instructors in the new Whampoa Military Academy. He went to Russia for further experience and on return—when Dr. Sun died (March, 1925)—began destroying the Chinese communists, who, in their turn, waged a 30 years' war against Chiang championing outmoded feudalistic capitalism. Yet Chiang's master Dr. Sun propagated progressive socialism since 1904-1907 (a decade before the Russian Revolution of 1917). Before his death (12 March, 1925) he published his lectures—*San Min Chu I* or the three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Progress—all three betrayed by Dr. Sun's corrupt or incompetent followers, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei.

COMMUNIST CHINA

The dividing line between two historical periods was drawn by the youths of Peking who on May 4, 1919 called a huge demonstration against the supine and corrupt Government and thus began a truly nationalistic and cultural revolution. Few now remember that a young graduate of the Normal School of Changsha organised the New People's Student Union joining the Revolutionary movement. He was Mao Tse-tung, (born 1893) in Hunan Province where he joined as a boy a small Communist Party cell which had its ramifications in Hankow and Peking. Mao in 1918 took a small job in the library of the Peking University studying books, writing poems and he was elected delegate to the first Communist Congress in Shanghai and Chialing (July, 1921). Its second session met in Hangchow (July, 1922), which formally resolved to wipe out imperialism, warlordism, stressing Dr. Sun's Nationalism. They decided to join the Communist International and invited the third Congress to Canton (June, 1923) where Mao was elected Member of the Central Committee. The fourth Congress met in Shanghai (January, 1925) where the party resolved to organise the Farmers' and Labourers' movement and the youth and the women's organisations. Thus their youth corps had a good number and the Party had more than 1000 members. The fifth Congress in Hankow

(April, 1927) brought 100 delegates representing 500,000 members of the party. Mao took the lead in Land Reforms. The sixth Congress met in Moscow (July, 1928), for Chiang started his ruthless campaign to exterminate the Chinese communists who took up guerilla activities against Chiang's Kuomintang Government. Mao formed the first Red Army (1927-28) with the youths of Hunan, Fukien and Kiangsi whence Mao led the famous Long March (1934-35) to Yen-an (8000 miles). He also set up a Chinese Soviet and led the Agrarian Revolution seizing for peasants the lands of the idle landlords. Meanwhile the Japanese began occupying Manchuria (1931-32) and Mao appealed to the nation and made common cause with Chiang for the war of Resistance. In September, 1937 Mao kept back his communist propaganda and ordered his Red Army to fight the Japanese as part of the Chinese National Army which was strengthened under Chiang who concluded a non-aggression treaty between China and Soviet Russia (August, 1937). The Japanese and Russian forces clashed (August 1938) on the Manchuria-Korea-Siberia borders. The Japanese took Canton and Hankow amidst protests of the Western Powers but the Second World War broke out in full fury in 1939.

LIQUIDATION OF KUOMINTANG (1939-1949)

In August, 1939 Hitler and Stalin made a strange German-Russian Pact and in September England and France declared war on Germany invading Poland. In December, 1939, Russia was expelled from the League of Nations for distributing vital war materials to the enemies. In May, 1940 Churchill formed his Coalition Government with Labour Party in June, after French collapse, and America made a big defence programme with a "two-ocean navy" and offered warships to England in exchange for American naval and air bases in the British Empire by the agreement of September, 1940 when Germany, Italy and Japan entered into a Pact which encouraged Japan to attack Hawaii (December 1941). U.S.A. thus entered the war and England reopened the Burma Road to send supplies to China. But civil war raged in China (1941-45) and the seventh Congress of Chinese Communists met at Yen-an in 1945. Mao after Japanese surrender (August, 1945) flew with U.S.A. Ambassador Hurley to Chungking to conclude Peace, if possible, with Chiang. But in 1946 civil war again broke out in Mukden,

Kalgam and Yen-an. From 1948 Mao Tse-tung began his big offensive and totally defeating (1949) Chiang's forces, drove them to Formosa and occupied the Chinese mainland establishing the People's Republic of over 500 million souls.

In June, 1950 Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a memorable address on "Fight for a better turn in the Economic situation in China" and the whole nation began working as one man to develop a New Democracy in the East with Soviet friendly assistance. U.K., India, Burma, Ceylon, among others, promptly recognised the People's Republic which is showing throughout very cordial sentiments to India led by Premier Nehru who was most warmly welcomed as a guest of the Republic. The Chinese Foreign Member Chou En-lai naturally gave full support to the policy of Nehru in the Bandung Conference (July, 1955). Chou En-lai was born (1896) in Kiangsu who studied western diplomacy while in Paris as a student forming Chinese communist cells in Paris and other European cities. Returning to China in 1923 he helped Chiang and Mao in their anti-Japanese drive but when civil war broke out Chou retreated to Yen-an and finally emerged as Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic and administrative Councils and also as the Minister of Foreign Affairs helping Mao in all sectors.

Ten years senior to them is General Chu Te (born 1886), the Communist Commander-in-Chief. Graduate of the Yunnan Military Academy he formed the Revolutionary League taking part in the Yunnan uprisings. After that he visited Germany (1922) and fostered the Chinese Communist cells in Berlin and other places. He joined the North Expedition (1926) after his return to China where Kuomintang and Communists began clashing (1927). He helped Mao Tse-tung in building up the Red Army of Farmers and Labourers and led the Eighth Route Army and commenced the Long March (1935). Famed General and Vice-Chairman of the People's Military Council Chu Te is also Supreme Commander of the Chinese Forces.

Another great leader is Ku Mo-jo (born 1892), poet, novelist, critic and scholar; now Head of the Cultural Ministry. He began as a medieval student (like Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Japan, publishing there his Poems (1921-22). On return to homeland he organised the "Creative Society" most influential in modern Chinese literature. In 1925 he was of the staff of the

Sun Yat-sen University, Canton. In 1927 he fostered Proletarian literature from Shanghai (1927) and thence escaped to Japan where he studied old Chinese history and wrote copiously (1927-37). In 1945 he visited Russia and in 1949-51 he was in Poland and France. On return he was elected Chairman of the Committee of Cultural-Educational Affairs, President of the Academia Sinica winning the Stalin Peace Award. He translated also from Goethe, Tolstoy, Upton Sinclair, etc., and wrote copiously on Political Science, Social Problems and Archaeology—a prolific and versatile writer who recently visited India.

This new generation, of course, got inspiration from progressive veterans of the last century some of whom I mention: The oldest to remember, I suppose, is Kiang Yu-wei (1856-1928), scholar and social reformer admiring western culture. Condemned by the Manchus he fled to Hongkong and then to Japan where he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but was against violent revolution. He rather followed Confucius and Buddha writing on the Theory of Compassion and Equality in the Buddhist Teachings, which should be translated by Indians.

His favourite pupil was Liang Chi-chao who invited Dr. Tagore to China in 1924. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's (I often met him and his colleagues) noble wife Sung Ching-ling (born 1890) helped Dr. Sun in his revolutionary works and later joined Chu Te, Chou En-lai, etc., of the Revolutionary Party. She could not pull on well with her brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek. She travelled through Russia and other parts of Europe and America for the cause of World Peace and Chinese Democracy. She wrote in English *The Struggle for New China* and got the Stalin Peace Prize (1951). She should be invited by the Indian Women's Organizations, as she is the real disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and now Chairman of All China Democratic Women's Federation of the Welfare Institute and also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic. Her Federation helped to convene (December, 1953) the Conference of Asian Women with 165 Delegates from 23 Oriental countries contacting 76,000,000 women workers of different grades and ideals. Free India should invite another such Conference soon.

The People's Republic of China (proclaimed 21st September, 1949) passed the Organic Law

of the State led by the Communist Party with five million members (July, 1950) who strive for independence, democracy, peace and strength of China through unification. China (like India) is a subcontinent of 32 Provinces and 12 municipalities, covering an area of over 3,000,000 sq. miles. Food, clothing and housing problems are as acute as in India but within five years (1949-54) China has made tremendous strides through hard labour and honesty. By the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, U.S.S.R. granted to China commodity credits of 300 million U.S. dollars to be repaid in 10 years (1954-63). With great zeal for science, new China is applying modern methods of agriculture, reafforestation and irrigation. Foreign air services have closed but the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co. (1950) is operating lines from Peking to Central Asia and Russia has returned to China important railways to the East. Shipping industry is being developed and the Bureau of Navigation has regional centres at Tientsin, Shanghai, Tsingkao, Dairen and Canton. Before 1949 Communist victory there were many western trading agencies: 151 British, 142 American, 20 Swiss, 11 French, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, etc.; also 7 overseas Chinese. How many have resumed commercial relations are not definitely known. But Ceylon, India, Pakistan, etc., are doing good business with U.K. After U.S.A. and India, China is the third in the world's total cotton production, next in silk and tea. So manufactures relating to these articles are thriving. Coal and iron are there in plenty and will help developing heavy industries. China is also rich in minerals like gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, antimony, tungsten, etc., which are found in plenty. So oil is being extracted in Shensi, Kansu, Upper Yangtse and South Manchurian zones. Tin mining thrived in Yunnan with its vast tin ores. Sino-Soviet Joint-stock Companies are developing oil and non-ferrous metals in Sinkiang. Total trade union membership was over 4 million in 1950 and must have gone higher now. Like U.S.S.R. in the west China may develop into the biggest Labour Republic in the East benefiting most of the "under-developed" (yet over-populated) countries of Asia. On the livelihood and well-being of these teeming millions depend the permanent peace and stability of Asia.

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA—MORE UNITARY THAN FEDERAL

PROF. K. N. SINHA, M.A., LL.B.

It is interesting to note that although based on federal model our constitution does not contain any reference of the word 'federal.' Article 1 of the constitution describes India as a 'union' and not a 'federal union' of states. It seems to be a deliberate omission that strikes at the root of the intention of the fathers of the constitution. There is no doubt that the designation of units as 'States' and not 'Provinces' suggests that the Union is federal. But the Central Government under the new constitution has far more extensive powers than it had under the Government of India Act, 1935. Thus, the Prime Minister of India may seem to be "not merely a grand Moghal but a lion and the provincial Governments would be like lambs and goats which will tremble before him."*

"A serious complaint is made on the ground that there is too much of centralisation and that the states have been reduced to municipalities."*

These views might look apparently exaggerated, but a clear analysis of the relations between the Union and the States would make it abundantly evident that our constitution is more unitary than federal.

In every Federation there exists a clear demarcation of powers of the centre and the constituent units, for, as Professor Dicey has said:

"Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of subordinate bodies each originating in, and controlled by, the Constitution."

In India, too as, elsewhere, the legislative functions of the Union and the States have been placed under different heads. The spheres of activity for the Union and the States are precisely laid down by the Constitution itself, and within that particular sphere the authority of each is prescribed to the exclusion of the other in normal times. But the powers of the states are taken into consideration it becomes clear that our Constitution although given a federal shape has, at the same time, a very strong centre. The structure of

Government contained in the constitution of India is federal, but the structure is so tight that it is almost unitary.

Article 246 provides that the Parliament has exclusive powers to legislate over 97 items prescribed, in the Union List and the State legislature has power to make laws regarding 66 matters only, enumerated in the State List, while both the parliament and the state legislatures have power to make laws on 47 subjects referred to in the Concurrent List.

According to Article 248 the residuary powers of legislation (subjects not included in the Union, Concurrent or State Lists) are assigned to the centre, i.e., to the Parliament and not the Legislatures of the states. This is in contrast with the powers of states in U.S.A., and even Australia, although it conforms to the practice in the Union of south Africa and Canada. In U.S.A. and Australia the residuary powers have been given to the states, but in India as in Canada and Union of south Africa they have been vested in the Union Government in order to make it more powerful.

It has been pointed out that both Parliament as well as State Legislatures are empowered to make laws on the subjects in the Concurrent List. If Parliament as well as a State Legislature happen to make laws on the same subject in this List, and if it is found that the two laws are in conflict with each other, then the law made by the Parliament shall prevail and any provisions of the state law, which are repugnant to what has been enacted by the Parliament, will be null and void. Thus in the matters of Concurrent List the centre has been afforded a definite supremacy.

Normally the Union Parliament shall have no jurisdiction to make laws for those subjects which are in the State List, and in keeping with the essentials of a federal arrangement, a clear distribution of subjects between the Union and the States, has been made by the Constitution. But the Constitution also contains a further provision which will have the effect of empowering the Union Parliament to enact over a subject, enumerated in the State List, over which normally

the states have the exclusive jurisdiction. The constitution, lays down that if the Council of States passes a resolution by a two-third majority of the members present and voting declaring that in the national interest it is necessary or expedient for the Union Parliament to make laws with respect to any matter included in the state list, Parliament shall be empowered to legislate on that matter so long as such resolution remains in force. The life of such a resolution shall normally be one year, which if necessary may further be extended by periods of one year at a time by subsequent resolutions. Such a drastic power given to one House of the legislature is unique in the history of federations. It negates one of the most fundamental principles associated with federal polity, namely, that encroachment either by the Central Government or by the State Government on spheres which are exclusively assigned to the one and to the other will not be permissible.

Again, if the houses of the legislatures of two or more states pass a resolution that the Parliament may legislate for them, it shall have the power to do so. Any such Act passed by the Parliament shall apply to such states and to any other state also; by which it is adopted afterwards. Only Parliament shall have the power to amend or repeal any such Act, and the state to which it applies will, have no power to amend or repeal it.

Article 253 provides that the Parliament has also the power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any International treaty, agreement and convention or the like.

It is clearly stated that the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament, and that the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a state as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. Similarly, the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as not to impede the executive power of the Union. The Union can also give directions to a state as to the construction and maintenance of means of communication which are declared to be of national or military importance. It can also give directions to a state as to the measures to be taken for the protection of Railways within the state. If any state fails to comply with, or

to give effect to, any directions given by the Union, 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 the constitution, and to take the requisite consequential action, i.e., he is empowered to take over the administration of that state in his own hand (Act. 265). Parliament also when it makes a law, which applied in any state, may confer powers or impose duties upon the state or its officers in respect of that subject even though it does not fall within the competence of the state legislature. Article 263 further authorises the Parliament to establish an inter-state council for settling inter-state disputes or discussing matters of common interest between them. Thus, in spite of the federal form given to the constitution, the responsibility for the faithful and adequate execution of the powers vested in the Union to operate within the territory of a state, is thrown on the shoulders of the State Government themselves.

Turning to the financial matters, it is found that certain sources of revenue are allotted to the states, but the power of imposing taxes or duties in regard to them is vested in the Government of India. The distribution of the proceeds of such taxes among the different states is to be determined in accordance with such principles as may be formulated by Parliament by law. The finance commission also is appointed by the President every five year.

To cope with national peril, such as in times of war, external aggression, internal disturbance, constitutional deadlock or financial stringency, the President of India has been armed with almost dictatorial powers. It is really during this period of emergency that the constitution becomes completely unitary. "The provision of Emergency Powers leaves in the hands of the President a loaded gun which can be used both to protect and to destroy the liberty of citizens." When a Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President is in operation, Parliament shall have power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to any of the matters enumerated even in the state list. Such a law will continue to have effect during the currency of the Proclamation and for a period of six months thereafter. During such a period the Union Government can give direc-

* Shri Thakur Das Bhargava in the Constituent Assembly on November 15, 1949.

tions to any state as to the manner in which the state's executive power should be exercised.

Again, if the President is satisfied, or has been informed by the Governor or Raj Pramukh of a state, that a situation has arisen in which the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may by Proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the state and all or any of the powers exercised by the Governor, he may declare that the powers of the legislature of the state shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament.

In the event of a financial stringency in India or in any part thereof, the President by a Proclamation can give directions to any state which may include the provision of the reduction of the salaries and allowances of public servants belonging to the Union or the State. In such abnormal times all money bills passed by the state legislatures may be reserved for the consideration of the President.

Thus, in an emergency the centre can supersede the powers of the states. The contribution is unique in so far as "it is at once unitary and federal according to circumstances. Normally it is meant to be federal, but in emergencies it can assume a unitary character." Such overriding powers mean to some extent that the states have been reduced to the status of "glorified municipalities and corporations." In the opinions of some, "the provinces have been tied with new claims of slavery." But a power of this type is essential in times of national crisis. During the two world wars even in countries like U.S.A., Australia and Canada the tendency towards an enlargement of federal powers, in order to meet the grave emergency, was found in practice to be irresistible. Political thinkers believe that a federal form of Government is essentially weak more in the face of an emergency as it parcels power into too many hands.

"In the vein of a philosopher, critics allege that a house divided within itself cannot stand when the rains descend in torrents and the overwhelming floods come—when dissensions within and the aggressive shocks from without put its stability to the test".

Naturally, therefore, in a federal form of Government provision has to be made to meet the emergencies.

Like all federations, the federation of India

has created a dual polity, but unlike the U.S.A., which allowed the states to have the right to continue their own constitutions or to modify them or even to make them if the states were new, it has laid down detailed constitutions for its Constituent units. The states in India have therefore, no power or freedom to deviate from what has been prescribed for them in the same frame-work which has also prescribed the constitution of the Union.

Again, the component units in the 'Indian Union' have no power to secede from the Union. Once a state becomes a part of the Union, it is not competent to sever its relations from the Union. The constitution of U.S.S.R. also provides a 'Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics,' but it specifically allows the Republics to secede from the Union whenever they like. Our Constitution does not permit such a thing.

Our Constitution does not admit dual citizenship. Unlike the Constitution of U.S.A. it provides single citizenship. The creation of a dual polity has not resulted in the creation of a dual citizenship, with the aim to have uniformity in all fundamental issues for the consolidation of the Union. There is only one single citizenship for the whole country, namely, Indian citizenship, and there is no state citizenship. Thus another important characteristic of a federal constitution is absent in our Constitution.

Unlike other federal constitutions the Indian constitution provides a comparatively easy process of constitutional amendment, the initiative lying only in the hands of the Centre. Article 368 provides that if a constitutional amendment is passed by each house of Parliament by a majority of its total membership and by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for signature. Except for some matters enumerated in the above Article which requires its ratification by the legislatures of not less than one half of the states, the states have no initiative in constitutional amendments (unlike the constitution of the United States).

There is a single integrated judiciary, and uniformity in civil and criminal laws. The President appoints not only the judges of the Supreme Court but also of the High Courts. Article 222 empowers the President to transfer a judge from one High Court to another after consultation with the Chief Justice of India. Moreover, the Union Judiciary itself is not free from

the control of Parliament which has the power to get the judges removed by passing an address to this effect and presenting it to the President.

The Governors of the states are appointed by the President and shall hold office during his pleasure. The Governors and the Raj Pramukhs in the states are connected with the Centre in more than one way. Article 160 provides, that "the President may make such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor." This and other such provisions shall knit together the State administration with the national Government almost on the pattern of a unitary system.

Discretionary powers of Governors would, in all probability, be exercised under the instruction from the President. The constitution makes an important reference to certain undefined powers of the Governors to be exercised in his discretion. Although silent on this issue the framework of the constitution makes it abundantly clear how this power would be exercised. A Governor is the nominee of the President and holds office during his pleasure, i.e., the President may withdraw his pleasure even before the fixed term of five years. Therefore, the Governor, by a curious position in which he is placed, has no option but to obey the directive of the President which ultimately means of the Prime Minister. Governors, that is why, are considered by many critics as "the watch-dogs of the centre." It is possible that directions may be issued similar to the Instrument of Instructions as provided under the Act of 1935. This may be an inevitable development of a constitutional convention necessitated by the silence of the constitution on a vital issue like this. In this connection it may be mentioned that in Travancore-Cochin when recently the Congress Ministry was defeated and the opposition requested the Raj Pramukh to give them a chance to form a ministry, the Raj Pramukh, while obviously acting according to the wishes of the centre, refused to give any such permission and dissolved the Assembly, and thus acted in his discretion.

The administration of Part C and D states shall be directly under the President. According to Article 239 and 243, they shall be administered as the President thinks fit, through a chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him or through the Government of a neighbouring state.

Moreover, the Election Commission, envisaged in Article 324, whose members are appointed by the President, will superintend, direct and control elections not only to the Parliament but also to the state legislatures.

Again, the Comptroller and Auditor General appointed by the President under Article 143 will keep a careful watch not only over the finances of the Union, but also of the states.

The Union Parliament has been authorised by Articles 2 and 3 to establish new states, increase or decrease the area of a state or even change the name of a state.

Article 169 (1) authorises the Parliament to abolish the legislative Council of a state or to create such a body where it does not exist, on a resolution of the Legislative Assembly of that State.

Articles 200 and 201 provide for the reservation of a bill by the Governor for the consideration of the President.

The Union Government is also authorised to impose restrictions on the trade and commerce in any part of India.

Moreover, during the Emergency period the President is empowered even to suspend the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. He has the power to declare that enforcement of such rights shall remain suspended for the period during which the Proclamation is in force.

At the same time, although the members of the state legislatures along with the members of the Parliament have the right to choose the President for their Union, the members of the Parliament alone have been given the power to remove him. In his removal the states have no say at all.

In a federation the upper chamber is intended to represent the states as units and their equality of status is embodied in the equality of their representation. In the U.S.A., for instance, every state, big or small, sends two representatives to the senate. In the Indian Federation, however, this principle has not been accepted. The Council of States which is the upper chamber, is not formed on the principle of equality of representation to the constituent units irrespective of their size or population. Besides, the President has been given the power to nominate 12 members in the Council of States. This is a clear instance of the emphatic preference for centralization that undoubtedly inspired the framers of

the Indian constitution, even though they endeavoured to give it the federal form.

Thus, it is obvious that the partnership is not among equals but the Union Government stands supreme over the state Governments. Every effort has been made to make the Union much stronger than what central governments usually are found to be in federal constitutions. The emphasis probably is more on the authority of the centre than on the autonomy of the units. As a matter of fact, even where that autonomy is supposed to be guaranteed, interference and dictation by the centre is not only prohibited, but authorized as a normal procedure of the functioning of the constitution. Thus our constitution is more unitary than federal in essence and spirit.

"It is like a pyramid which begins with a broad federal base and narrows upward to evolve into a singular unitary top."

India's federalism, a type by itself as it is, may well be termed as unitary federalism. A federation which can easily become a unitary state in times of crisis may ultimately prove to be a variety of constitutional form hitherto unknown to history. It may even be taken to be a distinctive contribution of this country to the theory and practice of federalism.

CREATION OF A POWERFUL CENTRE JUSTIFIED

This over-centralisation has retarded the spirit of federalism and has provoked much criticism. This grant of overwhelming powers to the centre has, however, been done under very compelling and strong reasons of diversity and vastness of the country. The national interests and the integrity of the country have always been the two dominating thoughts in the minds of the architects of the constitution. We can scarcely forget the colossal sufferings which we had long been subject to mainly due to the fissiparous and disruptive tendencies working in our country. India, being a land essentially of different languages, creeds and religions, rightly needed a cen-

tral machinery to control and maintain its component units. Moreover, the latest upheavals caused by the partition of the country have also made the creation of so powerful a centre a necessity. The issue of the economic development of India on a nation-wide scale and the problem of raising the standard of living of the citizens of India as a whole, all necessitated a strong unifying central control. The economic unity should necessarily follow the political unity. The units are truly autonomous except in cases of emergencies or when the national interests are being threatened. In fact, there is always a necessity of a strong unquestioned centralised authority to face the grave emergencies, when the interest of the nation is in question. On such occasions federations have proved to be a failure, and they are always weaker in tackling the immediate problems, which require quick, forceful and immediate action. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee endorsing the same view held that

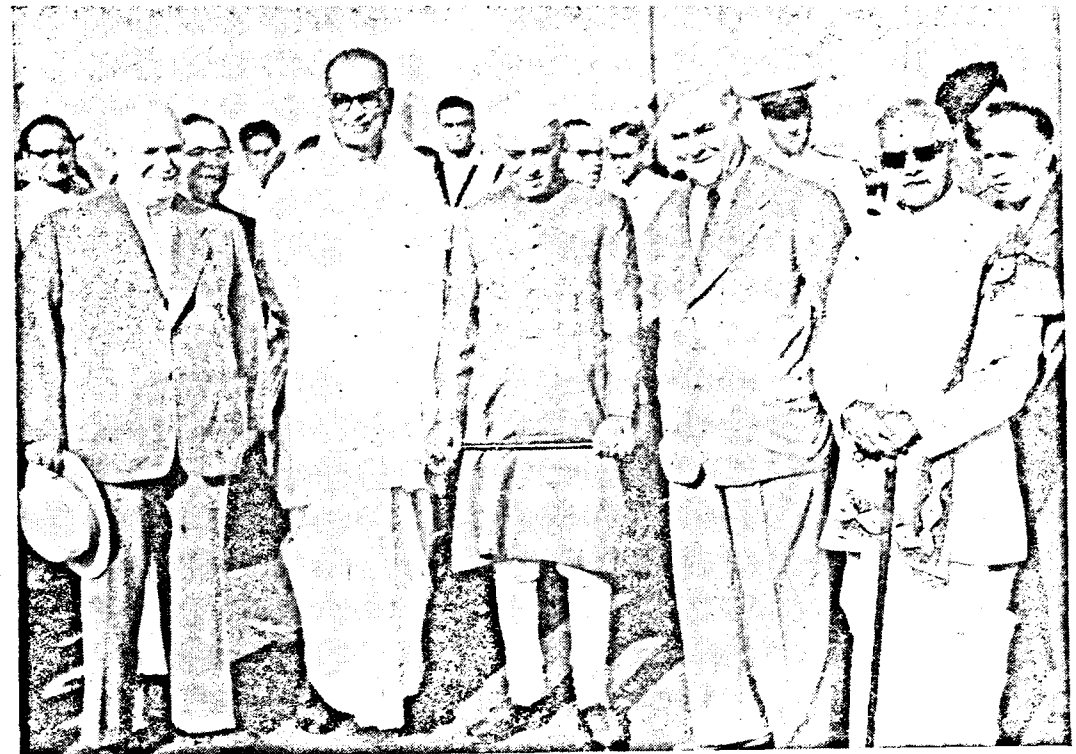
"There should be power reserved to the centre, full and untrammelled both in the formulation of the policy and its execution to deal effectively with such emergencies. The constitution which ultimately emerged guarantees all this and guards against the dangers of disunity and turmoil."

The centralisation of authority in a country is needed, for it is only the centre and not the constituent units that can work for a common end and the general interests of the country. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the so-called Modern Manu, rightly remarked:

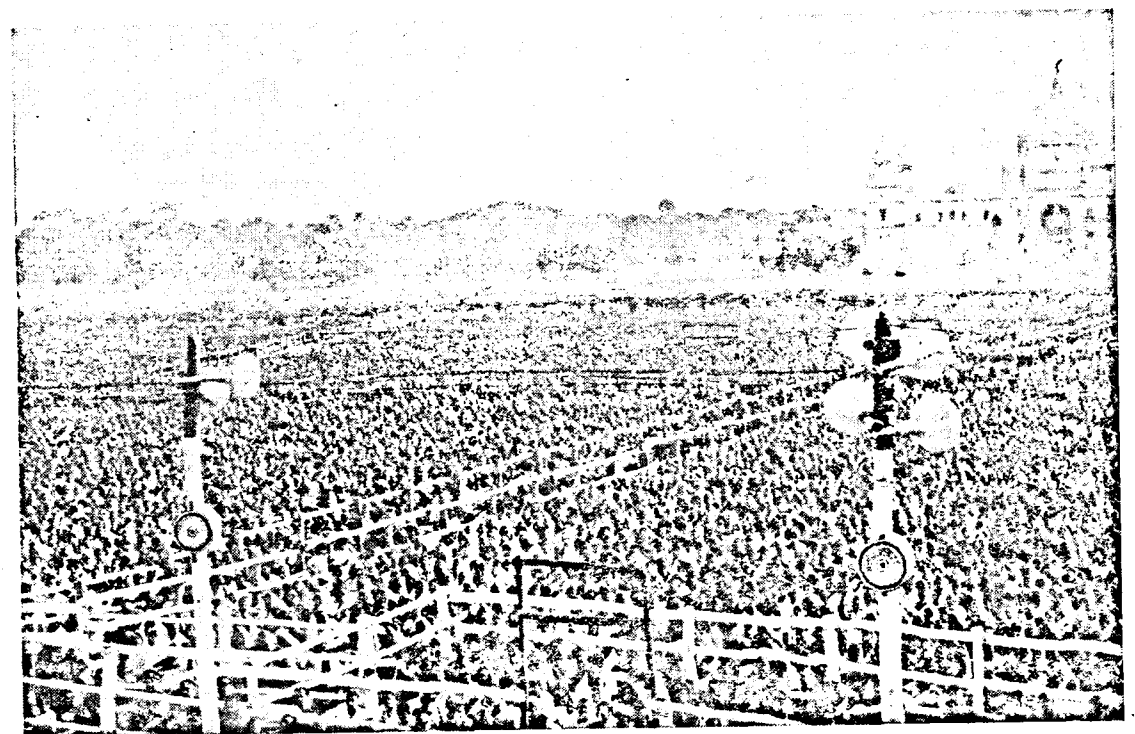
"Those who do not admit the justification for such over-riding powers to the centre even in any emergency do not seem to have a clear ideal of the problem which lies at the root of the matter."

It has to be admitted in the end, as Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said:

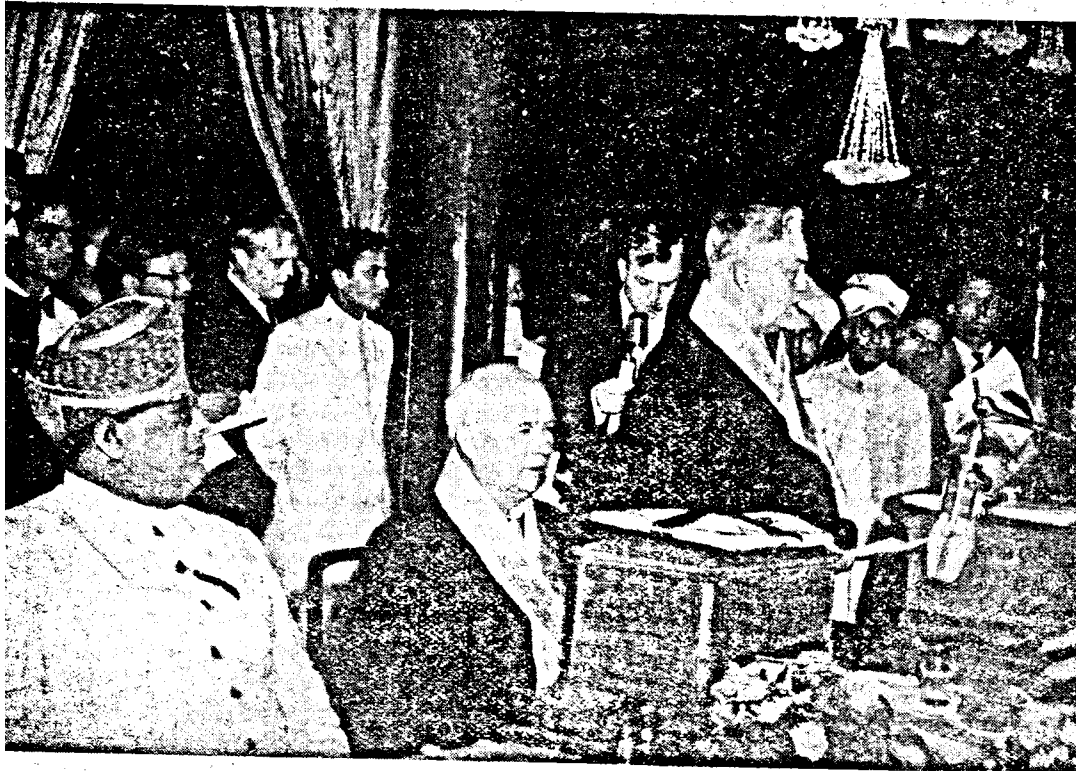
"Whatever may be the constitutional provisions, success in their practical working would, however, be not in riding roughshod over provincial feelings but in evolving a balance between the exigencies of unity and the requirements of provincial autonomy."



Mr. N. A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, left Calcutta for Burma on December 1. They were seen off at Dum Dum airport by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and Dr. B. C. Roy



Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, addressing a mammoth public meeting, held at the Brigade Ground, Calcutta, on November 30



Mr. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., replying to the speech of the Chief Minister of Mysore at the State Dinner given in honour of Their Excellencies Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev at Bangalore on November 26



Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, being shown Micro-Electronic Components at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

GOA'S LIBERATION : PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES

By ELEUTERIO SOARES

RECENT developments in India have cast the Goa problem into an entirely new setting. While the determination of the Government of India to liquidate the foreign pocket is never in doubt, the question how and when the goal may be achieved has acquired a new angle following policy changes and adjustments. Old estimates are no longer valid and the situation calls for a complete reassessment of the prospects and possibilities of Goa's liberation in the context of the changed circumstances.

Broadly speaking, under the existing conditions the liberation of Goa depends either on a voluntary change in Portugal's colonial policy or on circumstances internal or external compelling the Portuguese to quit Goa. The former may come about as a result of self-enlightenment or the emergence of a new regime in Portugal while the pressure of world public opinion or economic sanctions or a resistance movement in Goa may induce the Portuguese to bow down to the inevitable. What chances there are of these possibilities being realised is of course a matter for investigation.

Now to begin with, the possibility of a voluntary change of heart on the part of the Portuguese ruling clique may be ruled out. The Portuguese are, to put it mildly, at least two centuries behind time in their political thinking and with their passionate attachment to past glories have failed to keep pace with the progress of ideas around them. It will need something more than a miracle to convince the Portuguese that the era of colonialism has ended and of the utter fallacy of their theory of "overseas provinces."

They cannot be expected, with their illusions about "civilising missions," to appreciate the fact that no amount of political juggling and high pressure propaganda can transform Goans into Portuguese or to recognise the justice of the contention that Goa's destiny must be decided not by the Portuguese National Assembly, wherein Goans have no representation worth the name, but by Goans themselves in the exercise of the inalienable right of self-the Goa issue.

determination. But then respect for democratic principles and the demands of justice are understandably not the virtues of dictators.

Furthermore, constructive statesmanship and foresight have never been the strong points of the Portuguese, much less so are they of the present rulers of Portugal. Consequently, while the untenability of their precarious position in Goa is evident to any sensible individual, and the Portuguese are not unaware of it, they will rather break in the process of sustaining their false pride and prestige than bow to realities and quit with grace and decorum. Goa is a striking example of the traditional blind fanaticism of the Portuguese and we see them clinging to a historical relic with a callous indifference to the serious consequences which such a sentimental stand entails upon themselves and much more so, the people of Goa.

A democratic regime at the helm of affairs in Portugal would have undoubtedly adopted a more realistic and liberal attitude towards the Goa problem but prospects of any change in the Portuguese political set-up are, at the moment, extremely dim. Opposition to the Salazar regime is undoubtedly growing in Portugal but in the face of official repression and the complete suppression of even the elementary fundamental rights it is comparatively ineffective. Only an army coup can dislodge Salazar from the pedestal of power, but the chances of such an event taking place, at least for the moment, being out of question, Goa cannot bank upon such an uncertain factor to free her from foreign bondage.

Reliance must, therefore, be placed upon more positive means and the mobilisation of world opinion against Portugal's unjust stand is one of the methods that suggest themselves. But here again the prospects are not encouraging. First and foremost international opinion is today so deeply influenced by the exigencies of regional security pacts and power-bloc loyalties and so little by considerations of justice and fairplay, that few nations can be expected to pronounce an unbiased verdict on

Indeed, with great powers like Britain and France actively engaged in suppressing colonial peoples it would be foolish to expect at least the Western countries to prevail upon Portugal to quit Goa, even if they are firmly convinced of the righteousness of India's stand. On the contrary, it would be in their interest to encourage Portuguese obstinacy, as, it is feared, is actually happening today; the conspiracy of silence on the Goa issue on the part of the major powers and the jaundiced eye with which the foreign press, the British press in particular, with a few rare exceptions, has been viewing the Goa problem, have their own tale to tell.

But even if international opinion were to express itself firmly and clearly it is extremely doubtful, whether that would help matters. The Portuguese dictators who, with their archaic political ideologies, have no respect for the wishes of their own people, can hardly be expected to show any consideration for the opinion of other nations. It would, therefore, be futile to hope that the pressure of international opinion will induce the Portuguese to quit Goa for such pressure does not exist and even if it did the Portuguese dictators would hardly be influenced by it. For similar reasons the talk of international mediation also does not inspire confidence.

The imposition of economic sanctions, however, holds out some promise of success. It is true that in view of the unhelpful attitude adopted by the Governments of Pakistan and Ceylon and the reported defection of some Indian merchants in finding devious ways to convey supplies to Goa, the Indian blockade loses much of its sting, but its effects on Goa's economy cannot be discounted. Whether the Portuguese admit it or not, the steps which the Government of India has so far taken and the suspension of remittances in particular, have created serious difficulties for the Portuguese in Goa. A continued stalemate can only add to their difficulties, for the expenditure involved in running long lines of communications and supplies, and maintaining a large standing army in Goa, is a heavy drain on Portugal's financial resources, although the Goan people are regrettably the worst sufferers in the process.

Fresh measures to tighten the economic cordon sanitaire are in the offing but it is too much to hope that such economic pressure, even

if Pakistan and Ceylon are prevailed upon to co-operate with India and other Asian countries like Japan fall in line, will bring about a speedy solution of the Goa problem. Only a complete economic collapse would be adequate to bring the obstinate Portuguese to their senses and even if a fool-proof blockade were imposed, it must take a considerable period of time to be effective to that extent. It has inevitably to be a long-drawn-out process demanding continued patience and forbearance from the Indian people and a capacity for sacrifice and suffering on the part of Goans.

There is also no promise of a resistance movement in Goa providing quick relief. No one who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Goa can expect a mass movement there to drive out the Portuguese in the near future. Not that there is no nationalist movement inside Goa. No matter what the Portuguese propagandist may proclaim Goan patriots have, in spite of the tremendous odds in their path, shown commendable courage and initiative, but in the face of the savage, inhuman repression let loose by the Portuguese they are compelled to function in disjointed groups indulging in nothing more than stray acts of sabotage and sporadic outbursts of fruitless agitation.

The inequality of the struggle is further enhanced by the comparative lack of political consciousness among the large mass of people. Discontent against Portuguese rule undoubtedly exists but centuries of foreign domination have virtually benumbed the Goan's sense of national pride and having become accustomed to be ruled by others he fights shy of the prospects of assuming the responsibility of managing his own affairs. And the existence of a police State in Goa, with no civil liberties and no freedom of expression, makes the task of breaking this paralysing lethargy extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible.

No amount of repression, however, can keep the people always in the dark and there are signs of a growing political awakening among the people of Goa, but in the prevailing conditions, it will be a fairly long time before this awakening spreads deep and wide enough to crown with success any positive effort to overthrow Portuguese rule.

There are also the Goan emigrants to be taken into account. Free as they are from the limitations, which their compatriots in Goa are

subject to, they have been in the very nature of circumstances in the vanguard of the struggle for Goa's freedom, but if they have failed to make to the cause of Goa's freedom a contribution commensurate with the opportunities and scope available to them, it must be mainly attributed to needless divisions and factions in the ranks of political workers. It is a crisis of leadership, and solution to this problem does not seem to be within sight. It is of course no exaggeration to say, the sooner the Goan people are able to find leadership which will be capable of cutting across petty rivalries and inspiring the confidence and co-operation of the masses the shorter will be the process of Goa's liberation.

In the ultimate analysis therefore the responsibility of shortening the birth-pangs of Goa's freedom devolves on Goans themselves. Certainly other possibilities may develop in course of time and even the factors we have examined may operate more favourably in a different set of conditions. The problem of Goa is also a part of the larger struggle against colonialism, and events elsewhere, whether in Cyprus, or Morocco, or East Africa or West Irian, are bound to influence the trend of developments in Goa.

In any case the cause of freedom is bound to triumph in the end but the point that must be borne in mind is that since police action is ruled out under any circumstances and *satya-*

graha by Indians is also taboo it is improper to expect a quick solution of the Goa problem.

That, of course, is not meant to be a criticism of the Government of India's Goa policy. The correctness of that policy is unquestionable for the approach to the Goa problem must fit into the frame-work of India's foreign policy. To ask for direct action in Goa is to demand a betrayal of the principles which India is doing so much to foster among the nations of the world. The cause of world peace and harmony and the prestige which India enjoys in the international councils cannot be sacrificed at the altar of Goa's freedom.

Not that India is not and should not be interested in the struggle for Goa's freedom. Far from it, India cannot rest until Goa is liberated, for it involves not merely a question of liquidating the last vestige of colonialism from India's soil but also of reclaiming a section of the Indian people who because of a queer twist of fate find themselves under the heel of a ruthless alien dictatorship. All possible means so far as they are consistent with the ideals which India has chosen to serve must and will be taken to achieve the object but it is at the same time necessary to view the various aspects of the problem in the proper perspective so that no false hopes, which only lead to a sense of frustration and disappointment, may be entertained.

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RURAL UNIVERSITIES

PROF. P. K. SEN, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph. D. (Lond.), D.I.C.,
Khaira Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University

INDIA was at one time prosperous. Through her far and wide came on pilgrimage for her village order she distributed leadership all over message of peace. The basic principles of her the country making the best use of her lands and village civilization were self-help, respect for and men. The villages were her schools of others' rights and service before self. living. No knowledge material and moral Times changed. The leadership that circulated like life-blood through the entire body contributing towards life was unknown to them of the nation drifted away from the villages and every individual had the opportunity and leaving lands and men behind to fall into guidance to attain fulfilment through devoted disorder, disuse and poverty. Foreign domination work creating wealth for common good. The played no small part in bringing about this country, it is said, then flowed in milk and honey. She attained a height of glory in her ennobling change. Progress in science and humanities art, literature and architecture, and people from henceforth remained confined to a few cities and

towns here and there, primarily subserving the interest of the foreign rulers who did not recognise the oneness of life with the people of the land. Their distress grew from bad to worse.

Thanks to the genius of India that it did not fail to realise however that village reconstruction was the keynote of her resurrection. Her leadership came back to its own once again and mobilised the forces of life in the villages throughout the country to win freedom from foreign rule in order to achieve freedom from poverty and distress. No opposition could stand before the one will of the people. Political freedom won, India has set herself to reconstruct her village order keeping pace with the march of life in the 'one world' of today.

Free India's constitution, her friendly relation with the nations of the world, her development plans, community projects and village governments provide the frame-work on which to build her new life. And in order to make knowledge of science and technology, arts and literature, ethics and politics available to every citizen, to make every one of them mentally and physically well-equipped for making the best use of lands and his own imagination and enterprise for the good of all, a new orientation in her system of education has been conceived. Every boy and girl, by the time they are fourteen, will receive Basic Education, learning some useful craft, the principles of general science, hygiene, and community relations and some amount of history and literature.

The next stage of education for a period of three years will have two aims in view, firstly, to give more intensive training in a craft or a vocation together with some further general education and secondly, to prepare for University education.

A University conducts higher education in the different branches of knowledge of science, technology and humanities for training teachers and specialist workers, and carries our research to extend the bounds of knowledge. It thus

represents the highest institution that guides the life of a people not only for the present but also for the future. It is in this context that rural Universities assume their significance in the scheme of India's rural reconstruction. It will be for the Universities of India to lead her life today and in the days to come with the wisdom of her glorious past.

A rural University has no other meaning but that it is an institution of life as a whole and not of a group of knowledge or of a section of people. It has to deal with every branch of knowledge useful to make the best use of lands by men to achieve a happy life, and make itself a living example of progress inspiring imagination and enterprise of man eternally seeking truth, harmony and beauty.

The old Universities that came into being under conditions of foreign rule will now have the same objective as the new institutions in the reconstruction of India. They cannot remain in isolation although according to the conditions of time and place they may have their special features and functions and the country may have also Universities for special branches of studies such as technology, engineering, etc., pertaining to special requirements of her reconstruction programme.

A typical Rural University will deal with life directly based on agriculture. Its stress will be on the cultivation of sciences, and technologies pertaining to the best use of land and life under agrarian conditions. It has to deal with all branches of humanities and sciences and make special studies of (i) agriculture—in all its branches; (ii) rural industries; (iii) rural engineering—irrigation, electricity, sanitation, village planning, house building, etc., (iv) social administration; and (v) teachers' training. And in order that all students may get the opportunity of higher education and create confidence of self-help in them there should be scope for earning while learning in agricultural farms or industrial workshops.



THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

II

THE work of the 4-man High Power Committee now sitting in judgment on West Bengal's and Bihar's conflicting objections to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission will be very much simplified, if they will condescend to support the New Bengal Association's request (page 50 of the New Bengal Association's memorandum No. IV, dated 7th December, 1948, being a Rejoinder to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly) to Dr. Rajendra Prasad (in his individual capacity, as he was in 1939 and in 1947, and not as President of the Indian Union, whom it will possibly be impertinent to address in a matter like this) to make clear what was intended by the two expressions 'Bihar proper' and 'areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken' which he used for his classification of different groups of Bengalees in Bihar, in the note submitted to the Bardoli Conference in January 1939, and also what were "the vast tracts in Bihar where Hindi was not widely spoken" mentioned in his speech in the Bihar Sahitya Sammelan in December 1947. It is understood that, in the returns which the Tata Iron and Steel Works are required to submit periodically to the Labour Department of the Government of Bihar, the expression 'Bihar proper' is used in a sense which excludes the whole of Chota Nagpur Division and also the Santal Parganas district. Was the connotation the same, or was it different, of the expression 'Bihar proper' as used in the note to the Bardoli Conference? And did "areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken" exclude any portions, and, if so, which portions, of pargana Dhalbhum, (specially mentioned in the Sahitya Sammelan speech) of the entire district of Manbhum, or of the eastern fringe of the Santal Parganas (also specifically mentioned in the speech), with a base about 20 miles wide at the southern end near Chittaranjan and Mihijam, but slowly tapering to only about 5 miles width near Sakrigali? I believe that Dr. Prasad's response to the request will dispense with the necessity of any further enquiry; but as I cannot count on the High Power Committee taking any notice of the request in the New Bengal Association's Memorandum. I find it necessary to proceed with my statement of facts that I have been able to collect and of arguments that may be based on the same.

As stated in the November number, Sri Ranchhor Prasad I.A.S. who had been Census Superintendent for Bihar in 1951, expressed his inability to supply figures of linguistic distribution separately for Jamshedpur City and for the rest of Dhalbhum subdivision and for other regions of Singhbhum district, as "the Census office had been closed, and no staff was available to compile the figures." But a pamphlet, *Singhbhum, Serai kella and Kharsawan through the Ages*, written by the Sarai kella Tikayat Nrupendra Narayan Singh Deo, speaks of such figures having been supplied to the

Government of Orissa, the figures being:

(See Table on the top of next page)

Strangely enough, the aggregate of total population (the last line) figures in columns 4, 5 and 6 only (which are supposed to take no account of population in towns other than Jamshedpur, shown as ? in column 7), 613,504+199,922+667,390 reaches the district total 1,480,816, leaving one wondering about the total population figures of the smaller towns and also doubtful about the accuracy of the other figures. The figures have, however, to be taken as they are; and they show that, in Dhalbhum, Bengali retains its position as "the largest language group", as the States Reorganisation Commission have observed in para 667 of the Report, in spite of the very large increase in the Hindi figure, by 75,484 which can be accounted for by heavy immigration from Hindi-speaking areas numbering 65,392 and of the still larger increase in the Oriya figure, by 83,852 which cannot be explained by the migrations from Orissa, only 31,083.

The surmise in the November number that the recommendation for retention of Saraikela in Bihar was chiefly, if not solely, for the purpose of providing without any justification whatever, a corridor for access of Hindi-speaking Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur to Jamshedpur and Bengali-speaking Dhalbhum, has proved correct. Para 625 of the Commission's Report (not available to the public in Calcutta till the 19th October) contains the observation that

"In view of the recommendation for transfer of part of the Manbhum district to West Bengal, the transfer of the Saraikela subdivision, or of any portion thereof, to the State of Orissa will convert the Dhalbhum subdivision in the east into an enclave which will not be physically contiguous to the rest of Bihar."

The Commission evidently started with the predetermination that Jamshedpur must be kept for Bihar, whether there was justification for this or not, and that everything else must be subordinated to that consideration.

Why, in spite of Bengali being the largest language group in Dhalbhum and, in spite of Dhalbhum having contiguity with West Bengal, but not with Bihar and in spite of the previous history of Dhalbhum's uninterrupted contact with Bengal right up to 1910* (prior to the

*In addition to evidence on this point cited in the November number, the following also may be mentioned: (1) the words "In the district of Midnapore; Dhalbhum, including Ghatsila" occurring in the Regulation that constituted the South-Western Frontier Agency, XIII of 1833, and (2) in the Map of Acquisitions of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces that formed the frontispiece to the first edition (1862) of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, Sunnuds, etc.*, the south-western boundary of the Medinipur district of 1750 extending right up to the side of the old Porahat Raj acquired by the British in 1818 (which later broke up into Porahat, Kharsawan and Saraikela), and covering, therefore, the pargana of Dhalbhum.

Language	Jamshedpur City	Rest of Dhalbhum	Total Dhalbhum	Saraikela Rural	Chaibasa Rural	Towns other than Jamshedpur	Total
Ho	3,964	9,124	12,188	43,691	353,293	4,531	413,703
Oriya	18,710	109,782	128,492	49,309	104,849	15,049	297,699
Bengali	54,762	131,070	185,832	43,857	30,270	8,826	268,785
Hindi	91,782	33,426	125,208	23,633	34,554	29,274	212,669
Santali	2,012	101,774	103,786	30,624	14,300	1,974	150,681
Mundari	2,002	100	2,102	...	60,393	1,749	64,244
Bhumij	...	...	...	...	914	8	922
Oraon	1,624	...	1,624	...	9,048	2,083	12,752
Mahli	...	...	...	5	2,435	72	2,512
TOTAL, including other groups	218,162	395,342	613,504	199,922	667,390	?	1,480,816

creation of a separate Judgeship for Manbhum-Singbhum-Sambalpur), and in spite also of contribution by Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur having been very much more substantial than contribution by Biharees who turned up only from about the year 1920, the recommendation is for Dhalbhum's retention in Bihar and not for its transfer to West Bengal, the States Reorganisation Commission do not care to mention directly. Nor have the Commission clearly stated that they accept Bihar's contention (para 642 of the Report) that

"The transfer of this rich mineral-bearing and industrialised area to West Bengal is bound to dislocate the economy of residuary Bihar, and it will unsettle the balance between agriculture and industry."

One can only draw inference from the observation in para 659 that

"Dhanbad, like Jamshedpur, may soon attract a mixed population from all over India as it is further developed; West Bengal's claim to this area is, therefore, untenable." (*italics mine*).

The only possible inference appears to be that, in the opinion of the Commission, every place in the north-eastern region of India (if not, in the whole of India) which has the potentiality for development to an extent that would attract a mixed population from all over India, must be reserved for Bihar, whether there is contiguity or not, and must not be claimed by Bengal, even if there is contiguity, and even if the development be on the initiative of people of West Bengal. And the Commission, so solicitous about Bihar's economic needs, are presumably of opinion that West Bengal's economic difficulties, consequent on the influx of refugees from East Pakistan, a mere 35 lakhs in number, should solve themselves. The Commission's Report has very little to say about this problem of displaced persons, except that they are not to be sent to the Purnea corridor, where "the density of population is such that there is little scope for any resettlement of displaced persons." Strangely enough, the scheme for rehabilitation outlined by Bihar in the Eastern States Rehabilitation Ministers' Conference on the 21st October, assigned the first places to Shahabad and Champaran districts which have densities 610 and 706 respectively per sq. mile more than 50 to 70 per cent. in excess of that in the Purnea corridor, which is only about 405 per square

mile; and a subsequent report says that "the districts of Purnea and Champaran will be visited by high officials of the Central Rehabilitation Ministry shortly to conduct a preliminary survey." Other points stressed in the same Conference were that Bihar was trying to make some 25 to 30 thousand acres available for refugees, Assam 33 thousand acres, Tripura several thousand acres possibly quite as much as Assam or Bihar, but that Uttar Pradesh has offered to take charge of only 500 families (possible requirement of land, about 2,000 acres). It will be no wonder if several more of the 12 other States contemplated by the Commission follow Uttar Pradesh's lead, and restrict their offers to less than one thousand families each, the aggregate of the 12 reaching not even 10 thousand families consisting of about 60 thousand persons. Even the much more generous offers from Assam, Bihar and Tripura will not suffice for more than 2 lakh persons; and the net effect of all-India's profound sympathy for displaced persons will possibly cover somewhat less than 3 lakh persons or only one-twelfth of the number that has come over to West Bengal. At the most, the relief for West Bengal would not exceed 5 lakh persons, only one-seventh of the 35 lakhs that West Bengal is now faced with. West Bengal would still have on her shoulders the burden of over 30 lakhs of displaced persons. This is a point to which the S. R. Commission, talking big of the "preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India," have chosen to direct only the blind eye. And another point that has been equally ignored is that rehabilitation of displaced persons, which is the responsibility of the entire Indian Union, not of West Bengal alone, is being practically left on West Bengal's shoulders alone.

How can West Bengal, forced by circumstances to shoulder responsibility 10 to 15 times more than its due, carry on, if even areas like Dhalbhum and East Dhanbad, immediately adjoining Bengal, and with Bengali as the biggest language group, are kept back on the ground that they are rich in minerals or that they are industrialised? Has West Bengal (or, for the matter of that, any other State which may be saddled with the problem of at least 25 to 30 lakh refugees, involving increase in density of population by 50 to 80 per square mile) no need for industrialised areas or areas rich in minerals? Is it not fair that the right to include Jamshed-

pur, the City of all-India importance, should carry with it the burden of shouldering the major portion of the all-India responsibility of rehabilitating the 35 lakh refugees now huddled up in West Bengal? If Bihar, getting Jamshedpur, is simultaneously saddled with the responsibility of taking over at least 25 lakhs of the East Pakistan refugees and of declaring Bengali as the regional language for the areas where these 25 lakhs are settled, there may be some excuse for asking West Bengal to stop grumbling, even though Jamshedpur has contiguity with Bengal and not with Bihar. But asking West Bengal to have the headache resulting from the burden of at least 30 lakh refugees, and giving Bihar the monopoly of drinking from the wells of Jamshedpur City would be the grossest injustice.

It has already been pointed out (in the November number) that the contribution of Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur has been far more substantial than the contribution of Biharees; and it is worth mentioning that out of 37,976 men in Tatas' labour force in January 1955, as many as 13,046 were Bengalees forming 34.35 per cent, the largest single group. Of about 30 thousand students in the Jamshedpur and Jugsalai schools run by the Tatas, as many as 12,718 have Bengali as their medium of instruction; the numbers of those with medium Hindi and Urdu are shown as 12,626 and 3,601 respectively, but it is explained in the Tisco Education Officer's report for 1955 that "in the Hindi medium group, are included not only children whose mother-tongue is Hindi, but also children whose mother-tongue is neither Hindi nor any one of the three other languages Bengali, Urdu or Oriya," which means that Telugus, Tamils, Malayalis, Mahrattas, Kanarese, Gujratis, Punjabis and even West Pakistanis go to swell the number for which Bihar alone gets the credit.

The assertion in para. 641 of the Report that "in these bi-lingual areas Hindi is either the predominant language or at least is a very important language" is absolutely without foundation. In respect of Dhalbhum there is the S. R. Commission's own statement, in para. 667, that Bengali is the largest language group; and in respect of the corridor which is in the extreme east of the Purnea district, para. 648 says that Siripuria or Kisanganjia, the language spoken there, has close affinities with Bengali. The admission in para. 667 is no doubt qualified by the clause that Bengali is by no means predominant; but, will any one out of Bedlam seriously contend that, in Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, Hindi, with its percentage of less than 9, is predominant (or is even a very important language), if Bengali, with percentage 33 for mother-tongue and a further 15 to 18 for subsidiary language spoken by tribals, total over 50 per cent, is not predominant? Even for Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, the figure is 31 per cent. for mother-tongue Bengali, substantially in excess of 21 per cent each for Oriya and Hindi, and about 17 per cent Santali; and of the Santals, at least one-half speak Bengali as a subsidiary language.

It is true that Jamshedpur City has a large Hindi-speaking population, close upon 92 thousand out of the total of 218 thousand; but very considerable portions of these are from outside Bihar. The Census Tables show as many as 18 thousand to have been born in Madhya Pradesh, 12½ thousand in Uttar Pradesh, nearly 3 thousand in Rajasthan; and many more born in Jamshedpur must have been in families from these distant regions who had temporarily made their residence in Jamshedpur. Why should Bihar alone get the benefit of nearly 92 thousand Hindi-speaking people, having no better contiguity with Jamshedpur than Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh has? Of Bihar's less than 61 thousand, 32 thousand were born outside Singbhum district (not taking account of close upon 10 thousand from Manbhum district who presumably have Bengali or Santali as their mother-tongue), which means that the local Hindi-speaking population is within 30 thousand in number, which is far behind the number of Bengalees in Jamshedpur. And much larger percentages of immigrant Bengalees settle down permanently in Jamshedpur than immigrants from Hindi-speaking regions.

The S. R. Commission have, no doubt, given reasons why they disapprove the homeland idea and give equal preference to permanent residents and to immigrants who have come only as temporary wage-earners (para. 158 of the Report); but while they take account of aggregate population (floating as well as permanently resident) when arguing against West Bengal's demand (e.g., in reference to 65 per cent Hindi-speakers in Dhanbad in para. 650), they had no scruples whatever about invoking the homeland idea for ignoring the Tamil immigrants to Travancore-Cochin (para. 295). Nor can they plead *status quo* justification for recommending retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar, after having recommended the cutting off of big areas from Madras and from Madhya Pradesh, and the dismemberment of Hyderabad, on grounds no whit stronger than can be urged for Jamshedpur's transfer to West Bengal.

Of immigrants to Singbhum, almost every one destined for Jamshedpur, the largest number for any single district in all India come from Manbhum, the number being 9,771 in 1951. It may safely be assumed that every one of these came from the Purulia subdivision; for Dhanbad gets, instead of sending out, migrants. The 9,771 who had already arrived by 1951, and the few thousand more that may have increased the number during the next four years that have intervened, will presumably be the last batch of people from Purulia who would have the opportunity of earning their livelihood in Jamshedpur; for Bihar, having acquired the reputation of being one of the strongest Congress-minded States, appears to have earned the right to disregard flagrantly the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 17th January, 1939 about non-interference with appointments by private employers—and Bihar draws

distinction not only between Biharees and non-Biharees, but also between men of 'Bihar proper' and Chota Nagpur men for which two groups Tatas have to submit separate figures in their periodical statements to Bihar's Labour Ministry. The transfer, in such circumstances, of Purulia subdivision to West Bengal, while Jamshedpur is retained by Bihar, will be of the nature of a left-handed compliment which may be described as a halting left-handed gift; surrender of the best opportunity of earning livelihood within easy distance from home is being demanded as the price for escape from constant advice gratis (and possibly pressure as well) that the language which they speak at home, although difficult to distinguish from the western form of Rarhi Bengali as spoken in Maubhum (as noted in page 40 of the Census Superintendent's Report) is in reality a dialect of Bihari (without any certificate of similarity with any other Bihari dialects known). This is most inequitable; and justice demands that Jamshedpur should share the same fate as the Purulia subdivision.* Purulia subdivision, shorn of thana Chas, and separated from Jamshedpur, would indeed be, economically, a liability for West Bengal, not an asset.

Yet another, and a very much stronger, ground why Jamshedpur and Purulia should go hand in hand is the fact, evidently not known to the S. R. Commission, that Jamshedpur's main supply of water is from a reservoir at a distance of a few miles, within thana Barabhum of Purulia subdivision. Jamshedpur in Bihar, and its water-supply in West Bengal, would be an anomaly very much worse than two of the D.V.C. dams (Maithon and Panchet Hill) having one end each in Bihar and the other end in West Bengal—an arrangement as defective as that which caused the fall of Singapore in 1942¹ thirteen fateful years ago.

Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur should also, of course, receive the same treatment as Purulia subdivision, and this should be the case also with Kandra thana of Saraikela, specially mentioned in the November number, where also Bengali is the biggest language group, much in excess of Hindi or Oriya or Santali. And West Bengal opposes most strenuously the mischievous move that has been made from a certain quarter that Saraikela would give up this thana to Bihar to serve as a corridor to Jamshedpur, as price for the rest of Saraikela's transfer to Orissa, by amicable arrangement with Bihar.

The rest of Saraikela has, as strong a case of transfer to Orissa as Dhalbhum (with or without Jamshedpur) has for transfer to Bengal. The S. R. Commission

* The transfer of both to West Bengal will not be any obstacle to Biharees with necessary qualifications getting employment in Jamshedpur, for West Bengal, in spite of not being very strongly Congress-minded, never interferes with appointments by private employers of labour, although on two occasions in recent years, it committed the high crimes of issuing about one hundred taxi-driving licences to Bengalees, after the first one thousand had been monopolised by Punjabees, Hindusthanees and Biharees, and of restricting appointments to the newly-established State Transport Service to Bengali-speaking refugees, from East Pakistan.

has, no doubt spoken of some reasons for Saraikela's retention in Bihar other than that of providing a corridor into Dhalbhum, but these will not stand much scrutiny. One of the points is Saraikela's intimate connection with Porahat; but, should Porahat itself remain in Bihar, unless the Census Superintendent can produce reliable figures showing more Hindi-speakers than Oriya-speakers in this area? Till now, the Census Superintendent has chosen to keep the information confidential. And, on the only figures that have seen the light of day which are for the entire Chaibasa subdivision, the Oriya figure, 104,779, is more than 3 times the Hindi number which is only 31,223. It is true that Oriya is far outnumbered by Ho, with 353,293 speakers; but that also is no valid reason why Chaibasa should be kept tagged to Bihar. One has only to look at the insignificant Ho figure for entire Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur, excluding Singbhum; it is only 4,520. Contrast this with the numbers of Hos in Mayurbhanj (117,483), in Keonjhar (38,512), in Sundargarh, chiefly in the Bonai subdivision (13,334), in Dhenkanal (3,406), even in Cuttack (5,873) and in Balasore (2,395); and it will be perfectly clear that the Hos' homeland is certainly not anywhere in the Chota Nagpur plateau 2,000 feet above sea-level—it is in the country sloping down from height less than 1,000 feet to the comparatively elevated portions of Cuttack and Balasore, only a few hundred feet above sea-level. With what justification can any part of this area be kept separated from Orissa?

Another reason mentioned is that the erstwhile States of Saraikela and Kharsawan have been parts of Singbhum district since May, 1948. But a veil is cleverly drawn to shut out the facts that, in accordance with the ex-Rulers' wishes expressed in their Instruments of Accession, Saraikela and Kharsawan had, in the first instance, been merged with Orissa, with effect from 1st January, 1948 and that it was only after several months later, when a serious riot (said to have been engineered by interested parties) brought into prominence the point of Saraikela's want of contiguity with the rest of Orissa (into which Mayurbhanj had not merged till then), that the decision was taken for transfer of Saraikela and Kharsawan from Orissa to Bihar, with effect from 18th May, 1948. The situation has changed completely since then; Mayurbhanj is now an integral portion of Orissa. Saraikela's contiguity with Orissa has been fully established and Chaibasa subdivision touching as it does, Mayurbhanj to the south-east and Keonjhar to the south west, has also contiguity with Orissa. With Ho and Oriya as the principal languages spoken, how can Saraikela (excluding the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana) and Kharsawan and Chaibasa be kept out of Orissa, and with the imposition of Hindi as the only language of the Court, although Hindi is not the mother-tongue of even 6 per cent of the population in Chaibasa, of even 12 per cent in Saraikela-Kharsawan (only about 8 per cent for the whole area)?

THE HINDU COLLEGE

The Second Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In the previous article¹ I have dealt with the first phase of the Hindu College and brought the story down to 1826. Since the commencement of this session the College entered into a new career. The changes and improvements introduced by the Official Visitor Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson had already a perceptible effect on the progress of the students. These well-paved the way for the institution turning it into a full-fledged 'Academy,' or college in its modern connotation. At the public examination and prize-distribution ceremony of early 1826, the Indian and European gentlemen present were much impressed with the progress of the students in different subjects of their studies, especially with their acquirements in English language. Some new lines of approach were indicated on this occasion by the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for the improvement of the College. This ceremony, therefore, deserves a detailed notice:

This year's prize-distribution ceremony of the College was held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 14th January. J. B. Harington, one of the original promoters of the Hindu College and now President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, presided over the meeting. He opened the proceedings by reading extracts from the Visitor's report of the previous annual examination which gave 'a favourable view of the progress of the students during the past year in the course of the English language, Arithmetic, and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and bore testimony to the diligence and attentiveness of the pupils and preceptors.' He then intimated the disposition of the government to give the institution every reasonable encouragement. The munificent donations of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and others, the President declared, 'would be appropriated for the endowment of scholarships to the Institution under the control of the Committee in order to enable such scholars as have not the means of protracting their studies to maturity, to remain for a longer period in the college.'

The prizes were awarded to meritorious students. These included some who became famous in after-life as teacher, administrator, literary man and journalist. The recipients were: Atul Chandra Ganguly, Kashi-prasad Ghose, Harishandra Das, Krishnadhan Mitra, Debnarain Mukherjee, Krishna Hari Nandi, Rasik Lal Sen, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Abinash Chandra Ganguly and Haris Chandra Mitra. As an example of their ability in English composition, the President referred to the essay "On the Advantages of Education" before the meeting. Some students also gave

proofs of their proficiency in English by reciting portions from standard English works. Henceforward we find recitations forming an important feature of the ceremony.

In his concluding address the President expressed his satisfaction and that of the General Committee with the state of the College. He urged upon the Indian gentlemen present as well as the students of the college the importance of the pursuits in which this institution was engaged. He advised particularly the latter 'to persevere in a course they had so well begun, and to qualify themselves by perfecting the elementary knowledge they had acquired to become useful members of the public and respectable members of Society.' The President further observed that the importance of education appeared to be duly appreciated by themselves in the essays they had written on the subject, and it remained for them to exhibit a practical illustration of the justice of the principles they had advocated.²

Another important event was the transfer of the venue of the College to the new buildings, along with the Government Sanskrit College, at Pataldanga, College Square, on 1st May 1826. The rooms were commodious. There was a common room for the boys. On the date of the transfer Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a young man of barely eighteen, was appointed teacher. A brilliant student of Drummond's Dhurrumtolla Academy, Derozio had already made his mark as a poet and literateur of considerable merit. Previous to his appointment in the Hindu College, he served as an assistant editor of the famous *India Gazette*. At this time there were eight teachers on the College staff. The system of instructing boys by those of the upper classes, called 'monitors', was abolished. The staff must have been augmented during the latter half of the year, because we find as many as fourteen teachers on the establishment by January following.

Something should be said of the finances of the Hindu College. The Managing Committee had invested *Sa. Rs.* 61,030 with Messrs. Joseph Barretto & Sons on an interest of 8 per cent for five years, the date of expiring being 13th April, 1825. But the House fell early this year, and the whole amount remained blocked for about two years. The Committee entered into correspondence with the surviving partners of the House, but to no effect. The College had a regular income from the fees, *Rs.* 5 each, from the pay scholars, which covered only a portion of the expenditure. The Committee had no other alternative but to depend more and more on the Government

1. *The Modern Review* for September, 1955.

2. Summarised from a detailed account which appeared in *The Government Gazette* (Supplement), 19th January, 1826.

Education Fund. The Government control and supervision also increased consequently.

II

With the augmented staff and the increased number of students the College had launched an unenviable career. In 1826, boys progressed in their studies so much so that the Visitor, always very critical, was constrained to report favourably of their acquirements. He now suggested the compilation of a compendium of the best English authors, suitable for the senior students of the College. Appointment of efficient teachers was mainly responsible for effecting such progress in their studies in so short a time. Here I give from the *Proceedings* the Establishment for the month of January 1827. It should be noted that of the fourteen teachers, two were for Sanskrit and Bengali and two for Persian. Ten European and Anglo-Indian teachers began to inculcate ideas and thoughts of the West through their English teaching, which were hitherto quite foreign to the soil. The Establishment was as follows:

J. J. D'Anselme	Head Teacher	350	Sa. Rs.
Geo. Mollis	2nd	200	"
R. Halifux	3rd	150	"
H. L. V. Derozio	4th	100	"
F. Johnson	5th	150	"
P. D'Rozario	6th	70	"
J. Ferme	7th	50	"
F. D'Rozario	8th	32	"
M. Lawrence	9th	24	"
F. Decasta	10th	24	"
Jogomuhun Pundit	....	24	"
Parbutty Nayalonkar	....	20	"
Mowlovy Roohelmy	....	40	"
Rayazuddin Moonshy	....	20	"
Secretary	....	50	"
Sitaram Sircar	....	10	"
Total		1310	"

From the Establishment we find the Secretary drawing Sa. Rs. 50 a month. Lakshminarayan Mukherjee, Secretary to the College, was drawing this amount as a monthly allowance since his appointment in 1823 after the death of his father Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee. The amount invested with the Barretts could not be realised in full; only Rs. 21,000 was recovered after a great deal of trouble. The Managing Committee approached Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. in April 1827 to act as Agents and Treasurers of the Hindu College. One addition was made to the instructing staff in the person of W. Woolstan. On a demand from the students to learn drawing, Woolstan was appointed drawing teacher on 7th March 1827 on a monthly salary of Rs. 100.

We have already referred to the rapid progress made by the students under new arrangements. The College was divided into senior and junior depart-

ments, consisting of thirteen classes. The prize-distribution ceremony was held in the new College buildings at Pataldanga, this time also presided over by the Hon'ble Harington. In a letter to Sir Edward Hyde East dated 9th February 1827, Raja Radhakant Deb, an enthusiastic and active member of the H. C. Managing Committee, gave a detailed account of the prize-distribution ceremony of this year. The prizes consisted of books, and cases of mathematical instruments and were distributed to the meritorious students by J. H. Harington, President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Radhakant continued:

"On the presentation of the prizes to the four senior classes, the scholars afforded specimens of their proficiency in the English language, and their knowledge of Grammar and Geography. The two first classes also were examined, as to their proficiency in different branches of natural and experimental philosophy and the elements of Chemistry. The first class likewise gave proofs of their familiarity with the use of the terrestrial and celestial Globes, and such of them as had engaged in the study of Persian, during the last years, exhibited their progress in that language. The distribution closed with English recitations chiefly from Julius Caesar, and a whole scene from this play, the first of the fifth Act, was represented by five of the scholars, three from the first and two from the second class."

The President then addressed the elders of the pupils, as he did on the previous occasion, expressing the satisfaction of himself and the Committee with the results of the examination. From the endowment created by the donation of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and other benevolent Indians, scholarships were awarded for the first time this year 'to those boys of the first class, whose circumstances would not admit of their prosecuting their studies, to that degree of perfection, which perseverance alone was necessary to ensure.' These scholarships were usually ten in number, and to the amount of Sa. Rs. 16 each.

There are few records, henceforth, of the meetings of the H. C. Managing Committee. Members were not elected. We find a few new names now and then on the Committee, as signatories to the certificates given to students on the completion of their studies. In late 1827, there were the following members signing the certificate of Radhika Mohan Set: W. W. Wilson, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhakant Deb, Russomoy Dutt, David Hare and Shibchandra Das.

III

Just a decade had passed since the establishment of the Hindu College, Dr. Wilson, the Official Visitor and Vice-President of the H. C. Managing Committee, made a critical estimate of the acquirements of the students of the college, especially of those of the upper classes in different subjects in his report dated January 1828. He, however, with just pride,

"contrasts the state of the College in 1828, with what it was in 1824 when he first became officially connected with it. In 1824, the College contained 107 pupils, of whom only 25 were pay scholars. The pupils on the foundation were now the same as then, but the pay scholars were twelve times as numerous.' He added that the difference in point of acquirements was still more remarkable. The first class was then reading *Tegg's Book of Knowledge* and *Enfield's Speaker*; Arithmetic was scarcely taught at all, and the Rule of Three was the utmost limit of proficiency. He considered the fifth class now, to be fully equal to the first of that time. The acquirements of the classes above the fifth, were in general much superior to those of the first class of the earlier period, 'whilst' he added, 'those of the present first class, admit of no comparison with anything yet effected by the College, and far exceed the expectations which I then expressed or entertained'."

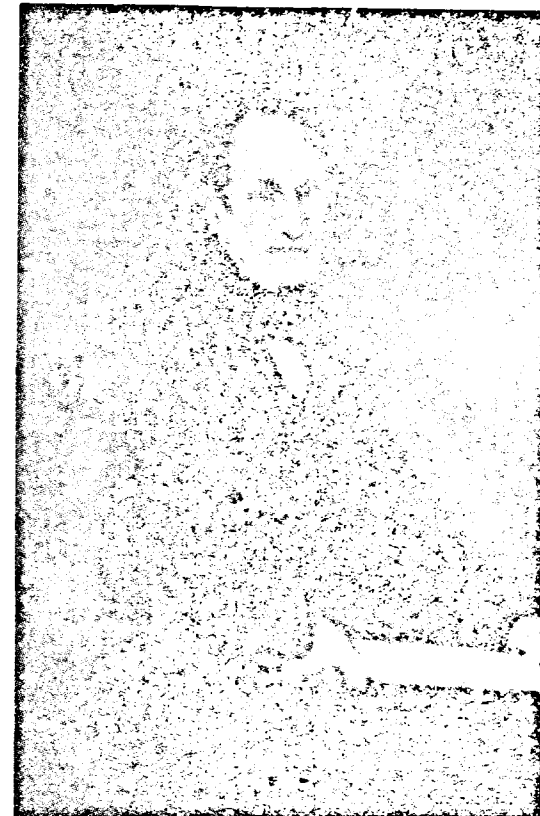
The General Committee of Public Instruction also expressed satisfaction at the progress of the students and observed that much of the progress which had been attained was due to the 'enlightened superintendence' of Dr. Wilson.

In the building up of the college to this stature, Dr. Wilson had a large share. Besides general supervision he personally guided the students in the matter of their English composition in prose and verse and lessons in English literature. The famous literary figure and journalist Kasiprasad Ghose has left an account of Wilson's services in this regard as follows:

"At the latter end of 1827, Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Visitor of that institution, desired the students of the first class to try their hands at poetry, and I was the only boy who produced any verse . . . About this time also, on the approach of the examination, Dr. Wilson desired me to write a review of some books, and accordingly, in December following, I submitted to him my '*Critical Remarks on the first four chapters of Mr. Mill's History of India*', portions of which were published in the *Government Gazette* of the 14th February, 1829, and afterwards reproduced in the *Asiatic Journal*."

By the end of 1827 some changes were effected in the General Committee of Public Instruction. John Herbert Harington, President of the Committee, retired and left the country for good. Harington had been an ardent supporter of the Hindu College since its foundation, and it was through his instrumentality that the institution received considerable monetary aid from the Government Education Fund. A true friend of Indian education, he carried his Committee with him, who in a body began to take unusual interest in the welfare of the College. William Butterworth

Bayley, seniormost member of the Government, succeeded Harington to the presidency of the General Committee. He remained in the post only for two years, but kept aloft the tradition so painstakingly fostered by his predecessor.



Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson

The annual prize-distribution ceremony of the College came off as before, this time at the Government House, on 12th January 1828, W. B. Bayley presiding. We have already been able to form an idea of the rapid and unexpected progress the boys of the College had made during the session 1827. Specimens of the best compositions of the upper five classes were arranged serially for public exhibition. Prizes were distributed by the President himself to the deserving students. Some of the students recited selected poems and pieces from the English classics to the satisfaction of the audience. This at once showed their proficiency in the English language.

The prize-distribution ceremonies of the College were duly noticed in the newspapers of the Metropolis and the neighbouring places. They took particular note of the boys' progress in English language and literature. Besides the Hindu College, there was the Anglo-Hindu school of Raja Rammohun Ray

3. *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, from 1835 to 1851. Part II.* By J. Kerr, M.A., p. 27, 1853.

4. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions*, p. 508, 1848.

where also English was assiduously taught. Four hundred boys were studying English in the Hindu College alone. Counted together with the boys of other institutions, this number would be no less than a thousand in Calcutta. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore (26th January 1828) went so far as to say that the Government should now abjure Persian in favour of English in the law-courts. The paper also suggested that the Indian inhabitants of Calcutta should apply to the Government for this salutary change, because Persian was neither understood by the people, nor its study was favoured by them any longer.

Senior students of the College began to interest themselves in extra-academic affairs. Some were engaged in translating standard English works in Bengali, while others like Kashiprasad Ghose started writing for papers. Clubs and associations were also formed by 1828.

The Calcutta School Society's scholars in the College, who proved most meritorious and progressive, took prominent part in these activities. The Society naturally took pride in referring to these activities of theirs in the *Fifth Report* (1828) as we find in the following:

"Many of the young gentlemen appear very properly to appreciate the value of knowledge, and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible; they have formed societies amongst their friends at some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition on literary subjects, and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengalee. They are at present employed in translating the *Elements of General History*, the *Wonders of the World* and the *Grammar of History*."

The famous Academic Association, of which I shall have to say later on, was instituted perhaps in early 1828 by the senior students of the College with their fourth teacher H. L. V. Derozio as president. Derozio had already endeared himself to the boys of the College by his amiable nature and excellent mode of teaching. To this Association the *India Gazette* referred in December 1830. The *John Bull* of 11th December 1830 quoted the *Gazette in extenso*. I make the following relevant extracts from it here:

"Not quite three years have past since an association was formed of the principal students of the Hindoo College, which met there once a fortnight for literary discussions. Notwithstanding the ability displayed by some members, and the propriety with which the proceedings were conducted, the institution was nipped in the bud, chiefly by the interference of the managers of the seminary, . . ."

IV

We have now reached the thirteenth year of the College. In early 1829, Dr. Wilson reported as usual

to the General Committee about the College. Therein he noted the continued improvement of the upper classes. 'During the previous year Russel's *Modern Europe* had been introduced as a class-book; the study of Geometry had been commenced, and the senior pupils had gone as far as the third Book of Euclid; and in Algebra, they had advanced to Quadratic Equations.'

But these remarks refer to the English department only. With regard to the vernacular—Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian—department, progress was not at all satisfactory. The cause of this was partly due to the unusual emphasis on the study of English; but, according to Dr. Wilson, the defective mode pursued in teaching these subjects was mainly responsible for this state of things. He observed with reference to the Bengali and Persian classes thus:

"It cannot be otherwise, so long as we have no other instructors than Moulvies and Pundits. The process of tuition is so tedious, that it demands the whole of the student's time, and the pupils of the Anglo-Indian College have little or no time to spare. Until, therefore, we can teach these languages through the medium of English, little good can be expected from their forming a part of the college course."

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee, later, referred to this difficulty he had had to face in studying Sanskrit while a student of the College; Dr. Wilson was inclined to the view that 'the study of Bengali is only to be profitably prosecuted through study of Sanskrit.'

The annual prize-distribution ceremony came off on 18th February 1829 at the Government House, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, presiding. Lord Bentinck himself distributed the prizes to the students of the first class. Everybody was satisfied with the progress of the students in the English language and literature. Recitations from Shakespeare's dramas and other standard books of verse by the students elicited praise from the Europeans and Indians alike. Among those who took part in the recitations we find the following: Ramtanu Lahiri, Digambar Mitra, Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Sibchandra Deb, Radhanath Sikdar, Harchandra Ghose and Rasikkrishna Mallik."

In a letter to the Government dated 18th May 1829, the General Committee of Public Instruction gave a detailed account of the state of the Hindu College in its various aspects (paragraphs 18-24). In the opening paragraph (18) the Committee wrote:

"The general character and condition of this Institution have been submitted to the notice of the members of Government in public distribution

5. *Review of Public Instruction*, etc., Part II, p. 28.

6. *Samachar Darpan*, 21 February, 1829. Cf. *Sombadpatre Sakaler Katha*, Part I, 3rd Ed., p. 34.

7. Quoted in the *MSS. Proceedings of the H. C. Managing Committee*.

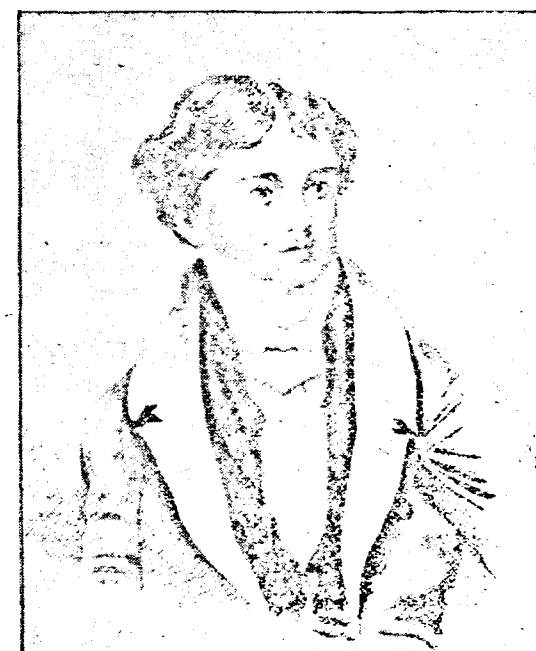
of prizes held at the Government House on the 18th February last when questions in History and Science were promptly answered by the students of the first class, the production of the composition of the first five classes and the recitations from English authors by pupils of various classes from the first to tenth class evinced the great proficiency made by the pupils in the language and literature of Great Britain. Further testimony is furnished by the Report of the Visitor and other documents herewith submitted."

The number of scholars as stated in the above letter stood at 436 of whom 100 were taught gratuitously, the rest 336 paid for their tuition. These were distributed among 17 classes beginning with the letters of the alphabet and gradually and systematically advancing to the best authors in the English language in Prose and Verse, the first class being engaged in the perusal of Tytler's *Elements of General History*, Russel's *Modern Europe*, Milton and Shakespeare, being exercised in English composition both in Prose and Verse and being concurrently instructed in Algebra and Mathematics, Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry. In all of which they have made very respectable progress. Students' progress in the study of Mathematical science was also marked. It had practically commenced, the letter says, 'with the past year and it is satisfactory therefore to find that so much progress has been made under Tytler's tuition.' We have already had an idea of the views and suggestions of Dr. Wilson regarding the study of oriental languages in the Hindu College. Let us now hear the observations of the General Committee on the subject:

"The study of Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit in the Anglo-Indian College is obstructed by the almost exclusive demand upon the time of the students made by the English language and literature and by the very tedious and imperfect method of teaching according to the native system. The study of Bengalee never popular with those who speak it is now in the estimation of the Visitor to be beneficially prosecuted only upon a basis of Sanskrit, the acquisition of which in the Anglo-Indian College he considers hopeless unless it could be taught through the medium of the English language and in elementary works compiled for the purpose. For this object he proposes to endeavour to superintend the compilation of a short Grammar and Vocabulary in Sanskrit and English, and agreeably to European forms by which the acquirement of an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit may be much facilitated. These works will no doubt be of great utility, and looking to the poverty of the dialect of Bengal and its utter dependence for terms of Science and Philosophy upon the Sanskrit language we conceive them indispensable to the adaptation of Bengali to purposes of translation from English writings of an abstruse and speculative character."

The General Committee suggested that every

facility should be given to Dr. Wilson to prepare the proposed compilation. The committee had written to the Government, recommending the preparation of a systematic series of English Books, proposed by Dr. Wilson, 'to be printed for the purposes of education in the country.' The plan was generally sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council in the letter dated 2nd February 1828. The Committee had since adopted measures in concert with the School-Book Society for carrying out the plan. They now submitted an estimate of the cost amounting to Rs. 49,378 12as., half of which would be borne by



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

the School-Book Society in exchange for half the number of books. The Committee also asked for the sanction of two small amounts for the purchase of class and scientific books for the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges. The outlay incurred on account of prizes to the boys of the Hindu College amounted to Sa. Rs. 1500, in 1829 and the Committee requested the sanction of the Government to this amount. In reply to this letter (26th June 1829) the Government agreed to afford every facility for the compilations proposed by Dr. Wilson and referred to in the letter of the Committee, and sanctioned the amounts ungrudgingly.

V

The year 1830 was both glorious and troublesome for the Hindu College. Progress of the students in English language and literature was remarkable, and the *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore wrote to the effect that within ten years hundreds of young men

had acquired sufficient knowledge in English lore and some of them had gone so far as to practise their hands in English verse. Along with English language and literature the students also became acquainted with the Western ideas of progress. These had an immense influence on their minds. Their habit and mode of life were regulated by them unawares as it were. But the leaders of the Hindu Society, who were also the controlling authority of the College, could not foresee these possibilities, and they were taken aback at the conduct of the students receiving new education at the College. Hence serious troubles soon arose.

But before dwelling on these points let us turn towards the internal affairs of the Hindu College. As regards finance the College was now in a better position. The fee-income from the students was largely increased. The Government also made contributory grants every year, and non-recurring grants at times, as we have seen already. In 1827, the Government aid was afforded to the extent of Rs. 900 per month. The amount rose to Rs. 1250 per month in 1830.

The annual prize-distribution ceremony took place on 17th February 1830 at the Government House. This year's ceremony had some specialities. Many women headed by Lady William Bentinck graced the occasion. Amongst others present was Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta (later High Court). Choice specimens of drawing by students were exhibited in the meeting for the first time along with the best compositions of the boys of the upper classes. W. B. Bayley, President of the General Committee, distributed the prizes to the most meritorious students. Recitations from Shakespeare gave utmost satisfaction to those present.

Between March and May several students left the College with certificates of proficiency in their studies. Amongst them, we find in the *Proceedings* mention of the following. Certificates were signed on the 13th March 1830 :

1st Class—Krishnamohun Banerjya, studied 5 years and a half.

do —Nubocoomar Chakrobarty, studied 3 years.

do —Rasikkrishna Mallik, studied 9 years.

2nd Class—Hurimohun Sen, studied 4 years.

In this connection one may be naturally curious to know something about the fate of the scholarships. We have found that these were awarded to the meritorious and deserving students in 1827. No mention is found to be made in subsequent occasions. But we can very well surmise that these were awarded annually from personal references by some of the students later, such as Radhanath Sikdar. It should be said, in passing that these scholarships were continued till 1841-42, when new arrangements were made by the Government.

Students of the Hindu College gave proofs of unexpected proficiency in English language and

literature. Newspapers of the time did not fail to notice this event in their columns. The *Parthenon*, of which I will speak presently and the correspondence, which occasionally appeared in the *India Gazette*, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and the *Literary Gazette*, showed the capacity of these youths to write idiomatic and elegant English prose. One of them, Kasiprasad Ghose, published his book, *Shair and Other Poems*, which was favourably noticed in the papers, and welcome as the first attempt of an Indian in English metrical composition. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore, in its issue of 27th February 1830 felicitated the Bengali youths on their acquirements, which the previous generation could not attain for a long time :

"But within the last ten years, the language has been cultivated with such wonderful success that it could be easy at the present moment to point out between one and two hundred young native gentlemen in Calcutta to whom English is as familiar as their mother tongue. Some among them have given so intense an application to their English studies, as to produce works, which the great body of our countrymen would scarcely venture to attempt."

VI

The Hindu College students started some extra-academic activities by 1830. I have already referred to the Academic Association. Though this Association was 'nipped in the bud', according to the *India Gazette*, we may safely say on the authority of Pearychand Mitra, himself a prominent collegian and an active member of the Association, that it continued in some form or other, and never died out. But since early 1830, the Association's activities became more pronounced. Derozio was its President all along and Uma Charan Bose its Secretary. The erudite poet-teacher, Derozio attracted the students of the upper classes by his lovable nature and sympathetic and friendly treatment. They were no less enamoured with his highly efficient mode of teaching. Derozio's teaching roused in their minds a unique yearning for knowledge. According to the *India Gazette* :

"... not content with a conscientious discharge of his duties as a teacher of the College, he devotes his care and talents during a considerable part of his time out of school, to the improvement not only of those immediately placed under his tuition, but of all such native young men as come within his reach. He is connected with one society as president (i.e., the Academic Association), but with most of the others as members. In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."

8. Quoted by John Bull, December 11, 1830.

Under the guidance of such a devoted teacher and friend of the students, the Academic Association soon made its influence felt. Subjects discussed in its meetings were many and varied. They were broached and discussed with freedom which could not have been approached in the class-room. Free-will, foreordination, faith, the soundness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of the deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugall Stewart and Brown on the other; the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of the priesthood were the subjects, which stirred to their very depths the young, fearless, hopeful hearts of the leading Hindu youths of Calcutta, . . ."

The venue of the Academic Association was first President Derozio's house on the Old Lower Circular Road, and later the Manicktala garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh, a Manager of the Hindu College. David Hare was a regular visitor. Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, Col. Beatson, and Dr. Mill of the Bishop's College attained the meetings occasionally. In the debates of the Association, such prominent students of the Hindu College, as Krishnamohun Banerjea, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtana Lahiri, Radhanath Sikdar, Madhab Chandra Mallik and Gobinda Chandra Bysak, took an active part. Inculcation of progressive Western ideas through Derozio's instruction in and outside the College-rooms, and particularly the institution of the Academic Association were responsible for a movement in the direction of starting unions and clubs for exchange of new thoughts and ideas, and for launching activities for the improvement of our countrymen. The *India Gazette* noticed this fact too:

"The spirit of union has spread itself, and in the course of a short time a great number of literary societies have been formed in Calcutta, consisting principally of the former and present leading students of the Hindu College, the School Society's English schools, and the seminary generally known by the name of Ram Mohun Roy's school. It has been ascertained upon enquiry that seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by the members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great

talents, whose name has been for some time familiar to the public ear as the author of some interesting poems."

This East Indian gentleman was no other than Henry Derozio. At this time he wrote an excellent sonnet on his students, the concluding lines of which are as follows:

O, how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence!
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame the minor of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain."

Derozio's prophecy was more than fulfilled when we take into account the careers of his students both individually and collectively. Inspired by the ideal of service placed before them by Derozio, the students of the College brought out a paper called *Parthenon* in early 1830. Only its first issue was published. The paper contained an article on women's education, another on the necessity of colonisation of India by the British, and some adverse comments on the prevalent Hinduism as well as the unusual expenses at the law-courts. On the publication of the *Parthenon*, the Hindu Managers of the College took alarm, and Dr. Wilson forced the students to stop it. The second issue was in print, but could not be issued to the public. This was the first of a series of actions to counter-act the 'progressivism' of the Hindu College boys.

The Managers of the College issued two circulars in early 1830, one for the teachers and the other for the students. The latter, under the signatures of Chandra Kumar Tagore, H. H. Wilson, David Hare, Rasamoy Dutt, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Ramcomul Sen and Radhakant Deb, runs as follows:

"The Management of the Anglo-Indian College, having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending Societies at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."

In the other circular the teachers were particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notions of propriety such as eating or drinking in the school or class-rooms. If any deviation was found on the part of a teacher from this injunction, he was threatened with dismissal. The tension ended into a grim conflict.

10. MSS. *Proceedings of the H. C. Managing Committee for 1816-1832*.

9. Henry Derozio, by Thomas Edwards, p. 32. 1884.

METROPOLITAN PEOPLE AND PICTURES

By ALBERT TENEYCK GARDNER

THE Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City has a collection of paintings, which has been growing for over 80 years and which has in that time developed a distinctive character and style. The story of that development is a fascinating part of the unwritten history of American cultural life, of the history of American taste and their relations to American philanthropy.

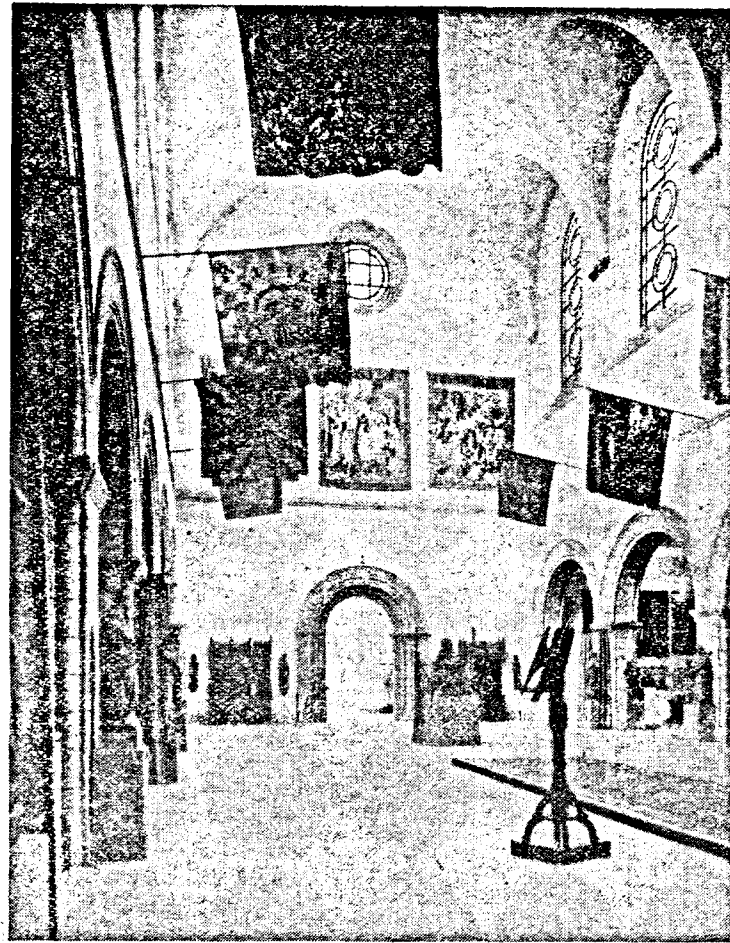
Economic historians tell us that in the half-century between 1880 and 1930, Americans spent more money spent by any comparable group in on art than had ever before been history. The social historians pursuing this thought, further conclude that in this same period, by gift to museums, the private art collections of the United States have been transformed into a vast national treasure.

Few American collections have held pictures in close seclusion and they are far outweighed by those who have generously given their pictures to the public. It is perhaps safe to venture that a constant record of public gifts, such a flow of art treasure from private to public hands, over such a long period, never before has taken place in any country. The gracious gesture of giving has long since become an American tradition rather than an occasional illustration of the old cliché, "princely gesture."

When the movement for the foundation of museums got fully under way in the United States in the 1870's and 1880's, the Metropolitan was one of the first institutions to be the beneficiary of the tradition. In the late 1880's, through the gift of the Catherine Lorillard Wolfe collection of modern pictures, and Marquand collection of paintings by the old masters, the development of its galleries really began to take definite form and direction. Marquand, by his gift of 50 old masters, set not only a standard of taste by the high quality of his acquisitions, but he also initiated the manner of giving with thoughtful and open-handed generosity. Because of the great interest aroused by his gift (the news widely publicized), both the quality and manner of his action made an impression that has never been forgotten.

Everyone with an interest in art knew the name of Henry C. Marquand, for he was one of the greatest

American patrons of art in his time. Throughout his life he was the friend of many American painters, designers and architects. His natural taste for the arts undoubtedly was stimulated by the interests and enthusiasms of such men who were the leading spirits of the conservative inner circle of the New York art world of 1850-1880.



The Medieval Sculpture Hall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City
Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marquand was a New Yorker by birth. Two phases of his early business career had important and interesting influences on the development of his later activities in the art world. As a young man he managed the large real estate holdings of his brother and through this work he became aware of the ugliness and bad planning of American architecture, particularly the business buildings then being erected in New York City. His efforts to improve the appearance and utility of

METROPOLITAN PEOPLE AND PICTURES

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those buildings brought him into contact with Richard Morris Hunt, then one of the most promising and best-trained young architects in the United States. The other phase of his business career which affected his activities as a collector was his experience as a partner in a jewelry firm where an eye for quality is a part of the essential equipment. From these pursuits he progressed into banking and railroads where he was eminently successful. In the 1880's he more or less retired from business to devote his time to building his Madison

enjoyed in privacy, but were given to the people of New York City and were on display as a loan at the Museum as soon as they arrived from London.

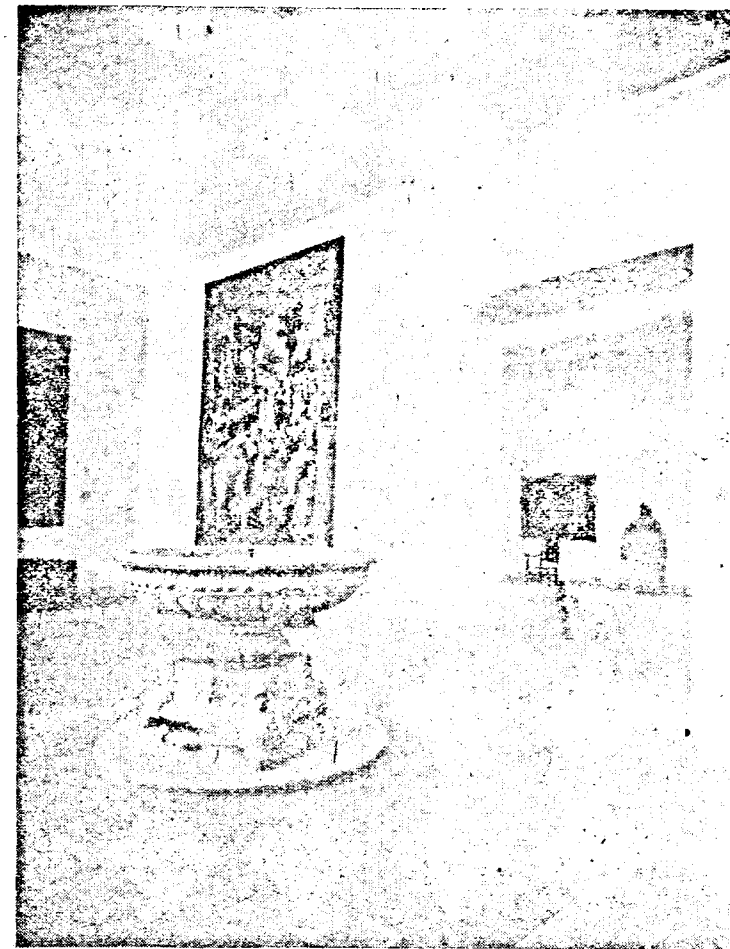
Marquand formed, during his later years, two important collections. These were brought together with two quite separate purposes in mind. One was made for the adornment of his home, the other for the specific purposes of the Metropolitan Museum. His house was in itself a work of art; in building and designing it Marquand employed the best modern artists and decorators to ornament the interior which he then filled with works of art of every description.

The collection of paintings in the Marquand house was for the most part the work of contemporary British and American artists, but there were a few eighteenth-century British portraits and one or two old masters. Among the modern paintings was Alma-Tadema's famous "The Reading from Homer" (now in the Philadelphia Museum) and a handsome view of Windsor Castle by John F. Kensett.

An idea of the extent and value of his collection is revealed by the fact that when it was sold in 1903 the auction lasted through nine days and the cash receipts amounted to over \$700,000. Marquand intended that these treasures ultimately should be given to the Museum but severe financial reverses in the last years of his life made that impossible.

The other collection made by Marquand expressly for the Museum was quite different, though in its own way it too reflected his refined and conservative taste. This group of works was based on the serious study of a very conscientious and enthusiastic Museum President. The guiding principles in Marquand's mind were also based on British precedent: the ideal art museum of the time was the South Kensington Museum (now the

Victoria and Albert) in London. This concept was one of a museum of art history brought together purposely for its practical educational value. This second Marquand collection of old masters, metalwork, glass, ceramics, was built up over a period of twenty years (1881-1902) especially to enrich the Metropolitan not only as a picture gallery, but also as an educational institution with the belief that American industry would profit by finding in American museums materials for the inspira-



The Pazzi Fountain by Donatello and a sixteenth-century French tapestry, "The Blasphemy of Niobe"
Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Avenue mansion, buying works of art and giving serious thought to the development of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Marquand's first donation, quite aside from the beauty and historic value of the pictures in it, had one characteristic that makes it unique in the history of American collecting of that time. This is the fact that as soon as the pictures were brought together they were given to the museum. They were never

tion of her designers and craftsmen and manufacturers. Marquand selected the old masters to augment and complement the Museum's first group of old masters purchased in 1871 by William T. Blodgett, which were of the Dutch and Flemish schools.

The Marquand "Portrait of the Duke of Lennox" by Van Dyck is the very epitome of ducal elegance, a most impressive picture, and one that from 1889 to the present day has been one of the most popular pictures in the Museum's collection. The Hals portraits, of which there are three, show him in his most vivid and dashing style, while the Vermeer represents this rare master at his best. The Metsu, the two works by Peter Christus, the Rembrandts, the Cuyp the Ruysdael and other works of the Dutch and Flemish schools gave a new tone and strength to the Museum's paintings.

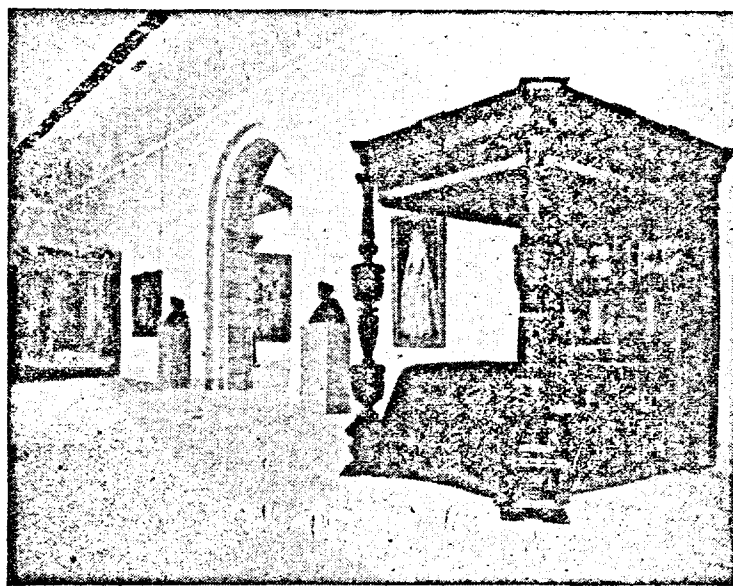
Added to these there were no less than four interesting portraits of the School of Velasquez perhaps among the first works from the studio of this grand Spanish master to come to anyone in the United States. With these was a group of British eighteenth-century portraits and landscapes, a Turner, a Crome and a Gainsborough, and three Italian works.

For 30 years, 1871 to 1902, the problems of the Metropolitan occupied increasingly more and more of Marquand's time and energy and thought. It was not unusual for him to advance substantial sums for various prosaic museum expenses, such as the payment of its coal bill, as well as to provide educational exhibits of the library and the general endowment fund. As President, he secured in 1896 an appropriation from the City for the building of the first section of the now well-known Fifth Avenue facade. It might be said that he found the Museum an odd rustic park structure with rather barren halls and walls, and left it in the hands of his successors a monumental structure filled with works of art that gave it a more than national importance. His intense interest in the general welfare of the Museum as an institution for the benefit of the public set a standard of service to the community.

In contrast to the Marquand Collection, perhaps that of Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, received by the Museum in 1887, may stand as a characteristic group representing a sort of then general "standard" of taste for the private art gallery of the 1870's and 1880's. Miss Wolfe was the heiress to a hardware fortune, who had invested much of her inheritance in paintings which today have the appearance of bonbons. However, daringly

mingled with these were a few "advanced" Barbizon pictures, a very fine Corot landscape, two Daubignys, several by Diaz and a landscape by Theodore Rousseau. Her gift to the Museum was notably sweetened by being accompanied with a sizable fund for the upkeep and increase of her pictures. Through this thoughtful addition to her gift, the Museum has been able to purchase a number of French canvases by Ingres, Delacroix, David, Cezanne, Renoir, Vuillard and others.

At this time a number of Americans, following Marquand's lead or inspired by the same tendencies which seemed to be in the air, were beginning to purchase paintings by the old masters, but none of them followed Henry Marquand to the extent of collecting expressly for a Museum's immediate benefit. However the thought had been well established by his example



Paintings, sculptures and carvings of the Renaissance, and other periods enrich the Renaissance Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

to flower in later years in the giving of collections of works of art to public institutions throughout the United States.

Marquand's gift of old masters probably accelerated a new trend, for in the decade 1880-1890 the Havemeyers bought their first Rembrandts and J. P. Morgan started to buy works of a more memorable sort.

A few months after Marquand's great gift to the Museum in 1889, another New Yorker—Ewin Davis—presented three pictures that struck a new prophetic note. These were the famous Manet, "Boy with the Sword," his "Woman Feeding a Parrot" and the "Joan of Arc" by Bastien Lepage. The Manets were accepted

calmly as the fine modern pictures which they are by the newspaper critics and everyone else.

The interests of the Havemeyer family in the Metropolitan began in 1883 when H.O. Havemeyer purchased and presented a Gilbert Stuart "Portrait of Washington" when he found that the Museum wanted it but had no funds. In 1891 the Museum received as a loan from them a notable group of 14 modern paintings and old masters. These were apparently lent while the Havemeyer house was being built, a house that was in time to become one of the most incredible private art museums ever brought together—the greater part of which was given to the Metropolitan in 1922.

The Havemeyer Collection, so rich in its Impressionist paintings, placed the Museum immediately in the front rank making it unrivalled even by the museums of France. Its two superb El Grecos, its Rembrandts,

the elegant Bronzino, the many Coyas and two Veroneses gave accents of the greatest distinction to the galleries of old masters. It contained, in addition to more than two hundred paintings, whole galleries full of Oriental art, paintings, screens, lacquer pottery, metalwork, as well as sculpture, prints and drawings.

During the long period, now happily at an end while the Museum's galleries were closed for rebuilding, the steady requests for paintings from the museum-going public have been a constant reminder of the great popular interest in paintings as well as the popularity of the Metropolitan's collection. These days the public asks for a quite different sort of pictures, not at all the thing that was in popular demand even a few years ago. Now they want to see the Impressionists, the moderns or the time-tested old masters. They like Goya, El Greco and Picasso.—From *Art News*.

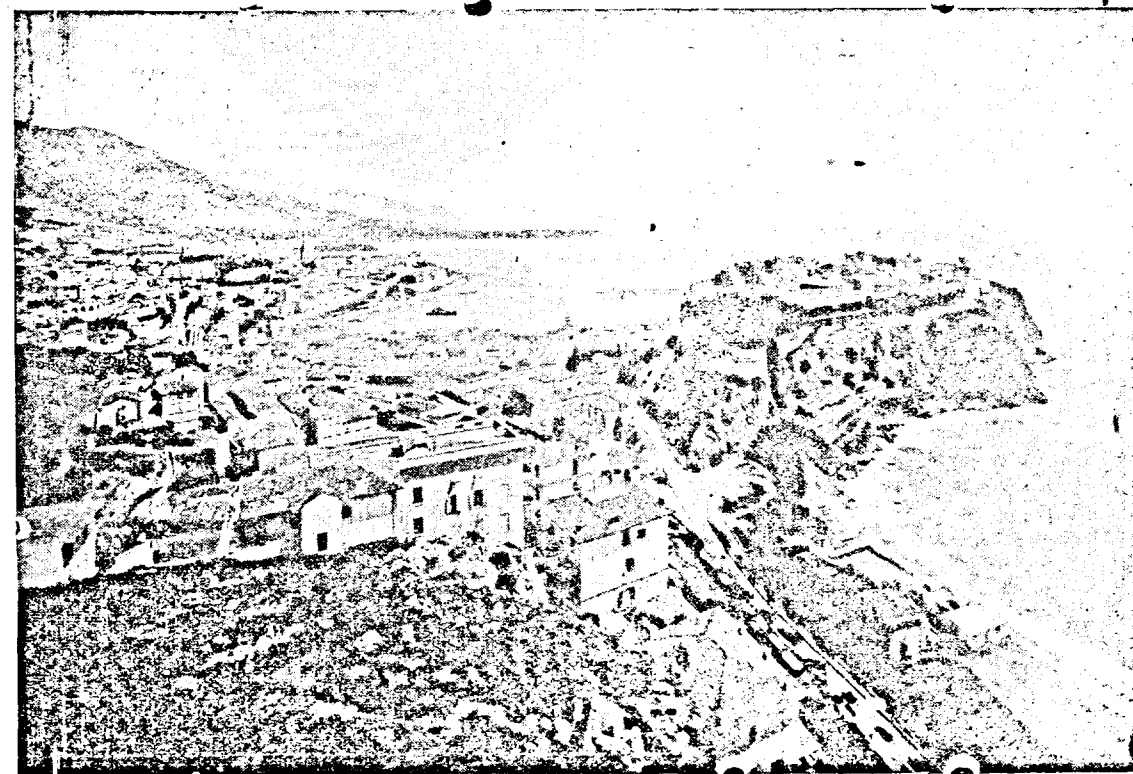
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THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

Monte Carlo to Geneva

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

MONTÉ CARLO, a little city of about 10,000 souls with two other cities totalling 8 square miles, forms the independent principality of Monaco, ruled by the Prince of Monaco. But there are no custom-barriers between France and Monaco. Lovely gardens, magnificent villas, Parisian shops, gay little tea-houses are



A general view of Monaco

located within a small compass on the very fringe of the promontory at the foot of the Alps. Gambling privileges yield so large a revenue that the people



Monte Carlo, Casino

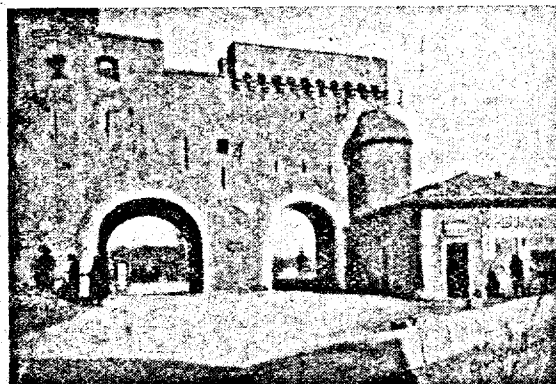
of Monaco pay no taxes but they are not allowed to take part at the gaming tables.

The town of Monaco at the bulge, on a higher level, has the Prince's Palace at the centre and a remarkable museum of Ocean Wonders. It offers a charming view up to Nice on the West and to Menton on the East at the Italian frontier.

Monte Carlo is disproportionately small and yet famous throughout the world as the most attractive gambling centre. Gleaming white walls and tiled roof of the world-famous Casino or gambling hall, a wide terrace and a



Monte Carlo. The garden of Casino



Sisteron



Digne

splendid garden are worthy of admiration. Formerly it used to be the Grand Dukes and Princelings of Europe but now, more of the show business of Hollywood pattern invade and crowd Monte Carlo in summer. It has been called a city of staircases; the Mont Angel Golf Course, the most expensive in the world, built at a fabulous cost from out of the rocks, has to be reached by an endless spiral flight of stairs. The turf, secured from distant centres, was brought to such an excellent condition that a golfing expert, when asked about his opinion, said, "I am no-goat." There is, however, no chance in any of the holes for the ball to bounce about to eternity.

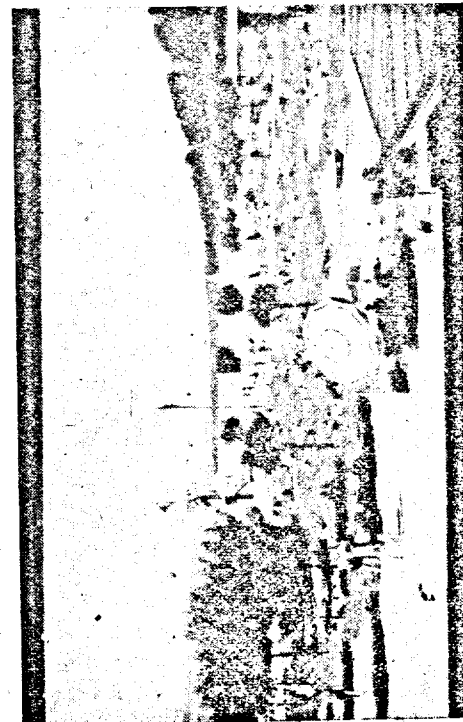
In the famous northward route from Nice, although the road was level and straight for a time, it



Grenoble



Gorges of the Mescla with tunnel



Annecy



Annecy

became very sinuous by the gorges of the Mescla with several tunnels. Passing through the cols (passes) of Vergons and Moria we reached Barrême on the Napoleon route, and followed it up to Sisteron passing



"Here is your Emperor; if any one would kill him, let him fire." This dramatic appeal won over the garrison at Grenoble and he began his triumphal march to Paris

through Digne. Then our route separated and we got excellent views of the Alps of Dauphiny until we passed the heights in the pass of Croix-Haute and descended gradually to Grenoble, one of the most beautifully situated towns of France. The Napoleon route passed through Grenoble and here he won over the soldiers who had been sent to capture him and began the triumphal march to Paris, which in 100 days ended in Waterloo. From Grenoble the drive was picturesque with views of distant mountains, through gorges and valleys to the famous spa of Aix La Bains (a fashionable and popular thermal spa and summer resort) and then to Annecy situated on the beautiful lake. Here to our regret, we missed Mr. Macdonald, late Principal of the Bengal Engineering College, who had come to spend his holidays here just a few days ago. Then through pretty gorges and phenomenal panorama of the passes and with magnificent views of both Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc, Geneva, the gateway to Switzerland, was reached.

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THE EMERGENCE OF THE BUDDHA-IMAGES

By PANKAJ KUMAR ROY

ONCE Mahayana Buddhism succeeded in satisfying the growing needs of the common man in understanding the code of ethics and morality easily and clearly, no force could retard its popularity—a popularity achieved by the simple, humane, unorthodox and realistic principle of this creed. Influenced by the "Bhakti" movement to a great extent Mahayana shattered all its limitations that came by the way and went on progressing with leaps and bounds as the only practical and realistic religion of India of those times. Saivism was there and the "Sakti" cult was trying to gain a subtle position, and above all, Vaishnavism was showing all the signs of maturity. But Mahayana Buddhism overshadowed them all in its rapid propagation. Although the gaining of public approval, support and sympathy was the foremost consideration, there arose the question of how to maintain this popularity for decades to come. Early monastic Buddhism never allowed the Master to be represented in images—He was always translated through symbols. Much stress was laid upon *japa*, *upasana*, prayer and meditation and that too done in *viharas* and at *stupas* was the usual practice under that system. This presentation of Buddha in symbols might lead to the fact that the exponents of post-Buddha Monastic Buddhism thought Buddha-images might have lessened the gravity of the Master's significance. Bare *japa*, *upasana* and meditation never bring the devotee into a closer contact with the worshipped—there always remains a barrier of fear and formalities in between the worshipper and the worshipped. The devotee, a common man, practises all

these—*japa*, *upasana*, etc., mechanically day by day, gradually all these become nothing but a routine. And this state of affairs—religious practices done in a lifeless, formal way—brought the downfall of Hinayanism. A wheel, an empty throne or the Bodhi-Tree was sufficient to portray the Master in symbolic designs.

Mahayana Buddhism, when it came to play its part, realised this vital drawback of its counterpart, the Early Monastic Buddhism. It understood clearly that no symbol could produce devotional sentiment in the hearts of common men. Symbols could command respect and reverence, but neither complete self-surrender nor devotion. Mahayanism rightly noticed that to worship a super-human personality like Buddha only through his symbolic representations was not easy for the layman. And that is why the Hindu gods and goddesses are represented both in iconic and aniconic representations from the days of the Indus Valley Culture. Take for example the case of "Krishna". He is represented both as a "Salagramasila" as well as in anthropomorphic forms. Mahayanists thought the images of the Master would be an example to the devotees reminding them of the stages of Bodhisattva-hood. Gautama had to pass to become a Buddha, of the services he did to suffering humanity and his sacrifices to free the souls under bondage. Not only would these images be a reminder of Buddha's activities but they also helped men to follow and emulate them, if possible. But above all, a Buddha-image would help the devotee to think that he could also become a Bodhisattva then a Buddha and attain 'Nirvana' by constantly rectifying himself—by diminish-

ing his sins through the 'travail and error' method and through service to all living creatures; in one word, living and leading the life of devotion and sacrifice to all men. Further, a Buddha-image could be worshipped very easily at the devotee's home, requiring no hard and fast rule, and helping him to stop all formalities within the modes of devotion.

These factors played the role of leading forces in the evolution of the Buddha-images. The common worshipper now no longer was required to visit the monasteries, *viharas* and the *stupas* for formal and methodical ovations and prayers. The Master was now before his eyes in all his (Buddha's) character-features. Devotion thus naturally welled up in the sentimental heart of the common man who had for long been under rigorous formalities and this pure devotion led him to the path of complete self-surrender and the forsaking of all worldly bonds.

Two parts of India—Gandhara (the modern Kabul, Peshawar region) and Mathura—were the first to originate Buddha images, almost simultaneously. The chronology of the Gandhara art is still a vexed question and I leave it for the archaeologists to ascertain the correct date. Mr. Benzaime Rowland, Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, Karl Khandelwala, Mr. Cornington, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and many others call this a "Graeco-Roman Art" while Mr. Vogel, Dr. Mrs. DeLlew, Mr. Foucher, Dr. Coomaraswamy and others call it "Graeco-Buddhist Art". Neither of these two views can be justified, supported and solicited faithfully. The theme of the art is Buddhist no doubt. Then how can scholars call it Graeco-Roman or Graeco-Buddhist? Many of the Buddha-images from Gandhara have close affinities to Hellenistic and late Antique phase of the Roman art. But can we say definitely that Gandhara was the borrower from the West and not vice-versa? It may be quite likely that there was cordial relationship between India, Rome and the Hellenistic countries in those days, and sculptors from one country might have visited another and helped to produce some of the images. But that can certainly not brand an art as the imitator of another. That is why the Buddha-images of the early Gandharan phase exhibited some resemblance to Graeco-Roman types but images of slightly later phases manifest a vast improvement towards indigenous ideas.

"It may be described from one point of view as representing an eastward extension of Hellenistic civilization, mixed with Indian elements from another point of view, as a westward extension of Indian culture in a western garb."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*.

The Mathura Buddha-images show a fully indigenous finish.

Now to the Buddha-images. Mr. B. Rowland calls the Gandharan art "the official art" of the Kusanas and their successors. The Gandhara school is usually credited with the first representations of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form.

"The quality of devotion in the later Buddhist sects demanded a representation of the Master in an accessible human form. The earliest Buddha-images were a compound of icono-graphical and technical formulae"—Rowland: *Indian Art—Hindu, Buddhist, Jain*.



Typical Buddha-image (Mathura School)

Usually these images are of three types—Seated Buddha, Standing Buddha and Buddha as the Prince Siddhartha. In the first two types, Buddha is shown wearing a monk's garment (with folds of drapery). Adolescent features, wavy hair, elongated earlobes ('urna' and ushnisha) as also the definition of the third eye between the eyebrows are the other important features of Gandhara Buddha-images. All these images, according to Mr. Vogel, are shown in relief and never, as statues carved in the round. The right hand as a rule is raised to the height of the shoulder; the open palm

is turned towards the spectator as expressive of the Master's grant of "Abhaya." In the third type we find a young man in princely garb—turban, jewellery and muslin robe. He is Siddhartha. Another innovation of this art was the continuous representation of the Buddha legend in a series of separate episodes.

"The Gandhara reliefs show no less stylistic variety than the statues of Buddha and Bodhisattva. . . . Gandhara relief sculpture owes its rather puzzling character to the fact that it is technically an impossible mixture of archaic and developed styles of carving," writes Mr. Benzamine Rowland.

The carving is characteristic of the isolation of the figures against a plain background, although the



Typical Buddha-head
(Gandhara School)

forms themselves are related one to another by their postures and gestures. Such legends as the "Presentation of the Bride to Prince Siddhartha" or the "Nirvana" are only some of the examples of these richly carved relief panels.

Now to the other school, of Mathura.

"The great period of Mathura's florescence coincides with the great century of Kusana rule under

the reigns of Kanishka and his successors and this is exactly contemporary with the Gandhara school." —Rowland.

"The most obvious characteristic of the Kusana school in Mathura is the fact, by no means astonishing, that it represents in the main a direct development of the older Indian art of Bharhut and still older art of Besnagar."—Coomaraswamy.

Mr. J. P. Vogel also shares the same opinion along with Dr. Mrs. Lohuizen DeLew (authoress of *Scythic Period in Indian History*) and many others. The Mathura images are usually of red sand-stone; the sculpture is in the round, the head is shaven and never covered with curls, the 'usnisa' wherever preserved is spiral, there is no 'urna' and no moustache; the right hand is raised in 'abhaya' mudra, the left is often clenched and rests on the thigh in seated figures, or in standing figures supports the folds of the robe, the elbow being always at some distance from the body.

"The breasts are curiously prominent, though the type is absolutely masculine and the shoulders very broad. The robe leaves the right shoulder bare—the drapery moulds the flesh very closely and is arranged in schematic folds; the seat is always a lion throne, while in the case of standing figures there is often a seated lion between the feet. The gesture and features express enormous energy."—Coomaraswamy.

"The Buddha already conceived of as a transcendent, almost forced a reliance on preconceived ideals of divine beauty and a dependence on certain superhuman proportions and attributes which would properly assume the image's assuming an appropriately iconic aspect of divine perfection."—Benzamine Rowland.

Mr. Vogel, Mr. Foucher and Dr. Mrs. Llew support this view along with many others. According to Mr. Rowland the eyes of the Mathura Buddhas are fully open, the cheeks round and full, the mouth ample with lips drawn into a slight smile and the face has a warm, friendly expression. Sculpture in relief under the Kusanas at Mathura is in many respects an outgrowth of the styles of the archaic period, although at the same time it is undoubtedly influenced by innovations from Gandhara, notably in the inclusions of Buddha in anthropomorphic form. This is vouched by Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Vogel, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Mr. Foucher and others. Mathura sculptors followed a shorthand manner of presentations by stripping off all details of action and setting from various episodes so that the event is often represented only by the figure of Buddha in characteristic pose and mudra.

The Buddha-images of Amaravati in the far South have resemblances to Mathura except the definition of the drapery by a combination of incised lines and overlapping ridges indicating the course of the folds and seams, which are reminiscent of Gandhara Buddha images. The face of the Amaravati Buddha is oval-shaped.

This process of the evolution of the Buddha-images

comes to its fullness in the golden days of the early Imperial Guptas and this classical type is the main source of all later forms both in and beyond the Indian boundaries.

"The Gupta type is characterised by its refinement."—O.

ment, by a clear delineation and definition of the features by curly hair, absence of urna, greater variety of mudras, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders, clearly revealing the figures."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*.

REDRAWING INDIA'S MAP

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE long-awaited recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission are now before the general public. According to these proposals, the new map of India will have 16 federating units, all to be called "States" enjoying equal constitutional status, and these Centrally-administered areas to be known as "territories." All the existing C States are to disappear, all the B States, with the exception of Rajasthan and a truncated Hyderabad, are also to go. Uttar Pradesh continues to be the largest in population with 63.2 million, whereas the new State of Madhya Pradesh will be the largest in area with 1,71,000 square miles. The new Bombay State will be the second biggest State in population and the third largest State in area. The capital city of Delhi will now be a Centrally-administered territory with a Municipal Corporation on the lines of the London County Council. Status quo has been maintained for the present as regards Pondicherry and NEFA owing to the special circumstances under which they have been placed constitutionally. The recommendations of the Commission are unanimous except in regard to U.P. and Himachal Pradesh. Shri Panikkar wants an 'Agra' State to be carved out of portions of the existing U.P., Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat. Shri Fazl Ali is against the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab and PEPSU as now provided, but wants it to be a Centrally-administered territory.

As was indicated by the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation on the eve of the publication of the Report, the recommendations of the Commission will now be considered by the State Legislatures and the public generally will also have "every opportunity for the expression of opinion." Of course, the ultimate decision on these recommendations will be taken by the Parliament. It is not very clear yet whether it would be possible to implement the proposals of the Commission for redrawing the boundaries of new States before the next general elections early in 1957. Reference has been made in the Report regarding the need for re-delimitation of Constituencies in a number of States. It is, however, generally believed that it should be possible to hold the general elections, more or less, according to present schedule after enacting the neces-

sary legislation in Parliament and redelimiting the Constituencies. All this would, of course, entail very heavy and onerous work for the administration. But it is being realised by all sections of public opinion that the general elections must not be postponed beyond the period of five years, as laid down in the Indian Constitution, except in very grave national emergency.

In his broadcast talk, Shri Nehru appealed to the people of India to read the Report "as a whole." No Report of this nature could possibly satisfy everybody. We have, therefore, to find out "what is good from the point of view of the country as a whole and has the largest measure of agreement and support." The Prime Minister wanted us to approach this question "with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration."

"This is a hard test for us and our future might well depend upon how we face it and deal with." "I earnestly trust, therefore," said Shri Nehru, "that we shall consider this report in a manner becoming a great people fashioning their future."

The three distinguished members of the Commission have also expressed a similar hope at the end of their Report:

"Free India is now on the move. What has already been achieved can be viewed with a measure of legitimate pride. The manner in which the very difficult problem of Princely India was solved in the anxious and bewildering circumstances following partition, will by itself be a standing testimony to the political wisdom and strength of the Indian people and their firm determination to eradicate artificial barriers and cramping loyalties. We conclude in the hope that the scheme of reorganisation which we have proposed will be viewed against this background and that men of good-will will co-operate with those charged with the onerous responsibility of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiments with national interests in giving effect to the decisions which might be taken in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding."

The Commission have also done well in recommending a number of measures for safeguarding the rights of linguistic minorities and for forging the ties of national unity. They have recommended, for

example, that about fifty per cent of new entrants in any cadre of an existing All-India Service should be from outside the State concerned. Further that the training of probationers to the All-India and Central Services should be such that they should have a good introduction to the essentials of Indian geography, history, religions, customs and manners. Even in the case of High Court judges, it has been suggested by the Commission that at least one-third of the number should consist of persons who are recruited from outside the State. These are, indeed, useful suggestions for bringing about a proper atmosphere for national unity and solidarity. It must, however, be remembered that no proposals can achieve the desired objective unless there is real and sincere appreciation of the need for such unity in the minds and hearts of the people. We should also constantly bear in mind that the map of India is being redrawn primarily for the sake of administrative convenience so that the various State Governments may function through the language of the people of those areas. After all, the State will continue to be integral parts of the great Indian Union and it does not matter very much whether a particular Taluka or District is included in this State or that State.

It should also be clearly understood that the recommendations of the high-level Commission should be considered with due respect. It would be very wrong to treat the Report in a light-hearted manner and start fresh controversies or agitations over again. The Commission consisted of three very able men of this country who considered 1,52,250 documents, interviewed more than 9,000 persons and travelled 38,000 miles before coming to the conclusions. If we begin the whole process once again by agitating for our own

point of view, there would be no end to this discussion and controversy. It is true that the Prime Minister himself has been "a little surprised" at some of the recommendations. This only shows that the Prime Minister had absolutely no idea about the nature of the proposals of the Commission till a few days ago and that he keeps an open mind in regard to this difficult problem. But this does not mean that we should also begin imitating the Prime Minister by expressing our own 'surprises' and indulging in unending controversies. We should be prepared to accept the recommendations of the Commission in good spirit and think of certain changes only in very exceptional cases.

There are still some people in this country who feel that it was a mistake to have appointed this Commission. In fact, they regard the very idea of linguistic re-distribution of States as basically unsound and dangerous to the cause of India's unity. We do not agree with this view. We are of the definite opinion that the existing States are not rational and scientific; they were carved out by the alien rulers in accordance with the exigencies of the time. It is, therefore, desirable to redraw our map on more rational lines. As Acharya Vinoba recently pointed out, reorganisation of States, if undertaken in the proper spirit, should be able to promote our unity and national strength. But, if we do not show proper broad-mindedness and largeness of heart, this process of reorganisation may sow the seeds of national ruin and disaster. This is, therefore, a hard and momentous test for all of us and I earnestly hope that we will come out unscathed. May God give us the necessary strength to be worthy citizens of this great land of Gandhi and Nehru!

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Educational Movement in India"

Sir,

I beg to, draw your kind attention to some solecisms and misstatements which occur in the paragraph on Hindi, on page 444, in the above article by Rajani Kanta Das, Ph.D. and Sonya Ruth Das, D.Litt. (Paris), published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1955.

The authors have spelt 'Chanda Bardai' as Chand Bardi, without any phonetic notations. It is a minor mistake; but it should not have occurred. This would lead all readers of the journal who do not know Hindi, to pronounce the name wrongly.

Then, 'Bhartendu Harischandra' has been shortened to B. H. Chandra. In this case Bhartendu has been taken to be a part of the name of the poet-dramatist, whereas it is only his title. When many of those familiar with Hindi and the history of its

literature had to pause for a moment before they could make out that B. H. Chandra stands for Bhartendu Harishchandra, how would those unfamiliar with the language and its literature get the name correctly? It appears that the significance of the honorific 'Bhartendu' escaped the notice of the learned authors. Or, does it show their utter ignorance of the subject they are writing about in rather a learned way!

Besides these, there are the following amazing misstatements which are unpardonably present in the paragraph:

The authors' remark that "The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardi (sic), known for his poems on *Prithvi Raj Raso*," indicates that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is the name of the hero, or the central figure on whom the poems (!) by Chanda were written.

The fact, however, is that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is a voluminous epic running into 2500 pages—divided in 69 chapters; and is not a mere collection of poems. It has for its subject, the deeds of glory and exploits of Prithvi Raj, the Chauhan King (besides some traditional facts of Rajput History).

Another damaging remark which the authors make is about Tulsidas. According to them, Tulsidas "translated the Ramayana into Hindi". It is as preposterous a remark as to say that Milton versified the Bible in the *Paradise Lost*! It is a well-known fact that since the days of Valmiki, many great poems have been written not only in Hindi but also in many other Indian languages. Kalidas's *Raghuvansam*, Tulsidas's *Ramacharitamnas*, Keshavadas's *Ramchandrika*, and Maithalisharan Gupta's *Saaket*, to name only a few, are all devoted to the same theme. Though their theme is one yet

they are so different in their approach and style that the later ones can never be called a translation of the works written earlier. The same holds good about Tulsidas also. To say that he translated the Ramayana into Hindi is as far from truth as it can be. All that he did, as he himself says in the opening book of his great epic, was to collect some material from many Puranas, and Shastras and also from tradition for composing his immortal work. His treatment and style are entirely his own and he is absolutely original in every way.

I wish these mistakes had been corrected and the facts verified before the article was sent for publication.

This shows how dangerous it is to rely entirely on knowledge gathered through second-hand sources.

Shrirama Shrivastava, M.A., Visharad Lucknow.

POEMS

By IDA SARKAR (nee Stieler)

TO MY HUSBAND

Memories! Memories!
God's wonderful gift divine,
I hold you silent in my soul.
Years have passed by—
A wreath of tears I wind around the time.
In my dreams,
I weave your face immortal to a shrine.
You, my beloved with your sunny eyes,
Your forehead shone with radiant intellect bright.
You, whose kindness made all eyes fill with tears,
Your clear tranquillity of mind
Gave rest and peace to all.
You brought happiness to map in storm and stress.
Full of world-joy, yet so distant from world-lust
Your path moved on. You paved the way,
Inspired all hearts, who searched for truth.
Far like a dream are all the days gone by.
We shared life's happiness and joy.
Just like a spring your words run through my soul.
They carry force and strength through all my veins.
"Have courage, man must fight," how often did I
hear this phrase.
Again my own heart tells me in one solitary hour.
The fate of years.
In one moment, I visualise the dreams of my world.
I see milliards of stars high up in the sky,
Which no man can count.
I begin to see light after light.
All this has passed through my life,
While with you.
The stars shine and I do not feel lonely in my
loneliness.
You are ever and ever with me, my beloved.

All my gratitude to you come never too late.
You left me your warm heart, your strength stayed
with me
And leads me on my way.
You took with you your loving eyes,
Yet the sight of your soul was left to me.
You planted the seeds of knowledge and sacrifice,
In the green garden of this young generation,
From your fertile autumn days.
These seeds will grow for ever and ever
And with them will grow our love and admiration
for you.

TO MY BENOY

Fighter for the truth of all things,
Noble fighter thou beloved mine,
From the ruins of all I lost
Sing I to thee, Oh immortal one!
I see the world through those where death has passed.
I see the traces of thy greatest work,
I see thy life which had to suffer hard,
Before it even started full to live.
Out of the clouds of golden illusions
Thou resist and we feel thee ever near.
Thou still givest life from the eternal zones
To the down-trodden, whom thou lovest the best.
Thou weavest ever the robe of sacrifice
For the youth to come,
For the freedom which thou hardly felt.
Where thou art missing, life itself is dead,
Where thou art, there is immortality.

(Poems written by Mrs. Ida Sarkar, his wife, for the sixth death anniversary of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.)

W. C. BONNERJEE—FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJI

In the nineteenth century a galaxy of stars were born in Bengal. They were all eminent men who held the field in almost all spheres of life in India. Practically Bengal led and the rest of India followed.

Such a great man was born in Bengal on the 29th of December, 1844. He was W. C. Bonnerjee, a name which India can hardly forget.

W. C. Bonnerjee was born in Calcutta in his paternal house at Kidderpore. The house and the lands adjoining were subsequently acquired under the Kidderpore Dock Extension Project. W. C. Bonnerjee's parents originally hailed from Bagnan in the District of Howrah and finally settled in Simulia in Calcutta.

Like almost all great men he was unmindful of his studies in boyhood. He read up to the Entrance standard in the Oriental Seminary in North Calcutta. His father was a noted attorney of his time.

In his early age he had a great fancy for Westernism. He expressed his desire to his parents that he would like to embark on his voyage for England but was severely scolded. So one stormy night in the month of October (Bengali Aswin) in the year 1863 he slipped off from his home and found his way to London. He secured a scholarship from a Bombay millionaire but as he got the money very late he had to struggle very hard in England.

While studying at Lincoln's Inn Bonnerjee picked up the friendship of the late Dadabhai Naoraji. Both of them were nationalists to the very core of their heart. India was his constant thought but he chose the path of moderation in his political activities. He divided his time between India and England where he had his second home and most of his friends were members of the British Parliament. His personality had a charm for everybody and even the British Parliament could not escape his personal influence. He became so very popular in England that he was put up as the first Indian candidate from Walthamstow for election to the British Parliament but his illness stood in the way of his election. He had to withdraw his candidature.

He presided over the deliberations of the First Indian National Congress in the year 1885 and those who followed his speech could easily understand that his path was constructive. He breathed his last in London in June, 1906 and his death was mourned equally in India and England. From 1885 for several years practically Congress was W. C. Bonnerjee and Bonnerjee was the Congress. His influence with the Congress was great because he wrought for the ultimate freedom of India. He spent his money lavishly

for the Congress and exercised his influence to increase its members and workers on behalf of it.

So great was his foresight that even in the year 1892 he pleaded that India is in need of more engineers—a fact which is realised in free India today.

At a well-attended meeting held on July 26, 1906 the hall of Buxton Men's Club, Walthamstow, Hon. G. K. Gokhale said:

"... For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Bonnerjee's name had been a household word in India. He had laboured unceasingly for the good of his country, and his name would never be forgotten in that land. In him they had lost a champion of political reform, a great patriot and a wise statesman (applause)... he had come to England on behalf of the Indian National Congress of which Mr. Bonnerjee had been the First President which consisted of 100 delegates elected by the people, which met once a year and deliberated on important questions..."

The remains of W. C. Bonnerjee were cremated at Golder's Green. Before the coffin was transferred to the inner chamber the late Dadabhai Naoraji delivered a short funeral address which runs as follows:

"His patriotic fervour and zeal in youth was no less ardent than in later years. One of his earliest attempts to serve his country was the foundation of a London Indian Society now merged in the East Indian Association and on his return to India his career of public usefulness gradually broadened until it reached its appropriate goal in his election as the President of the first Indian National Congress. In that capacity his utterances were, as statesmanlike and far-seeing as they were modestly conceived. There was no undue elation but at the same time there was no shrinking from responsibility and none rejoiced more than he at the ample fulfilment of the hope he expressed for the stability and progress of the movement."

Traditionally India is never behindhand in hero-worship. It is but meet that we Indians should not forget to get a suitable memorial for that great departed soul who first lit up the torch of freedom.

Mourning his death Mr. A. O. Hume said:

"... Probably no other gentleman of modern times exercised so great an influence over his countrymen at large—not merely in Bengal but throughout India—as did Mr. Bonnerjee who from the first day that he put his hands to the plough of reform very early in 1885 never grudged his time, his talents or his money, that the cause of India's people might be in any degree aided or promoted by any or all of these..."

Shocked to hear of his sudden demise in England (Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjee said:

"... In him India has lost one of her foremost sons, and the legal profession one of its brightest ornaments and the Congress one of its founders and its first President..."

EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

After the independence of India everybody thought that great changes would come in the field of education for children. It is an admitted fact that a country's progress depends much on the educational advancement of her children. In the British days the then rulers of the country made such a provision of education in the schools and colleges that the students coming out of these institutions could swell the ranks of their clerks who were essentially required for the machinery of administration. In the beginning of the British Rule very few higher posts were offered to Indians as the top posts were enjoyed by their own men and so with the limited knowledge and incomplete education the people of our country, who were serving the British in their different organisations were satisfied with the clerical posts. With the passing of time the situation changed and the Indian people became more and more ambitious. They began to agitate for many demands which were up till now not granted to them. One of such demands was to get good education and be fit for higher posts. Gradually some of the Indian boys were able to compete in the higher recruitment examinations along with the British boys and could secure top places in order of merit. They had to be provided with some posts which were originally meant for British boys. When these young men of our country obtained such posts they were discouraged from mixing with their own men and made to feel that they belonged to a superior class. Thus these fortunate men were almost lost to the family, the society and the country to which they belonged.

Ever since that time these men had been able to satisfy their British rulers with loyal service and they did not care to know the real condition of the country or find out the means for effecting improvements in her different spheres, particularly in the sphere of education. They gave their children education in English schools and sent them to England to finish their education there so that they might also hold higher posts like them. Since independence of the country their angle of vision has not appreciably changed. They are still holding the key positions in the administrative machinery of the country and they know that so long as they can give their children a different kind of education, which the ordinary people of the country cannot afford to give to their sons and daughters, their children will continue to get prominent positions in life. The leaders of our country who were once associated with the everyday sufferings of the average man and woman and have got the contagion of this feeling from the higher officers, who are now in close touch with them, are also now having their children educated in expensive schools where the teaching is imparted

by teachers who are mostly foreigners. As a result of this both the leaders and the high officers of the country are not aware of the real condition of affairs in the ordinary schools meant for the middle class and the working class boys and girls. These schools are mostly ill-managed, ill-housed and have such teachers who cannot devote their wholehearted energy towards imparting education to the students due to their poor salaries. In this respect we depend too much on Government, but we do not realise that as citizens of this country we have our own duties to discharge. We can supplement the funds of the schools by raising donations and subscriptions and we can also entrust the management of these schools in the hands of well-trusted able men, who are above party politics. So far as getting the right type of teachers we are to make the salaries of teachers a little more attractive so that good men would not hesitate to come to this profession for fear of half-starvation.

It is a pity that in cities like Calcutta where hundreds of new cinema houses have been built with private enterprise, no funds can be raised to build some good houses for the accommodation of schools. So far as good teachers are concerned the writer has an humble suggestion to make. We find that many officers of Government, who were once brilliant students, do not seem to get opportunities of social service after retirement. Throughout their service career they do good to themselves and to their families by earning money and they do not come to any service to the society to which they belong. After their retirement and till their death, so long as they are physically fit, they can easily render voluntary service to a local school within the radius of one mile or so from their residence, just for an hour at least, to impart to the students, who are the future citizens of the country, lessons in subjects according to their choice. It will be better if they do it of their own accord without being forced by the Government by an Act of the Legislature to do so, as in this way they will at least be remembered gratefully by a number of young students for many years after death, when there is likelihood of their being forgotten by the members of their own families.

The film business magnets and the cinema house owners whose one of the main sources of income is from young students, should also consider seriously whether they should voluntarily offer some percentage of their income towards the education of the children of the country, who in future will increase the number of cinema-goers and thus bring more money in their pockets. It will look more generous on their part if they themselves come forward with such a proposal before they are forced by legislation to do so.

ROLE OF SATYAGRAHA IN FREE INDIA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

We, of India, are rightfully proud of our great motherland. But why do we do so? Is it a vain national feeling working behind this sentiment or some positive basis at its back? Is it our geographical or material wealth which we so much boast about? Surely, there are in the world rivers bigger than the Ganga or the Indus; there are soils more fertile than that of the Indo-Gangetic Valley; there are plateaus far richer in minerals than that of Chota Nagpur; there are ports far better than those of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. Only we have, so to say, the Himalayas that are taller than any other mountains in the world. Then, does all our national pride stem from these snowclad rocks? What is it after all that made our ancients proclaim: *Durlabham Bharate Janamah* (Rare it is to be born in India)?

Opinions will naturally differ on this point. But many will agree that the most important find of our seers of yore was the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. As Gandhiji describes it in his inimitable language:

"The Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence."

A translation of this unique doctrine into practice led them to *Brahma-Vidya* on the one hand and to land-cultivation and animal husbandry on the other. This also accounts for the strange fact that of all countries in the world, only India declared her preference for vegetarian food and that even today there are millions of such Indian homes where meat is tabooed. It is this faith—supported by three pillars of *Brahma-Vidya*, non-injury to others and vegetarianism—which has been the perennial source of our spiritual and cultural heritage and activity and which distinguishes India from the rest of the world.

Again, in modern times, India alone discovered the doctrine of *collective non-violence* to which Gandhiji, its first exponent and scientist, gave the unique name of *Satyagraha*. True, we could not place before the world the pattern of an ideal and strong *Satyagraha*—we were found wanting in so many regards, yet it cannot be gainsaid that India has proved for all time that the principle of non-violence is capable of sound application on a mass scale and that *Satyagraha* is a potent instrument for countering injustice and throwing off political shackles. The non-violent fight that we gave, weak and poor though it was, clearly demonstrated the efficacy of *Satyagraha* as a weapon for working out the political revolution.

The question now arises whether there is any scope for *Satyagraha* in India now when she is free. Most of our political stalwarts, many of them holding

positions of power, are reported to have expressed on this point in the negative. They would have us believe that collective non-violence had little to do in any sphere other than political and that only State equipped with its military and legislative powers could bring about desired changes in the socio-economic sphere. That the arch-priest of *Satyagraha* did not think like this is evident from what he observed as early as in May 1929:

"This I know that, if India comes to her own demonstrably through non-violent means, India will never want to carry a vast army, an equally grand navy, and a grander air force. If her self-consciousness rises to the height necessary to give her a non-violent victory in her fight for freedom, the world values will have changed and most of the paraphernalia of war would be found to be useless. Such an India may be a mere day-dream, a childish folly. But such, in my opinion, is undoubtedly the implication of an India becoming free through non-violence." (italics mine).

It needs little reflection to state that in our fight for freedom our self-consciousness did not rise to the required height. Nor could we bring about any change in world values. The sanctions in the political, economic or social life of the post-British India are almost the same as in that of British India. We honour the same values today as we did eight years ago. To mention a few of them—disgust for manual labour, superiority of intellectual work to manual labour, the higher the income or salary the bigger the man, treatment of land as a marketable commodity, low status of the untouchable in general and of the *Bhangi* in particular, etc. etc. With the basic values remaining unaltered, India's political freedom has been more in the nature of a change of masters than in that of a revolution. And if the old values continue to hold sway, our further degradation and ruin is a certainty.

It may be argued that law will effectively introduce many a change. Would it could. Alas! it cannot. What has been the fate of the law banning child marriages? Untouchability is a crime by law. Yet there are important temples still closed to the untouchable. Law has very definite limitations. If stealing is an evil in popular opinion we can have a law condemning stealing as a crime—and that law would be honoured. But if smoking, though evil, is no evil in popular opinion a law condemning smoking as a crime will be honoured only in its breach. Likewise, since child-marriages and temple-refusal to the Harijans are no crime in popular opinion (rightly or wrongly, that is a different matter), law is helpless to stop them. Law can cover the beaten tracks but not the uncharted seas.

Where then is the way out? What shall succeed if law fails? The single and the surest answer is—*Satyagraha* or Civil Resistance. It has a two-fold objective—wean the Government from going astray and win the people

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to right thought and conduct. It is a rebellion on one hand and right education or *Nai Talim* of the masses on the other. It is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of evil, perpetrated either by the Government or by the people. *Satyagraha* is, as Gandhiji called it, *dharma-yuddha*. Once dilating on this point, he once said:

"Here is the beauty of *Satyagraha*. It comes up to oneself, one has not to go out in search for it. That is a virtue inherent in the principle itself. A *dharma-yuddha* in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and a man of religion is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A *dharma-yuddha* can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the *Satyagrahi* feels quite helpless, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet."

Satyagraha is not like a garment to be put on and off at will. Nor a shoe to be hurled at on any off and on. Nor is it a mere philosophical principle. Its seat is in the heart. It is 'the rule and breath' of life. The spirit of *Satyagraha* requires 'long training in self-denial and appreciation of the hidden forces' within man. What is more: *Satyagraha* can only follow some real disinterested service, some heart-expression of love.

Judged by these tests, it is obvious that most of the '*Satyagrahas*' which we have witnessed during the last eight years were more in name than in fact and that the single campaign that satisfies all *Satyagraha* conditions is Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yajna movement which would be referred to later on. Besides, it is also clear that there is far wider and deeper scope for *Satyagraha* in free India than during the British rule. Occupied as all people then were with getting rid of the political yoke, vast spheres of true selfless service had to be left untouched. Politics absorbed exclusive attention. Not so now when people can take to different fields according to their own taste and genius.

But what would be the model of *Satyagraha* in free India? Will it follow the pattern evolved by Gandhiji in order to face the British power? Or, will it be of a different cast? The conditions of India leave little doubt in this regard. India is now free when there is no question of 'snatching' political power from an alien exploiting agency. Only if the worst comes to happen and the party in power miserably fails to honour its pledges to the electorate, the latter can vote it out, or refuse to pay taxes and commit civil disobedience widely. What is, however, far more imperative is that the existing pattern of administration as also the socio-economic order must change. And that change must come from below. That is, a mere change of masters at the top will not usher in the new order: stagnant

values must change and the people should live the new values themselves. The task, therefore, becomes very hard. It is not a question of simply throwing an external adversary out, but of transforming the enemy within. People have to be educated, their energy directed along the rightfully new channels and then the whole order re-cast, not excluding the constitution.

The Bhoodan Yajna movement strictly follows these lines. It stands for entirely new values which may be summed up as follows:

(i) Land must cease to be a marketable commodity and should be owned not by any individual, not by the State, but by society;

(ii) Manual labour is on par with intellectual labour, both should bear the same value and status and both together should form an essential part of our daily life.

The walking tours, assiduously conducted by Vinoba and the scores of workers all over the country, are meant to enlighten public opinion, to educate it and instil new values in the village social structure. That the mission requires a lot of self-denial and sacrifice—not less severe than in facing the bayonet or courting imprisonment—goes without saying. It is *Satyagraha* in the fullest sense of the term. Only its nature differs from that of the British days. While the *Satyagraha* as expressed through non-co-operation was fast, the *Satyagraha* as expressed through Bhoodan Yajna is gentle. If need be, the fast pattern can be resorted to. That is our stock-in-trade. But if the present gentle form does not serve the required purpose, what then? Here is Vinoba's unequivocal reply:

"If our gentle *Satyagraha* does not yield the desired fruit, we must infer that there is something wanting in our gentleness itself. And we must, therefore, render it inner, gentler . . . Gentle, gentler, gentlest. If *Satyagraha* evolves forth in this manner, its vitality and effectiveness would grow on."

What form would Vinoba's gentler *Satyagraha* take, nobody can say. But it would doubtless be far more powerful in meeting violence, corruption, inequalities and the like. It shall be instrumental in humanising the present machinery and structure and in recasting it.

The role of *Satyagraha* in free India cannot, therefore, be too much emphasized. It offers a limitless scope of service among the masses and for tackling the fundamental problems of humanity. The whole is an uncharted sea. As the first pioneer in the field, Gandhiji has provided us with a rudder and compass in the form of inspiration for incessant activity and ceaseless search within. More navigators will follow and man march on splendid towards his cherished goal of becoming a better and greater man. With all humility, one can only pray with Gandhiji:

"Would that India, which through her Congress has subscribed to the policy of non-violence, will adhere to it and demonstrate to a world groaning under the curse of the sword that the spirit does triumph over the sword in national affairs as it has ever been shown to have triumphed, in individual affairs."

THE SAGA OF THE POTATO

By K. R. N. SWAMY

FROM the plunder of Peru came the first potato. But no priest or pirate of the Spanish Conquest ever guessed that the tuber he trod under foot on the upland Peruvian plain would spread to every corner of the temperate zone and would be worth more than all the mines of Peru. No dream of Inca gold, not even the very temple of the Sun itself would buy one year's potato crop today—amounting to over 250 million tons. A decade ago, the world output of potatoes was twice as much as wheat and thrice as much as rice.

We owe the first mention of the potato to Pedro de Cieza de Leon, who in 1538 the year after the Conquest settled at Cartagena, crossed the steaming isthmus of Panama and scrambled up the face of the Andes. There he discovered the mother of all potato chips, which instead of being cooked by heat, was cured by frost and then dried. This Chunu, as it was called and still is, the staple food of those Red Indians, who live above the zone where corn can be grown. Vast quantities of Chunu were stored for the Red Indian Army, for tribute to the Great Inca and against famine. Potato cultivation was greatly developed. Animal manure was brought from the coastal strips, an elaborate irrigation system was maintained, and many different varieties were grown.

For years after the Conquest, a motley mixture of priests, pirates and soldiers travelled homeward across the blood-soaked isthmus. Forty thousand couriers of Inca loot, perished there. On one of those trips, probably between 1580 and 1585, some one carried the first potato to Europe. From Spain it was to Italy, and by 1583 it was in the hands of Charles I'Elcuse, keeper of the botanical garden of Vienna. Neither Sir Walter Raleigh nor Sir Francis Drake brought the potato from Virginia to Ireland, for it did not grow in Virginia in their time. The Raleigh legend is pure myth, but the Romantic Irish have always clung to it fondly. The Germans insist that Drake is their man and today his statue stands in Offenbergl with an inscription reading:

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

The Introducer of the Potato in the year of Our Lord 1580

The Raleigh and Drake canards, still widely current were based partly upon the groundnut and partly upon the sweet potato.

The potato like all new foods, was slow to overcome the prejudice of the people, in spite of the most exalted attention. Scientists not only wrote it up, but improved it. Marie Antoinette wore its blossoms in her hair. Scotch divines thundered against it, because it was not mentioned in the Bible and as such was the Forbidden Fruit, they said, that caused Adam's Fall.

English apprentices save for once in a week had it banned from their diet. Frederick the Great planted potatoes in the Instgarten and his grandson threatened to cut off the noses of all who would not plant them. There was even a potato war in Germany. The first potato breeder of note, Antoine August Parmentier, mixed a bit of propaganda with his science by giving a potato dinner at Paris to which Lavoisier and Benjamin Franklin were invited. The whole menu consisted of potatoes cooked in various ways.

Through all this fanfare, the potato gradually came into its own, because poor people of northern Europe found that if there was not much else to eat, potatoes would keep body and soul together. And nowhere was poverty so bitter and potato so welcome as in Ireland. The Irish lavished pet names upon the lowly tuber. Priests and altar boys marched up and down their field drenching the crop with holy water. They little dreamed that failure of the crop would oneday decimate their country.

In India the pioneer work in the introduction of this crop was done by the English people. According to Dr. Ainslie, as reported by Duthie, "The potato came to India originally from the Cape of Good Hope." The cultivation on the hills of Dehra Dun was started by Major Young, when Mussoorie was indicated on maps under the name of potato garden. The quality was afterwards improved by Captain Townend and by about 1839 potato cultivation became generally in the plains and on the Hills. The botanist Johnson mentions that "at the horticulture show in Calcutta during 1842, I saw potato exhibited, which would not have shamed potato growers of Lancashire, if mistaken for their produce. These were grown in the immediate vicinity of the City, and in the hills of Chirra Pangie (Cherra Punje?), though not far off the potatoes are grown finer still. They were an object of cultivation there during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-1785) and alluding to that period one writer says, "Three score years ago, a basket of potatoes, weighing about a dozen pounds was occasionally sent, as the opportunity offered, by Warren Hastings to the Governor of Bombay and was considered an acceptable present."

"On receipt of the basket, the members of the Council were invited for dinner at the Government House 'to partake of the rare vegetable'."

The potato (Latin name *Solanum Tuberosum*) is called by various Indian names, such as Alu, Bilaiti, Batata, Urulai, Kilangu, Urulagudda and is cultivated more or less in all parts of India. A century ago, it was comparatively unknown in India, but today it is probably the most extensively grown of all vegetables.

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This is due in part to its mild flavour, which lends itself readily to combination with other foods. In the beginning, when potato was introduced the orthodox Brahmins objected to its use, just like their Scotch counterparts, due to its not being mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. But the prejudice against it gradually vanished and now it is used by all classes. In fact, on fast days, the Hindus in some parts consume it in large quantities as it is one of the root crops, which are included in the list of articles to be eaten during a fast.

In India, potatoes are mainly used for table purposes and not put to industrial use, e.g., in the production of starch. The annual net supply a decade ago, amounted to 53 million maunds and constituted less than 1 per cent of world supply. Of this production, 17 per cent was set aside for seed, .2 per cent exported to foreign countries, and the remaining 82.8 per cent was allotted for human consumption. Of this quantity, 10 per cent is estimated to be lost in storage and handling. Thus the actual quantity consumed amounts to 33 million maunds. On the average, the total production per capita was 8.6 pounds for the whole of India. The per capita consumption is highest in Uttar Pradesh (28 lbs per annum) followed by Bihar with 16 pounds per annum.

As regards food value, potato contains nearly 80 per cent water in its uncooked state. Most of the remainder consists of about 2 per cent protein and 18 per cent starch. The potato is one of the cheapest and most common sources of carbohydrate food. The food value of the potato is much less than that of wheat and rice. Potato gives 36 calories per oz, as compared with 102 for wheat and 114 per oz. of parboiled rice.

At present there is no demand in India for potatoes for industrial purposes or for any other use as cattle feeding, etc. In countries, where potatoes are largely used for industrial purposes, heavy yielding varieties with high starch content are specially grown, usually under contract with a factory. The factory is thus assured of a fairly long working season and an ample supply of cheap raw materials specially suited for the production of farina, alcohol, glucose, dextrin, etc.

Farina is used for laundry purposes and sizing in yarn in the textile industry and in the preparation of puddings, pastry, confectionary, custard powders, pie fillings and ice cream.

Alcohol manufacture is very extensively carried out in Germany. Approximately one ton of potato yields twenty gallons of 95 per cent alcohol. Apart from alcohol manufacture, the process is important on account of its offering a distillate residue, rich in nitrogen, potash, and phosphorus, which forms a good

ration for live stock. So far as is known potatoes are not used for this purpose in India.

With low yields per acre and correspondingly high cost of production, there does not appear to be much scope in India at present for manufacture of farina, alcohol, dextrin, glucose, etc., from potatoes. Rice contains 78 per cent starch from which 90 per cent can be extracted, whereas potato contains a maximum of 25 per cent starch of which only 65 per cent can be extracted. Therefore the price of potato, in order to be used for the above-mentioned purposes should be about one fourth that of low quality broken rice.

In India potatoes are grown in about seven and half lakhs of acres. Climate is an important factor in potato production and growing season varies from 60 to 75 degree fahrenheit.

The main areas of production are concentrated in the North. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam account for more than 80 per cent of the acreage. In Bombay the main area of production of potatoes is in the neighbourhood of Poona. Elsewhere in the South, the production of potatoes is mainly confined to the Nilgiri Hills and to a smaller extent to the plateau of Mysore, mostly around Bangalore.

The average yield is about hundred maunds per acre, but the record yield of 743 maunds per acre was obtained in 1953, enabling the particular cultivator to earn the title of *Krishi Pandit* for the year. In Germany the average yield of potato per acre is nearly twice that of India.

Generally two crops—one in winter and the other in monsoon—are raised in the plains and sub-montane tracts. The winter crop is by far the most important and represents 95 per cent of the total area in the plains. In the hills situated in the north of the country, only a summer crop is usually raised on account of the severity of the winter. In the Nilgiri Hills in the South however where the winter is mild, two or three crops are raised in the same year. In fact, the clearing of forests for potato cultivation has caused lot of soil erosion in Nilgiri Hills and in the words of an eminent Indian, the famous Ootacamund Hill Station may have to be renamed as Potamund. On the whole about 87 per cent of the total acreage in the hills is planted in summer and 13 per cent in winter.

Potatoes being a perishable commodity, high losses occur during storage and marketing. It is estimated that the value of potatoes rendered unfit for use in this manner exceeds two crores of rupees per annum. The solution apparently lies in improving existing methods of storage and in opening more cold storage depots as has already been done at some centres with commercial success.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. I: *Literature, Philosophy and Religion*. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. xiv + 288. Price Rs. 1-4.

This is the first volume of a work which, as the chief general editor Sri K. M. Munshi says in his interesting Foreword, has been planned to provide for the immediate benefit of the university students in Uttar Pradesh, a cheaply priced publication dealing with different aspects of the Indian inheritance as interpreted by leading modern writers. A second volume dealing with history, culture and social development is promised in the back book-cover.

In the short space at our disposal it is possible to notice only the outstanding papers which have been selected for inclusion in this volume. In the section on literature the most profound contribution is that of Sri Aurobindo on *Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa* from which we make no apology for quoting a few extracts. Their poems, we read, are "types of three periods in the development of the human soul," "types also of the three great powers which clash in the imperfect temperament" and at the same time are "pictures of three modes of our Aryan civilization, namely, the predominately moral, intellectual and material" (p. 111). *Valmiki* "gives us the picture of an entirely moralised civilization" with the immense material and intellectual development subordinated to the needs of purity of temperament and ideality of action" (p. 114). *Vyasa* is "the son of a civilization in which both morality and material development are powerfully intellectualised" (p. 116). *Kalidasa* lived in "the great age of formalised metaphysics, science, law, art and the sensuous luxury which accompanies the arts" . . . "Kalidasa stands for its representative man and genius, as was Vyasa for the intellectual mood of Indian civilization and *Valmiki* of its moral side" (pp. 117, 124). Next to the above may be mentioned the brilliant essay of Rabindranath Tagore on *Shakuntala* which is of course well-known to us in its original Bengali version. Justifying the famous eulogy of Goethe the writer says that "the motif of the play is the progress from the earlier union of the First Act, with its earthly, unstable beauty and romance, to the higher union in the heavenly hermitage of eternal bliss described in the Last Act" (p. 133). "This drama," we are further told (p. 135), "stands alone and unrivalled in all literature, because it depicts how restraint can be harmonised with freedom. All its joys and sorrows, unions and partings, proceed from the conflict of these two forces." In the section on philosophy Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (*Indian and Ionian Philosophy*) discusses with remarkable

clarity of thought and expression the old problem of the mutual influence of Ancient Greek and Indian philosophy and he concludes (p. 172) in the following noble strain: "Knowledge is above all limitations and boundaries. Whatever be the region of the globe where it first emerged, it is the common heritage of all mankind. All human beings, regardless of country or nation, can lay claim to it with equal right." This is followed by a thoughtful essay in which the writer, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, contends with considerable force that the Vedanta not only anticipates modern science in respect of its conception of God-head and the universe as well as its methodology but also that the code of conduct and spiritual values founded on its basis fully anticipated the socio-economic problems of modern civilization (pp. 174-75). The writer concludes with his explanation of the principal teaching of the Upanishads relating to man's happiness and the means of achieving the same. Then comes Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's paper on the *Bhagavad-gita* written in his usual brilliant style of exposition. "The Gita," he says, (p. 188) "stands midway between a philosophical system and a poetic inspiration. We do not have here the illimitable suggestiveness of the Upanishads, since it is a deliberately intellectual solution of the problem of life." The Gita, we are further told (p. 193), "attempts to derive a religion from the Upanishad philosophy . . . The Absolute of the Upanishads is revealed as the fulfilment of the reflective and the emotional demands of human nature." The fourth paper, that of Sister Nivedita on *The Web of Life*, traces a wonderfully wide sweep the great development of Indian religious and philosophical thought as represented by the successive landmarks, namely, the Vedas, Buddhism, Sankaracharya, the impact of Islam and Ramakrishna Paramhansa. The writer concludes (p. 207) by indicating the role of India as "one of the focal or polar points of the human race" and she presages a future Asia as "a single immense organism filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end, firm-rooted in the soil of common origins and common modes." The third and the last section contains two important papers, one on Sankaracharya by Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the other on Tulsidas by the late Mr. F. S. Growse.

We cannot conclude without expressing our deep regret that no room could be found in this work for any of the great Buddhist masters of literature like Asvaghosha and Aryasura and of philosophy like Santideva and Vasubandhu. In this connection it is well to remember that the *Bodhicaryavatara* of Santideva has been compared with the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMAYUN: By Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., M.L.C.; formerly Professor of History and Political Science, Allahabad University. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 422 + iv. Price Rs. 20.

This is a singular piece of research. It includes what it should have left out and tends to omit what it should have included. Thus it happens that in a professedly research volume on Humayun, one reads, curiously enough, more about Sher Shah, the organization of the Sur empire and its expansion, the successors of Sher Shah, the career of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Mirza Kamran. On the other hand, it leaves out of treatment a very interesting aspect of Humayun, viz., his skill as a poet; it fails to trace the genesis of his rivalry with his brother Kamran and its interaction on their respective fortunes. Similarly, it ignores entirely the dramatic episode of the Ottoman interference in the waters of the Arabian Sea and their landing on the Western Coast of India, in 1538 A.D. Humayun's interest in astronomy, his love of books and the traits of character which should form a separate chapter are discussed summarily in the concluding chapter and thus assigned a secondary place. The learned professor has omitted from the list of printed works, the name of Dr. S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*, M. S. Commissariat's *History of Gujrat*, Bainsi Prasad's English translation of *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, N. B. Roy's *The Successors of Sher Shah* and Dr. Sukumar Sen's *Humayun in Persia*. Yet he lustily claims that his work will "furnish much information to the advanced student, who can, with their help, pursue his researches further."

The other interesting feature of the book is that it does not advance our knowledge beyond what was already known. There is no doubt, tiresome narration of detail on Humayun's battles with Bahadur Shah, Sher Shah and Mirza Kamran, but the account is unrelieved by any masterly exposition of policy or strategy and survey of facts. The reader searches in vain for a felicitous remark like that with which Mr. N. B. Roy opens the account of Kamran's career in the *Vivra-Bharati Quarterly*, Summer, 1955, or a sprightly observation like that made by Mr. Commissariat, on page 350 of the *History of Gujrat*. Referring to the contributory causes of Bahadur's defeat at Mandasor, 1535, Mr. Commissariat refers to Rumi Khan's ascendancy in the councils of the Sultan and says, "As with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevastopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders."

Nor would the learned professor state the ground for his views on moot points. Take, for instance, the battle of Chausa. Here S. K. Banerji following on the steps of Dr. Qanungo, showed that Humayun's and Sher's encampment were separated by a small stream, the former lying east and the latter west of the rivulet. Mr. N. B. Roy challenged this view in the *History of Bengal*, published by the Dacca University on the authority of Abul Fazl and Jaubar. Abul Fazl clearly states that the army made a bridge over the river and crossed it and when Sher fell upon the camp from the rear, Humayun rode to the bridge and found it broken. Moreover, if Sher Khan was strong enough to intercept the emperor's march by landing across his path, what need was there for haste to subterfuges and a most perfidious attack solemn violation of a treaty? Dr. Qanungo arbitrarily read the word *Mashriq* for *Maghrib* and

started this curious misapprehension. Dr. Prasad is content to asseverate the old view without stating the reasons.

Similarly, in his account of the battle of Kanaul, the author shows the disposition of the military commanders in a way different from that of S. K. Banerji. It is no doubt more reasonable, but he would not cite the authorities in support.

Thirdly, the author's bibliography, valuable though it is, is remarkably out of date. He acknowledges the work to have been handed to the publishers in 1944, but since that period there has been considerable research which has not been taken note of. Take for instance, the fragment of the *Tawarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*, published in the *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh and its English translation by Mr. N. B. Roy in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta. Special mention must be made of Mr. Roy's paper, the *Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Tawarikh-i-Majlis Arai* and their relative value as sources of history, *J.A.S.*, Calcutta, 1955 and the other paper *Some Interesting Anecdotes of Sher Shah from the MS. of Iazkirat-ul-Muluk*, *ibid.* 1954. Again Dr. Prasad's estimate as to the value of the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* requires amendment. The reviewer was present in a meeting of the Asiatic Society, when Mr. N. B. Roy explained to the members the very great importance of this MS. as a source of Afghan history and pointed out that Sir Henry Elliot's view, re-echoed by Dr. Prasad was misleading. The fact is neither Sir Henry nor the present author had carefully studied the MS.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad was deemed to be a veteran in the field of historical research, but the present performance, judged by any standard, will demolish all his pretensions to that title, for the treatment of the subject, presentation as well as literary style, would hardly rank it above the level of an ordinary post-graduate dissertation.

SANJIV

SEX, SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL: Edited by A. P. Pillay, Bombay, and Albert Ellis, New York. Published by the *International Journal of Sexology*, Whiteaway Building, Bombay-I. 1953. Price not stated.

The book is a collection of 45 papers selected out of those contributed to the journals *Marriage Hygiene* and *The International Journal of Sexology* both edited by Dr. A. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B.B.S., the renowned Indian Sexologist. The list of contributors represents all the States of Europe, as also Australia, South Africa, Mexico, Japan, Siam and other places and includes such internationally famous names as R. L. Dickinson, Rene Guyon, E. Bergler, J. Lowenstein, A. Ellis, J. L. Gillin, A. M. Ludovici, A. Craig, C. Allen to mention only a few of them.

The articles deal authoritatively with various aspects of the sex problems from the individual as also from the social points of view. Both the physiological and the psychological aspects of the problems have been treated. More emphasis, however, has been placed on the former than on the latter. The section containing papers on 'Sex Offences and Sex Offenders' (Sec. III) should be read by all parents as also by the guardians of law, for sex crimes are on the increase and consequently a need has definitely developed to

devise ways and means of checking them. A revealing study has recently been made of sexual delinquency by Dr. N. Mukharji, Ph.D., on the basis of the materials collected by him from the Anti-rowdy section of the Calcutta Police. 'Sex in Literature' (Sec. IV) is a highly interesting section which would be read with pleasure by literary men and the section on Sex Deviations (Sec. V) will help students revise their views about some specific problems of deviation, e.g., Lesbianism, Masochism.

Many original studies and suggestions are found in the sections discussing 'Sex Disorders and Problems' (Sec. I) and the orgasm problem (Sec. II). The 'Dynamics of Sexual Motivation' by C. L. Lastrucci is instructive and informative. The trends of modern 'Researches on Sex' have been indicated in the last section of the book (Sec. VI).

The volume has a high academic value and deserves to be prescribed as a reference book by all institutions imparting scientific education on sex matters. The reviewer would have liked to see a few more articles included on the question of treatment. A section dealing with the methods of treatment and cure would have added much to the value of the book for the professional social workers. It is essential for them to have a thorough scientifically oriented training in sex matters because these matters are ultimately responsible for many of the prevalent ills of every civilised society.

S. C. MITRA

1. BRAHMA VIDYA VILAS: Pp. 421. Price Rs. 4-8.

2. HOW TO CULTIVATE VIRTUES AND ERADICATE VICES: Pp. 573. Price Rs. 6.

3. DIVINE STORIES: Pp. 102. Price Rs. 1-8.
All the three books are written by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The prolific author of these books is a very publicised monk of our times. In the first book he deals with Brahma Vidya, defined by him as the science of sciences that enables man to know the very source of knowledge itself. This abstruse subject is treated here in the form of several delightful plays. About the mode of his treatment Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the Governor-General of India wrote to the author. "It gave me great pleasure to see your book. Gold beaten into all sorts of shapes gives joy. So have you beaten the Upanishads into new and artistic shapes! I am amazed at your energy." Brahma Vidya described in the Upanishads is the most precious heritage of our land and should be broadcasted by modern methods in this age. It is quite fit that *Brahma Vidya Vilas* of the distinguished Vedantist Sadashiva Brahminandra with Sanskrit text in Devanagari script followed by simple English rendering is appended.

The second book is divided into four parts and devoted respectively to eradication of virtues, Brahma-Charva and practical instructions. As many as 234 short chapters are written on the cultivation of virtues and eradication of vices. It will be very useful to the spiritual aspirants at every step. Repetition of thoughts and looseness of language however have marred the seriousness of the subject.

The third book contains 34 short stories of Nachiketa, Raja-Gopichand and others. The stories

are culled from the Sanskrit scriptures as well as modern literature and meant for the rising generation.

It is regretted that the get-up, paper and printing of all the three books are far from satisfactory, and even much below the general standard.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FIVE ONE-ACT PLAYS: By Govind Das. Translated by Prof. Rajendra Verma, M.A. Introduction by Dr. Verrier Elwin, D.Sc. (Oxon). Progressive Publishers, 14-D, Feroz Shah Road, New Delhi. Price Rs. 4-8.

Seth Govind Das, one of the most devoted disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, spent many years in jail. During those years he wrote as many as eighty-four plays in Hindi. Here are five of them—all One-Act Plays—rendered into English. *Nazrana* presents before us the anachronism of the old landlord system in the modern context. *Endurance and Rivalry* deals with the position of women in society. *Id and Holi* reveals the foolishness of communalism and *The King and the Beggar-maid* holds before us the ideal of sacrifice through a mythological story. The author is one of the best writers in modern Hindi. The translator has fairly succeeded in retaining the spirit of the original.

D. N. MOOKHERJEE

SANSKRIT

NYAYAKUSUMANJALI, Part I: Edited by Narendrachandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., (Bagchi Bhattacharya Sankhyatirtha Mimamsatirtha Tattva-ratna Sastri), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University. The Asutosh Sanskrit Series, No. IV. University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

The *Nyayakusumanjali* is a highly esteemed and very important work of the famous savant Udayanacharya who wrote in the tenth century. It seeks to prove the existence of God through logical discussion in accordance with the Nyaya system of Philosophy. In consideration of the importance of the work and its extreme terseness numerous scholars wrote commentaries on it from time to time. Some of them have been published while a good number still await to be studied and brought to light in critical and scientific editions. New attempts in this direction are always welcome. Hence, scholars will be gratified to have the first instalment of two commentaries published in the decent volume under review. It contains portions of the commentaries of two writers of the 15th and 16th centuries covering the first chapter of the work. The commentary of Sankara is published on the basis of a single manuscript while that of Gunananda on two. The readings of the manuscripts were found to be faulty in some cases and the learned editor has suggested emendations which generally appear to be clearly demanded by the context. It is noticed that occasionally the readings of the text as adopted by one commentary differ from those of the other. There are also cases where the two commentaries agree in accepting readings which differ from those generally current and retained rather unusually in the text portion printed in the volume (p. 46). We hope the second part of the work will soon follow containing the remaining portions of the text and commentaries accompanied, among other things, by an account of the characteristic features of the commentaries published by the learned editor, two in the present volume and one in a previous volume of the same series (No. II).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

HINDI

HAR DAM AG: By Krishna Nandan Sinha. Ajanta Press Ltd., Patna. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2-8.

TUTE HUE DIL: By Ramapratap Bahadur. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-4.

PUKHARAJ: By Harishchandra Kaila. Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 3-4.

These are all collections of short stories, but each a "portent" and with a pattern of its own. In *Har Dam Ag*, stories have been fitted into the framework of socialist ideology, but with an ease and attitude which do not detract from the emotional and mental intensity of human interest. In some stories, the author has attempted the news-reel and camera-eye technique, which opened up a new avenue of endeavour for our writers of short stories. Shri Sinha is a rebel whose heart is afire with a vision of building up a new society, conditioned though the latter might be by the inevitability of pulling down many a pillar of the present-day social structure. *Tute Hue Dil* is now in the third edition, a proof of its popularity. And why not? For, its dozen stories are a prism which reflects our many-streaked society, particularly the red and the black of the "have's" and the "have-nots," and of the "heart-lit" and the "heartless." The author's pen is like a quickly-recording Kodak. *Pukharaj* is its author's first bow on the stage of short-story writing. And he has to be congratulated on his having acquitted himself so well. His effortlessness and self-unconsciousness are a testimony to his art.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ANTE E PARNI (She Married At Last): By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. and H. S. Majumdar, B.Com. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a translation of the well-known Marathi scholar and drama-writer, Mawa Warekar's novel. (Squaring the Accounts) *Tond Milavni*. It depicts the life-story of girls and boys of the Kalavant community of Goa. It is a well-known fact that on account of their beauty, grace, and ready wit, with love of dancing and singing, the girls become mistresses of the wealthy men of Bombay and the boys musicians; some of the women are attached to temples where they dance and sing before the deity. This community, low in morals, as it is, is looking up and fired by a desire to lead decent lives are getting themselves educated; and instances are not found wanting where mistresses have married their Sethias (masters or keepers). Mawa Warekar's choice of this book's title is significant. The Kalavant community is squaring up its accounts with society by regularising their relations with those who desire to associate with them. Champa, Saryu, Sharda, the heroines of this interesting story, represent each in her own life, the attractive facets of a gem, which the translators have done well in passing on to the Gujarati literature. Their further object, a laudable one, is to bring Marathi and Gujarati literatures as close as possible as they are neighbours, physically, geographically and linguistically.

K. M. J.

JUST OUT!

JUST OUT!!

THE DISCIPLES OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA

(REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION)

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Report of the States Reorganization Commission

Science and Culture writes editorially :

THE long awaited Commission has after all been placed before the public and has been a subject matter of intense and passionate discussion in all parts of the country.

We give below a dispassionate review of the report on account of its importance to the country's future.

What has struck the foreigner most after Independence is the great political stability of India as shown by the absence of large scale riots, conflicts or violence and the peaceful working for ten years of a system of government established by the people. It was held by many *pundits* amongst foreigners that the British bayonet was the only stabilizing force in India and once it was withdrawn, the people and races of India would fly at each other's throats, the Central Government would collapse and the British or some other western power will have to step in to restore law and order in this country. This was one of the stock arguments used by the Conservatives of England and reactionaries of other countries against the Independence of India. The fact that the first ten years after Independence have been tranquil has been a matter of chagrin and disappointment to this class. So diehard papers, both in England and America, in their disappointment are in the habit of magnifying the exploits of dacoits or small local disturbances to major conflicts. But such propaganda deceives nobody.

WHAT IS THIS POLITICAL STABILITY DUE TO ?

There are a variety of causes for this extraordinary political stability. First and foremost is the good sense of the people who have taken to heart the lesson of history that a disunited India can fall an easy victim to external aggression leading to soul-killing foreign domination as happened after 1200 A.D., and again after 1757 A.D. and nobody wants it. The second factor is that the late British rulers have left a system of centralised Government which has been strengthened by a democratic constitution deliberately aiming at the abolition of some powerful barriers to stability, viz. untouchability, and religious considerations in politics. It provides for development of the country directed from the centre.

BUT IS THE STABILITY REAL, OR ONLY APPARENT ?

But it should not deceive anybody that fissiparous tendencies have not altogether disappeared and if they are not dealt with firmly they may someday wreck the 'Unity'. Let us see what are these fissiparous tendencies ? What are the major dangers to the State ? Our first query is :

IS INDIA A NATION IN THE SENSE FRANCE OR ITALY IS A NATION ?

It is obvious to everybody that India is not a 'Nation' in the sense France or Italy is. The major requisites for nation-formation are "Commonality of Race, Language and Culture, Religion, Geographical

Contiguity of Parts and Economic Unity". These are fulfilled in France and Italy and they are perfect nations. Whenever a politically united area lacks one or more of these features, it falls short of being a perfect nation. Thus the U.S.A., though politically one nation, has a race problem, Switzerland has a language problem, Spanish South America has a geographical problem, etc., and hence these countries are not nations in the same sense as France or Italy is. Soviet is also not a Nation in the sense France or Italy is.

In India, after the separation of Pakistan we have no other barrier to 'Nation-formation' than that of 'Language.' We need not consider 'Culture,' for it is almost the same all over the country in spite of differences in language, and the British period has strengthened the unity of culture. The race problem persists in a fossilized state in that of castes, scheduled castes and Jungle tribes, but this is taken care of by the Constitution. If the Constitution is honestly worked, the problem will disappear in good time. The religious problem is neutralized by the provision in the Constitution that India is to be a 'Secular' State. The separation of Pakistan renders it very probable that the religious problem will disappear altogether. Geographical unity is there, and there is a sense of historic unity which is one of the main factors in 'Nation-formation.' The only dividing factor is 'Language' of which 14 are recognised to be fully developed with a number of dialects, and many ill-developed Adivasi languages. How to deal with this factor ?

The 'Language-factor' cannot be ignored, as past history has shown. So India has to be a 'Multi-lingual Nation.' The Constitution has provided for it, but has recommended that Hindi has to be developed as a Central language to replace English, and for the purpose of maintaining unity. The constitution has not ignored the role of the different languages of India as a factor of social progress, but it has not laid down any clause to deal with the fissiparous tendencies due to the existence of so many languages. Is it possible to form a single nation keeping intact the claims of different languages ?

The nearest case is that of Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia mentioned later which had shown that it is possible to form a stable 'Multi-lingual Nation' provided the country adopts socialism as its guiding policy, and ensures to every linguistic group its language and culture against the aggression of other groups. For this, it is necessary to organise administrative units solely on the basis of language. But has that been done in India ?

HISTORY OF PROVINCE FORMATION

To start with the provinces had been left very much as the British left them. But it has been recognised that they ought to be reorganised on rational basis. What are these rational basis ? For a long time, the only basis recognised was 'linguistic' and none else.

The powers that have governed or are governing India have been conscious of the language factor. We take only two pronouncements.